

Volume 1

Encyclopedia of
LEADERSHIP



<i>George R. Goethals</i>	<i>General Editor</i>
<i>Georgia J. Sorenson</i>	<i>General Editor</i>
<i>James MacGregor Burns</i>	<i>Senior Editor</i>

Encyclopedia of
LEADEESHIP

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Volume 1

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Reader's Guide



This list is provided to assist readers in locating entries on related topics. It classifies entries into nineteen general categories: Arts and Intellectual Leadership, Biographies, Business, Case Studies, Cross-Cultural and International Topics, Domains, Followership, Military, Personal Characteristics of Leaders, Politics/Government, Power, Religion, Science and Technology, Situational Factors, Social Movements and Change, Study of Leadership, Theories, and Women and Gender. Some entry titles appear in more than one category.

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University of Chicago
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University of Puget Sound
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University of Wisconsin, Madison
Genghis Khan
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Team Leadership
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Foreword



The creation of an encyclopedia is a true sign of the coming of age of a new and significant field of study. The publication during the eighteenth century of France's celebrated *Encyclopédie* not only reflected the rise of the Enlightenment but testified to the remarkable progress of the West in a wide array of fields—and stimulated further progress. Two centuries later, at perhaps a less imposing level, this encyclopedia not only captures the vast accumulation of ideas and data on its subject—leadership—but will surely influence future work on the theory and practice of leadership.

From the earliest times, people have been entranced by stories about leaders, whether Greek city-state rulers, Roman consuls, Chinese emperors, religious potentates, military conquerors, or famous party politicians. A huge mass of empirical data has driven countless biographies and memoirs. But increasingly during the twentieth century, scholars recognized that many of the studies told us much about individual lives but far too little about the broader significance of those lives and the contextual and psychological forces shaping them. This recognition helped foster the study of leadership—the study not only of individual leaders but of followers, the analysis not only of individuals' ambitions but of the mystery and complexity of ambition itself, the exploration not only of the psychological influences affecting leaders but of the rational or irrational feelings of the "masses" as potential followers, the investigation not only of the impact of humanity's great ideas and values on leaders but in turn their validation or invalidation of those received ideas. In knitting together these multiple, interacting, and ever shifting currents, the study of leadership places individual life histories in a much broader flow of causal forces.

As an emerging discipline, leadership has the benefit of drawing heavily from long-established ones. From history, the study of leadership gains understanding of the complexity of human events that variously offer opportunities and stumbling blocks to political actors. From philosophy, leadership derives knowledge of moral and ethical principles that direct day-to-day decisions and choices. From sociology and anthropology, leadership learns about the central roles of kinship and community that often ward off influences from the broader society. From political science, leadership draws concepts about power and its rootedness in economic, military, and other resources, its manifestations in subtle as well as dramatic forms, its channeling and manipulating of people, and its crucial role in the processes of change. From psychology, leadership grasps the central role of motivation in all human endeavors.

If the emerging discipline of leadership draws heavily from established disciplines, it also contributes mightily to them. The study of leadership subjects the loftiest philosophical ideas to the acid test of applicability in the "real world" of everyday economic and political activity—a test that may challenge or modify those great philosophical ideas. The study of leadership insists that historians take into account not only the roles of highly visible actors such as presidents and generals but also the invisible leadership in families and communities relating to the wants and needs, the hopes and expectations of people at the grass roots. Leadership studies can remind anthropology and sociology of the political and power relationships within tribes, neighborhoods, and interest groups—relationships that may critically affect social protest and political activism. Leadership can bring to the attention of political scientists the "X factor" that

seems to elevate attitudes toward certain institutions, such as the U.S. presidency, and negatively affect attitudes toward others, such as the legislature. Leadership reminds psychology of the powerful emotional and ideological forces that not only transcend people's day-to-day motivations but may variously enflame, distort, or obliterate those motivations.

This remarkable breadth and depth is reflected in the impressive growth in leadership studies and institutions in recent years. There are nearly nine hundred leadership programs in U.S. postsecondary institutions and a proliferation in the international community as well. There are leadership studies majors and minors, certificate and Ph.D. programs in the United States, Belgium, the United Kingdom, Japan, and elsewhere.

The study of leadership touches so many areas that there is a risk of fragmentation in analysis and understanding. The entries in the following pages, however, seek to unify different aspects of many subjects, because the study of leadership ultimately seeks,

more than do other disciplines, to bring concepts and data together in some kind of general—or at least integrated—theory. That goal offers students of leadership an imposing challenge and a huge opportunity.

As you leaf through the pages of these volumes, you may spot seemingly odd entries, such as “The Beatles,” “E-Commerce,” “Friendship,” and “Green Parties.” Do not be surprised. The most remarkable aspect of the study of leadership is its sheer scope and diversity.

Leaders in today's world face enormous challenges: the rise of militant followings that often seek to displace established leadership; the intensified need for collective leadership in the face of such global conditions as massive poverty; the struggle of women, minorities, and other long-suppressed people to rise to leadership positions; the heightened demand for moral, principled leadership. All these dynamic forces, both new and old, make this encyclopedia timely—and timeless.

—*James MacGregor Burns*

Preface



Leadership is a challenge and an opportunity facing leaders and followers in their professional and personal lives. The *Encyclopedia of Leadership* brings together for the first time most of what is known and what truly matters about leadership as part of the human experience. Nearly four hundred entries written by leading scholars and experts from seventeen countries explore leadership theories, leadership practice, and the effects of leadership in the real world. Recognizing that leadership is a process and not a person, much of the encyclopedia examines leadership in its rich and complex situational context. We also recognize that the leadership story is often revealed through individuals. About a third of the work—some 150 entries—is devoted to biographical essays focused on leaders (and their followers) and on case studies of leadership events and moments. These entries and another three hundred sidebars of primary text show leadership in action in corporations and state houses, schools, churches, small businesses, neighborhoods, and nonprofit organizations.

The *Encyclopedia of Leadership* is an unprecedented learning resource. It provides general and specific entries for students and teachers in courses as various as history, psychology, anthropology, and law. Students and active citizens as well as scholars and professional people can turn to the encyclopedia for guidance on the theory and practice of leadership, for the stories of great leaders, and for the tools and knowledge they need to lead in the twenty-first century.

The encyclopedia contains 1.2 million words in 373 substantive entries (ranging in length from 1,000 to 6,000 words), 150 photographs and other illustrations, and 300 sidebars drawn from public records, newspaper accounts, memoirs, and ethnography. Four appendixes provide users with additional information:

(1) Bibliography of Significant Leadership Books, (2) Directory of Leadership Programs, (3) Primary Sources: Presidential Speeches on Foreign Policy and War, and (4) Primary Sources: Sacred Texts.

Questions the *Encyclopedia of Leadership* seeks to answer include the following:

What is leadership?

What is a great leader?

What is a great follower?

How does someone become a leader?

What are the types of leadership?

How can leadership theories help us understand contemporary situations?

How can I learn to be a good, and perhaps even a great, leader?

LEADERSHIP STUDIES

Human beings have always been keenly interested in leaders and in leadership. The small hunting and gathering bands that formed human society over a period of more than 2 million years were led by men (and sometimes women) who were adept at hunting and able to communicate with the supernatural world. As human communities became larger and more permanently settled, those with superior communication skills were valued as leaders. In many societies, leadership was based on heredity and a special relationship with the gods and spirits. As larger societies became states, the first treatises on leadership were written. In ancient China, Confucius sought laws of order between leaders and subordinates. Plato described an ideal republic with philosopher-kings

providing wise and judicious leadership. Plato and his colleagues also established the Paideia, a school for leadership in early Greece. In the sixteenth century, the Italian Niccolò Machiavelli illuminated another side of leadership—one that continues to draw much attention even five hundred years later.

The word *leader* first appeared in the English language in the 1300s; it stems from the root *leden* meaning “to travel” or “show the way.” The term *leadership* followed some five centuries later. The study of leaders, particularly by historians and psychologists, preceded the systematic study of leadership, with the scientific study of leadership developing primarily in the United States and almost exclusively since the beginning of the twentieth century.

Leadership is now a truly interdisciplinary field, with contributions from political science, psychology, education, history, agriculture, public administration, management, community studies, law, medicine, anthropology, biology, military sciences, philosophy, and sociology. In many of these disciplines, leadership is now an established subfield.

The heightened scholarly interest in leadership has brought with it rapid growth in leadership studies. In 2003, there were nearly a thousand leadership programs at U.S. postsecondary institutions, more than double the number six years before. There are leadership resource centers and graduate degree programs in leadership studies. Leadership courses and programs are found primarily in management and behavioral and social-science schools and departments, with education schools also showing a growing interest in leadership in recent years. Beyond the United States, schools and programs of leadership have been founded in Canada, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Sweden, China, Japan, and Tanzania, to name a few. And beyond academe, there are hundreds of leadership development and training programs offered by management and organizational development firms around the world.

While certainly not the cause, perhaps the key event in the emergence of leadership studies was the publication of *Leadership* by the historian James MacGregor Burns in 1978. Prior to Burns’s synthesis, much of the descriptive study of leadership was conducted by research psychologists who tested relationships among sets of affective, cognitive, and behavioral variables to develop theories of leadership. Much (but not all) of the research focused on the traits or characteristics of leaders to see how leaders differed from

nonleaders. This line of research produced few firm conclusions and brings to mind Keller’s Law (Marc Keller was for years the editor of the *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*): For any trait measured, alcoholics will have more, less, or the same amount of it as other people.

Burns’s work and that of those who followed him (many of whom have contributed to this encyclopedia) led the way forward in four key ways. First, these scholars called for an interdisciplinary approach that took leadership research out of the laboratory. Second, they brought to people’s attention two important aspects of leadership: leadership is relational, and the motivations of leaders and followers are keys to understanding leadership and change. Third, they expanded the normative definition of good leadership beyond effectiveness to also include a moral dimension and the pursuit of values such as liberty, justice, and equality. Fourth, Burns drew a distinction between transactional and transformational leadership, a distinction that has become one of the core constructs of modern leadership studies.

Despite the rapid growth of leadership studies, or perhaps because of it, the field has not been without its critics. One concern is that leadership studies may be elitist or reflect an interest in achievement that will leave some people behind. Another is that leadership studies is not a true scholarly discipline because it has no unifying theory and therefore should exist only within traditional departments such as management, political science, or history. A third line of criticism is that the rapid growth of leadership studies has led to the development and marketing of leadership training and development programs, the effectiveness of which has never been adequately tested.

SCOPE AND COVERAGE

The encyclopedia’s entries fall into eleven general topical categories. The Reader’s Guide at the front of each volume classifies the entries in accordance with this scheme and includes several additional categories that direct readers to related entries. The eleven general topical categories are

- Biographies
- Case Studies
- Domains
- Study of Leadership

Followership
 Women and Gender
 Personal Characteristics of Leaders
 Power
 Situational Factors
 Leadership Styles
 Leadership Theories

Biographies

The encyclopedia contains profiles and analyses of approximately 150 leaders. These leaders, most of whom are well-known persons whose actions have had a major impact on history, are a sample that represents different times, cultures, and domains. There are leaders from politics and government, business, the military, social change movements, the arts and entertainment, religion, and communications. We do not suggest that these are the “greatest” leaders of all time; what we do promise is that each leader was selected because his or her story tells us something unique about leadership and its effects. These entries focus on each individual’s actions and influence as a leader. In choosing the leaders to be included, we considered the person’s impact on contemporary and later events, what her or his story tells us about what it means to lead, and whether there was a conscious intention to lead. In this section, we particularly wanted to explore what it means to be a leader, how leaders are different from other influential or powerful people, and how leadership is defined in different domains and at different times in history. Other entries, especially the case studies (see below), provide information about many additional noteworthy leaders.

Case Studies

These entries focus on situations or events of major historical importance in which the leadership exercised or not exercised by an individual or group was a key element. These entries describe the situation or event, explain its significance, note the key decisions made, and identify the key actors. The decision-making processes and the leadership behavior of the key actors and groups are described, including contingencies and alternative paths. The consequences of both individual and group choices and acts are evalu-

ated in terms of the implications for leadership theory, training, and modeling.

Domains

It is common in leadership studies and practice to approach leadership in different domains of human activity from somewhat different perspectives. Thus, there is often talk of presidential leadership, political leadership, nonprofit leadership, women’s leadership, and youth leadership. The entries on domains define the domain and indicate its size, scope, and significance to the human experience. The entries list and define the leadership roles within the domain and indicate areas of responsibility and key leadership characteristics and situational factors.

Study of Leadership

Leadership is an interdisciplinary field of inquiry and practice, and its work is informed both by those in leadership studies and by those in more traditional disciplines such as management, psychology, political science, education, and sociology. These entries define the emerging discipline and outline its methods, concepts, and theories as it makes strides in establishing itself at the nexus of interdisciplinary inquiry.

Followership

It is only relatively recently that scholars have recognized that to fully understand leadership one must also understand the nature and behavior of followers. These entries consider the many aspects of followership, including the characteristics of followers, theories about the relations between leaders and followers, situational factors that affect the way people both lead and follow, and the dynamics of the leader-follower relationship.

Women and Gender

Systematic attention to women and gender issues, like systematic attention to followers, is relatively recent in leadership studies. These entries provide an evaluation of the current research regarding women as leaders across domains.

Personal Characteristics of Leaders

These entries summarize what we know about those

personal attributes of leaders that are thought to be related to leadership success. The entries define and describe the personal characteristics, traits, and innate abilities associated with leadership and discuss the research or other evidence linking those traits to leadership success.

Power

These entries explore the sources of power, the use of power by leaders and followers, the effects of power on others, and the nature of power. The focus is on power in the context of leadership.

Situational Factors

These entries cover group, organizational, ethical, cultural, marketplace, or societal factors that influence leadership, including choice of leaders and leadership style, as well as leaders' behavior and success or failure. These entries consider many situational and historical factors, alone and in combination, and show how they relate to leadership both in positive and negative ways.

Leadership Styles

This general category includes entries that provide overviews of a major leadership style, such as democratic leadership or socio-emotional leadership. The entries define the style and list its key features, citing examples of leaders and organizations that typify the style.

Leadership Theories

These entries cover more than forty theories or models set forth over the years that seek to explain leadership or some significant aspect of leadership. Some of these models or theories claim to explain not just leadership but much of human behavior; others bring leadership behavior into sharp focus from a single perspective. The focus of these entries is on the theory's applicability to leadership.

APPENDIXES

The entries are supplemented by four appendixes: (1) Bibliography of Significant Books on Leadership, (2) Directory of Leadership Programs, (3) Primary

Sources: Presidential Speeches on Foreign Policy and War, and (4) Primary Sources: Sacred Texts. The Bibliography of Significant Leadership Books provides citations to major books on leadership studied selected from the works cited throughout this encyclopedia. They are divided into four categories: leadership in general, leaders and leadership events, specific aspects of leadership, and other topics relevant to leadership.

As noted above, there are nearly 1,000 leadership programs in the United States and many others in other nations. There is no one central directory for these programs and maintaining one would be extremely difficult as new programs appear almost every day. This Directory of Leadership Programs appendix lists some 250 programs which have active web sites as of 23 October 2003. Included here are some general programs and those aimed at specific domains including education, youth, community, sports, executives, nonprofit, environment, health, science, criminal justice, women, minority, and the arts. The appendix also provides trustworthy information about where to find out about leadership programs and courses housed in MBA and MPA programs.

The third and fourth appendixes provide carefully selected and organized primary source material that supplements several dozen entries in the encyclopedia centered on two themes: U.S. presidential leadership and religion and leadership. The Primary Sources: Presidential Speeches on Foreign Policy and War appendix provides the texts of major speeches by American presidents concerning foreign relations and war. These speeches are especially timely in the presidential election year of 2004, in which foreign relations and war are major issues. The Primary Sources: Sacred Texts appendix supplements the general entries of religion and spirituality and the biographies and case studies on religious leaders with extracts of sacred texts relevant to leadership (examples of leadership or guidelines for leaders) from Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism.

NAVIGATION AIDS

To assist readers in finding the entry or entries they want, we have included several navigation tools. The front matter contains an alphabetical list of all entries, a list of contributors with the entries they contributed, and a detailed reader's guide which classifies the

entries into several dozen different topical categories. For example, the reader will find here a list of all biographies, a list of all entries about business, and a list of all entries discussing leadership theories. There is also a list of sidebars telling the reader where each appears and providing their titles. Finally, there is a comprehensive index in Volume IV. Within the volumes are “blind” entries that direct the reader to a relevant entry, as well as extensive cross-references at the end of many entries.

GLOBAL COVERAGE

Efforts to develop leadership studies as a field have been concentrated in the United States, although there are important centers for leadership studies and active scholars in many other nations. While the U.S. or Western perspective is predominant in this work, we purposefully sought to make the encyclopedia as global as possible. We did this in several ways. First, we included scholars and experts from seventeen nations on the editorial board and as contributors; second, we featured several dozen non-U.S. and non-Western leaders and situations in the biographies and in the case studies; third, we included primary-text material from non-Western societies to balance entries that reflect mainly research in the West; and finally, we tried to acknowledge and include non-Western ways of knowing and leading.

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA'S AUDIENCE

As the first and only comprehensive reference work on leadership, the encyclopedia was designed with the needs of several possible user communities. These include scholars of leadership and related topics; practitioners and citizens who want to put knowledge into action; students of leadership and related topics such as management, political science, education, and sociology; leaders and managers themselves; and the general public, which has a stake in leadership at many levels and in many domains. Among college and university scholars, the encyclopedia is especially useful for those working in anthropology, economics, education, management, philosophy, political science, psychology, religion, and sociology. However, the work is decidedly interdisciplinary, so scholars in other disciplines, including art, classics, library science, music, theater, and ethnic and women's studies will find it a welcome tool as well. Among practitioners, those in

business, government, the military, nonprofits, and religious and lobbying organizations will find much of relevance. Among the public, anyone concerned about improving his or her community will learn a great deal. For all these people, the key to benefiting from the knowledge presented is being able to find what they are looking for with ease.

In addition to being a compilation of organized knowledge, an encyclopedia should also be a directory of additional knowledge. To that end, the Further Reading section at the end of each entry directs readers to additional literature (usually books) on the topic.

HOW THE ENCYCLOPEDIA WAS PREPARED

Rolf Janke, publisher of Sage Reference, first proposed the idea for an encyclopedia of leadership. Karen Christensen and David Levinson began shaping the idea into a reference work. A key early step was asking the social psychologist George R. “Al” Goethals at Williams College to become involved in the project. A longtime student of leadership, he is also the founder of the Program in Leadership Studies at Williams. With some hesitation about taking on such a large project in such a short time frame, Al consulted two colleagues: political scientist Georgia J. Sorenson, an architect of the leadership studies field, and James MacGregor Burns, the Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government emeritus at Williams and Senior Fellow at the University of Richmond's Jepson School of Leadership Studies. The three of them decided that an encyclopedia of leadership was extremely important and timely. As a team, working in collaboration with distinguished leadership scholars from around the world and in cooperation with the staff of Berkshire Publishing Group, they believed the project could indeed be accomplished. Al and Georgia, working with Berkshire Publishing, ultimately suggested the editorial structure reflected on the title page: Al and Georgia would serve as editors, Jim would serve as senior editor, and they would work with an editorial board of scholars and experts representing various approaches and interests in leadership studies. Al and Jim were especially pleased with the happy coincidence that Williams College and Berkshire Publishing Group are both located in Berkshire County in western Massachusetts. The many contributors and editors from all over the world certainly enriched the project. In short, we had the happy circumstance of being able to think globally, edit virtually, and lunch locally.

THE FUTURE

As the first encyclopedia for a relatively new field of inquiry, this encyclopedia serves as a diagnostic tool that can tell us much about where leadership studies are in 2003 and where they need to go in the future. It seems clear that leadership studies as a research enterprise remains firmly rooted in psychology, especially social psychology. Sociology, anthropology, history, and (most surprising) political science continue to make fewer than might be expected contributions to the growth of our knowledge about leadership. One key need is to continue to push for leadership research in more disciplines and for continuing interdisciplinary cooperation. Anthropology, in particular, as well as cross-cultural psychology can make important contributions in the future by testing ideas that originated in the West in non-Western cultures and nations. A second need is better integration of what is already known across disciplines; here the work of the General Theory Group and others will be of increasing importance. A third need is for greater transfer of new knowledge and for diffusion and synthesis of ideas and programs developed in one domain to others. For

example, in recent years leadership in education, sports, and youth groups has drawn much attention, but ideas formulated in those areas tend not to move out to other domains. Leadership journals and conferences can take the lead in attracting entries and presentations that represent leadership studies as broadly as possible. Fourth, leadership studies could benefit from the publication, distribution, and translation of work by leadership scholars across the global community and from a journal that enriches and encompasses the global dialogue on leadership. Lastly, there is a need for more rigorous testing of leadership development programs. The popularity of leadership development as a concept and a goal in many organizations has created a huge demand for leadership development education and training, as evidenced by the many new executive leadership programs offered by colleges and universities around the world. As yet, however, there is little study of the notion of leadership development education in general nor of specific approaches.

—*Karen Christensen, David Levinson,
George R. Goethals, and Georgia J. Sorenson*

Acknowledgments



As is usual for a project of this magnitude, there are many to thank for its creation. The contributions of many hardworking, dedicated individuals are what made this project a success. We began with an editorial board that represented many of the key programs and perspectives in leadership studies, and the work of each of the editorial board members—which varied depending on their other commitments—has been much appreciated. We are grateful for their early support and advice.

James MacGregor Burns learned of the encyclopedia through his Williams colleague, George R. Goethals, whom Berkshire contacted soon after being asked to develop the *Encyclopedia of Leadership*. His enthusiasm for the project was both inspiring to us and an undoubted source of encouragement to our 280 contributors. Jim Burns is a Pulitzer-Prize-winning presidential biographer and a pioneer in the study of leadership. His theory on transformational leadership has been the basis of more than 400 doctoral dissertations. He has authored more than a dozen books, including *Leadership*, published in 1978, which is still considered the seminal work in the field of leadership studies. Jim is now eighty-five years old, still active as an author (his *Transforming Leadership: A New Pursuit of Happiness* was published in 2003), and active in a project to develop a general theory of leadership. When he agreed to be senior editor, and began writing an introduction to the work that would show why an encyclopedia like this is so important to the field of leadership studies—and indeed to humanity in general—we knew that the project was off to an ideal start. We are exceedingly grateful for his support of our endeavors.

The encyclopedia's general editors, George R. (Al) Goethals (Williams College) and Georgia J. Sorenson (University of Richmond and University of Maryland), helped define the overall shape of the encyclopedia,

recruited many of the editorial board members, and suggested articles to be included. Al was especially adept at coming up with practical ways to balance theory and practice in our coverage. We are grateful for Al's recruitment of some authors who are leaders in their own professional arenas, including Fay Vincent (who wrote the article on sports) and Roberto Eisenmann (who wrote a case study on the creation of a free press in Panama). Al also invited us to a summit on the development of a general theory of leadership at Mount Hope Farm in Williamstown, Massachusetts, which was very helpful in the initial shaping and visioning of the encyclopedia.

Our sincere thanks go out to each member of the editorial board: Laurien Alexandre (Antioch University), Bruce J. Avolio (University of Nebraska, Lincoln), Martin M. Chemers (University of California, Santa Cruz), Kisuk Cho (Ewha Womans University, South Korea), Joanne B. Ciulla (University of Richmond), David Collinson (Lancaster University, U.K.), Richard A. Couto (Antioch University), Yiannis Gabriel (Imperial College, U.K.), Zachary Gabriel Green (Alexander Institute and University of Maryland), Keith Grint (Oxford University, U.K.), Michael A. Hogg (University of Queensland, Australia), James G. (Jerry) Hunt (Texas Tech University), Barbara Kellerman (Harvard University), Jean Lipman-Blumen (Claremont Graduate University), Lorraine R. Matusak (LarCon Associates), Ronald E. Riggio (Claremont McKenna College), and Jürgen Weibler (University of Hagen, Germany).

Some members of the editorial board were simply stellar in their dedication to the encyclopedia and deserve special recognition.

Jerry Hunt took responsibility for a number of articles early on and saw them through to publication. He recruited authors to write all the articles on his list and

then reviewed them all once they were written. We knew that if Jerry was working on an article, we didn't have to worry about it.

Michael Hogg took extraordinary responsibility in making sure that we had knowledgeable, well-written scholars to author each article. On a few occasions, when we were having trouble finding the right person to write an entry, Mike took it on himself, adding to his already heavy workload.

Ronald Riggio has the distinction of reviewing the most articles of any editor, and he remained throughout a thoughtful, congenial supporter of the encyclopedia. He also introduced us to some excellent writers, including Craig Parks, who made a very significant contribution to the encyclopedia.

Martin Chemers was always available for consultation, providing quick, clear, thoughtful responses that helped us guide contributors who had questions about their articles.

Keith Grint, the first of our U.K. editors, was enthusiastic and truly committed throughout the project and willingly wrote several important articles in addition to his editorial duties. Keith organized the December 2002 conference at Oxford that Berkshire's Karen Christensen attended. This conference—like the November 2002 ILA conference in Seattle—provided much food for thought as we developed the encyclopedia and enabled us to identify topics and contributors.

Keith also introduced us to David Collinson and Yiannis Gabriel, two gifted writers who ended up joining the editorial board mid-project, each making his own significant contribution to the encyclopedia. Jürgen Weibler similarly joined the board mid-project and spent an incredible amount of time and effort on his editorial tasks.

Laurien Alexandre was an extraordinarily helpful contributor throughout the project who joined the editorial board late in the process—just in time to review a last few articles. Laurien came through when we needed her most and, with her colleague Richard Couto of Antioch University, has become a much-valued colleague. Dick Couto was incredibly helpful from the first day he signed onto the project until the day the encyclopedia went to press. He and Laurien Alexandre coordinated the contributions of a number of fine writers at Antioch University—a process that occupied much of their time, ensuring the quality and accuracy of each article before it was submitted to us. Dick also made a great contribution to the encyclopedia with his advice on what passages to include in the appendix of sacred texts.

Some of the encyclopedia's contributors were also instrumental in making this project a success. Lewis Gould (University of Texas, Austin) has provided much guidance in the area of U.S. presidential leadership. Besides writing the overview article in this subject area, as well as two others on specific presidents, Lewis also helped to shape the appendix of presidential speeches on foreign policy and war.

Terry Price, at the University of Richmond, was one of the first authors to sign onto the project, and his ongoing work helped to define the scope, particularly in the arena of leadership ethics.

John Nirenberg (Shinawatra University, Japan), an excellent writer, kept coming up with great new topics to write on, including highly original entries on Corporate Social Responsibility and on Eupsychian Management.

Craig Parks of Washington State University took it upon himself to write most of the articles on group performance in the encyclopedia. This contribution provided for a real cohesion to the coverage in this subject area.

Michael Harvey's (Washington College) work on leadership in literature and the arts added a vital dimension to the encyclopedia, along with the other articles he wrote on topics ranging from Moses to Total Quality Management.

Douglas Hicks, at the University of Richmond, wrote quite a few articles for the encyclopedia, particularly in the areas of religion and economic justice. Doug offered helpful advice on coverage in these areas on numerous occasions.

It was extremely gratifying to have a number of important writers on leadership who have many commitments in the business and professional world take time to contribute to this major scholarly endeavor. Among leadership and management experts who wrote for the encyclopedia (their articles are noted in parenthesis) are Warren Bennis (Management), Cynthia Cherrey (International Leadership Association), Jay Conger (Charismatic Theory and Transformational and Visionary Leadership), Ronald Heifetz (Adaptive Work and Self-Management), Barry Posner and Jim Kouzes (Follower-Oriented Leadership), Kenneth Ruscio (Trust), Edgar Schein (Organizational Climate and Culture), and Gary Yukl (Influence Tactics and Team Leadership).

Eminent scholars in other fields whose work informs our understanding of leadership also contributed articles to the encyclopedia. These experts include Akbar Ahmed (Saladin), John Chandler (Higher Education), Bob Edgerton (Mau Mau Rebel-

lion), Gene Gallagher (Religion), Betty Glad (Tyrannical Leadership), Lewis Gould (United States Presidential Leadership, Woodrow Wilson, and Lyndon Johnson), Allen Guttman (Modern Olympics Movement and Women's Olympics), David Malone (Billy Graham), Martin Marty (Martin Luther), Robert Solomon (Friedrich Nietzsche), Robert Sternberg (Verbal Intelligence and Tacit Knowledge), and Fay Vincent (Sports).

We also want to acknowledge a few of the leadership programs that have been most important in supporting and sustaining the growth of the field of leadership studies. The International Leadership Association's efforts are central to this growing field, and our relationships with ILA leaders have expanded the encyclopedia's scope. Cynthia Cherrey, who wrote the entry on the ILA, and executive director Shelly Wilsey are working with great effectiveness to develop the networks on which a major reference project like this depends.

We are grateful to the Program of Leadership Studies at Williams College, the Jepson School of Leadership Studies at the University of Richmond, and the James MacGregor Burns Academy of Leadership at the University of Maryland, which over the years have provided institutional support necessary to develop the intellectual structure and empirical data that inform this work. We would also like to acknowledge the W.K. Kellogg Foundation for its leadership in supporting the development of a community of leadership scholars through the Kellogg Leadership Studies Project (1992–1997).

A major undertaking like this encyclopedia draws on the talents of virtually every employee in a small company like Berkshire. Project editor Sarah Conrick took charge of a particularly challenging project with grace and good humor. She developed great rapport with editors and authors and earned the trust of everyone involved. Associate editor Marcy Ross took special care to ensure the quality of the encyclopedia's content. In addition to her work with the articles, Marcy engineered and compiled the primary source appendices of sacred texts and presidential speeches on foreign policy and war. She also managed the copyediting process and our team of freelance copyeditors with great skill and her usual kind manner. The key member and senior editor of the copyediting team was Francesca Forrest, who is exceptionally talented at presenting scholars' ideas in a framework that makes them accessible and engaging to all readers. The careful and thorough work of Marcy, Francesca, and the entire Berkshire copyediting team was invaluable to the quality development of this major reference work. Project coordinators Emily Colangelo,

Elizabeth Eno, and Courtney Linehan, along with freelance help from Benjamin T. Conrick, performed crucial editorial tasks, including final manuscript checks. The tireless Berkshire technology department—Debbie Dillon, Cathy Fracasse, and Trevor Young—stepped in with practical assistance at every stage and always with great patience and an assuring smile.

Because the *Encyclopedia of Leadership*—at least in its print edition—will be used primarily in libraries, we were eager to include coverage of leadership within the library profession. Our thanks to Donald Riggs, who wrote the article on leadership in libraries and to Joyce Ogburn, Tom Gilson, and Katina Strauch, who helped us locate Don.

Development of an online knowledge center for leadership studies is underway. This electronic resource will include a variety of tools for students, including case studies, a 5,000-entry master bibliography of leadership texts, and much more of the primary and ethnographic content on leadership we have used to illustrate our original articles. We will be turning to members of the library community and leadership associations such as the ILA, as well as to our contributors and editors, for assistance in creating various integrated resources for the leadership community in the years ahead.

Berkshire's mission is to illuminate the human experience and contemporary issues by developing reference resources with a global perspective. Leadership studies started in the United States, but the subject is and has always been important in countries and cultures around the world. Berkshire's efforts to internationalize coverage include non-Western biography and case study articles, such as Jomo Kenyatta, Mao Zedong, Shaka Zulu, the Xian Incident, and Truth and Reconciliation Commissions, and more general articles on topics like the GLOBE Research Program, Indigenous Societies, and Cross-Cultural Leadership, to name a few.

We want to close by noting that as this work goes off to press several of us are heading to the ILA conference in Guadalajara, Mexico. The location of the conference is an important statement about the global importance of leadership and leadership studies.

—Karen Christensen and David Levinson

A Note from the Editors:

We would especially like to thank our friends and colleagues at Berkshire Publishing Group. We are grateful to them for initiating this project, for helping us structure it, and for showing uncommon professionalism,

competence, and kindness at every stage of the work. Their experience and skill made something that initially seemed impossible not only possible, but also edifying and gratifying. We thank Karen Christensen and David Levinson for their wisdom in shaping the project at the outset, and for their patience and good

judgment in steering it to conclusion. Finally, we cannot say enough about our tireless and talented project editor, Sarah Conrick. She has been a wonderful partner in putting the pieces together. Our experience working with all of you has been most rewarding.

—*George R. Goethals and Georgia J. Sorenson*

About the Editors



General Editors

George R. (Al) Goethals is Professor of Leadership Studies at Williams College and Visiting Scholar at the Jepson School of Leadership Studies at the University of Richmond. In addition to his teaching duties, he has served Williams as Chair of the Department of Psychology and founding Chair of the Program in Leadership Studies. He was Acting Dean of the Faculty in 1987–1988 and Provost from 1990 to 1995. Dr. Goethals has been visiting professor or visiting scholar at Princeton University; the University of Virginia; the University of Waterloo in Ontario, Canada; the University of Massachusetts; the University of California, Santa Barbara; and Amherst College. He has served as Chair of the Executive Committee of the Society for Experimental Social Psychology and Secretary-Treasurer of the Society for Personality and Social Psychology. He has coauthored textbooks on basic psychology, social psychology, and the psychology of adjustment and has published numerous articles on attitude change, social perception, and social comparison processes, including articles for such reference works as *Psychological Inquiry* and *The Encyclopedia of Human Behavior*. His research has been supported by the National Institute of Mental Health and the Andrew Mellon Foundation. His current research interests concern how college students educate each other and the ways in which leadership is enacted and perceived.

Georgia J. Sorenson is a Visiting Senior Scholar at the Jepson School of Leadership Studies, University of Richmond, and a Senior Scholar and Founder of the James MacGregor Burns Academy of Leadership, University of Maryland. A presidential leadership scho-

lar, she is on the graduate faculty of the Department of Government and Politics at the University of Maryland. She also serves as Adjunct Professor at Williams College and Ewha Womans University in Seoul, South Korea; Professor and Advisor to The National School of Administration of the People's Republic of China; and is on the International Board of Tokyo Jogakkan University in Japan. Before joining the faculty of the University of Maryland, Dr. Sorenson was a Senior Policy Analyst in the Carter White House for employment issues and worked as a consultant to the Executive Office of the President. She continues to be politically active, and has served as a speechwriter or consultant to three presidential campaigns. Her latest work, *Dead Center: Clinton-Gore Leadership and the Perils of Moderation*, is coauthored by James MacGregor Burns. She has published in professional journals such as the *Harvard Educational Review* and *The Psychology of Women Quarterly* and is a frequent contributor and commentator on social issues in the popular media.

Senior Editor

James MacGregor Burns is a Pulitzer-Prize-winning presidential biographer and a pioneer in the study of leadership. Author of more than a dozen books, he has devoted his professional life to the study of leadership in American political life. He received his doctorate in political science from Harvard, attended the London School of Economics, and taught at Williams College. Dr. Burns was a Democratic nominee for the 1st Congressional District of Massachusetts in 1958 and also served as a delegate to four Democratic National Conventions. He is a former president of both the American Political Science Association and the International Society of Political Psychology. His

theory on transformational leadership has been the basis of more than 400 doctoral dissertations. His most recent book is *Transforming Leadership: A New Pursuit of Happiness* (2003). Prior to that he published, with Susan Dunn, *The Three Roosevelts: Patrician Leaders Who Transformed America* (2001) and, with Georgia Sorenson, *Dead Center: Clinton-Gore Leadership and the Perils of Moderation* (1999). Burns won the Pulitzer Prize and the National Book Award for his biographies, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox* (1956) and *Roosevelt: The Soldier of Freedom* (1970). His book, *Leadership*, published in 1978, is still considered the seminal work in the field of leadership studies.

Associate Editors

Martin M. Chemers is Campus Provost and Executive Vice Chancellor of the University of California, Santa Cruz. He is a social psychologist with interests in leadership and team and organizational effectiveness. Much of his work has addressed how cultural and personality characteristics of leaders and followers affect the intrapersonal and interpersonal processes that give rise to highly motivated and effective teams. Also of interest are factors that influence the leadership effectiveness of “nontraditional” leaders such as women and minority group members. His current research is focused on the construct of “mettle,” which refers to confidence in one’s leadership capability and optimism about the outcomes of one’s efforts. His most recent book is *An Integrative Theory of Leadership* (1997).

Keith Grint is Director of Research at the Saïd Business School and a fellow of Templeton College at Oxford University. He worked in various industries for ten years before becoming an academic. He taught industrial sociology at Brunel University for six years before coming to Oxford, where he has taught since 1992. He has published eight books and more than seventy-five articles and chapters in books on topics ranging from business process re-engineering to Japanization, appraisal schemes, organizational theory, the sociology of work, and leadership. His most recent books have been *Leadership: Classical, Contemporary and Critical Approaches* (1997); which he edited; *Fuzzy Management: Contemporary Ideas and Practices at Work* (1997); *The Arts of Leadership* (2000); and *Organizational Leadership* (2004, with John Bratton and Debra Nelson).

Michael A. Hogg is Professor of Social Psychology and an Australian Research Council Professorial Fellow at the University of Queensland, Australia. He is also a fellow of the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia. From 2000 to 2003, he served as Associate Dean, Research, for the Social and Behavioral Sciences at the University of Queensland. He serves on or has served on the editorial board of most of the main social psychology journals, including *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *European Review of Social Psychology*, and *British Journal of Social Psychology*. With Dominic Abrams, he is the foundation editor of the journal *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*. Dr. Hogg’s research focuses on group processes, intergroup relations, and social identity. Recently he developed a social identity theory of leadership and has been extensively involved in promoting and conducting social identity research on leadership. His 200 publications include two books—*Rediscovering the Social Group: A Self-Categorization Theory* (1987, with John Turner and others) and *Social Identifications* (1988, with Dominic Abrams)—and two introductory social psychology texts, with Graham Vaughan, which are now in their third editions—*Social Psychology* and *Introduction to Social Psychology*.

James G. (Jerry) Hunt is a Paul Whitfield Horn Professor of Management, Trinity Company Professor in Leadership, and Director of the Institute for Leadership Research at Texas Tech University in Lubbock, Texas. He received his doctorate from the University of Illinois. His research interests include leadership (especially process-oriented aspects), organizational behavior, and organization theory. He has authored such publications as *Leadership: A New Synthesis* (1991), nominated for the 1992 Academy of Management award for outstanding scholarly books; *Out-of-the-Box Leadership: Transforming the 21st Century Army and Other Top-Performing Organizations* (1999, with G. E. Dodge and L. Wong, Eds.); *Basic Organizational Behavior* (1998, with J. R. Schermerhorn and R. N. Osborn); and *Managing Organizational Behavior* (2000, 8th edition, with J. R. Schermerhorn and R. N. Osborn). He has contributed to journals such as the *Academy of Management Journal*, *The Leadership Quarterly*, *Journal of Management*, and *Administrative Science Quarterly*, has served as editor of the *Journal of Management*, and serves as the current senior editor of *The Leadership Quarterly*. He also founded, edited,

and contributed to the eight-volume Leadership Symposia Series from 1971 to 1988.

Ronald E. Riggio is the Henry R. Kravis Professor of Leadership and Organizational Psychology, and Director of the Kravis Leadership Institute, at Claremont McKenna College. He has published more than seventy-five journal articles and book chapters, and has authored or edited a dozen books, including *Introduction to Industrial/Organizational Psychology* (2003, 4th ed.), *Multiple Intelligences and Leadership* (2002), and the forthcoming *Improving Leadership in Non-profit Organizations*. His research interests include communication processes in leadership and in organizational settings, prediction of leadership and managerial potential, and using assessment center methodology for leadership selection and development. He is a fellow of the American Psychological Association and the Western Psychological Association, and a member of the Academy of Management.

Editorial Board

Laurien Alexandre is Director of Antioch University's Ph.D. program in Leadership and Change and serves as professor and member of the core faculty. During her twenty years in higher education, she has served in leadership roles at Antioch as well as the Immaculate Heart College Center, an ecumenical institute devoted to research and training on peace and justice concerns. She also taught for more than ten years at California State University, Northridge, in the Department of Mass Communications/Journalism, where her focus was on graduate courses in media analysis. She has long been committed to interdisciplinary inquiry, especially in her teaching and writing on media and international affairs. She has published books and articles on the media for both academic and popular audiences and has also translated several scholarly books and articles for publication. Most recently, her research has focused on media coverage of presidential and national politics in the Spanish-language press.

Bruce J. Avolio is the Donald O. and Shirley Clifton Chair in Leadership at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. He has published more than eighty articles and book chapters on topics related to individual, team and organizational leadership. He coauthored, with Bernard Bass, *Improving Organizational Effectiveness Through Transformational Leadership* (1994), and has

written *Full Leadership Development: Building the Vital Forces in Organizations* (1999). His latest book is entitled *Made/Born: Putting Leadership Development in Balance* (2004). He has conducted training workshops in the United States, Canada, Israel, Korea, Italy, Australia, Mexico, New Zealand, Spain, England, South Africa, Sweden, Austria, Hong Kong, and Belgium and is coauthor of two widely used leadership measures: the *Multi-factor Leadership Questionnaire* and *Team Multi-factor Leadership Questionnaire*. He has worked with colleagues around the globe to set up a global network of Centers for Leadership Studies.

Kisuk Cho is a professor in the Graduate School of International Studies at Ewha Womans University in Seoul, South Korea. She is a political scientist specializing in elections and public opinion, as well as an active political commentator and columnist. She is currently an editor of the *Korean Political Science Review* and serves on the advisory board to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Dr. Cho gave the keynote address "Do Women Lead Differently: A Study of 12 Female Prime Ministers and Presidents" at the 2000 International Leadership Association conference in Toronto, Canada, later published in *Building Bridges* (2001). She also serves as CEO of the university-based venture company Leadership Frontier.

Joanne B. Ciulla is Professor and Coston Family Chair in Leadership and Ethics at the Jepson School of Leadership Studies, University of Richmond. She is one of the founding faculty members of the school. She has also held the UNESCO Chair in Leadership Studies at the United Nations International Leadership Academy, and academic appointments at La Salle University, the Harvard Business School, and the Wharton School. In 2003, she won the Outstanding Educator Award from the Virginia State Council of Higher Education. Her books include *Ethics, The Heart of Leadership* (1998), *The Working Life: The Promise and Betrayal of Modern Work* (2001), and *The Ethics of Leadership* (2003). She has also coauthored a textbook called *Honest Work: A Business Ethics Reader* (2004) and edits a series of books for Edgar Elgar, Ltd., called New Horizons in Leadership. She also serves on the editorial board of *The Business Ethics Quarterly* and on the board of directors of the Desmond Tutu Peace Foundation.

David Collinson is Professor of Strategic Learning and Leadership and head of the Department of Management

Learning at Lancaster University Management School in Lancaster, UK. He also serves as a member of the Management Research Advisory Forum to the National College for School's Leadership and the Advisory Group for LSRC projects on leadership. In December 2002, he co-organized a conference on "Researching Leadership" at Said Business School-Oxford University. Formerly at the University of Warwick where he worked for ten years, he was appointed to the Foundation for Management Education (FME) Chair of Strategic Learning and Leadership in January 2002. In 2001 he was elected as the Hallsworth Visiting Professor at Manchester Business School. He has published five books and more than fifty articles and chapters that seek to contribute to the development of critical approaches to organizational and management studies. His current research focuses on the development of critical approaches to the study of leadership and learning, looking particularly at the relationship between "leaders" and "led."

Richard A. Couto is a Professor and Founding Faculty Member of the Antioch University Ph.D program in Leadership and Change. Previously he was a founding faculty member of Jepson School of Leadership Studies at the University of Richmond where he held the George M. and Virginia B. Modlin Chair. He has published books and articles on leadership in community health, community change efforts, the Appalachian region, and civil rights. His most recent books are *Making Democracy Work Better: Mediating Structures, Social Capital and the Democratic Prospect* (1999) and *To Give Their Gifts: Health, Community, and Democracy* (2002).

Yiannis Gabriel is Professor of Organizational Theory at The Business School, Imperial College London, with a doctorate in sociology from the University of California, Berkeley. He has served on the editorial board for numerous leadership journal publications, such as *Management Learning*, *Organizational Studies*, *Human Relations*, *Journal of Management Studies*, and *Marketing Theory*, and has contributed numerous articles to these journals. His research interests lie in the areas of storytelling, narratives, emotion, and fantasy in organizations; consumption and consumerism in relation to identity and the organization-consumer interface; and management learning, pedagogy, and the nature of management knowledge. His recent books are *Storytelling in Organizations: Facts, Fictions and*

Fantasies (2000) and *Myths, Stories and Organizations: Premodern Narratives for Our Times* (2004), an anthology he edited.

Zachary Gabriel Green is the Executive Director of The Alexander Institute for Psychotherapy and Consultation in Washington, D.C., a position through which he has become an executive coach for the World Bank Group, chief consultant for the Synergy Project, and contractor for the USAID global AIDS monitoring and evaluation system. Green is also a Senior Scholar at the James MacGregor Burns Academy of Leadership at the University of Maryland, where he serves on the graduate faculty of the School of Public Affairs. Dr. Green specializes in diversity training, group dynamics, strategic organizational planning, leadership training, and crisis intervention. He has written and coauthored several publications, including the manual *Racial Reconciliation Dialogue*. He has earned the American Psychological Association Minority Fellowship and the Albert V. Danielsen Clinical Fellowship. He has worked as a project consultant at the Center for Applied Research and as a lecturer at Catholic University and George Washington University.

Barbara Kellerman is Research Director of the Center for Public Leadership and a lecturer in Public Policy. From 2000 to 2003 she served as the Center's Executive Director. She has held professorships of Political Science at Fordham, Tufts, Fairleigh Dickinson, George Washington, and Uppsala Universities. She also served as the Dean of Graduate Studies and Research at Fairleigh Dickinson and as Director of the Center for the Advanced Study of Leadership at the Academy of Leadership at the University of Maryland. She has been awarded a Danforth Fellowship and three Fullbright Fellowships. She appears frequently on CBS, NBC, PBS, and CNN, and has contributed articles and reviews to, among others, the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Boston Globe*, and *Los Angeles Times*. She has authored and edited eleven books, most recently *Reinventing Leadership: Making the Connection Between Politics and Business* (1999) and *Bad Leadership* (2004). Currently, Kellerman serves as coeditor (with David Gergen) of a new leadership publication, *Compass: A Journal of Leadership*.

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ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

Achievement motivation is the desire to achieve a personal or public standard of excellence, to do well for the sake of doing well rather than for extrinsic reward or for some other goal.

MEASURING ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

Achievement motivation is usually measured by content analysis of spoken or written text because people are often unable or unwilling to report directly on their own motives. Because *achievement* is a socially valued term (in U.S. culture, at least), people may exaggerate their intrinsic concerns with doing well; hence, the content analysis measure does not usually correlate with direct questionnaire measures. Verbal images scored for achievement motivation involve being concerned with public or personal standards of excellence, or winning (nonaggressive) competitions (rather than having impact, which would be power motive imagery). Many people (perhaps especially U.S. citizens) confuse achievement and power. Perhaps the distinction can be highlighted by the old adage attributed to the U.S. essayist and poet Ralph Waldo Emerson: “Build a better mousetrap [achievement], and the world will beat a path to your door [power].” An achievement-motivated person would be more concerned with mousetrap quality than with

the world’s reaction, whereas a power-motivated person could devise many ways of drawing the world’s attention—including renting, buying, or even capturing a better mousetrap.

ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION AND BEHAVIOR

People scoring high in achievement motivation are drawn to intrinsic, task-related incentives rather than the social incentives that might result from successful performance. They are restless and innovative, seeking and using new information and advice from experts. They learn from their previous performance—even their failures—and are not afraid to modify their behavior on the basis of results. They take moderate risks, can delay gratification (probably because they experience time as moving relatively fast), and have an unobtrusive, even somber personal style. They bargain in a rational, cooperative way. They strive for upward social mobility. For all these reasons it is scarcely surprising that achievement-motivated people are often successful in business—particularly as salespeople or as heads of small, innovative high-technology firms. In other words, achievement motivation appears to drive specifically entrepreneurial leadership. This finding has been confirmed in a variety of cultural settings and economic systems. At the national or cultural level, high

God put me on Earth to accomplish a certain number of things.

Right now I'm so far behind I will never die!

—Unknown

levels of achievement motivation in cultural documents such as popular fiction or schoolchildren's readers are associated with subsequent levels of economic performance and development.

Thus, achievement motivation, as measured by content analysis, is specifically economic or entrepreneurial: It is usually unrelated to academic or scientific achievement or success in large bureaucratic organizations.

THE STRANGE RELATIONSHIP OF ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION TO POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

In politics, however, achievement motivation has a quite different and substantially negative relation to successful leadership. Among U.S. presidents, for example, achievement motivation is not associated with historians' ratings of greatness, and it is negatively associated with ratings of charisma derived from analysis of subordinates' memoirs. Achievement-motivated presidents of the modern era are viewed by scholars of the presidency as lacking political skills, organizational capacity, and emotional maturity. The political scientist James David Barber categorizes such presidents as "active negative"—active in promoting their idealistic programs but not enjoying the office of president. Frustrations and impatience drive them, surprisingly, to rigidity and failure to compromise, so that their administrations often end in failure. Thus, in 1919 U.S. President Woodrow Wilson failed to reach his political and foreign policy objectives through a refusal to compromise and then ruined his health by attempting to go over the heads of members of Congress and take his case "to the people." In the judgment of history many of Lyndon Johnson's domestic accomplishments disappeared into the quagmire of Vietnam. Richard Nixon took unethical, unconstitu-

tional, and illegal steps to prop up faltering policies and programs. Jimmy Carter tried to micromanage.

Why should achievement motivation have such different effects—in many respects almost a reversal—on political leadership and success as compared with entrepreneurial success? The answer may lie in consideration of how politics is different from business. In business (particularly small research and development businesses), achievement-motivated entrepreneurs usually are in charge and are thus in a position to bring about their personal vision of "the best." In politics, however, different people have different ideas about what is "the best," both in oligarchic (relating to government in which a small group exercises control) as well as democratic political systems. Some people may even prefer outcomes that are not "the best" in that they maximize the difference between their own returns and those of others, rather than the total return to all concerned parties. The leader's own convictions are by themselves usually not enough to force a policy; that is, there are always other people—even in totalitarian systems—with their own constituencies and power bases; they have to be cajoled and compromised. Thus, in politics "the best" must give way to "the possible." To an achievement-motivated leader who is concerned to reach the "one best solution," however, such compromises may seem like selling out.

"The best" also often costs too much and so must be fought for and eventually scaled back. In politics "the best" also usually has to be implemented by "less than best" officials—people whom the leader did not appoint, does not fully trust, and cannot remove. The problems of pure achievement motivation in politics can be summed up in the words of political journalist Patrick Wintour:

[It is] a relatively simple process to think up and launch a new policy. But in government there are interest groups to fix, budgets to agree, White Papers to publish, legislation to pass, pilot studies to implement and then sometimes many years before the impact is felt on the ground. It is altogether a slower and more grinding business. (Wintour 1999, 21)

Each of these regular features of political life is aversive to a leader high in pure achievement moti-

vation; together, these features can be seen as causing the leader to die a little bit each day in office.

Success in the “grinding business” of politics depends on the balance between achievement motivation and power motivation. Thus, U.S. presidents whose power motivation was higher than their achievement motivation often found ways around problems. Indeed, problems may not even have been experienced as “problems” but rather as what makes political life interesting. Presidential power motivation is probably linked to a whole series of political skills. For example, Franklin Roosevelt dealt with the problem of uncooperative subordinates by assigning the same task to several people, which made him the final judge of everyone’s performance, so that subordinates often competed to win his favor. Findings about sense of humor suggest that power-motivated political leaders are able to take pleasure from the process of politics—maneuvering, “schmoozing,” compromising, trading—as well as from its results. In contrast, presidents whose achievement motivation was higher than their power motivation seem to have been worn down by the process of implementing the lofty goals with which they began their administrations.

In psychological terms the essential difference between the leadership role in small-firm entrepreneurs and political leaders involves the issue of personal responsibility or control. Achievement-motivated entrepreneurs are accustomed to situations in which they have substantial control over the relevant



Achievement and Morality

The high premium placed on individual achievement so characteristic of American society is not found in all societies. The following tale concerns the Garo, an ethnic group in India, and tells of one of the ways Garo women sought to accommodate Western ideals of achievement with adherence to traditional values.

The publication of the A'chik Ku'rang magazine had set in motion the process of change in Garo literature and its turn towards modernisation. Over and above, it also affected a change in the social life of the Garos.

Phoebe W. Momin, a poetess of good standing, composed a beautiful poem, Rongtala Cholon Mingnama Bimung or “Noble character, noble name” and got it published in the March, 1941 issue of the A'chik Ku'rang. She said that along with the upliftment of the Garo society in the field of education, there should be corresponding attainment of higher moral standard as well. Attaining academic achievement, without attaining balanced rise in the moral standard, will be detrimental to the healthy growth of the society. The A'chik Ku'rang was widely circulated and every subscriber was found to have read the contents with critical appreciation. Copies of that journal, which I have with me, have so many marking and comments on the margin almost in each article.

The poem, Rongtala Cholon Mingnama Bimung, had so much influence and impact on the women that the poetess herself convened a meeting of the women at her resident at Proper Chandmary, Tura in November 1941. In course of their meeting, they unanimously resolved to form a union of Garo women based on the general principles of Christianity, to be referred to as the “Mothers’ Union.” The Union was to function within the perimeter of the following aims and objects:

1. To work together to bring up their children in the best of moral character and conduct.
2. To work together to provide decent dresses to their children; to educate and encourage Garo women, who come to Tura almost exposing their entire anatomy on market days or for some court cases, to dress decently.
3. To educate and encourage the womenfolk to respect their husband and parents in order to set a good example to their children to show the same respect to their parents, elders and teachers.

The Mothers’ Union, one of the most powerful women organizations in the northeast, was formed based on moral principles mentioned in the poem Rongtala Cholon Mingnama Bimung. This Union has been instrumental in bringing about a great change in the social life of the Garos. Today, it has expanded its horizon of activities, with Literature Wing, Education Wing, Agriculture Wing and Weaving Wing added to its fold. Currently, this Union actively involves itself in the civic sense awareness campaign within the town of Tura.

Source: Shira, Lindrid D. (1995). “Renaissance in Garo Literature.” In *Hill Societies, Their Modernisation: a Study of North East With Special Reference to Garo Hills*, edited by Milton S. Sangma. New Delhi: Omsons Publications, pp. 181–182.

resources and personnel. (The same is true of many people in political campaigns and even some local or state governments.) As suggested earlier, however, leaders may have little tight control over many national political issues and arenas. Thus, Woodrow Wilson was confronted by implacable enemies of his League of Nations vision, Lyndon Johnson found that nothing he could do would move the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese to compromise, and Richard Nixon worried about possible “leaks” of vital knowledge to his enemies.

The experience of having absolutely no control may in fact be traumatic for achievement-motivated people. Because achievement motivation is built on a foundation of strict early training for voluntary control of bodily processes (McClelland & Pilon, 1983), later situations may arouse memories of childhood experiences of having “no control”—a paralyzing nightmare experience when confronting danger.

ACHIEVEMENT-MOTIVATED LEADERS IN A GLOBALIZED ECONOMY

These considerations have important consequences for understanding political leadership in an age of globalization. With the rise of a globalized economy and corresponding political systems and political cultures, politics in many regions may increasingly come under the sway of “technician” corporate leaders, trained in the entrepreneurial domain rather than in the political domain. Such leaders would be tempted to short-cut the “frustrations” and “quagmires” of politics in order to “turn the country around” and “get things done.” Often they do not come to power through election. (In a sample of world leaders of the 1970s, those who came to power by means of a coup d’etat scored significantly higher than average in achievement motivation but not in power motivation.) Contemporary examples include national leaders, often with successful corporate experience, who have turned to politics in a spirit of impatient reform and desire for rapid economic growth, such as Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, Vicente Fox of Mexico, and perhaps even the U.S. candidate Ross Perot, who ran unsuccessfully for president and founded the Reform Party.

Study of such leaders suggests that latent authoritarianism may be a kind of “shadow” of achievement motivation in politics—a shadow that could well lengthen in an era when traditional political institutions are being supplanted by the supranational structures of globalized market capitalism, such as the economic controllers of the European Union, International Monetary Fund, and World Bank.

An achievement-motivation analysis can explain some twists and turns in the tortuous path of Bill Clinton’s presidency. Both in the 1992 campaign and in his 1993 inaugural address, Clinton clearly scored higher in achievement motivation than power motivation, a profile that was clearly demonstrated by the early fiasco of his health-care reform: A panel of “experts,” meeting in secret, produced a lengthy document covering every feature of health care without paying any attention to politics and power—that is, recognizing obstacles, building alliances, recognizing powerful stakeholders (people affected by an outcome) with different perceptions, holding public interest, and rallying support through exhortation and compelling images. This leadership style is more characteristic of the “command and compliance” corporate world, in which an achievement-motivated leader, situated at the top of a hierarchy, has a relatively untrammelled path toward the “single best way.”

After the Republican midterm election victory of 1994 and the Newt Gingrich-led challenge of shutting down the government in the winter of 1995–1996, however, a “new Clinton” emerged. He skillfully challenged and attacked his opponents; he presented attractive presidential policy proposals, and so (with an assist from the strong economy) his popularity soared during and after the 1996 election, enabling him to withstand even the challenge of impeachment. This “new Clinton” was characterized by speeches with a transformed motive profile, in which power was greater than achievement.

ORIGINS OF ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

As noted, evidence suggests that achievement motivation grows out of early voluntary control of bodily

processes. High parental standards for performance, along with warmth and encouragement—independence training, in short—provide the setting for the development of internal standards. However, it is important that parents (in a patriarchal society, particularly fathers) “stand back,” avoiding overly explicit specification of goals and excessive interference with their child’s own efforts. Although early experience is important, evidence suggests that achievement motivation can be developed in later life through training courses.

The word *achievement* is a broad one, with many meanings. Achievement motivation, however, is related to only specific kinds of achievement. It drives highly successful economic leadership in entrepreneurial settings. Successful political leadership requires that the desire for excellence be tempered with a desire for and appreciation of power, lest the leader become restless and frustrated with the processes of politics.

—David G. Winter

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ACTIVISM

See Alinsky, Saul; Anthony, Susan B.; Apartheid in South Africa; Demise of; Ben & Jerry’s Ice Cream; Birth Control; Body Shop, The; Brighton Declaration; Goldman, Emma; Farm Worker Movement; Human Rights; Green Parties; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Malcolm X; Mandela, Nelson; Mau Mau Rebellion; Pueblo Revolt; Nader, Ralph; Organizing; Sanger, Margaret; Stonewall Rebellion; Tiananmen Square; Utopian Leaders; Wells-Barnett, Ida B.; Women’s Movement; Women’s Suffrage

ACTOR NETWORK THEORY

Actor Network Theory (ANT) developed in the 1980s, initially through the works of sociologist Michel Callon (1986) and sociologist Bruno Latour (1988), as an alternative to conventional explanations of the way leadership works. ANT suggests that leadership works not through individuals or groups of people and their separate, compliant, and deterministic technologies and that leadership therefore poses a radical problem for people’s views about leadership: Is leadership restricted to humans? ANT suggests two alternative foundation stones: first, that leadership is made up not of arrays of separate elements—people, ideas, machines, animals, chemicals, and so on—but rather of active hybrids composed of networks of associations; second, that people should understand these hybrids on the same analytical basis—in other words, not give priority to the human over the nonhuman. The consequences of this theory for understanding leadership are threefold: (1) that people should abandon their concentration on “the leader” as a discrete element because there are, in reality, no naked leaders (that is, leaders without any artificial supports) but rather leaders in

clothes surrounded by all forms of technical devices, natural resources, and other humans; (2) that the tracing of cause and effect in such a complex equation is an impossible task and that therefore the best that people can hope for is a rich description; and (3) that leadership can be exerted by nonhumans.

Taking the naked leader element first, it should be obvious that leaders are seldom naked—hence all the concern for dressing in a culturally appropriate manner for a leader, whether that is a pinstriped suit, a sports jersey, or a sari (a garment of southern Asian women). Indeed, it is because leadership is conventionally clothed that an inversion of the convention can prove such a powerful symbol. When six hundred Nigerian women occupied the Chevron-Texaco oil terminal at Escravos in southern Nigeria (which produces 400,000 barrels of oil a day) in July 2002, people might have assumed that the occupiers' demands for schools, health clinics, electricity and water supply systems, jobs, and the cleanup of oil-polluted rivers would be brushed aside. However, when the women threatened to take their clothes off, the company agreed to their demands, concerned about the embarrassment caused by the "curse of nakedness" (Branigan & Vidal, 2002, 8). The French emperor Napoleon, as another example, did not achieve his successes by appearing naked on the battlefield alone, but rather as resplendent in his uniform, on a horse, and supported by other clothed and armed soldiers, complete with the support of thousands of animals, food, cannon, ammunition, poor weather, good timing, and so on.

The issue of cause is also important: Napoleon may have been the formal leader of the French army, but this does not mean he was the sole or even the primary cause of its successes and failures. In the ANT approach, people should abandon the notion of human "actors" supported by various bit-part "extras," such as technology, and instead consider how the technology is also an "actant"—having apparent causal consequences in conjunction with the other elements of particular networks of hybrids. These networks are not robust and wholly material—such as a telephone network, for example—but rather fragile, fluid, and complex. They may involve vacillating humans, unreliable technologies, and

ambiguous ideas, all of which need constant replenishment for their reproduction.

This switch to incorporate the human with the nonhuman into hybrid actants then allows people to reconsider the extent to which leadership is unnecessarily restricted to humans. For instance, sociologist Richard Edwards (1979) argued that the explanation for the development of what he called "technical control"—assembly lines and the like—was a form of nonhuman persuasion that developed in response to the problems of personal control in factories. After bullying supervisors and factory bosses became counterproductive—because of the resistance they generated among the labor force—technical control replaced human control because subordinates were less resistant to being "led" by things than to being led by people. This, of course, begs the question: What does it mean to be "led"? If "to lead" implies "to set goals and alter behavior to achieve those goals," then people could still argue that assembly lines "lead" people. That is, the machinery sets the required output of widgets and then persuades its human operatives to exert effort in specific ways to achieve this output. Of course, there is a human behind the machinery—because the machinery is part of the hybrid—but Edwards's claim is that machines embody superior persuasive techniques to humans in these circumstances. What is important for human leaders to consider, then, is how they can incorporate the diverse elements that comprise a hybrid network.

MOMENTS OF TRANSLATION IN THE MOBILIZATION OF A NETWORK

For Callon (1986) accomplishing such a feat of heterogeneous engineering involves persuading the various elements that their future lies with one's network, rather than another's, and this occurs through four "moments of translation." The first "moment" is problematization, in which, for people's purposes, a human leader persuades other actants (human and nonhuman) that he or she is indispensable to them by redefining things as problems that can be resolved only through a (temporary) alignment to the leader. An example is the German politician Adolf Hitler's

account of the “Jewish conspiracy” as *the* problem for Germany that could be resolved only by supporting him and his network. The second “moment” captures their interests—*interessment*—and occurs when the leader tries to reconstruct the identity of the new hybrid network such that it is differentiated from competitor hybrids. An example is Hitler’s attempts to persuade all non-Jewish Germans that their Aryan identity both distinguished them from all other groups and entitled them to enslave others. *Enrolment* (French for enrollment) is the third moment, in which strategies are deployed and roles are allocated: For Hitler the incorporation of Europe was devised, the SS (Schutzstaffel, Protective Corps) was trained to round up the Jews, the tanks were trained to break through ground defenses, and the dive bombers were trained to immobilize the civilian populations and destroy communications. Finally, for Germany the fourth “moment,” mobilization, occurred when the “silent actors”—the passive German civilians, the tanks, the SS, and the dive bombers—accepted that Hitler had the right to speak for them, to drag them into war.

In effect, ANT works on the principle of hybrids, not humans, and on a form of recruitment in which the leader operates as an engineer of heterogeneous elements, drawing them into a temporary unity, channeling their concerns through a single causeway, and isolating them from all others. Hence, a person did not need to be a Nazi to support Hitler, but the network was constructed and held in place so that the only way to achieve anything was to fall in line with Hitler’s demands. The power of Hitler, though, derived from his temporary control over the hybrid of people, flags, ideas, songs, uniforms, tanks, guns, oil, and so forth; it did not derive from him alone, however charismatic he may have appeared to some.

HYBRID LEADERSHIP

If people can establish that viewing leadership as hybrid is a legitimate view, then the conceptual space that “leadership” inhabits becomes significantly more open to debate. On the one hand this view may make the debate even more complex and confused, but on the other hand it might also explain why that

debate is so contested—because what counts as leadership cannot be shaped into a consensual form.

If a human can lead others by being a guide, by showing the way, then it seems that hybrids can, too. A dog, for example, can lead a person home—providing the dog knows where home is—and is therefore part of a home-human-dog hybrid; a lighthouse can do the same, as can a satellite navigation system. However, can an “ideal” also offer leadership? This seems a reasonable extrapolation; for instance, many of the Marxist guerrillas of the 1960s and 1970s were “led” by the ideal of equality: a nonhuman that had little formal authority over them. Similarly, many members of the German SS were “led” by the racist ideals of National Socialism or by their “oaths of obedience” to Hitler. Here the oath, the verbal utterance, led them—even if most people would insist that it led them “astray.” That ideal might also be materialized as a flag or symbol—the Hammer and Sickle, the Swastika, the Stars and Stripes, or the Union Jack, hence the perceived “desecration” by burning. Indeed, the Regimental Colors, the British military unit flag, is often regarded as “leading” soldiers, as were the Roman legions’ standards, because they symbolized in dramatic and intense form all that the legions stood for. The leadership symbol itself, not just what it symbolizes, is critical. If this were not the case, then when the Roman legions lost their standards they would simply have replaced them with new ones—rather than disband the legions, as they tended to do.

However, is the volitional element an insurmountable problem here after all? That is, is the inability of the flag to invent a future and to act in a volitional manner the issue that marks the boundary between leadership and symbolism? Certainly the flag can represent a future, but it cannot invent one. Thus, if leadership is defined as the invention of a future and the mobilization of followers to achieve that future, then surely the flag can lead only in the second sense? A flag might well embody the future, as cultural historians Orlando Figes and Boris Kolonitskii suggest, at the beginning of the Russian Revolution: “Each faction fought to control the symbolic system of the revolutionary underground. . . . Whoever mastered the red flag, or monopolized the meaning of its

lexicon, was in pole position to become the master of the revolution too” (Figes & Kolonitskii 1999, 1–2). Of course, *what* particular future is embodied in the flag is still up for debate, so it is not that the flag leads because of *what* it symbolizes but rather that its followers attribute to the flag a future that they find attractive—even if that attribution is not consciously agreed on by the followers.

Yet, one could still argue that nonhuman leadership fails because the nonhuman element of the network does not instigate the changes and does not act as a mobilizer of networks: Human leaders are not naked, but naked technologies cannot lead because they do not instigate the vision or mobilization. Thus, it is the pivotal creative role played by humans in these collaborative hybrids that distinguishes them *primus inter pares* (first among equals). However, this is a little like saying the driver is the most important part of a car; in some sense that might be true, but without a car a person cannot drive. Precisely what is the creative force of the network is debatable: God, alcohol, human emotion, destiny, culture, and genes are all potential culprits here. Moreover, because invented futures have to be inscribed and communicated, and because humans are never without technological supports, one might still argue that human-nonhuman networks are critical for leadership. One might suggest that the search for an essence is irrelevant because the important element is the hybrid, and neither the elements that comprise the hybrid nor any alleged network is the essence.

If this is right, then people should reconsider how people strengthen the links in the hybrid networks because, of course, this also means that people cannot consider the nonhuman as a leader in isolation either, not because nonhumans do not embody volition but rather because nonhuman leadership is as mythically pure as human leadership. There lies the rub—according to ANT it isn’t the consciousness of leaders that makes them leaders; it’s their hybridity.

—Keith Grint

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ADAPTIVE WORK

Our language fails us in many aspects of our lives, entrapping us in a set of cultural assumptions like cattle herded by fences into a corral. Gender pronouns, for example, corral us into teaching children that God is a “he,” distancing girls and women from the experience of the divine in themselves.

Our language fails us, too, when we discuss, analyze, and practice leadership. We commonly talk about “leaders” in organizations or politics when we actually mean “people in positions of managerial or political authority.” Although we have confounded leadership with authority in nearly every journalistic and scholarly article written on “leadership” during the last one hundred years, we know intuitively that these two phenomena are distinct when we complain all too frequently in politics and business that “the leadership isn’t exercising any leadership,” by which we actually mean that “people in authority aren’t exercising any leadership.” Whether people with formal, charismatic, or otherwise informal authority actually practice leadership on any given issue at any moment in time ought to remain a separate question answered with wholly different criteria than those used to define a relationship of formal or informal authority. As we know, all too many people are

skilled at gaining authority, and thus a following, but do not then lead.

Moreover, we assume a logical connection between the words *leader* and *follower*, as if this dyad (pair) were an absolute and inherently logical structure. It is not. The most interesting leadership operates without anyone experiencing anything remotely similar to the experience of “following.” Indeed, most leadership mobilizes those people who are opposed or who sit on the fence, in addition to allies and friends. Allies and friends come relatively cheap; the people in opposition have the most to lose in any significant process of change. When mobilized, allies and friends become, not followers, but rather activated participants—employees or citizens who themselves often lead in turn by taking responsibility for tackling tough challenges, often beyond expectations and often beyond their authority. They become partners. When mobilized, opposition and fence-sitters become engaged with the issues, provoked to work through the problems of loss, loyalty, and competence embedded in the change they are challenged to make. Indeed, they may continue to fight, providing an ongoing source of diverse views necessary for the adaptive success of the business or community. Far from becoming “aligned” and far from having any experience of “following,” they are mobilized by leadership to wrestle with new complexities that demand tough trade-offs in their ways of working or living. Of course, in time they may begin to trust, admire, and appreciate the person or group who is leading, and thereby confer informal authority on the person or group, but they would not generally experience the emergence of that appreciation or trust by the phrase “I’ve become a follower.”

If leadership is different from the capacity to gain formal or informal authority, and therefore different from the ability to gain a “following”—attracting influence and accruing power—then what can anchor our understanding of it?

Leadership takes place in the context of problems and challenges. Indeed, it makes little sense to describe leadership when everything and everyone in an organization are humming along just fine, even when processes of influence and authority will be

virtually ubiquitous in coordinating routine activity. Leadership becomes necessary to businesses and communities when people have to change their ways rather than continue to operate according to current structures, procedures, and processes. Beyond technical problems, for which authoritative and managerial expertise will suffice, adaptive challenges demand leadership that can engage people in facing challenging realities and then changing at least some of their priorities, attitudes, and behavior in order to thrive in a changing world.

Mobilizing people to meet adaptive challenges, then, is at the heart of leadership practice. In the short term, leadership is an activity that mobilizes people to meet an immediate challenge. In the medium and long terms, leadership generates new cultural norms that enable people to meet an ongoing stream of adaptive challenges in a world that will likely pose an ongoing set of adaptive realities and pressures. Thus, with a longer view, leadership develops an organization’s or community’s adaptive capacity.

Adaptive work may be described in seven ways.

First, adaptive work is necessary in response to problem situations for which solutions lie outside the current way of operating. We can distinguish technical challenges, which are amenable to current expertise, from adaptive challenges, which are not. Although every problem can be understood as a gap between aspirations and reality, technical challenges present a gap between aspirations and reality that can be closed through applying existing know-how. For example, a patient comes to his doctor with an infection, and the doctor uses her knowledge to diagnose the illness and prescribe a cure.

In contrast, an adaptive challenge is created by a gap between a desired state and reality that cannot be closed using existing approaches alone. Progress in the situation requires more than the application of current expertise, authoritative decision making, standard operating procedures, or culturally informed behaviors. For example, a patient with heart disease may need to change his or her way of life: diet, exercise, smoking, and the imbalances that cause unhealthy stress. To make those changes, the patient will have to take responsibility for his or her health and learn a new set of priorities and habits. (See Table 1.)

Table 1: Technical and Adaptive Work

<i>Kind of Work</i>	<i>Solutions and Problem Definition</i>	<i>Primary Locus of Implementation</i>	<i>Responsibility for the Work</i>
Technical	Clear	Clear	Authority
Technical and Adaptive	Clear	Requires Learning	Authority and Stakeholders
Adaptive	Requires Learning	Requires Learning	Stakeholder > Authority

Source: R. A. Heifetz (1994, 76).

Second, adaptive work demands learning. An adaptive challenge exists when the people themselves are the problem and when progress requires a retooling, in a sense, of their own ways of thinking and operating. The gap between aspirations and reality closes when they learn new ways. Thus, a consulting firm may offer a brilliant diagnostic analysis and set of recommendations, but nothing will be solved until that analysis and those recommendations are lived in the new way that people operate. Until then, the consulting firm has no solutions, only proposals.

RESPONSIBILITY SHIFT

Third, adaptive work requires a shift in responsibility from the shoulders of the authority figures and the authority structure to the stakeholders (people with an interest in an outcome) themselves. In contrast to expert problem solving, adaptive work requires a different form of deliberation and a different kind of responsibility taking. In doing adaptive work, responsibility needs to be felt in a far more widespread fashion. At best, an organization would have its members know that there are many technical problems for which looking to authority for answers is appropriate and efficient but that for the adaptive set of challenges, looking primarily to authority for answers becomes self-defeating. When people make the classic error of treating adaptive challenges as if they were technical, they wait for the person in authority to know what to do. He or she then makes a best guess—probably just a guess—while the many sit back and wait to see whether the guess pans out. Frequently enough, when it does not pan out, people get rid of that person in authority and go find

another one, all the while operating under the illusion that “if only we had the right ‘leader,’ our problems would be solved.” Progress is impeded by inappropriate dependency, and thus a major task of leadership is the development of responsibility taking by stakeholders themselves.

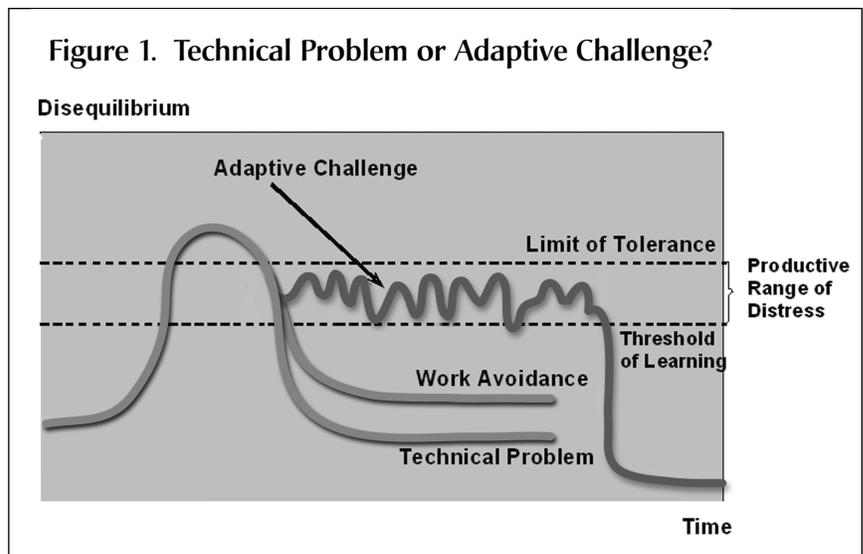
Fourth, adaptive work requires people to distinguish what is precious and essential from what is expendable within their culture. In cultural adaptation the job is to take the best from history, leave behind that which is no longer serviceable, and through innovation learn ways to thrive in the new environment.

Therefore, adaptive work is inherently conservative as well as progressive. The point of innovation is to conserve what is best from history as the community moves into the future. As in biology, a successful adaptation takes the best from its past set of competencies and loses the DNA that is no longer useful. Thus, unlike many current conceptions of culturally “transforming” processes, many of which are ahistorical—as if one begins all anew—adaptive work, profound as it may be in terms of change, must honor ancestry and history at the same time that it challenges them.

Adaptive work generates resistance in us because adaptation requires us to let go of certain elements of our past ways of working or living, which means to experience loss—loss of competence, loss of reporting relationships, loss of jobs, loss of traditions, or loss of loyalty to the people who taught us the lessons of our heritage. Thus, an adaptive challenge generates a situation that forces us to make tough tradeoffs. The source of the resistance that people have to change isn’t resistance to change per se; it is resistance to loss. People love change when they

know it is beneficial. Nobody gives the lottery ticket back when he or she wins. Leadership must contend, then, with the various forms of feared and real losses that accompany adaptive work.

Anchored to the tasks of mobilizing people to thrive in new and challenging contexts, leadership is not simply about change; more profoundly leadership is about identifying that which is worth conserving. It is the conserving of the precious dimensions of our past that makes the pains of change worth sustaining.



Source: Ronald A. Heifetz and Donald L. Laurie

IMPROVISATION

Fifth, adaptive work demands experimentation. In biology, the adaptability of a species depends on the multiplicity of experiments that are being run constantly within its gene pool, increasing the odds that in that distributed intelligence some diverse member of the species will have the means to succeed in a new context. Similarly, in cultural adaptation, an organization or community needs to be running multiple experiments and learning fast from these experiments in order to see “which horses to ride into the future.”

Technical problem solving appropriately and efficiently depends on authoritative experts for knowledge and decisive action.

In contrast, dealing with adaptive challenges requires a comfort with not knowing where to go or how to move next. In mobilizing adaptive work from an authority position, leadership takes the form of protecting elements of deviance and creativity in the organization in spite of the inefficiencies associated with those elements. If creative or outspoken people generate conflict, then so be it. Conflict becomes an engine of innovation rather than solely a source of dangerous inefficiency. Managing the dynamic tension between creativity and efficiency becomes an ongoing part of leadership practice for which there exists no equilibrium point at which this tension disappears. Leadership becomes an improv-

isation, however frustrating it may be to not know the answers.

Sixth, the time frame of adaptive work is markedly different from that of technical work. People need time to learn new ways—to sift through what is precious from what is expendable and to innovate in ways that enable people to carry forward into the future that which they continue to hold precious from the past. Moses took forty years to bring the children of Israel to the Promised Land, not because it was such a long walk from Egypt, but rather because it took that much time for the people to leave behind the dependent mentality of slavery and generate the capacity for self-government guided by faith in something ineffable. (See Figure 1.)

Because people have so much difficulty sustaining prolonged periods of disturbance and uncertainty, people naturally engage in a variety of efforts to restore equilibrium as quickly as possible, even if it means avoiding adaptive work and begging the tough issues. Most forms of adaptive failure are a product of our difficulty in containing prolonged periods of experimentation and the difficult conversations that accompany them.

Work avoidance is simply the natural effort to restore a more familiar order, to restore equilibrium. Although many forms of work avoidance operate

across cultures and peoples, two common pathways appear to exist: the displacement of responsibility and the diversion of attention. Both pathways work all too well in the short term, even if they leave people more exposed and vulnerable in the medium and long terms. Some common forms of displacement of responsibility include scapegoating, blaming the persistence of problems on authority, externalizing the enemy, and killing the messenger. Diverting attention can take the form of fake remedies, such as the Golden Calf of the Bible's Book of Exodus; an effort to define problems to fit one's competence; repeated structural adjustments; the faulty use of consultants, committees, and task forces; sterile conflicts and proxy fights ("let's watch the gladiator fight!"); and outright denial.

Seventh, adaptive work is a normative concept. The concept of adaptation arises from scientific efforts to understand biological evolution. Applied to the change of cultures and societies, the concept becomes a useful, if inexact, metaphor. For example, species evolve, whereas cultures learn. Evolution is generally understood by scientists as a matter of chance, whereas societies will often consciously deliberate, plan, and intentionally experiment. Close to our normative concern, biological evolution conforms to laws of survival. Societies, on the other hand, generate purposes beyond survival. The concept of adaptation applied to culture raises the question, "Adapt to what, for what purpose?"

In biology the "objective function" of adaptive work is straightforward: to thrive in new environments. Survival of the self and one's gene-carrying kin defines the direction in which animals adapt. A situation becomes an adaptive challenge because it threatens the capacity of a species to pass on its genetic heritage. Thus, when a species multiplies its own kind and succeeds in passing on its genes, it is said to be "thriving" in its environment.

Thriving is more than coping. Nothing is trivial in biology about adaptation. Some adaptive leaps transform the capacity of a species by sparking an ongoing and profound process of adaptive change that leads to a vastly expanded range of living.

In human societies "thriving" takes on a host of values not restricted to survival of one's own kind. At

times human beings will even trade off their own survival for values such as liberty, justice, and faith. Thus, adaptive work in cultures involves both the clarification of values and the assessment of realities that challenge the realization of those values.

Because most organizations and communities honor a mix of values, the competition within this mix largely explains why adaptive work so often involves conflict. People with competing values engage one another as they confront a shared situation from their own points of view. At its extreme, and in the absence of better methods of social change, the conflict over values can be violent. The U.S. Civil War changed the meaning of union and individual freedom. In 1857 fulfilling the preamble to the Constitutional goal "to insure domestic tranquility" meant the return of escaped slaves to their owners; in 1957 it meant the use of federal troops to integrate Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas.

Some realities threaten not only a set of values beyond survival, but also the very existence of a society if these realities are not discovered and met early on by the value-clarifying and reality-testing functions of that society. In the view of many environmentalists, for example, our focus on the production of wealth rather than co-existence with nature has led us to neglect fragile factors in our ecosystem. These factors may become relevant to us when finally they begin to challenge our central values of health and survival, but by then, we may have paid a high price in damage already done, and the costs of and odds against adaptive adjustment may have increased enormously.

Adaptive work, then, requires us to deliberate on the values by which we seek to thrive and demands diagnostic inquiry into the realities that threaten the realization of those values. Beyond legitimizing a convenient set of assumptions about reality, beyond denying or avoiding the internal contradictions in some of the values we hold precious, and beyond coping, adaptive work involves proactively seeking to clarify aspirations or develop new ones, and then involves the hard work of innovation, experimentation, and cultural change to realize a closer approximation of those aspirations by which we would define "thriving."

The normative tests of adaptive work, then, involve an appraisal of both the processes by which orienting values are clarified in an organization or community and the quality of reality testing by which a more accurate rather than convenient diagnosis is achieved. For example, by these tests serving up fake remedies for our collective troubles by scapegoating and externalizing the enemy, as was done in extreme form in Nazi Germany, might generate throngs of misled supporters who readily grant to charlatans extraordinary authority in the short run, but they would not constitute adaptive work. Nor would political efforts to gain influence and authority by pandering to people's longing for easy answers constitute leadership. Indeed, misleading people is likely over time to produce adaptive failure.

—Ronald A. Heifetz

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AFRICAN-AMERICAN LEADERSHIP

See Civil Rights Act of 1964; Civil Rights Movement; Du Bois, W. E. B.; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Malcolm X; Robinson, Jackie; Russell, Bill; Wells-Barnett, Ida B.

AKBAR (1542–1605) *Mughal emperor*

Akbar was the grandson of Babur (1483–1530), who founded the Mughal rule (1526–1857) in India. Babur was succeeded by his son Humayun (1508–1556), during the first portion of whose reign (1530–1540) the territories conquered earlier by Mughals was lost to the Afghans. After an interregnum of rule by the Afghan dynasty of Sur, the Mughals were again able to set foothold over Delhi in 1555; yet until his death in 1556, Humayun was fighting on many fronts to recapture the empire. After Humayun's death the Afghans under their Hindu Prime Minister Hemu reoccupied Delhi. It was left to Akbar, Humayun's son, to build up the empire from scratch and raise it to glorious heights. Akbar was only fourteen years old when he was coronated, and under his command, Mughals defeated Hemu in the second Battle of Panipat (November 5, 1556) that is considered landmark in reestablishment of Mughal rule in India.

Akbar's leadership skills were not limited to war or to the expansion and consolidation of the Mughal empire; indeed, his most important contribution was the way that he molded the Mughal empire and created legitimacy for his rule that was based not on brute force, but on the consent of the governed. Despite Mughals being Sunni, Akbar refused to



The Tomb of Akbar in Sikandra, India, in the late 1800s.
Source: Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis; used with permission.

identify with any creed and followed an independent policy of enlightened toleration.

RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE

Mughal rule under Akbar was largely an extension of his personality. Personally, Akbar was tolerant of other religions. He married Hindu Rajput princesses, but did not force them to convert to Islam; they were free to practice their own religion. In fact, Akbar was interested in exploring the essence of different religions, and to this end he built an *ibadat-khana* (house of worship) in his capital at Fatehpur-Sikri, near Agra to which he would invite spiritual leaders of different faiths for inter-faith dialogues. Akbar also showed respect for other religions by celebrating their festivals. Perhaps the most significant signs of his religious tolerance were that he abolished the *jizia*, the tax that only non-Muslims were required to pay, and rescinded many of the restrictive laws regarding non-Muslim religious worship. His spiritual curiosity later translated into his founding a faith called *din-i-ilahi* (also called *tahud-i-ilahi*), meaning divine faith. This faith was in many ways a distillation of the teachings of the various religions to which Akbar had been exposed, and it was tolerant in nature. It laid stress on individual purity and ethical behavior.

Akbar never forced anyone to become a member of his *din*, and according to the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Laws of Akbar), written by Abul Fazl, there were only eighteen full-time adherents and no more than a few thousand followers.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

Akbar conquered all but the southernmost parts of the Indian subcontinent; his empire stretched from present-day Afghanistan to present-day Bangladesh. The most significant aspect of his extension of Mughal power was that in many of the areas formerly under Hindu Rajput rule, he would not annex the kingdoms, but on the princes' acceptance of Mughal sovereignty, he would let them rule their kingdoms as vassals of the Mughals. Further, he recruited the Rajput princes into the ranks of the Mansabdari, his military system of government administration. By thus incorporating his former enemies into his government, he won acceptance for his imperialism. In many of the subsequent campaigns of the Mughals, Rajput princes commanded the Mughal armies. The Rajputs also proved to be an important bulwark against the conservative Islamic elements in the Mughal court.

Under the Mansabdari system of administration, all government officials were incorporated into the ranks of the military, even if their functions were not military, and all were paid through the imperial army. This systematized government functions, and bureaucratized its operation, all the way from the imperial level down to the local level. Rule by whim was replaced by rule according to standardized procedures. For instance, the land tax structure was systematized on a scientific statistical basis with the objective to increase productivity and revenue. Also, procedures were developed for recruitment, for communication, and for a system of checks and balances between the government functionaries. Officials were regularly transferred to maintain the efficiency of the administration, but also to keep up the imperial control. An important aspect of Akbar's administration was that people of ability were assigned high ranks irrespective of their religious affiliation.

Consequently, even Shias and Hindu Rajputs held important government positions.

POLITICS, LAW, AND THE ARTS

The most important aspect of Akbar's kingship was that unlike other Muslim rulers, he did not consider the caliph (the supreme Islamic religious authority) to have political authority over him. Akbar did not consider himself subordinate to anyone. Although empires are often associated with particular religions (for example, the Byzantine empire is associated with Eastern Orthodox Christianity, the Ottoman empire with Sunni Islam, the Persian Safavid dynasty with Shi'a Islam, and so on), Akbar liberated the Mughal regime from any such religious affiliation and placed his subjects on an equal footing. He created a state of *sulh-i-kul*, that is, a state of peace and reconciliation among all. This was quite in contrast to the wishes of orthodox theologians, whose power was undermined by such measures. Until Akbar's time, the highest title an Islamic king had claimed for himself was *zil-i-allah-fil-'arz* ("shadow of God on earth"). Akbar went further and adopted the title *farr-i-izdi* ("divine effulgence or light of God"). Thus Akbar claimed to derive his power directly from God.

In an empire in which Qur'anic laws took precedence, Akbar took the innovative step of assuming the powers of religious interpretation. By a proclamation Akbar was certified to be an *imam-adil* (just ruler), and by virtue of that status his interpretation of religious law was declared to be superior to that of the *mujtahid* (learned scholars or jurists). In other words, the monarch, not the *ulama* (Islamic scholarly community), was the source of legislation and of interpretation of that legislation should any dispute arise. This appropriation of religious as well as legal authority made it possible for Akbar to restrict the influence of the orthodox *ulama*.

A similar universality of outlook is visible in Akbar's patronage of the arts. It is very interesting to note that during his reign painting were totally devoid of religious symbolism. He would patronize artists without being concerned with their religious affiliations. It was in his time that a form of Indo-



Another View: The Real Akbar, the (Not So) Great

The addition of the adjectival phrase "the great" to the names of famous leaders such as Akbar, Alexander, and Peter is rarely without controversy. What is great to some is horrible to others. Akbar is a good example of this, as he is revered by Muslims but considered less than great by some modern Hindus as indicated by the text from a website reprinted below.

Akbar is considered as the great Mughal emperor who put the Mughal empire on a firm and stable footing, with a reliable revenue system and with expansion of its borders deeper into Indian heartland. There is a belief prevalent in the present day India that Akbar's rule was secular and tolerant of the native Hindu faith. This belief is fostered by the Indian history texts, Hindi movies like Mughal-e-Azam, a TV serial on Doordarshan and the fictional tales of Akbar and his Hindu court jester Birbal. Although Akbar did abolish two obnoxious taxes on Hindus namely the pilgrimage tax in 1563 CE and Jizya (a tax stipulated in the Koran to be paid by Zimmis or unbelievers) in 1564 CE, his rule was better compared ONLY to the other Mughal and Turko-Afgani rules. This article illustrates this with two specific historical events. First, Akbar like all Mughal rulers had the holy Muslim title of GHAZI (SLAYER OF KAFFIR—infidel). Like Timur Lane and Nader Shah, AKBAR HAD A VICTORY TOWER ERECTED WITH THE HEADS OF THE CAPTURED/SURRENDERED ARMY OF HEMU after the second battle of Panipat. Later, AKBAR AGAIN SLAUGHTERED MORE THAN 30,000 UNARMED CAPTIVE HINDU PEASANTS AFTER THE FALL OF CHITOD ON FEBRUARY 24, 1568.

Source: The Hindu Universe. Retrieved September 29, 2003, from www.hindunet.org/hindu_history/modern/akbar_vs.html

Islamic architecture that was a synthesis of Islamic as well as Hindu traditions became part of the landscape. Thus in every aspect of life Akbar promoted religious tolerance and liberalism. He not only had a deep impact on the Mughal empire, he furthered a liberal Indian tradition that has been present in Indian civilization over the centuries.

—Anup Mukherjee

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**ALEXANDER THE GREAT**

(356–323 BCE)

King of Macedonia

Alexander the Great was king of the ancient dynasty of Macedonia in northern Greece. Alexander built the largest empire to that time in the world by conquering Asia Minor (the peninsula forming the western extremity of Asia), Persia (Iran), central Asia, and northern India. The battles that he fought during his short life, his innovations in warfare, and his ability as a military commander have provided generations of scholars and leaders with much to debate and emulate since.

AN IMPRESSIVE INHERITANCE

Alexander was born in Pella, the capital of Macedonia, as the son of King Philip II of Macedon (382–336 BCE, r. 359–336 BCE) and Queen Olympias, one of Philip's many wives. As a constitutional monarch, Philip was not just a figurehead, but also the chief statesman and military commander. Philip was an ambitious leader who used his skills at warfare and diplomacy to improve the fortunes of his declining kingdom. In the year of Alexander's birth Philip defeated a coalition of northern barbarians and set about uniting the Greek-speaking world under his command. He also taught his son the art of warfare in addition to the education that the young Alexander received between the ages of thirteen and sixteen from the Greek philosopher Aristotle.

Alexander excelled at hunting and sport, and his

favorite text was the *Iliad* by the Greek poet Homer. Alexander hoped to emulate the heroism of the Greek mythological warrior Achilles, to whom he believed he was related through his mother. At age sixteen Alexander won his first battle, against a tribe from Thrace (a region on the eastern Balkan Peninsula), and acted as regent while Philip was away fighting at Byzantium. Probably Philip's best-known victory was won in 338 BCE against an army of allied Greek states at Chaeronea, where Alexander, age eighteen, commanded the left wing of the Macedonian army as a cavalryman. After his victory Philip reformed the Greek army, combining the excellent cavalry of northern Greece with the disciplined and effective infantry of the southern city-states. This reformation gave him a formidable force that had both the mobility of elite horsemen and the attacking prowess of the hoplites (heavily armed infantry soldiers) in phalanxes (bodies of heavily armed infantry formed in deep, close ranks and files), armed with 4.2-meter pikes named *sarissas*.

However, the relationship between father and son deteriorated, possibly because of arguments about military matters and Philip's remarriage. Alexander made derisive comments about his father's abilities, and a rift grew between them. Some scholars have even suggested that Alexander was complicit in Philip's assassination at the hands of a disgruntled bodyguard named Pausanias in July 336 BCE. Certainly Alexander had become worried about his status as the legitimate heir, and his father's untimely death allowed him to grasp power ahead of other siblings. Although he was ambitious and hungry for power, it seems unlikely that he was directly involved in the assassination plot. After becoming Alexander III, he slaughtered the accused conspirators and any man who dared question his authority as the new king. A rebellion broke out among the Greek tribes and city-states at news of Philip's death, but Alexander quelled it ruthlessly. When the city of Thebes (in Egypt) left the Macedonian-led Hellenic League, he massacred the city's defenders, killing six thousand and enslaving thirty thousand. This violent action reunited the Greek people in fear of similar reprisals, paving the way for Alexander's later campaigns, although he later always treated the

other Greeks with respect, recognizing their role in his plans.

Like Philip, Alexander was an almost absolute commander, making his own appointments and promotions, issuing all orders, and controlling payments and discharges. Therefore, by the age of twenty Alexander had inherited from his father a large, highly trained and well-organized army, a plan for a Greek invasion of the mighty Persian empire, and the ambition and ability to carry it out.

A TEMPLATE FOR LEADERSHIP: THE BATTLE OF GRANICUS

His enemies in southern Greece subdued, Alexander was free to carry out the original intention of both himself and Philip: to conquer the Persian empire to the east. Between 335 and 325 BCE Alexander and his army were almost constantly marching or fighting, with either a major battle or a siege taking place in each of those years. Alexander crossed into Asia with forty thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry in the spring of 334 BCE; his first notable fight was the Battle of Granicus (a river in Turkey) in May. The Persian force of forty thousand was led by Memnon, a Greek mercenary general, who selected an excellent defensive position near to a river crossing. Alexander attacked Memnon at his strongest point, surprising him and using brute force to smash through his cavalry. Memnon's forces were soundly defeated. The Persian army was devastated, and some sources suggest that Alexander lost fewer than a hundred men.

Granicus provided a template for Alexander's leadership in many of his later battles. The tactical move was bold, reckless, and innovative. Characteristics of his leadership style became apparent, even that early in his campaigning. He was, according to historian John Keegan, the epitome of the "heroic" leader, happily risking his life in the heat of the conflict alongside the men he commanded and not asking of them anything he would not do himself. In terms of battlefield bravery, Alexander had no equal. Keegan pointed out that "There is no hint, in any of the ancient biographies, that he ever showed fear at all, or that he appeared to feel it" (Keegan 1987, 90).

Commanders often took to the field in those days, but Alexander went to almost theatrical extremes.

As scholar Nicholas Hammond said, "he courted every danger—fighting at the head of any formation, leading any wild adventure, and scaling first the parapet of a besieged city" (Hammond 1981, 255). The risks were certainly considerable. At Granicus alone, where Alexander personally led his elite cavalry, his horse was killed almost immediately, his helmet was broken, and he was nearly killed at least once. Still, his men appreciated his presence on the battlefield and grew to love him for his willingness to fight with them. He may have acted so boldly as much to emulate the achievements of his hero Achilles as to earn the respect of his troops. Also, he may have believed himself to be the immortal son of the Greek god Zeus and therefore invulnerable in battle. He also clearly tried to ingratiate himself with his men by diplomatic acts of friendship. After Granicus he went among his men and "showed much concern for the wounded, asking them how they came by their wounds and giving them a chance to boast of what they had done in battle" (Fox 1980, 143).

During the winter of 334–333 BCE Alexander allowed many of his men to return home to their families, which improved morale and also increased his popularity. Furthermore, although an autocratic leader, he listened to wise counsel when it was offered to him. He was not always popular—many people were appalled when he killed his friend, Cleitus, in a drunken brawl in 329 BCE, and he was also the subject of at least three assassination plots against him. Nonetheless, more often than not he displayed a great empathy in his handling of his troops, for which he was revered.

STRATEGIC INGENUITY

Alexander showed common sense in developing his strategies around his strengths and the weaknesses of his enemy. Realizing that the Persians would be on the back foot following their surprise defeat at Granicus, Alexander pressed ahead through Asia Minor as rapidly as possible. After passing through Sardis, Ephesus, and Priene and then besieging Miletus in the summer of 334 BCE, he approached Halicarnassus. Recognizing



Speech of Alexander the Great

Arrian, a Greek historian living in the second century CE, created a multivolume biography that is still regarded as the premier work on Alexander. Below is a speech delivered by Alexander, as recounted in Arrian's The Campaigns of Alexander:

I observe, gentlemen, that when I would lead you on a new venture you no longer follow me with your old spirit. I have asked you to meet me that we may come to a decision together: are we, upon my advice, to go forward, or, upon yours, to turn back?

If you have any complaint to make about the results of your efforts hitherto, or about myself as your commander, there is no more to say. But let me remind you: through your courage and endurance you have gained possession of Ionia, the Hellespont, both Phrygias, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Phoenicia, and Egypt; the Greek part of Libya is now yours, together with much of Arabia, lowland Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylon, and Susia; Persia and Media with all the territories either formerly controlled by them or not are in your hands; you have made yourselves masters of the lands beyond the Caspian Gates, beyond the Caucasus, beyond the Tanais, of Bactria, Hyrcania, and the Hyrcanian sea; we have driven the Scythians back into the desert; and Indus and Hydaspes, Acesines and Hydraotes flow now through country which is ours. With all that accomplished, why do you hesitate to extend the power of Macedon—*your* power—to the Hyphasis and the tribes on the other side? Are you afraid that a few natives who may still be left will offer opposition? Come, come! These natives either surrender without a blow or are caught on the run—or leave their country undefended for your taking; and when we take it, we make a present of it to those who have joined us of their own free will and fight on our side.

For a man who is a man, work, in my belief, if it is directed to noble ends, has no object beyond itself; none the less, if any of you wish to know what limit may be set to this particular campaign, let me tell you that the area of country still ahead of us, from here to the Ganges and the Eastern ocean, is comparatively small. You will undoubtedly find that this ocean is connected with the Hyrcanian Sea, for the great Stream of Ocean encircles the earth. Moreover I shall prove to you, my friends, that the Indian and Persian Gulfs and the Hyrcanian Sea are all three connected and continuous. Our ships will sail round from the Persian Gulf to Libya as far as the Pillars of Hercules, whence all Libya to the eastward will soon be ours, and all Asia too, and to this empire there will be no boundaries but what God Himself has made for the whole world.

But if you turn back now, there will remain unconquered many warlike peoples between the Hyphasis and

the Eastern Ocean, and many more to the northward and the Hyrcanian Sea, with the Scythians, too, not far away; so that if we withdraw now there is a danger that the territory which we do not yet securely hold may be stirred to revolt by some nation or other we have not yet forced into submission. Should that happen, all that we have done and suffered will have proved fruitless—or we shall be faced with the task of doing it over again from the beginning. Gentlemen of Macedon, and you, my friends and allies, this must not be. Stand firm; for well you know that hardship and danger are the price of glory, and that sweet is the savour of a life of courage and of deathless renown beyond the grave.

Are you not aware that if Heracles, my ancestor, had gone no further than Tiryns or Argos—or even than the Peloponnese or Thebes—he could never have won the glory which changed him from a man into a god, actual or apparent? Even Dionysus, who is a god indeed, in a sense beyond what is applicable to Heracles, faced not a few laborious tasks; yet we have done more: we have passed beyond Nysa and we have taken the rock of Aornos which Heracles himself could not take. Come, then; add the rest of Asia to what you already possess—a small addition to the great sum of your conquests. What great or noble work could we ourselves have achieved had we thought it enough, living at ease in Macedon, merely to guard our homes, accepting no burden beyond checking the encroachment of the Thracians on our borders, or the Illyrians and Triballians, or perhaps such Greeks as might prove a menace to our comfort?

I could not have blamed you for being the first to lose heart if I, your commander, had not shared in your exhausting marches and your perilous campaigns; it would have been natural enough if you had done all the work merely for others to reap the reward. But it is not so. You and I, gentlemen, have shared the labour and shared the danger, and the rewards are for us all. The conquered territory belongs to you; from your ranks the governors of it are chosen; already the greater part of its treasure passes into your hands, and when all Asia is overrun, then indeed I will go further than the mere satisfaction of our ambitions: the utmost hopes of riches or power which each one of you cherishes will be far surpassed, and whoever wishes to return home will be allowed to go, either with me or without me. I will make those who stay the envy of those who return.

the superiority of the Persian navy that would defend the city if he attacked by sea, he approached across land, sending his ships home and subduing the city without risking a naval battle that even he was likely to lose. Next Alexander took the unusual step of dividing his army into two in order to protect his supply lines, his subordinate Parmenio attacking the locals to the north while Alexander destroyed the bases of the Persian fleet on the coast. He told Parmenio that he intended to “conquer the Persian fleet from the land” (Keegan 1987, 27). Both operations were successful, and the two forces met up again in April 333 BCE to continue the conquest of Persia.

THE BATTLE OF ISSUS

After the defeat by Alexander at Granicus, the Persian emperor Darius III had decided to head the army himself. He marched from Babylon with 140,000 men to confront the Greek upstart. In November 333 BCE, after a rare lapse of strategic judgment, Alexander found himself cut off from his supplies and therefore needing to attack Darius in a place of the latter’s choosing. Darius wisely chose a seemingly impregnable position that Alexander nonetheless attacked wholeheartedly, this time leading the infantry. At the Battle of Issus (an ancient town in Asia Minor), Alexander went straight for the Persian units rather than the Greek mercenaries fighting for Darius. The enemy’s line collapsed so quickly that Darius was forced to flee, leaving his family behind to be captured by Alexander. With half of the Persian empire conquered, Darius offered to leave it to Alexander if Alexander returned Darius’s family and made do with the land that Alexander had already won. Against Parmenio’s protestations, Alexander scornfully refused and turned again to destroying the Persian fleet, besieging the cities of Tyre and Gaza in 332 BCE on his way south.

EGYPT, THE BATTLE OF GAUGAMELA, AND THE FINAL CAMPAIGNS

Alexander and his men liberated Egypt from Persian rule and founded the city of Alexandria there in 331 BCE. Alexandria quickly became the center of

the Greek world. He then resumed his offensive and crossed the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. Still refusing any attempts at peace, Alexander again met Darius on the battlefield at Gaugamela and again swept his opponent aside with his belligerent tactics despite numerical inferiority. He chased Darius with his cavalry, but the emperor escaped, only to be murdered by his own generals a year later. Alexander marched into the enemy’s capital, Persepolis, triumphant. A period of consolidation of his new empire followed, and by the end of 330 BCE Alexander controlled all of Asia Minor and Persia—he had achieved all that his father had ever set out to do in less than five years. Yet, Alexander again went on the march, and in the next three years invaded central Asia, including northern India. He defeated and overthrew the Indian ruler Porus at the Battle of the Hydaspes River in May 326 BCE, employing cavalry and phalanxes intelligently against an army that included two hundred war elephants. In an attempt to unite east and west, Alexander took a Persian wife and conducted the marriage of ten thousand Macedonian soldiers to Persian women. Although Alexander was eager to continue campaigning, his troops begged to go home after eight years of nearly constant warfare, and he consented. He left conquered territories in the hands of men he trusted and headed back home. Despite his claims of divine birth, he died of an illness, possibly malaria, in Babylon on 10 June 323 BCE at the age of just thirty-two.

ALEXANDER’S LEGACY

The empire that Alexander had built essentially died with him. He named no heir, and in any case no other person had the power to control such a vast empire, which disintegrated into warring successor states. Alexander did leave a legacy in other ways, however. Apart from his naval innovations, he employed an overall strategy and a tactical maneuvering to defeat his enemies, both of which he practically invented. He never lost a battle despite often being outnumbered. Before Alexander, battles normally had been won by the side with the most men slugging it out, but after Alexander war became more of an art, with the skill of the practitioner often making the differ-

ence. His military campaigns have been studied and admired for their stunning success for over two millennia, and his name still evokes images of great military leadership.

—David Deverick

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ruled them, or felt that their lives lacked meaning. It is in such times that spellbinding leaders—often religious leaders—with stirring oratory are likely to emerge from the ranks of the dispossessed. The sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920) described this style of leadership as charismatic: By dint of personality or lifestyle a leader arouses powerful emotions in the surrounding population and inspires them to follow him or her. Charismatic leadership typically appeals to the powerless and marginal people in the lower echelons of the society—those most likely to experience alienation.

ALIENATION AND LEADERSHIP

Alienation became important for social analysis after Karl Marx (1818–1883) used the concept to describe the consequences of capitalism in its early industrial phase. He felt that when workers sold their labor to produce commodities for markets, they became estranged from the product of that labor; they themselves became commodities, dehumanized, powerless, lacking meaning in their lives, and bereft of a sense of community with others. A century later, alienation had entered the political lexicon to describe the state of mind of people who may be either indifferent to politics or, conversely, likely to embrace radical politics. Studies of support for Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) show that his appeal was to the more alienated segments of German society, who tended to be the most fatalistic and, prior to the rise of Hitler, least likely to become politically involved. The radical psychoanalyst Frantz Fanon (1925–1961) called the victims of colonization the wretched of the earth; he noted that their alienation, experienced as destructive self-hatred, limited political mobilization. It is also true, however, that one expression of the politics of hopelessness is terrorism, a weapon of the weak. It appears that one consequence of hopelessness is willingness to die for a cause.

The relationship between leadership and alienation raises several questions, especially in the context of religiously inspired late-twentieth-century and early-twenty-first-century terrorism. The link between alienation and terrorism requires us to take

ALIENATION

Most broadly defined, alienation is estrangement, a sense of not belonging, not feeling a part of some group or organization. From the dawn of history, there have been times when large numbers of people have felt alienated from the systems of power that

more cognizance of the importance of alienation in fostering certain kinds of leaders and to pay attention to the trajectories those leaders follow and the goals they set. Alienated, but dynamic, charismatic leaders can attract equally alienated followers; the result may be benevolent societal transformations or malevolent fascisms.

The politics of alienation has typically taken a religious form, as is evident from a quick survey of the history of Christianity. In the faith's nascent years, the followers of Christ thought of themselves as Jews listening to another in a long line of prophets. The conditions of Roman conquest made the new prophet's appeal particularly cogent. Christianity in its earliest forms preached a gospel of charity, forgiveness, and salvation. Those with a higher morality than the conquerors would have better lives in the next world. Proselytizers such as Saul of Tarsus, known as St. Paul (d. 65 CE), traveling along trade routes, began to spread Christ's message of salvation throughout the Roman empire. In almost every city, alienated, marginal artisan classes came together to form communities that embraced those teachings, and Christian sects began to flourish throughout the empire. When Emperor Constantine (after 280–337) embraced Christianity, it began its transformation from a religion of the alienated to a religion of the rich and the powerful; it became so powerful that many of the Roman army's foreign mercenaries embraced it—only to overthrow Rome itself later.

About six hundred years later, the medieval Church, the guardian of feudal power, had become a bastion of corruption and nepotism. The growth of trade that began after the Crusades (twelfth and thirteenth centuries), meanwhile, had led to the rise of a new merchant class that initially felt alienated from the rich and powerful feudal elites. Struggling to survive, this class was both structurally and emotionally disposed to criticisms of the Church's support for the rich, its corruption, and its profligate ways. This class had what Max Weber called an elective affinity—a predisposition—to accept a practical religion of a disenchanting everyday life over a religion of magic and miracles. As this class began to grow, so too did conflicts and schisms within the ranks of the

Church. In the early 1400s, Jan Huss (1374–1415), a priest and theologian, made scathing critiques of the practices of the Church. In 1412 he was excommunicated, and later he was burned at the stake for heresy. About a hundred years later, Martin Luther (1483–1546) made similar criticisms, but Luther, supported by large numbers of alienated peasants and small merchants, avoided the stake, becoming instead an important leader of the Protestant Reformation and the founder of the Lutheran denomination. Other Protestant reformers, notably Huldrych Zwingli (1486–1531), John Calvin (1509–1564), and, later, John Wesley (1703–1791), became part of the chorus, with their doctrines of asceticism, their focus on the importance of industriousness as a sign that one might be among the saved, and their advocacy of a methodological orientation to everyday life and a rational orientation to the world. Within a few generations, the marginal members of Protestant sects had become the leaders of the new and powerful bourgeois class.

With the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, increasing numbers of peasants began to flock to the cities seeking work in the growing commercial and industrial sectors. These were the groups that Marx considered the alienated workers and surplus populations created by capitalism. At the same time, many intellectuals also became disaffected with the system and sympathetic with the plight of the underclasses. In the industrialized world, the charismatic leaders of the twentieth century were more likely (though this was not universally the case) to offer nonreligious than religious messages of hope, seeking to gain for their followers a better life in this world rather than the next. They advocated everything from reform to revolution, and included such notable figures as the Communist revolutionaries Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924), Leon Trotsky (1879–1940), and Mao Zedong (1893–1976); the labor organizer Eugene Debs (1855–1926); and the social reformers Jane Addams (1860–1935) and Dorothy Day (1897–1980).

It is clear from this quick history that alienation often plays a key role in the rise of leaders and the transformation of society. Unfortunately, the relationship between alienation and leadership can also



Alienation, Migration, and New Communities

In the contemporary world, rapid social, economic, and political change often causes a sense of alienation in some groups, both from their society and from their leaders. One reaction to this alienation is to move to a new place where a new community—based on old and new values—can be formed. The following example describes such a process for Middle Eastern Arab settlers in Montreal and Toronto, Canada.

The third most important contribution to post-war emigration from the Arab world is the factor of political estrangement. The specifics of this factor varied, of course, from one respondent to another and from one Arab country to another. Such terms as political instability, insecurity, loss (or fear of loss) of freedom, political repression, discriminatory treatment, and government policy (e.g., socialism) illustrate the nature of push factors involved. Respondents from Palestine added another element to the issue of political instability, and that is expulsion from and inability to return to the homeland.

The effects of political instability could be random, in the sense that they would prompt disparate individuals at different levels of the occupational hierarchy to migrate, or nonrandom, in the sense that they would prompt certain occupational groups or categories of people to migrate. Both types of effects were observed among our respondents. The first type of situation is exemplified by an immigrant from Lebanon who gave, as reasons for immigration, "political instability at home, democracy in Canada, and wish to join relatives." Reflecting further on the situation in Lebanon, he said: "The government is unjust. Each regime prefers its people and its own group and pays no attention to the needs of the masses." It is not easy to determine, in this case (or in other similar cases), whether political instability was a primary or a secondary reason for emigration.

The second type of situation involved instances in which the incidence of political estrangement or instability was not randomly distributed throughout the population. Leaving aside the issue of Palestinian refugees, these were typically associated with a fundamental restructuring of the political economy of a given country. A prime example is the Egyptian government's adoption of a socialist path

under the late President Gamal Abdel Nasser. Not surprisingly, the political-economic reconstruction of Egypt led to the alienation of many people whose property, work, or means of livelihood were threatened by the socialistic measures of the early 1960s. At that time, the Egyptian government additionally imposed severe restrictions on imports, luxury goods, foreign travel, and export of Egyptian currency. As a consequence, the disaffection in Egypt spread to include such occupational groups as industrialists, entrepreneurs, financiers, businessmen, large landowners, professionals, and some white-collar workers in the tertiary sector of industry. These are upper-level occupational categories, which helps explain the select nature of Canada's immigrants from Egypt, educationally and occupationally. There was a heavy representation of Eastern Christians in these occupations. Since 1961, increasing numbers of alienated Egyptian nationals have been emigrating to different parts of the world, and a significant number of them have been Coptic and descendants of Lebanese-origin Maronites.

The results of my survey indicate that immigrants from Egypt tended to verbalize political disaffection and hopes for a higher standard of living and better future more frequently, and family reasons less frequently, than immigrants from other Arab states. In some cases, respondents attributed their migration, and that of their compatriots, partly to what they considered to be discriminatory treatment of non-Muslims in Egypt, and partly to lack of opportunities for advancement. The infrequent reference to family as an underlying reason for immigration is due to the short history of this stream of immigration to Canada, as well as the tendency among immigrants from Egypt to come as family units.

Source: Abu-Laban, Baha. (1980). *An Olive Branch on the Family Tree: The Arabs in Canada*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, pp. 77–79.

be contradictory—the alienated often lack leadership, or are so alienated that they are unlikely to be moved by any leader and refrain from embracing any cause. Sometimes we see someone rise from the ranks of the alienated to become a powerful leader who appeals to great masses of the disenchanting and dispossessed by offering visions of meaning and

hope. Sometimes a religious vision of social justice joins with a political agenda—as happened, for example, in the civil rights struggle led by Martin Luther King, Jr., a Baptist minister. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, globalization and rapid social change have alienated many traditional groups, especially rural populations, some of which

have reacted by embracing highly conservative, fundamentalist religions. In the United States, for example, while membership in mainstream religions has declined, conservative fundamentalist congregations have grown and now wield considerable political influence.

EXPLAINING ALIENATION AND LEADERSHIP

How then can one explain some of these relationships? It requires a consideration of general historical circumstances, the particular groups from which the leaders emerge, and the populations that support the leaders. It often happens, for example, that a disaffected person from the higher classes attracts a mass following, as with Siddhartha Gautama (560–480 BCE), the historical Buddha, and Fidel Castro (b. 1926), the leader of Cuba's socialist revolution. At other times, a poor person with outstanding leadership ability ascends to power, as with Genghis Khan (c. 1160–1227), who unified the nomadic Mongolian tribes into a powerful empire, or Joan of Arc (c. 1412–1431), who rose from peasant roots to lead the French army against the British in the Hundred Years' War.

Social psychological factors pertaining to leaders, followers, and their interaction also need to be considered. Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), the founder of psychoanalytic theory, made perhaps the first attempt to analyze the attraction a leader has for followers. Freud hypothesized that the leader acted as a parent figure who offered followers love and affection in exchange for obedience. Freud and others argue that the leader embodies and articulates the values and goals of the group. The publicly declared, self-assured confidence of the leader is a key ingredient in mobilizing the alienated, who might otherwise remain hopeless and apathetic. The structural position of the group in society, the group's collective values, its mood (for example, of empowerment or fatalism), and the degree of alienation in society at large also influence whether or not its leader will be broadly accepted. Although the leader of a particular group, whether a religious sect, military unit, or business organization, may not have power outside his or her immediate sphere

of influence, charismatic leaders typically have broad appeal.

Erich Fromm's Theory

How might we explain the process whereby the powerless gain cultural, political, and economic power? Following on Marx and Freud, the Frankfurt school of critical theory attempted to explain the rise of Hitler by considering historical, sociological, and psychological factors. The psychologist Erich Fromm (1900–1980) suggested that in the face of social crises and changes, some people become alienated, lonely, and powerless. To ameliorate their anxiety, loneliness, and emptiness, these people may choose to submit to powerful, parent figures who will give them love, power, and perhaps most important, who will forge powerful ties among followers. By giving up freedom and independence in favor of conformity and submission, people find comfort. However, groups thus formed typically depend on external enemies who are different; these enemies can be blamed for misfortune and aggression can be directed at them. By denigrating a common enemy, the people are united in hatred and gain a feeling of superiority.

The Case of Hitler

Adolf Hitler and his followers are perhaps the classic example of that pattern. In the aftermath of the Versailles Treaty ending World War I, which required Germany to pay reparations, and with the advent of global recessions and depressions, vast numbers of German workers lost their jobs and businesses. Hitler, a failed artist and ne'er-do-well, yet a powerful orator, joined the National Socialists (the Nazis), one of a number of petit-bourgeois reactionary political parties that were challenging the German government from the right while socialists, Communists, and anarchists challenged it from the left. Hitler inspired the alienated, assured the powerful, and condemned relatively new as well as traditional enemies—the Bolsheviks and the Jews, whom he blamed for Germany's defeat in World War I. Hitler was seen as both everyman—the man down the street—and as an

invincible force. The alienated and dispossessed believed that by submitting to the Nazi party, by following Hitler, they could help a new and powerful Germany arise that would destroy its enemies.

The most ardent support for the Nazis came from unemployed veterans of World War I, lower-echelon state officials, and petit-bourgeois shopkeepers, all suffering great economic adversities. With a small number of the better-paid proletarians also voting for them, the Nazis won the largest number of seats in the Reichstag (parliament), and Hitler was asked to form a government. Twelve years later, millions had died and Europe lay in ashes.

ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM

In the twenty-first century the same pattern is at work in parts of the Muslim world. From the ranks of the dispossessed, new leaders, themselves often alienated from an advantaged class position (as is the case with Osama bin Laden, leader of the al-Qaeda terrorist group), offer a message of spiritual renewal through the establishment of a moral state. The roots of today's Islamic fundamentalism are to be found in the growth of Wahabbism as a response to political decline. As the Ottoman empire began to wane, Al-Wahab (1703–1792) claimed that only through a very rigid, austere version of Islam could people find fulfillment. Today, many schools of Islamic fundamentalism preach that message, insisting that a return and adherence to strict religious codes will provide a redeemed moral community. For a number of historical reasons, including indigenous cultural barriers, innovation following the decline of Islam's political and economic power in the fifteenth century, its creativity and innovation waned, leaving behind stagnant societies that were eventually overtaken by the West. Following the legacies of European colonialism, and the nature of contemporary globalization, much of the Muslim world has remained at the margins of modernity and fringes of economic progress. Most Muslim countries are poor, with the exception of those with oil revenues. At the same time, as was the case in Europe during the Industrial Revolution, vast numbers of peasants have moved from small, isolated, traditional rural villages

to vast sprawling cities such as Cairo in Egypt, Jakarta in Indonesia, and Tehran in Iran, seeking better fortunes. In those cities there are scarcely enough jobs for small segments of the educated, let alone for uneducated farmers and pastoralists. As a result, there are vast numbers of unemployed and underemployed people who are marginal to the modern economy, facing economic strains, unschooled in participatory politics, and who are highly affronted by exposure to the Western values of individualism, hedonism, gender equality, and a popular culture that celebrates self indulgence. Moreover, not having had traditions of political democracy and pluralism, most Muslim governments tend to be autocratic and allow little or no political redress.

Such conditions are ripe for the emergence of charismatic leaders who can offer comfort, solace, and dignity to followers. In many mosques, especially those located in the teeming slums of major cities and even in European countries where Muslims are found in the underclasses, fundamentalist leaders find ready audiences for rigid, authoritarian doctrines that provide a sense of community, dignity, and meaning as mechanisms of escape. But, in accordance with Fromm's theory, fundamentalist doctrines often divide the world into two categories: friend and foe. The same, it should be added, can be said for fundamentalism in other religions, such as Christianity and Hinduism.

TO THE FUTURE

Today alienated, powerless masses facing political, economic, and moral challenges are embracing fundamentalism in response. In a few cases, some people move from religious fundamentalism to political terrorism as an empowering agenda. Many scholars have noted that fundamentalism is typically a short-term response to complicated problems, and that terrorism is usually an admission of failure to attain political or economic ends. Thus many think fundamentalism will wane. While some among the alienated are joining violent, reactionary movements, other segments of the alienated are joining nonviolent, progressive movements that are challenging globalization by demanding greater freedom, equal-

ity, an end to human-rights abuses, pollution, and other social, political, and environmental ills in a vision of globally based justice. The future directions of humanity will be shaped in part by which segments of the alienated become empowered.

—Lauren Langman

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ALINSKY, SAUL (1909–1972)

U.S. reformer

Saul Alinsky was a charismatic founder of community organizations in cities across the United States.

He is widely credited with developing a style of aggressive community organizing that confronts powerful interests and seeks to build political power among grassroots constituencies. Alinsky used the “action”—a form of visible protest against powerful people and institutions—to maximize media attention and embarrass his targets. He focused on organizing residents of lower-income neighborhoods to help them build political and economic power. He was perhaps best known for co-founding the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council (BYNC) in Chicago in a neighborhood south of the Chicago Stockyards and the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF), a national trainer of community organizers. The BYNC became a substantial political force in Chicago and one of the few organizations that could stand up against the city’s political machine.

Alinsky was born in the Maxwell Street area of Chicago—a crowded immigrant community on Chicago’s Near West Side. His father was an orthodox Jew who had emigrated from Russia to New York and then to Maxwell Street, where he was remarried to Sarah Tannenbaum, Alinsky’s mother. When Saul was about six, his family moved to the more middle-class Douglas Park-Lawndale area on the city’s West Side. His mother and father divorced when he was about thirteen.

In 1926, Alinsky entered the University of Chicago and studied in the renowned sociology department. Alinsky struggled in his first two undergraduate years and was put on academic probation. In his junior year he took a course in social pathology with E. W. Burgess, who, along with Robert Park, was a founder of the Chicago School of Sociology. Alinsky also met Helene Simon from Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, at the university. She later became his wife.

After graduating in 1930 Alinsky remained at the University of Chicago to do graduate work in sociology. During this time he began to do fieldwork with Clifford Shaw, who ran the Institute for Juvenile Research on the city’s near West Side, in the same neighborhood in which Alinsky was born. In his fieldwork Alinsky interacted with the likes of Al Capone’s gang. In 1933 Alinsky began working for the Institute for Juvenile Research at the Illinois State



Saul Alinsky (extreme left) on the picket line of the United Packing House Workers at the Chicago stockyards on 16 January 1946.

Source: Bettman/Corbis; used with permission.

Penitentiary in Joliet, an hour and a half southwest of Chicago. It was a tough place, and no doubt his experiences there had something to do with the development of the tough, openly confrontational style for which he became known.

Alinsky had clearly been left of center in terms of political ideology but had not been particularly active in politics at a young age. His hatred of the German Nazi leader Adolf Hitler and fascism led him to support the antifascist International Brigade during the Spanish Civil War. However, he never became a member of the Communist Party, as did some of his activist contemporaries.

SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

Alinsky's mentors at the University of Chicago had developed a theory of "social disorganization" as a cause of delinquency. However, Alinsky asserted that economic defects in the social order are the cause of the social disorganization.

Contrary to popular belief, Alinsky's first work in neighborhood organizing was not with the BYNC. In 1932 Clifford Shaw had started the Chicago Area Project (CAP) and had sent Alinsky into South Chicago, on the city's far Southeast Side, to a neigh-

borhood known as the "Bush." Shaw's vision, which clearly influenced Alinsky, was of community organizations that are built primarily by empowering local residents. CAP was a reaction against professionals who dominated the treatment of juvenile delinquency—doctors, psychologists, and social workers. Shaw proposed a nonjudgmental and accepting method of working with delinquents. The work through CAP was to grow out of community, not be superimposed onto it. Shaw favored stimulating a "by-the-bootstraps," self-help approach. At the time the dominant form of community organizing was the model developed by the social work establishment, following the work of the social worker Jane Addams's Hull House. The social work notion of community organizing was one

in which outsiders with good will enter a neighborhood with an established notion of needs, goals, and strategies. Shaw's notion was more oriented toward enabling communities to identify their own needs and goals and to use their own capacities and assets in pursuing those goals.

Alinsky went beyond working with youth. He worked with the Russell Square Community Committee in the Bush, involving adults in efforts to improve the community. If they felt they could change local conditions, he reasoned, they would feel empowered. While following the indigenous organizing approach, Alinsky added concerns with larger structural economic issues to his model of organizing. The CAP approach in Russell Square was "safely conventional" and apolitical. It had no involvement, for example, with union activity at the nearby steel mills. However, Alinsky began to feel the limits to what local action alone could do. He began more and more to recognize the need to deal with citywide problems and structural economic issues.

In 1938 Shaw sent Alinsky to an area on the city's Southwest Side called the "Back of the Yards," named for its proximity to the stockyards and for its housing of many packinghouse workers. The area

was mostly Polish but also Lithuanian and Irish. About the same time Alinsky began working in the Back of the Yards, the Committee for Industrial Organization's (CIO) Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee (PWOC) began to try to organize packers at Armour, Swift, and the other big packinghouses. After all, meatpacking was the second-largest industry in the city after steel. Alinsky soon met Herb March, the charismatic leader of the PWOC, and the two hit it off from the start.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

Alinsky soon also met Joseph Meegan, director of Davis Square Park in the Back of the Yards neighborhood. Meegan and Alinsky worked together to build the BYNC, which became the most powerful neighborhood organization in the city. Alinsky and Meegan built an organization that was seen as the political center of the neighborhood—a place where decisions were made by and for the people of the neighborhood. Local merchants supported the organization, in part because they feared what would happen if they did not. At the same time a large part of Alinsky's success was due to connections to powerbrokers outside the neighborhood. Meegan's brother, for example, was Bishop Bernard Sheil's secretary. Sheil was sympathetic to the plight of poor immigrants—especially Catholic ones—and the Catholic church was a significant force in local and state politics.

Alinsky refined his theory and practice of community organizing at BYNC. He developed a theory of problem solving based on the active participation of ordinary people. At the same time Alinsky viewed the organizer as a critical factor in successful organizing. The organizer was not to lead so much as to facilitate and catalyze. Empowering residents as leaders was important, but this required the involvement of a skilled and intelligent organizer.

BYNC became a formidable force in Chicago, so formidable, in fact, that Mayor Ed Kelly, who led the strong Democratic machine, was threatened by it. BYNC had become a place for people to take their problems instead of to the machine. The city transferred Joe Meegan out of Davis Park, making it hard for him to lead the council, and put an end to the



Alinsky's Rules for Radicals

1. Power is not only what you have but what the enemy thinks you have.
2. Never go outside the experience of your people. It may result in confusion, fear and retreat.
3. Wherever possible go outside the experience of the enemy. Here you want to cause confusion, fear and retreat.
4. Make the enemy live up to his/her own book of rules.
5. Ridicule is man's most potent weapon.
6. A good tactic is one that your people enjoy.
7. A tactic that drags on too long becomes a drag.
8. Keep the pressure on, with different tactics and actions and utilize all events of the period for your purpose.
9. The threat is usually more terrifying than the thing itself.
10. The major premise for tactics is the development of operations that will maintain a constant pressure upon the opposition.
11. If you push a negative hard and deep enough it will break through into its counterside.
12. The price of a successful attack is a constructive alternative.
13. Pick the target, freeze it, personalize it and polarize it.

Source: Alinsky, Saul. (1971). *Rules for Radicals: A Practical Primer for Realistic Radicals*. New York: Vintage.

organization's use of the park. Alinsky took to newspapers and his church connections to fight the machine. Meegan then quit the city to become full-time director of the council.

Bishop Sheil introduced Alinsky to Marshall Field III, who lived in New York. Field—whose grandfather, the Chicago merchant, had not been known to be kind to the working class—funded the beginning of Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF), a national platform to support community organizations such as BYNC in lower-income communities around the country. The IAF helped establish organizations in Kansas City, St. Paul, Minnesota, Rochester, New York, and elsewhere. Later in Chicago, Alinsky helped establish the Organization for the Southwest Community (OSC) during the late 1950s and early 1960s.

Alinsky was heavily influenced by national labor leaders—in particular the charismatic leader of the early CIO, John L. Lewis. Alinsky's interactions with the CIO clearly influenced his interest in economic justice issues. Alinsky's allegiance to Lewis became so strong that he quietly supported Lewis in his endorsement of the Republican candidate Wendell Willkie over Franklin Roosevelt in Roosevelt's bid for a third term as president in 1940.

Although Alinsky's politics were always somewhat enigmatic, they generally remained left of center. He tended to sympathize with communists and socialists but was too pragmatic to join them. Moreover, he was always opportunistic. An example of his opportunism was his supporting Willkie against Roosevelt. Alinsky probably did not favor Willkie personally but wanted to cement his good relationship with Lewis.

In 1945 Alinsky published *Reveille for Radicals*. The book was an attack on liberal politics and called for a new set of people's organizations around the country as the vehicle for a new populism. Perhaps reflecting some disillusionment in unions, he criticized organized labor as greedy, selfish, and often bigoted. His people's organizations would fill the void to replace or reinvigorate organized labor.

The book also was a prescription for building people's organizations such as BYNC and a how-to for community organizers. In it he argued that an organizer needs to be nonpartisan *within* the community but always partisan *for* the community. There are limits, though, to what an organizer should tolerate. Racial discrimination was key among these to Alinsky. An organizer will find it most productive, Alinsky advised, not to attack discrimination among a community he is organizing from the start but rather to look for openings to encourage or compel people to modify their prejudices by recognizing that it is in their own self-interest to do so.

RACE AND HOUSING

The issue of race and housing proved a key weakness in Alinsky's organizing strategy. In fact, BYNC became somewhat known as an anti-integrationist organization, and OSC became bitterly divided over

the issue. In 1954 Alinsky met Father Jack Egan, a Catholic priest, and they soon became friends. Egan was a socially conscious priest who went on to become well known for social and racial justice activism in the city, including marching with civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr., on the city's white Southwest Side. Egan encouraged Alinsky's concern over racial segregation. BYNC had by then begun earning a racist reputation in its efforts to keep out blacks. Late in 1958 Alinsky floated a plan to allow modest integration in places such as the Back of the Yards, and Meegan exploded. Egan broke off his relationship with Meegan, but Alinsky did not.

Alinsky went on to publish *Rules for Radicals* in 1971, shortly before his death. Overall, his theories and practices can still be seen—perhaps in modified forms—in a variety of community organizations around the country. The IAF, led by one of Alinsky's protégés, continues its work in a number of places, perhaps most successfully in the Southwest, such as in San Antonio, Texas, where Citizens Organized for Public Service (COPS) has achieved important victories. Cesar Chavez, the farm worker leader, was an IAF organizer in his early days. Tom Gaudette, who led the Organization for Better Austin (OBA), was trained by Alinsky. Gaudette worked at OBA with Gale Cincotta, a mother on Chicago's West Side who went on to be a leader of antiredlining (opposition to discrimination in housing) campaigns and led the fight for the federal Community Reinvestment Act.

Groups such as Cincotta's National People's Action, the Association for Communities for Reform Now (ACORN), Citizen Action, and many other community organizations, community development groups, and social advocates can be traced to Alinsky or his disciples. In Chicago alone, one count in 1990 put the number of active neighborhood organizations founded by Alinsky or his followers at roughly one hundred. Most of these organizations continue to adopt many of Alinsky's tactics. In scholarly discussions of organizing, terms such as *neo-Alinsky* have evolved to describe different types of approaches. One would have difficulty suggesting another person who had more impact on the mobilization of political power at the neighborhood level than Saul Alinsky.

—Daniel Immergluck

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 **ALTRUISM**

There is broad agreement that the word *altruism* describes behavior that benefits or helps another person and that the helping behavior is not motivated by self-interest; in fact, by definition, altruistic helping is an end in itself and not a means to an end. What is controversial is the motive ascribed to a specific helpful act: How can we know for sure that the helpful person has really abdicated all self-interest? This controversy may be summed up by what the field of social psychology calls the “altruism question”: Is it possible for a person to have another person's welfare as an ultimate goal (altruism), or is helping simply an instrumental means of obtaining one or another form of self-benefit? As Daniel Batson and Adam Powell note, a plethora of self-focused or egoistic motives can and do motivate helping behavior. For example, numerous rewards are commonly associated with helping another person, including thanks, praise, increased self-esteem, and even, at least among religious individuals, the promise of a fulfilling afterlife. Furthermore, as people are often distressed to see another person in need, they may act to relieve a person's suffering to eliminate their own distress. Moreover, people who view themselves as kind-hearted may initiate helping behavior to nourish and sustain this positive

view (for example, “I'm not the kind of person who just stands idly by when someone clearly needs my assistance”). Finally—and perhaps with most relevance to leadership in organizational contexts—helping behavior may be initiated to repay people who have helped us in the past.

THE DIFFICULTY OF ASSESSING MOTIVES

Although the “altruism question” has been debated fiercely by religious, moral, and political philosophers for centuries, Batson and his colleagues were among the first to examine the issue in the controlled world of the psychological laboratory. These experiments, cleverly designed as they are, operate on the basis of a rather simple premise: If people help others for self-oriented reasons, then helping will not occur when such reasons or motives are eliminated. However, if helping is driven by other motives, it will persist in the absence of self-interest. In the laboratory, Batson and his colleagues created a situation in which participants were exposed to a person needing help and a justification for not helping was provided—for example, participants were led to believe that the person in need deserved his or her problems, that helping would be extremely difficult, or that, when asked to help, most other people would decline. One experiment induced empathy for the person in need by asking participants to alter their perspective (for example, participants were told, “Try to imagine how the person feels” or “Put yourself in the victim's shoes”). When participants felt more empathy, they helped others, even in the face of plausible reasons not to extend help. Such results led Batson to propose the empathy-altruism hypothesis, which holds that empathic emotions such as sympathy, compassion, and tenderness evoke a desire to help the person for whom the empathy is felt. Results from dozens of similar experiments have supported this hypothesis.

However, it is important to note that other researchers suggest plausible, non-altruistic explanations for these results. For example, Robert Cialdini and his colleagues argued that the conditions that lead to empathic concern also lead to a blurring of the distinction between self and other. In a series of studies,

these authors demonstrated that a perceived oneness with a victim is a powerful predictor of helping behavior and that empathic concern increases helping because it is related to this perceived oneness. From this perspective, helping behaviors occur because the victim is, in a sense, integrated into the helper's perceived sense of self.

ALTRUISM IN ORGANIZATIONS

Rabindra Kanungo and Jay Conger note that altruism has not received systematic attention from organizational behavior theorists and researchers and suggest that this neglect may be due to the potent individualistic and competitive elements of contemporary Western society. In addition, Elliott Sober posits that egoistic or self-oriented explanations for helping behavior may be common because our culture is focused on individuality and economic competition. Over a century and a half ago, Alexis de Tocqueville observed that "Americans . . . enjoy explaining almost every act of their lives on the principle of self-interest" (1835/2000, p. 526). In support of these views, survey research indicates that respondents tend to believe that most people are primarily motivated by self-interest.

The research of Batson, Cialdini, and their colleagues demonstrates the difficulty, even in the controlled world of the laboratory, of determining why an individual engages in helping behavior. Batson's work appears to suggest that, if only in cases where empathy is felt for a person in need, the motive to help may in fact be altruistic. However, in organizational contexts, the motive that underlies helping behavior generally remains a mystery to all but the helper. For example, did Cathy stay late to help Pam finish a report because they are both single mothers and Cathy felt empathy for Pam? Or would she really prefer to work late rather than go to dinner with her in-laws? The same kind of question could be asked of a leader. When Jeff took a pay cut was he acting altruistically or did he think that that was the only way to prevent his company from going bankrupt?

This ambiguity of motive may represent another plausible explanation for the dearth of altruism-

based research in the organizational literature. Perhaps with an implicit nod to this dilemma, Kanungo and Conger have specified two forms of altruism. The first, *utilitarian* or *mutual altruism*, represents a concern for others that is combined with a concern for self, whereas the second, *genuine* or *moral altruism*, is thought to occur when helping behavior involves either self-sacrifice or no regard for self-interest. The authors note that contributing money to a charity to enhance a corporate image would be an example of the former, whereas choosing leadership practices that empower employees exemplify the latter. Furthermore, because of the difficulty of ascertaining a motive for helping behavior, the study of altruism in leadership and organizational contexts tends to dodge the question of motives by focusing almost exclusively on observable helping behaviors.

LEADERSHIP AND ALTRUISM

History is rife with examples of leaders thought to have distinguished themselves by acting altruistically: Mahatma Gandhi, Mother Theresa, Martin Luther King, Jr., and the storied soldier who lost his life but spared his company after covering a hand grenade with his body. Altruistic and self-sacrificial leader behaviors have also received attention, especially in the theories of transforming/transformational leadership by James MacGregor Burns and Bernard Bass, which posit that leaders must at times forgo their immediate self-interest for the sake of a collective good, a moral principle, or a compelling vision of the future.

Work by Yeon Choi and Renate Mai-Dalton indicates that self-sacrificial leader behaviors cause followers to want to reciprocate such behaviors (self-sacrifice is similar to altruism, but focuses more narrowly on the costs of such behavior to the helper). Furthermore, followers tend to view self-sacrificial leaders as both legitimate and charismatic. Thus, through self-sacrifice, leaders may strive to set up a "culture of reciprocity" in which followers are motivated to follow their leaders' example. Choi and Mai-Dalton also note that the cultivation of this type of work environment may be

critical in times of organizational crisis, when extreme acts of altruism or self-sacrifice may be necessary. In a workplace, such behaviors are likely to satisfy both other- and self-oriented needs and therefore should probably be cast as acts of *utilitarian/mutual altruism*.

ALTRUISM AND FOLLOWER BEHAVIOR

To reciprocate a leader's self-sacrificial or altruistic behavior, Choi and Mai-Dalton suggest that followers may engage in "organizational citizenship behavior (OCB)." Dennis Organ defines OCB as "performance that supports the social and psychological environment in which task performance takes place" (1997, 95). In addition, he has called the one facet of OCB that entails helping another person with an organizationally relevant task or problem "altruism" (though his recent writings refer to this facet simply as "helping" or "helpfulness" to avoid the attribution of a selfless motive to such behaviors). Research indicates that leaders play a clear role in eliciting follower OCB. For example, in a meta-analytic review of fifty-five studies, job attitudes (for instance, satisfaction and commitment) and leader behavior emerged as robust predictors of the altruism facet of OCB. Further, recent theories agree with the view that OCB tends to occur when employees form a "covenantal relationship"—a bond characterized by open-ended commitment, mutual trust, and shared values (Van Dyne, Graham, & Dienesch, 1994). In many cases, the leader behaviors that foster this type of relationship include clarifying expectations, exchanging assistance and guid-



Altruism and Self-Interest

It is often difficult to see whether it is altruism or self-interest or perhaps some of each that motivates human behavior in many situations where both parties to the activity may benefit. Often, the party in control seeks to present itself as acting out of altruism although self-interest may also be obvious. Here are two examples of this complexity; the first concerning adoption of children on the island of Chuuk in the South Pacific and the second a rule followed by the Hudson's Bay Company in regard to the treatment of the Blackfoot Indians in colonial Canada.

As we have noted, helping a relative who has many children is given as one of the three main reasons for adoption. Here, as in other kinds of adoption, the adopting parents are characteristically childless, but their stated reasons for adopting tend to emphasize altruism rather than self-interest. Such adoptions often come about after the adopting parents have lived with the real parents and helped them with their children. They may take care of the youngest child when his mother becomes pregnant again or over the period when a new baby is born. It is not a large step from this kind of helping-out to an actual adoption; and a mother of many children appears to be relieved, rather than threatened, when such a couple agrees to take on the full care of a particular child. It is not always easy to feed and clothe a large family of growing children, and parents with many children often look upon adoption not only as a help to themselves but as an opportunity for the child. It is interesting that ten living mothers gave up two or more children for adoption, accounting for a total of twenty-two children in our sample.

Source: Goodenough, Ruth G. (1970). "Adoption on Romonum, Truk." In *Adoption in Eastern Oceania*, edited by Vern Carroll. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, p. 325.

That the Indians be treated with kindness and indulgence, and mild and conciliatory means resorted to in order to encourage industry, repress vice, and inculcate morality; that the use of spirituous liquors be gradually discontinued in the very few districts in which it is yet indispensable; and that the Indians be liberally supplied with requisite necessaries, particularly with articles of ammunition, whether they have the means of paying for it or not, and that no gentleman in charge of district or post be at liberty to alter or vary the standards or usual mode of trade with the Indians, except by special permission of the Council.

Source: Lewis, Oscar. (1973). *The Effects of White Contact upon Blackfoot Culture: With Special Reference to the Role of the Fur Trade*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, p. 28.

ance for effort, providing teaching and development, and considering each subordinate's unique needs, abilities, and aspirations. Leaders may also work to promote the view that OCB is a natural part of the job and general organizational culture, because research indicates that employees are more likely to

engage in OCB when such behaviors are considered in-role rather than extra-role.

Although the following examples of OCB are in a reciprocity-based context, this context does not preclude cases in which such behaviors might qualify as acts of genuine altruism. For example, leadership behaviors including charisma, inspiration, and intellectual stimulation are thought to be transformational precisely because they compel followers to transcend narrow self-interest. Although preliminary, recent research indicates that transformational leader behaviors do, in fact, activate higher-level needs and a belief in a purpose associated with the work; in turn, this process leads to increased satisfaction, effort, and work performance.

THE DARK SIDE OF ALTRUISM

At this point, altruism's potential dark side may not be immediately apparent. Nevertheless, recent research has allowed for greater insight into the mechanisms through which altruistic behavior may, at times, lead to negative outcomes. Work by Batson and his colleagues has demonstrated that altruism may lead individuals to violate moral principles such as equity and justice. When instructed to allocate money and valued services to needy victims, individuals not induced to feel empathy-based altruism tend to act in accordance with the principle of justice: They divide the money and services equally among those in need. Conversely, individuals induced to feel empathy for one victim in particular treat that person preferentially—for example, by allocating services to him or her when other victims either have been waiting longer or are objectively more needy. Such behavior is a clear demonstration of the partiality that altruism may induce; this partiality may, in turn, promote the sort of us-versus-them attitudes that drive group conflict. Espousing similar views with regard to the evolution of altruism, Sober noted that group selection (and by implication, altruism) “doesn’t always lead the lion to lay down with the lamb; it can lead lions to cooperate with each other to bring down lambs” (2002, 26).

Similar concerns have been raised in leadership contexts. For example, Terry Price recently noted

that acting altruistically is not synonymous with acting ethically: In fact, altruistic leaders may make moral exceptions of themselves precisely because they are blinded by their own other-oriented altruistic values. As an antidote to such tendencies, Price argues that leaders' understanding of the collective good and of the morality of the processes required to reach that state must always be evaluated in light of general moral and ethical requirements, at least partially to protect the interest of outsiders. Expressing a similar perspective, Batson and Powell suggest that one of the best ways to ensure that altruism does not violate a moral principle is to elicit it in the context of that principle—such as encouraging empathy for victims of injustice. In such situations, the two motives then work in tandem rather than in opposition.

THE BRIGHT SIDE OF ALTRUISM

Philosophers, theologians, political theorists, and, most recently, social scientists have wrestled with the issue of whether helping behaviors are ever truly selfless. An extensive program of research indicates that they can be, at least when the helper feels empathy for the person in need. The previous discussion (“The Dark Side of Altruism”) noted that empathy can induce *partiality* and can cause people to violate ethical norms (such as equity), but not to act selfishly per se. They are still acting with another person's interests in mind (rather than their own), and it is this myopic “other focus” which may cause them to violate moral principles (such as allocating more to the person they feel empathy for than to others who may be equally needy). Because a multitude of self-oriented motives may generate helping behaviors in work contexts, it is difficult to determine when such acts are truly altruistic. However, by offering support and guidance to subordinates, leaders can do much to elicit helping, altruistic behaviors, and by fostering a work-oriented culture that promotes values such as fairness, caring, and equity, leaders can help ensure that the potential for partiality at times associated with altruism remains well within ethical bounds.

—Patrick Gavan O'Shea

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**ANTHONY, SUSAN B. (1820–1906)***U.S. reformer*

Susan B. Anthony was a feminist leader and trailblazer for women's rights who spent her life working for positive social change. Anthony dedicated her life to various reform movements, including abolition of slavery and temperance, which eventually gave way to her leading the fight against society's overall oppression of women. Anthony sought legal reforms of restrictive marriage and divorce laws of the nineteenth century that left divorced women without property or a means of support. Likewise, nineteenth-century laws denied divorced women custody of their children and afforded women little or no legal recourse over domestic disputes. These oppressive social conditions for women were too much for Anthony to bear. Along with other like-minded early feminists, Anthony appealed to local and state legislatures of the Northeast to consider the plight of women, especially the most vulnerable who had little or no means of support or way of seeking restitution in a society favoring men and restricting the lives of women. Anthony led the way for general social reforms and fought for equal voting rights for women against opponents who supported disenfranchisement of women. She demonstrated a tenacity and commitment to improving women's lives not typical of most nineteenth-century women, although throughout her long life Anthony did share the limelight with many notable figures such as the U.S. women's suffrage leader Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

Anthony believed that obtaining voting rights



Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, leaders of the women's suffrage movement in the United States, c. 1881.

Source: Bettman/Corbis; used with permission.

would be the best first step in eradicating other oppressive conditions for women and that women's public activism would help level the playing field in the domestic, social, economic, and political arenas. Everything she did was deemed to be for "the cause," which she regularly referenced as being the central force of her being—to gain the vote so that future generations of women could break free of the chains of oppression and openly participate in public life.

A NATIONAL HEROINE IS BORN

Susan Brownell Anthony was born to Quaker parents, Daniel and Lucy Read Anthony. Anthony was born an ordinary female in a typical working-class household. Her father was a devout Quaker, and her mother was a Baptist. Anthony's father, like other Quakers, based his beliefs on egalitarian principles and valued education as a worthy endeavor for both

boys and girls. With their father's guidance, the Anthony children briefly attended public school and then were home schooled. As a young girl attending a public school, Susan was denied the opportunity to learn long division because the schoolmaster did not believe that girls should learn mathematics. At this point in her life, Anthony's outraged father removed her from public school and began the process of home schooling under the tutelage of Mary Perkins. In 1837 Anthony's father enrolled Susan in a Quaker female seminary school ran by Deborah Moulson. Anthony's formal schooling was not remarkable; however, her earliest written correspondence and diary reflect Anthony's personal rejection of the overemphasis placed on female piety and morality, which Anthony found were too often taken to the extreme. Like all good Quakers, Anthony found these qualities acceptable within reason and practiced them personally; however, she became more interested in focusing on social and civil responsibility as a way of showing human morality. Throughout her long career as an activist against vice and the ills of society, Anthony demonstrated a natural inclination to stand by her convictions and take on roles of leadership in hopes of improving society.

Although the nineteenth century has been referred to as the "Era of the Common Man," the common woman gained little notoriety for her commonness. Economic dependency and restrictive marriages dictated the common woman's role in society, which led to Anthony's challenging the status quo at an early age. For example, as a girl of about eleven in 1831, Susan asked her father why a young and competent woman in his mill was not made overseer instead of a less-competent man named Elijah. Daniel Anthony explained to his young daughter that society simply would not accept such an arrangement and left her question largely unanswered. Her father's vague reply did not appease Anthony, who continued to question the unequal society she grew up in. By the time Anthony had finished seminary, she had met Lucretia Mott, who had spoken at the seminary in 1837. Mott, a Quaker and an avid abolitionist, was one of the founders of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society. She spoke with a passion that stirred Anthony's soul and solidified her conviction

to support abolition. Such a turn of events would be a challenge to Quakers because during the early years of abolition reform, many remained ambivalent about the institution of slavery. As a result, the Hick-site Quakers, who supported abolition and with whom Mott had affiliated, broke away from the mainstream Quakers.

Undoubtedly Anthony's new convictions regarding abolition posed a conflict within her family as to whether or not the cotton processed in her father's mills was produced by slave labor. However, her father was spared the conflict because the family business went bankrupt during the Panic of 1837, and he was forced to auction off the family's fifteen-room house, furnishings, and nearly every personal possession they owned. By 1839 Daniel Anthony had moved his family from Battenville, New York, to the impoverished town of Center Falls. In this small town Anthony's family eked out a living by taking in boarders, and the senior Anthony earned a meager income as a postmaster. At this point Susan B. Anthony took up teaching and severed the close bonds she had enjoyed with her parents and siblings. Although she wrote numerous letters and visited home as often as she could, Anthony became a *femme sole* (woman alone) because marriage had taken her sisters in different directions, and her career as a teacher took her in another. As a teacher, Anthony began to hone her skills of leadership by establishing herself as an individual and as an agent for social change.

EARLY YEARS OF LEADERSHIP

Teaching was one of the few professions available to nineteenth-century women. Many of Anthony's contemporaries had taken up teaching but had abandoned the profession after marriage. Susan B. Anthony vowed never to marry and to encourage women to shun the social institution of marriage until full rights of citizenry were granted to women. Through teaching Anthony gained a sense of autonomy and independence that she would have never realized as a married woman. An ordinary woman such as Anthony became remarkable because she practiced her own advice and dedicated her life to reform. Because Anthony took

her cause so seriously, she never allowed her personal life to interfere with her public ambitions. Until her death Anthony remained the staunch and principled leader of the women's suffrage movement and continued to support other avenues of reform for the benefit of women and men alike.

By 1845 Anthony had carved out a life as a teacher and reform activist and had broadened her circle of friends to include many abolitionists and temperance reformers. During the 1840s Anthony was involved with abolition and the Daughters of Temperance, which effectively placed her in the spotlight. She gained public notoriety and was sought out to speak at temperance gatherings. Through the many speeches she gave and the many gatherings she attended, Anthony became acquainted with many prominent leaders who helped her develop her natural inclination for leadership. One such person was Stanton, who became a lifelong friend and partner in the fight for equal rights. The duo attended temperance, abolition, and women's rights conventions together, and by 1855 Susan B. Anthony had become one of the nation's most outspoken leaders in the reform arena.

Until 1854, Anthony's work had been conducted in New York. As Anthony became more active in the public sphere, her connection to the prominent literati and reformers became extremely important to her leadership development. For example, prominent abolitionists William Lloyd Garrison and Samuel May sought her out as a traveling agent for their abolition society, which led her to widespread speaking engagements and national notoriety. Likewise, Anthony continued to work for temperance and women's rights, with women's suffrage at the epicenter of her work. Her leadership captured the attention of the nation, with many newspapers expressing opinions ranging from praise to condemnation that a woman would speak so forcefully in the public arena. Anthony humbly accepted the praise and steeled herself against the condemnations of newspaper editorials and outraged ministers who reminded Anthony to remember her place as a woman. At times she even had to deflect criticism from men who were members of reform societies she belonged to. However, she did not become discouraged.



Remarks of Susan B. Anthony at Her Trial for Illegal Voting (19 June 1873)

In 1873, Susan B. Anthony was tried for illegal voting by the Circuit Court of the United States for the Northern District of New York. There exist several versions of Anthony's statement to the judge after her motion for a new trial had been dismissed, recorded by reporters at the time of the trial. The version below is the one set down by Anthony herself later in the year.

Judge Hunt—(Ordering the defendant to stand up), Has the prisoner anything to say why sentence shall not be pronounced?

Miss Anthony—Yes, your honor, I have many things to say; for in your ordered verdict of guilty, you have trampled under foot every vital principle of our government. My natural rights, my civil rights, my political rights, my judicial rights, are all alike ignored. Robbed of the fundamental privilege of citizenship, I am degraded from the status of a citizen to that of a subject; and not only myself individually, but all of my sex, are, by your honor's verdict, doomed to political subjection under this, so-called, form of government.

Judge Hunt—The Court cannot listen to a rehearsal of arguments the prisoner's counsel has already consumed three hours in presenting.

Miss Anthony—May it please your honor, I am not arguing the question, but simply stating the reasons why sentence cannot, in justice, be pronounced against me. Your denial of my citizen's right to vote, is the denial of my right of consent as one of the governed, the denial of my right of representation as one of the taxed, the denial of my right to a trial by a jury of my peers as an offender against law, therefore, the denial of my sacred rights to life, liberty, property and

Judge Hunt—The Court cannot allow the prisoner to go on.

Miss Anthony—But your honor will not deny me this one and only poor privilege of protest against this high-handed outrage upon my citizen's rights. May it please the Court to remember that since the day of my arrest last November, this is the first time that either myself or any person of my disfranchised class has been allowed a word of defense before judge or jury

Judge Hunt—The prisoner must sit down the Court cannot allow it.

Miss Anthony—All of my prosecutors, from the 8th ward

corner grocery politician, who entered the complaint, to the United States Marshal, Commissioner, District Attorney, District Judge, your honor on the bench, not one is my peer, but each and all are my political sovereigns; and had your honor submitted my case to the jury, as was clearly your duty, even then I should have had just cause of protest for not one of those men was my peer; but, native or foreign born, white or black, rich or poor, educated or ignorant, awake or asleep, sober or drunk, each and every man of them was my political superior; hence, in no sense, my peer. Even, under such circumstances, a commoner of England, tried before a jury of Lords, would have far less cause to complain than should I, a woman, tried before a jury of men. Even my counsel, the Hon. Henry R. Selden, who has argued my cause so ably, so earnestly, so unanswerably before your honor, is my political sovereign. Precisely as no disfranchised person is entitled to sit upon a jury, and no woman is entitled to the franchise, so, none but a regularly admitted lawyer is allowed to practice in the courts, and no woman can gain admission to the bar hence, jury, judge, counsel, must all be of the superior class.

Judge Hunt—The Court must insist the prisoner has been tried according to the established forms of law.

Miss Anthony—Yes, your honor, but by forms of law all made by men, interpreted by men, administered by men, in favor of men, and against women; and hence, your honor's ordered verdict of guilty, against a United States citizen for the exercise of "that citizen's right to vote," simply because that citizen was a woman and not a man. But, yesterday, the same man-made forms of law, declared it a crime punishable with \$1,000 fine and six months' imprisonment, for you, or me, or any of us, to give a cup of cold water, a crust of bread, or a night's shelter to a panting fugitive as he was tracking his way to Canada. And every man or woman in whose veins coursed a drop of human sympathy violated that wicked law, reckless of consequences, and was justified in so doing. As then, the slaves who got their freedom must take it over, or under, or through

HOPE FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS OF WOMEN

Although Anthony remained single her entire life, she had several suitors and turned down many proposals. Anthony felt that marriage would interfere

with her beloved reform work. At times she became frustrated with the women around her and often expressed deep regret when one by one most of her female friends married and had children. However, married women such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton

the unjust forms of law, precisely so, now, must women, to get their right to a voice in this government, take it; and I have taken mine, and mean to take it at every possible opportunity.

Judge Hunt—The Court orders the prisoner to sit down. It will not allow another word.

Miss Anthony—When I was brought before your honor for trial, I hoped for a broad and liberal interpretation of the Constitution and its recent amendments, that should declare all United States citizens under its protecting aegis that should declare equality of rights the national guarantee to all persons born or naturalized in the United States. But failing to get this justice—failing, even, to get a trial by a jury not of my peers—I ask not leniency at your hands—but rather the full rigors of the law.

Judge Hunt—The Court must insist
(Here the prisoner sat down.)

Judge Hunt—The prisoner will stand up.
(Here Miss Anthony arose again.)

The sentence of the Court is that you pay a fine of one hundred dollars and the costs of the prosecution.

Miss Anthony—May it please your honor, I shall never pay a dollar of your unjust penalty. All the stock in trade I possess is a \$10,000 debt, incurred by publishing my paper—*The Revolution*—four years ago, the sole object of which was to educate all women to do precisely as I have done, rebel against your man-made, unjust, unconstitutional forms of law, that tax, fine, imprison and hang women, while they deny them the right of representation in the government; and I shall work on with might and main to pay every dollar of that honest debt, but not a penny shall go to this unjust claim. And I shall earnestly and persistently continue to urge all women to the practical recognition of the old revolutionary maxim, that “Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God.”

Source: Stanton and Anthony Papers Project Online. Retrieved September 29, 2003, from <http://ecssba.rutgers.edu/docs/sbatrial.html>

aided Anthony’s rise to prominence as a leader. Many historians have noted that Stanton was an eloquent writer, whereas Anthony became a dedicated orator. Both women wrote and gave speeches; however, Anthony, being single, could put more time and

energy into her work. Anthony’s growth as a leader was not an easy process. At times she felt ill at ease in the limelight; however, her dedication to reform gave her a strong voice and an air of dignified composure that was often noted by those who heard her speak.

As a Quaker, Anthony spoke directly to her audiences without mincing words. When possible she spoke with other prominent reformers in order to add impact to speeches and public forums. She sought liaisons with important people who could impress their reform goals on society. After the Civil War freed thousands of slaves, she turned her full attention to women’s suffrage and other women’s rights issues. During the 1870s, women canvassed the nation in hopes of gaining support for the vote. Many women were heckled, some were arrested, and others became discouraged and abandoned the suffrage movement. Anthony refused to give up and again demonstrated her daring and leadership by illegally voting in a New York election in 1872. She was arrested and brought before Judge Hunt, who fined her for the infraction; Anthony refused to pay and appealed to the court. The outraged judge could not subdue the determined suffragette whose pleas for equality filled the courtroom. The case was dropped because the judge did not want Anthony tried by a jury who might have had sympathy for the plight of women who sought the vote. This was yet another example of Anthony’s leadership. By 1900, Anthony’s leadership came full circle as she stepped down from her post as leader of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), which began in 1848 and lasted until 1921. Anthony quietly died in 1906 as her friend Anna Howard Shaw held her hand, but not before her leadership had inspired a nation of women to press on in order to gain the vote in 1920.

—Denise R. Johnson

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ANTHROPOLOGY

See Indigenous Societies



APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA, DEMISE OF

The demise of apartheid (racial segregation) in South Africa and the coming to power there of a

democratic government, headed by Nelson Mandela, were events of world historical importance.

Some people who have sought to explain the transition from apartheid to democracy in South Africa have emphasized the crucial role of leadership. Other people have looked elsewhere for explanations—to the impact of sanctions on the South African economy, say, or to the threat posed by the armed struggle launched in 1961 and intensified after the Soweto Uprising of 1976, a rebellion against apartheid that began in Soweto township, Johannesburg, in June 1976. Although a definitive account of the reasons for the collapse of apartheid in South Africa cannot yet be written, experts generally agree that no single factor can explain so complex a development as the relatively sudden collapse of the world's most highly developed system of racial segregation, a system built up over three centuries and intensified by the National Party (NP) government that took office after the general election of 1948. However, most people who have written on the transition agree that leadership did play a vital role. Although the exact nature of that role requires examination, one can say that South Africa was fortunate in having, at a crucial time in its history, a number of key individuals prepared to rise above their narrow self-interest and work with former enemies to achieve what they and their opponents came to see as common goals.

Although apartheid unraveled from the late 1970s, the pillars of the apartheid system remained in place into the early 1990s and were then done away with rapidly as part of a process that took South Africa to a new democratic order. To understand the demise of apartheid we need to focus on the decade prior to the transfer of power from the white minority, apartheid government to a majority, democratic government in 1994. That transfer of power signaled the formal end of apartheid rule. In the decade before that key turning point, the ending of apartheid was greatly aided by the leadership of three remarkable men. Two were politicians, the third a cleric.

THREE KEY FIGURES

The cleric, Desmond Tutu, was small in stature but large in dynamism. He exerted great moral authority

and used oratorical skills to speak out against the evils of apartheid, yet he retained an impish sense of humor, which made it difficult for his critics to condemn him out of hand. Rising through the ranks of the Anglican church, he became general secretary of the South African Council of Churches in 1978 and in 1984 won the Nobel Peace Prize for his stand against apartheid. That prize, followed by his selection as archbishop of Cape Town in 1986, gave him effective immunity from state action, and he was able to call for sanctions against the apartheid regime and make repeated moral statements against atrocities being perpetrated by that regime. In the mid-1980s, during a rebellion against apartheid known as the “township revolt” that began in 1984 and soon embraced a number of townships throughout the country, he gave important moral support to the main internal resistance organization, the United Democratic Front. After the apartheid monolith began to crack, he stressed the common humanity of all the “rainbow people” of South Africa. After welcoming Nelson Mandela to his home after Mandela’s release from prison in February 1990, Tutu was not involved directly in the formal negotiations that followed, but he remained an influential voice urging reconciliation and the creation of a new nation in which all South Africans would feel at home. From 1995 to 1998 Tutu played a key role as chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). As head of the TRC’s Human Rights Violations Committee, he listened to numerous witnesses speak of their suffering under apartheid and then helped put together the multivolume report that the TRC presented to Mandela in 1998 detailing the extent of human rights violations under apartheid.

The second key figure, Nelson Rolihlala Mandela, is generally regarded as the most important individual in bringing about the collapse of apartheid. Tall and regal in bearing, Mandela had by the mid-1980s been incarcerated on Robben Island and then in Pollsmoor Prison for more than twenty years. His harsh prison experience had given him resilience and an unusual depth of understanding of human nature. Although a man of great personal presence and authority, he was willing to work in a collegial style and always emphasized that he was a loyal member of the African

National Congress (ANC). He came to believe that all people can change, and so he urged reconciliation with former enemies. Meeting with warders and government officials, he showed no bitterness. When the minister of justice, Kobie Coetsee, met Mandela in 1985, Mandela appeared as “an old Roman citizen, with dignitas, gravitas, honestias, simplicitas” (Sparks 1994, 72).

Mandela had long realized that the only solution for the country was a negotiated settlement, and from the mid-1980s he threw himself into the task of bringing about that settlement by urging the government officials whom he met to open a dialogue with the ANC. In prison he learned the language of his jailers, Afrikaans, and when he eventually met President P. W. Botha in Cape Town in July 1989, Mandela was able to talk to Botha about how Afrikaners, like black Africans, had once taken up arms in the cause of freedom. Most of those people who met Mandela in these years saw him as a future president of the country.

What, then, was Mandela’s contribution to the end of apartheid and the advent of democracy? Isolated in Pollsmoor Prison, he might have succumbed to pressures from the government to make compromises. In 1985, Botha offered Mandela his release if Mandela foreswore violence. However, Mandela held firm to his beliefs and would not abandon the armed struggle. Although not himself a member of the Communist Party, Mandela refused to cut his ties with the Communists, with whom he had worked closely before his incarceration. The ANC leadership-in-exile in Lusaka, Zambia, feared that he might fall into a trap and sell out to the government, which was trying to play him off against his colleagues. However, to fear such an outcome was to misunderstand Mandela, who always emphasized that he remained a loyal and disciplined member of the ANC.

After being released from prison, Mandela assumed effective leadership of the ANC and carried it to victory in the election of April 1994. The transition years were difficult ones for him personally because his marriage to his wife, Winnie, broke down, and he had to deal with a government in power that he believed to be engaged on internal destabilization. He had first viewed President F. W. de Klerk, with whom



On 15 January 1961, South Africans demonstrated against apartheid during talks in Pretoria between UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld and the white South African government.
Source: Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis; used with permission.

he met regularly, as a man of integrity, but Mandela came to despise De Klerk and accused him of deliberately doing nothing to put an end to the political violence that wracked the country from mid-1990. Yet, at key points in the negotiation process, Mandela decided that the moment was right to make concessions, such as when in August 1990 he agreed to suspend the armed struggle. In December 1991, he replied forcefully when De Klerk at the first meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) accused the ANC of having an army in waiting. In September 1992, Mandela was able to force De Klerk to make important concessions in what became known as the “Record of Understanding,” an agreement between the ANC and the government that paved the way for the resumption of multiparty negotiations early in 1993. Then followed the detailed discussions over the nature of the new, interim constitution, finally agreed to by the multiparty negotiating forum in November 1993. With the interim constitution agreed to, Mandela helped persuade General Constand Viljoen, a former head of the South African Defence Force, to participate in the election process by agreeing that the new Parliament

could discuss self-determination for Afrikaners. Vijoen was then elected to the first democratic parliament. After Mandela became president, he continued to promote reconciliation, especially by such high-profile actions as donning the jersey of the South African captain when the South African team won the Rugby World Cup (1996) and visiting the widow of Hendrik Verwoerd, the architect of apartheid, at her home in the Afrikaner settlement of Orania. In other ways, too, such as his informality in dress and approach to people, Mandela endeared himself to almost all sections of South African society and played a major role.

The third key figure is F. W. de Klerk. P. W. Botha, prime minister from 1978 and president of South

Africa from 1984 until 1989, he must be credited with some major reforms in apartheid—most importantly the decision to recognize black trade unions in 1979 and to abandon the legislation known as pass laws that provided that all Africans should carry a “pass” or identity document at all times in 1986—but he did not bring down the pillars on which apartheid rested, such as the legislation that classified the population by race and prevented black people from owning land in much of the country. Above all, Botha was not prepared to move to a democratic system in which every person could vote, which would mean the end of white minority rule. De Klerk, who took over from Botha as president in August 1989, had been brought up in the heart of the Afrikaner establishment, and long remained ignorant of the lot of the majority of the people. When chosen as Botha’s successor, De Klerk had a reputation as a conservative. Yet, he made the major decisions to end apartheid and usher in a democratic order.

De Klerk began taking careful steps to liberalize the political situation in the country almost immediately on taking office as president. He allowed a mass march through the streets of Cape Town and



Compassion and Forgiveness

The following text is taken from Alan Paton's Cry, the Beloved Country. The text is a passage of a manuscript written by the character Arthur Jarvis before his murder and read following his funeral by his father, James Jarvis. In reading it, James Jarvis begins a journey of forgiveness and compassion, which includes donations that help the people of South Africa and a friendship with Stephen Kumalo, the father of Absalom, the man responsible for Arthur's death.

The truth is that our Christian civilization is riddled through and through with dilemma. We believe in the brotherhood of man, but we do not want it in South Africa. We believe that God endows men with diverse gifts, and that human life depends for its fullness on their employment and enjoyment, but we are afraid to explore this believe too deeply. We believe in help for the underdog, but we want him to stay under. And we are therefore compelled, in order to preserve our belief that we are Christian, to ascribe to Almighty God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, our own human intentions, and to say that because He created white and black, He gives the Divine Approval to any human action that is designed to keep black men from advancement. We go so far as to assume that He blesses any action that is designed to prevent black men from the full employment of the gifts He gave them. Alongside of these very arguments we use others totally inconsistent, so that the accusation of repression may be refuted. We say we withhold education because

the black child has not the intelligence to profit by it; we withhold opportunity to develop gifts because black people have no gifts; we justify our action by saying that it took us thousands of years to achieve our own advancement, and it would be foolish to suppose that it will take the black man any lesser time, and that therefore there is no need for hurry. We shift our ground again when a black man does achieve something remarkable, and feel deep pity for a man who is condemned to the loneliness of being remarkable, and decide that it is a Christian kindness not to let black men become remarkable. Thus even our God becomes a confused and inconsistent creature, giving gifts and denying them employment. It is strange then that our civilization is riddled through and through with dilemma? The truth is that our civilization is not Christian; it is a tragic compound of great ideal and fearful practice, of high assurance and desperate anxiety, of loving charity and fearful clutching of possessions. Allow me a minute . . .

Source: Paton, Alan. (1948). *Cry, the Beloved Country*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, pp. 144–145.

then released a number of leading political prisoners. After dismantling the system that had given the army and police major powers in government, he was ready to make the crucial decision: the announcement on 2 February 1990 that the apartheid system would be dismantled and an inclusive democracy established. This decision was the breakthrough that P. W. Botha had not had the courage to allow. De Klerk knew that he was taking a great risk and that he might not be able to control the forces he was unleashing, but he decided that taking the risk was better than not acting. Although he acted under great pressure—from the international community, which threatened greater sanctions, and from an internal resistance movement that was becoming ever more ready to challenge the government—he could nevertheless have decided to use the security forces, who remained loyal to the government, to try to keep the

resistance in check. Few people doubt that he could have done this successfully in the short run, but, as he told his electorate, the whites of Zimbabwe had made the mistake of waiting too long to negotiate with the nationalist forces, and he had decided that he would not make the same mistake. The new situation in eastern Europe, where communism collapsed in late 1989, gave De Klerk the opportunity to say that there was no longer any risk in allowing the Communist Party in South Africa and that the ANC had been gravely weakened by the ending of the Cold War. He knew that his own government would no longer be seen in the West as an ally in Cold War terms and that he had to end apartheid to bring South Africa's isolation to an end and regain respect in the rest of the world.

In going much further than P. W. Botha had, De Klerk acted with courage. The ending of apartheid

I am a leader by default, only because nature does not allow a vacuum.

—Bishop Desmond Tutu

was linked to the decision to release Mandela from prison unconditionally, and Mandela's release paved the way for the first formal talks between the ANC and the government in May 1990. When De Klerk opened Parliament on 1 February 1990 he announced that the remaining key apartheid laws would be repealed. By the end of 1991 CODESA had met to begin negotiating a new constitution for a fully democratic country. When the National Party lost the election in April 1994, De Klerk conceded defeat graciously. Yet, more than Tutu or Mandela, De Klerk has been criticized from different quarters. Some critics emphasize what they call his "double-dealing"—on the one hand, negotiating but, on the other hand, not taking action to end the political violence that wracked the country throughout the transition. Some critics even accuse De Klerk of fomenting that violence—an accusation he has always denied. Other critics, within Afrikanerdom, accuse De Klerk of misleading his followers and of unnecessarily leaving the Afrikaner people without political power in the new order.

LEADERSHIP IN TRANSITION

Not being a politician, Bishop Tutu could act without having to consider a constituency, other than the Anglican church. Remarkably, both Mandela and De Klerk took a diverse constituency with them as they embarked on major changes of course. Into the early 1990s Mandela and the ANC continued to maintain that their policy was nationalization and major state intervention in the economy; yet, by 1994 they had accepted that they would, when they came to power, continue the existing economic policy, in which nationalization had no place, and that they would not seek to impose a top-down transformation of socioeconomic life. A large section of the radical youth who had taken the lead in the township revolt of the mid-1980s had hoped that the end of

apartheid would mean the end of capitalism as well, and those in the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) expected that after a military victory would come massive transformation of South African society. Mandela knew that this expectation was unrealistic—not least because of the opposition it would arouse—and through his personality was able to persuade the youth and those in MK to continue to support the ANC.

In a similar way De Klerk showed a remarkable ability to keep his constituency with him. The NP was, after all, the party that had introduced apartheid, and most of its members remained committed to apartheid in some form. Yet, De Klerk was able to persuade his followers that there was no realistic alternative to the abandonment of apartheid, even if it meant that the NP would lose power. (At times during the transition, De Klerk held out to his supporters the possibility that the ANC would split or that something else would happen to enable the NP to retain power, but he must have known that such a possibility was highly unlikely.)

All three of these key figures were fortunate in the circumstances in which they exercised their leadership. Amid the violence of South Africa, assassination was always possible, and had Mandela been killed the whole transition would have been aborted. When Chris Hani, the charismatic leader of the South African Communist Party, was assassinated in April 1993, De Klerk wisely let Mandela appear on national television, and Mandela was able to still the outrage among Hani's supporters. Both leaders feared the abyss of racial civil war, which most commentators had thought inevitable in South Africa. That fear concentrated the minds of the negotiators, and after Hani's death they were quick to set a date for the first democratic election.

Fortuitous events helped leaders make their mark in history. Both Mandela and de Klerk benefited greatly from the winding down of the Cold War, which made the idea of an ANC government acceptable both in the West and among De Klerk's own supporters. Had P. W. Botha not had a stroke in January 1989, De Klerk might never have had the opportunity to act as he did a year later. All three men seized the opportunities offered them, and acted

boldly. All three looked ahead and were prepared to put past differences behind them.

One must not, however, overemphasize the role of key figures in any profound process of change. On the one hand, many other remarkable leaders at lower levels played unsung roles but, cumulatively, were also important in ensuring that the transition was successful. On the other hand, one must not overemphasize the role of leadership compared with other factors. The mass resistance of the mid-1980s gave Mandela the opportunity to move toward negotiating with the regime; that resistance led De Klerk and others to begin to see that apartheid must end. Do leaders emerge at key points in history because of the need for leadership, or do they emerge merely fortuitously?

—Christopher Saunders

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ARISTOTLE (384–322 BCE)

Greek philosopher

Few philosophers have influenced ideas about so many subjects in so many parts of the world as Aristotle. While some of his writings have been lost, what remains of his work is impressive in its size and

scope. Aristotle's research ranged from meteorology to metaphysics and from poetics to ethics. He wrote on sleep, dreams, colors, plants, animals, memory, the senses, the soul, rhetoric, metaphysics, aesthetics, and the universe. He was, among other things, a scientist, moralist, logician, poet, psychologist, and political scientist. Aristotle was not only a leader through his ideas, but the founder of three schools and tutor to one of the greatest leaders of his time.

Aristotle was born in Stagira in 384 BCE. His father, Nicomachus, was a physician in the Macedonian court at Pella. Nicomachus died when Aristotle was quite young and Aristotle went to live with relatives in Atarneus in Asia Minor. When he was seventeen, Aristotle was sent to study at Plato's Academy in Athens. Aristotle studied and then taught at the academy for twenty years. When Plato died in 348/347 BCE, Aristotle accepted an invitation from the ruler Hermias of Atarneus to settle there.

Hermias was a eunuch of lowly birth who gained favor with the Persian administration and was made a prince. He slowly accumulated political power and land, and entered into treaties with King Philip II of Macedon. Hermias studied geometry, ethics, and dialectic with Aristotle, and Erastus and Coriscus (two colleagues from Plato's Academy). Under the influence of his teachers, Hermias, an avid student, softened his tyrannical rule and introduced new laws and reforms that followed the precepts of the Academy.

Hermias expressed his admiration and friendship for Aristotle by offering him his niece and adopted daughter, Pythias, as a wife. Aristotle and Pythias had one daughter who was also named Pythias. Hermias also gave Aristotle money to start a new school at Assos in the Troad. It is doubtful that Aristotle wrote anything during this period, but he continued his scientific studies on marine life there. Aristotle left Assos after a year or so and founded another school on the island of Lesbos. He was only on Lesbos a few years when, in 343/342 BCE, Philip II invited Aristotle to Pella to tutor his thirteen-year-old son Alexander.

Aristotle tutored Alexander for three years and then moved back to Stagira. Philip II had totally destroyed Stagira eight years earlier, but he had the



Aristotle on Authority

There is no difficulty in distinguishing the various kinds of authority; they have been often defined already in discussions outside the school. The rule of a master, although the slave by nature and the master by nature have in reality the same interests, is nevertheless exercised primarily with a view to the interest of the master, but accidentally considers the slave, since, if the slave perish, the rule of the master perishes with him. On the other hand, the government of a wife and children and of a household, which we have called household management, is exercised in the first instance for the good of the governed or for the common good of both parties, but essentially for the good of the governed, as we see to be the case in medicine, gymnastic, and the arts in general, which are only accidentally concerned with the good of the artists themselves. For there is no reason why the trainer may not sometimes practice gymnastics, and the helmsman is always one of the crew. The trainer or the helmsman considers the good of those committed to his care. But, when he is one of the persons taken care of, he accidentally participates in the advantage, for the helmsman is also a sailor, and the trainer becomes one of those in training. And so in politics: when the state is framed upon the principle of equality and likeness, the citizens think that they ought to hold office by turns. Formerly, as is natural, every one would take his turn of service; and then again, somebody else would look after his interest, just as he, while in office, had looked after theirs. But nowadays, for the sake of the advantage which is to be gained from the public revenues and from office, men want to be always in office. One might imagine that the rulers, being sickly, were only kept in health while they continued in office; in that case we may be sure that they would be hunting after places. The conclusion is evident: that governments which have a regard to the common interest are constituted in accordance with strict principles of justice, and are therefore true forms; but those which regard only the interest of the rulers are all defective and perverted forms, for they are despotic, whereas a state is a community of freemen.

Source: Aristotle. (350 BCE). *Politics. Book III, Part VI*. Translated by Benjamin Jowett. Internet Classics Archive. Retrieved September 10, 2003, from <http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/politics.3.three.html>

town rebuilt and repopulated in Aristotle's honor. Aristotle lived there until 335/334 BCE and then returned to Athens. In Athens Aristotle leased a house with an adjoining covered walk (*peripatos*) attached, and established a school called the Lyceum. Aristotle used to teach while walking with students under the *peripatos* and, hence, his followers came to be called the *peripatetics*.

After Alexander died in 323 BCE, some Athenians became suspicious of Aristotle because he was Alexander's friend. Resentful factions in Athens accused Aristotle of impiety—the same charge leveled against Socrates. Aristotle retired to Chalcis, his

mother's birthplace, where he died in 322 BCE at the age of sixty-two. One tradition says that Aristotle left Athens because he did not want Athenians to sin against philosophy twice.

WHAT WAS LOST

Aristotle, like all members of Plato's academy, wrote dialogues. They are all lost to us, except for a few fragments and commentaries on them by other ancient writers such as Cicero, Plutarch, and Diogenes Laertius. Aristotle also wrote poetry. Scholars mourn the loss of Aristotle's account of 158 constitutions of cities and tribes. We are, however, fortunate to have the one remaining part of this work, the *Constitution of Athens*.

In his surviving works Aristotle says practically nothing about his famous student Alexander. One of the great losses to leadership scholars is a memoir that Aristotle wrote late in life called *Alexander or On Colonization*. As Werner Jaeger tells us, "this work would have introduced us to the late period when the royal pupil [Alexander] was breaking and making empires in Asia,

while the philosopher followed the dizzy flight of his fortunes with anxious eyes" (1934, 259). Also lost is a book called *Monarchy*, which Aristotle wrote after he tutored Alexander. Ancient commentators tell us that Aristotle tried to give a new spiritual and ethical content to the idea of monarchy in this book.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF ETHICS TO POLITICS

Aristotle's books the *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Politics* are of particular interest to leadership scholars. These books are intimately related to each other. His book on ethics tells us about virtues, human behav-

ior, and the ends that people seek in life. His *Politics* is a systematic and empirical study of how various societies are organized. To understand what Aristotle has to say about leadership, we first need to look at what he says about ethics.

Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (named after his father, Nicomachus) begins with the proposition that all actions aim toward the good and that politics is the master science of the good. He says, "Thus it follows that the end of politics is the good for man. For even if the good is the same for the individual and the state, the good of the state clearly is the greater and more perfect thing to attain and to safeguard" (Aristotle 1094b, 7, 1962a, 4). But since each action aims at a different good, so we have to look for a good that is self-sufficient. That good is happiness and happiness means different things for different people. Aristotle uses the word *eudaiemonia* for happiness. *Eudaiemonia* has a slightly different meaning than the English word *happiness*. Aristotle tells us that a happy life is where one lives well, acts well, and people flourish. The two best forms of life, according to Aristotle, are private lives of contemplation and public lives of politics. Since happiness or flourishing is the ultimate purpose of all action, it is the end of life and of politics. Aristotle's idea of the state as a place where people can pursue individual happiness appears almost two thousand years later in the American Declaration of Independence (1776).

Aristotle believed that to live well people must have virtue (*areté*). Aristotle's notion of virtue is different from the way people use the word today. A virtue is an excellence that one needs to do something well. Doctors need one set of virtues, soldiers need another set, musicians another, and so forth. All people must have moral virtues, which are rational choices that we make with the intended desire to do good. Virtues are also habits, but not in the rote sense of the term. Aristotle says that virtues are a *hexis*, which means "a having," "a holding," or being in some condition. It is a characteristic of the agent. Aristotle accounts for the ability of an agent to practice virtues based on the mean. Since virtues are concerned with emotions as well as actions, a virtuous person knows the proper degree of how to act and to feel.

Aristotle says, "To obtain the right training for virtue from youth up is difficult, unless one has been brought up under the right laws" (*Nicomachean Ethics* 10.1179b32, Aristotle 1962a, 296). People learn virtues from laws, society, and from role models in society. According to Aristotle, people are political animals and moral acts can only take place in the context of a society. Hence, a hermit is incapable of acting virtuously. The *Nicomachean Ethics* begins and ends with a discussion of politics because Aristotle believed that the moral state is necessary for virtue and for people to flourish as human beings.

THOUGHTS ON LEADERSHIP

Political theorists from St. Augustine to Thomas Jefferson are indebted to the *Politics*. Since Aristotle's focus is on examining the best forms of government, he pays less attention to the leader as an individual. He does, however, talk about the importance of thoughtful followers or citizens and the leader/follower relationship. Aristotle notes, "Practical wisdom is the only excellence peculiar to the ruler: it would seem that all other excellences must equally belong to ruler and subject. The excellence of the subject is certainly not wisdom, but only true opinion; he may be compared to the maker of a flute, while his master is like the flute player" (*Politics* 1277b28–30, Aristotle 1984, 2027).

In *Politics* Book III, Aristotle examines six types of rule. They are the rule by one, by the few, and by the many. The next three are variations on these, based on whether leaders rule for the common good or for their self-interest. A leader who rules in his self-interest is tyranny. A group of people who rule in their own interest, the interest of the wealthy, is oligarchy. When the many rule in their self-interest, the interests of the poor, it is democracy. Like leadership scholars today, Aristotle realized that different groups and situations required different kinds of leadership. He says, "there is by nature both a justice and an advantage appropriate to the rule of a master, another to kingly rule, another to constitutional rule; but there is none naturally appropriate to tyranny" (*Politics* 1287b37–40, Aristotle 1984, 2043–44).

Aristotle is against the one ruler who rules over

everything or what he calls a *pambasileia* or “all-over ruler.” He argues that it is not possible for even the most ethical and talented person to run everything well. Aristotle observes that rulers cannot do their jobs without good advisors or subrulers. These advisors should be friends who are equals, not subordinates to the ruler. Aristotle says friendship is about concern for others, mutual interests, and joint activity. When good people are friends, “they become better as they are active together and correct one another: from the mould of the other each takes the imprint of the traits he likes, whence the saying: ‘Noble things from noble people’” (*Nichomachean Ethics* 1172a12–14, Aristotle 1962a, 272–3). Aristotle believed when leaders rely on such friends as advisors, their rule is likely to be just.

Aristotle argues that aristocracy or rule by the best people (judged by merit) is the most desirable regime, but he offers some caveats to this kind of rule. First, they need good advisors and the help of citizens, who are not mindless followers. Second, leaders need good laws and should be subject to those laws. Ideally the most gifted and virtuous people should rule, but Aristotle is also willing to settle for leaders who are not the best and the brightest, as long as they are just and rule under just laws.

CRITICISMS AND INFLUENCE

Aristotle is most criticized for his defense of slavery in Book I of the *Politics* and his inclusion of slavery as part of the best regime. Out of all the arguments in the *Politics*, this is the weakest. Aristotle argues that some people are best disposed to be masters and others are natural slaves who benefit from having masters. As Mary P. Nichols points out, however, Aristotle also acknowledges, “that it is doubtful that any slave system enslaves only those who deserve to be enslaved, and even more doubtful whether those who deserve to be slaves would even be useful as slaves” (1992, 24). Aristotle expresses certain reservations about slavery in his work, but never morally condemns it. He also seems to abandon ethics in books IV through VI of the *Politics*. In these books he does not seem concerned with some of the unethical aspects of winning favor and staying in power.

Aristotle’s influence in the arts, sciences, and politics shows up in the work of a variety of great thinkers. Among them are Cicero, St. Thomas Aquinas, Dante, Thomas Hobbes, Machiavelli, Francis Bacon, Thomas Jefferson, and al Farabi, the tenth-century Muslim philosopher and founder of the Islamic philosophic tradition. Aristotle’s physics and cosmology dominated the Western world until the early Renaissance, despite the fact that they were wrong. Perhaps his greatest legacy is his method of observation, data collection, and analysis that became the bedrock of the sciences and the social sciences.

It is difficult to sum up the life and work of someone like Aristotle. He not only possessed a brilliant, hungry mind, but he must have had considerable leadership skills to organize schools, influence leaders, and animate his ideas for his students and future generations of scholars.

—Joanne B. Ciulla

See also Philosophy; Plato

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ARTS

Conventionally art and aesthetics seem incompatible with corporate situations and relationships. There appear to be unbridgeable differences between aesthetic and economic modes of thinking and acting; subjective experiences of art and aesthetics do not fit into the economic imperatives of an objective-ridden rationality, with its orientation toward control and its goal of maximizing profit. Supposedly irrational, art and aesthetic processes have come to be seen as irrelevant to the business world and have been neutralized or repressed. When not excluded outright, art has been placed in a subordinate or economically functional role (for example, treated as an investment or an asset). Art and aesthetics represent the “other” of functional, rational, and utility-oriented economic reasoning and leadership acting. When one views the worlds of art and leadership in this superficial, stereotypical manner, they appear to have very little in common: They appear to differ in motivation, in methods of operation, in responsibility, and in manner of interaction with others.

However, under the surface of these apparently opposite worlds there exist genuine similarities. The leadership scholar Abraham Zaleznik believes that business leaders have more in common with artists, scientists and other creative thinkers than they do with managers. While management is instrumental and purpose-driven, leadership can be interpreted as an art form, in and of itself. It is characterized as much by its artfulness as by its skills and technical sites (De Pree, 1989; Vaill, 1991).

Much artistic form and many artistic processes are unrecognized as such because they address issues and preoccupations of everyday life in the business world implicitly rather than explicitly. If we are to explicate and realize them more consciously, we need to push the limits of aesthetics by looking at the intersection of art and daily life. It becomes necessary to rethink the conception of the relations between art and life in a way that considers more

adequately the role that art and enacted aesthetics play in the performed lives of leaders of organizations and in the performance of leadership. Given this pragmatic perspective, art and aesthetic experiences are present as a part and source of potential value for everyday organizational life, in both work settings and leadership practice.

Despite the potential significance of art and aesthetics in organizational life and leadership, relatively little theoretical and empirical research has addressed these neglected dimensions. Notably absent from the agenda of “modern” organization research and practice so far are studies of the phenomenological roles of embodiment, emotions, and the significance of expressive aesthetic processes for the organizational culture.

Since the last decade of the twentieth century, however, there has been a growing interest in aesthetics in organizations. Several significant streams of research indicate that aesthetically rich experiences are relevant for organizations and leadership. Beyond the use of art as artifact or metaphor for different aspects of corporate life, participation in and interpretation of artistic practices have been advocated by theorists and practitioners in a variety of contexts, including analyses of organizational skills, creation of narratives, cultivation of intuition, strategizing as creative action, improvisation, and innovation.

UNDERSTANDING ART AND AESTHETICS

Etymologically deriving from the Greek *aisthesis*, aesthetics comprises expressions that designate embodied sensation and perception taken as a whole, prior to the assignment of any cognitive or artistic meaning. The Greek verb *aisthanomai* denotes the capacity to perceive with the senses. According to Gregory Bateson, having an aesthetic experience means being responsive to the pattern that connects, giving the subject a feeling of wholeness and of belonging to an expanded reality. Phenomenologically, art and aesthetics are constituted by embodied-perceptual, emotional-responsive, and expressive-communicative relationships. Aesthetic knowledge comes from embodied and perceptive faculties of hearing, sight, touch, smell, and taste. Thus aesthet-

ics requires full engagement and refinement of sensibilities in support of human perception. Implicitly, then, aesthetics relates to experiential and transformative processes. This implies that the essence and value of art are not in artifacts per se but in the dynamic and developing experiential activity through which those artifacts are created and perceived. As the philosopher John Dewey expressed it, aesthetic experience simultaneously engages body, mind, and sensibility, thereby connecting reason and emotion in a synthetic way.

For having an aesthetic experience, an “aesthetic attitude” has been proposed as a basic requirement. The aesthetic attitude is one of openness and attentiveness to experiencing an object or process aesthetically. It suggests that there is a certain way to look, hear, feel and perhaps imagine an object or process that lends itself to a more profound experience. The aesthetic attitude is qualitatively one of detachment from purpose. Thus to experience an object or process truly aesthetically is to experience it for its own sake, and not for any practical or ulterior motive. The aesthetic attitude is thus characterized by disinterestedness and distance from any instrumental relation to the object or process. An aesthetic experience has a value in itself and not only as a means for some other purpose or experience. However, despite the romantic ideal of appreciating art for art’s sake, people cannot ignore who they are and where they have come from in their experience of art. In the pragmatic spirit of breaking barriers between imagination and reason, it can be argued that art can be experienced simultaneously for its social, moral, and intellectual value, and not just for its own sake. An aesthetic lens simply shifts the attention to that which is sensuous and pleasing in an object or process, a focus that does not deny or exclude other valid aspects of perception. As for the existence of an aesthetic attitude, it is important to place emphasis on the attentiveness and openness that one must have in experiencing an object or process aesthetically. The form and content of aesthetic experiences are response-dependent, qualitative, or expressive dimensions of the object or process. Aesthetic responses can then be followed by aesthetic interpretations, aesthetic judgments, and

aesthetic communication, for a tremendous overall transformational potential.

CRITICAL, UTOPIAN, AND PRAGMATIC DIMENSIONS OF ART

The transformational potential of aesthetic processes, both as creation and reception, refers to its capacity to call into question one’s sense of what is real and its ability to offer a sense of what is possible. Hence, artistic processes and experiences are productive irritants (the critical dimension) that offer a vision of what can be (the utopian dimension), and with that vision, access to creative changes that can lead to a different-shaped practice (the pragmatic dimension). What leaders can learn from art is that reality extends beyond conscious rationality. Art’s non-rational elements give it the power to go beyond instrumental rationality. By using the fantastic, leaders may reveal unrecognized assumptions and neglected visions: Art can help people see beyond the taken-for-granted meanings of things. Art’s critical dimension makes it possible for people to escape established principles of reality. The encounter with art makes perceptible, audible, visible and expressible that which is no longer, or not yet, perceived, heard, seen or said in everyday life. In doing so, art can make people aware of new and different perspectives on familiar or novel phenomena. What the playwright Bertolt Brecht called the “estrangement effect” of art can free people from ordinary ways of thinking that blind them to the strangeness of the familiar. Art does this by breaking the habits of organized routine and making it possible to see the world as though for the first time. In this way art provides a sense of new possibilities, particularly when old solutions are no longer effective.

With its utopian potential, aesthetic experience provides those involved with a taste of qualities of experience that are typically not accessible or available in corporate contexts, dominated as they are by exchange value and instrumental reason, the profit motive, and the performance principle. By being “unreal,” art awakens people to the possibility that things could be otherwise; art provides an emancipatory opportunity to play, giving the mind’s eye and sensibility free rein. An aesthetic experience frees

people to examine particulars without the pressure to classify them under a general concept or purpose.

When one uses metaphor and imagination as tools to explore the realms of “as if,” it becomes possible to probe the particular for its possible meanings. One can construct alternatives, and one is open to diverse passing sensations rather than being preoccupied with the effort to corral the experience under a single determinate concept. Being valuable intrinsically, aesthetic experiences and deployed imagination offer a relative freedom from the governance of concepts and from predetermined interests, whether moral, practical, financial, or other.

LEADERSHIP AND AESTHETIC PROCESSES

Leadership is typically defined today as noncoercive, accepted influence—that is, leadership is the exercise of interpersonal influence in a given situation, directed toward the attainment of goals or objectives. To accomplish extraordinary things, leadership challenges accepted organizational processes by searching for opportunities, experimenting, and taking risks. Leaders inspire a shared vision by envisioning the future and enlisting others; they enable others to act by strengthening them and by fostering collaboration. Leaders set a good example, plan small wins, and encourage their followers by recognizing contributions and celebrating accomplishments.

Art or aesthetic processes are relevant for most of these leadership activities. Seen as a perceptual practice, aesthetic processes pervade the fabric of organizations and everyday leadership activities, experiences, responses, judgments, and communications.

Because artistic forms of leadership often involve attempts to envision organizational life differently, and because that vision may lead to alternative practice, aesthetic processes of leadership need to be considered as transformative forces capable of reshaping people, structures, and whole worlds in an ongoing process of interrelating and creation.

CREATIVITY AND CREATIVE LEADERSHIP

Etymologically the word creativity can be traced back to the Indo-European word *kere*, meaning “to

make something grow” (Weiner, 2000, 8). In today’s context, creativity can be seen as a social construction, and as such, cannot be a unitary, universal, or fixed trait possessed by only a few people. Creativities vary in time and space. In the twenty-first-century business world, work and leadership take place in intensified interpersonal relations, and creative activity occurs in non-routine settings. These exigencies in turn require creative forms of labor—workers who are able to produce and leaders to manage the process. This is why leadership needs to instill or evoke creative processes, and it is this that explains the intensified quest for creativity. “Creative leadership” has acquired buzzword status in recent years. An increasing number of seminars on creative leadership are held at executive programs and trade fairs; textbooks used in MBA programs deal explicitly with the phenomenon; recruitment ads for managerial positions give elaborate job descriptions stressing the necessity of creativity; and, perhaps most importantly, managers have begun to describe themselves as creative leaders. Leaders are seen and see themselves as “homo creativiticus,” as creative actors, causers of creativity. Creative leaders not only take an active part in the (re)production of a creative field, but also (re)affirm their own creative identities: Their creative becoming is an act of (self) consecration that gives them the legitimacy that allows them to define creativity. Critically one can ask what happens to the creative potential if it is aligned and adapted to appropriateness and orientated toward particularly business (financial) objectives.

ENVISIONING AND IMAGINATION

One important task leaders undertake is to offer and instill visions, describing concepts and ideas through exciting images. Pictures fill in the conceptual void when words fail to express what leaders are trying to relate. Envisioning and imagination can be interpreted as the capacity to intuit possibilities. They can serve to arrest attention and inspire the imagination and creative expression, with many possible positive ramifications for the organization. Central practices for envisioning and imagination is first creative perception—that is, seeing differently, then sensing

how the emergent pattern can inform future possibilities, and finally presencing, which describes the accessing of inner sources of creativity and will. The resulting vision of the future permeates all decisions and actions, energizing, aligning, and empowering organization members to make the vision real. With an artistic sense of imagination, leaders can empower followers to feel wonder and awe and to fantasize—to see something that is not real or present, to see new possibilities and paths. It is the capacity to imagine new possibilities for action that allows leaders to respond to unfamiliar and surprising circumstances or information.

In other words, leaders must use their emotions, think metaphorically, and read life experiences for their meaning. Imaging calls for facility with all kinds of images—pictures, stories, metaphors, and visions—to make sense of information and communicate effectively. It is imagination that organizes the vast array of embodied experiences into schemata and structures that enable leaders to achieve coherent, patterned, and unified representations of the world around them. It is indispensable for their ability to make sense of experience and to find it meaningful. Thus imagination provides the basis for deep and creative exploration and is an essential element for any sense making. Integrating emotional and rational capacities, imagination helps people find connections, draw inferences, and solve problems.

THE ART OF LEADERSHIP PERFORMANCE

Performance can be understood as learned, learning, and re-created constitutive acting and achieving of all kinds. If we think of organizations and leadership as a form of performance art and drama, we can undertake a significant study of the stage upon which the performance is enacted and of the plot, setting, theme, construction of character and roles, and interaction, failures, and conflicts of daily organizational life.

Leaders are actors who play roles and characters with a “theatrical consciousness” (Mangham and Overington, 1987, 221) in the theater of organizations. The theater in which the drama unfolds is not

a contextual play but fundamentally influenced by the organization’s history and culture.

With this, performed action can actually mean different things at different times and to various agents in diverse relational constellations. The leadership scholar Patricia Pitcher identified three types of leaders: artists, who are people-oriented, open-minded, intuitive, and visionary; craftspeople, to whom the adjectives humane, dedicated, and wise best apply; and technocrats, who are detail-oriented, rigid, methodical, self-centered, and, when left in control, pose a serious threat to corporate competitiveness. The power struggles between these types are dramas being played out in companies everywhere. According to Pitcher, whether the drama has a happy or an unhappy ending depends entirely upon which type gets top billing.

IMPROVISATION

Improvisation is an aesthetic competence that is becoming more and more important in the current business world of complexities and ambiguities. Improvisation is a situational process and an artistic performative action taken in a spontaneous and intuitive fashion. It is flexible and highly contingent upon emerging circumstances and action. Improvisation stresses the importance of adapting and reflecting while acting, rather than just following plans (scripts, routines, standard processes and so on). In improvisation, composition and execution converge, and therefore it requires mindfulness and responsiveness for unfolding opportunities and problems in real time. In other words, improvisation depends highly on the ability to go with the flow of the situation. Improvisers do make the best use of the entities and energies present at the time, instead of imposing control. Improvisation is an ecstatic experience, an irruption, which is characterized by a sense of immediacy, suddenness, surprise and transgression of predetermined plans and predictability. Because improvisation is part of the practice of an “aesthetics of imperfection” (Weick, 1995), it defies measurement and method. Nevertheless, although improvisation happens on the spur of the moment, it can still be purposefully prepared and triggered.



Lewis Mumford on Artists of a New Generation

*Lewis Mumford (1895–1990) wrote on topics ranging from urban planning to literary criticism. In this excerpt from his book *In the Name of Sanity* (1954), he reflects on the importance of artists leading the way in helping new generations understand themselves.*

So, instead of furthering the present processes of automatism, instead of submitting to a love-denying and life-strangling routine, our hope lies in restoring to the very center of the mechanical world the human personality, now lost and bewildered and hungry in the jingle of mechanisms it has created. Where our ancestors sought power alone, we must seek control; where our predecessors were interested only in causes and means, we must become equally interested in purposes and goals. That is why art and religion and ethics have a significance for the present generation that they did not enjoy even a decade ago; and that is why the arts themselves, precisely because they are among the central expressions of the personality, have a peculiar importance in helping us to understand our present predicament and to find a way out of it.

It is against this broad general background that I should like to place the more immediate problems of our time. Already, through the artists, we begin to catch a gleam, if only from a distance, of new manifestations of life, warmed by a humanity we were almost ashamed to confess, guided by ideals that had long been deflated and cast aside. If the changes we have been discussing were only a minor eddy, only a passing fashion, it is probable that the mood of the new generation, with its fresh respect

for the traditional, the classical, the intelligible, the communicable, with its acceptance of ethical norms and civic responsibilities, with its unabashed embracement of emotions it had hitherto concealed as if shameful—if these changes were only on the surface, they would probably be followed by another outbreak of revolt. But if a much more sweeping redirection of human life actually impends, then perhaps the new movement will become even more central, because it will help, in time, to redefine the nature of the creative act, and will, by example, unite men in a common effort to make the expression of love and beauty, significance and order, the core of all human endeavor. In a somewhat weakly retrospective, if not reactionary, form, we have long seen this change taking place in older writers like Aldous Huxley and T. S. Eliot, who were among the first to explore the bleak Waste Land of the soul left at the end of World War I. The younger artists are now carrying their example even farther, in taking a more responsible attitude toward their audience; in accepting, in the spirit of Sophocles, the arduous duties of citizenship, and in cleaving to the great ethical issues of our time, they will in turn find their intuitive attitudes confirmed by a more conscious formulation of our common problem.

Source: Mumford, Lewis. (1954). *In the Name of Sanity*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, pp. 114–116.

Therefore improvisation is a “disciplined craft,” whose skills can be learned through continual practice and study and applied as needed (Crossan et al. 1996, 25). The entrepreneur and innovation scholar John Kao notes that improvisation is a blend of discipline and art, that it entails being able to move between that which is established and that which is new, between form and openness, between the security of the familiar (standards) and innovation (experimentation), and between expertise and freshness (naïveté).

Effects of improvisation refer to its altering usage of structures in creative ways that enable the re-figuring of structural foundations of performance (Hatch 1999), not only reading the world in a novel way, but favoring discovery and engaging into truly entrepreneurial action (Kirzner 1979) and to engage

people and groups (Lowe, 2000). Accordingly, improvisation has been suggested as a model for more-spontaneous strategic decision making and change management. It would, some theorists have suggest, be an effective means of circumventing intra- and interorganizational political resistance in situations of time pressure, change, and uncertainty, particularly when the optimal information and resources are not available. Furthermore, the act of improvisation lets leaders learn from real events and test imagined solutions on the spot. In this way, improvisation facilitates the synthesis of learning and imagining.

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

As we have seen, art and aesthetic processes can contribute beneficially to the practice of leadership. But

how can one enhance a leader's aesthetic capacity through artistry and art practically, and what does it take to support artistic processes?

To practice artistic forms of leadership requires special encouragement. Creativity and risk taking must be valued, uncertainty tolerated, and operational flexibility supported. Generally, there are no ready-made recipes for artful and creative leadership. But leaders can be facilitators of aesthetic processes and of employees' creativity by adopting such practices as considerate and supportive supervision and the provision of complex, challenging jobs that offer high levels of personal satisfaction. Leaders can encourage involvement, give positive feedback, and support skill development. They can also develop appropriate rewards structures. On an organization-wide level, leaders can help create a more arts-friendly environment (e.g., by supporting an entrepreneurial culture (Pinchot & Pinchot, 1999)). For themselves leaders need to learn from and cultivate an artist's facility for finding fascination, allure, and attractiveness in everyday events and things.

Leadership education, in addition to teaching specialized skills and providing knowledge, ought to develop potential leaders' artistic capacities as well. Integrating art, artist and artistic process into training can serve as sensual, visual or conceptual media and catalysts for educating future leaders. For enhancing creativity in leadership, practical improvisational theater techniques as described by Koppett (2001) and artistic excursions (for example, to experience dance, music, theater, poetry and literary arts, or visual arts and architecture) are useful. Aesthetic competencies can be developed by engagement of the senses or by experimenting with physically making artifacts (pottery, drawing, photography), as well as through the mindful use of games, storytelling, and forms of collaborative inquiry.

Artistically oriented leadership education stimulates deep learning (Quinn, 1996) in concert with innovative or generative learning, and contrived experiences (e.g., simulations and role-plays). As for leadership development, art and leadership are close in actual practice (Smith, 1996; Palus and Horth, 1996).

PERSPECTIVES

Aesthetic experience of artworks and aesthetic processes can be used as an instructive guide for fashioning everyday experiences and lives of leaders and leadership differently. It can contribute in releasing those qualities and competencies, much needed in the current and future business world.

Aesthetically reflective and artistically oriented leaders enlarge their sense of what is possible for managing to lead, more creatively. Integration of the arts into leadership not only results in multiple ways of knowing and experiencing the world, it also aids social coherence, supports to practice emotional competencies, and encourages critical thinking and visionary capacities. Leadership inspired and guided by art integrates learnable qualities of "artful making" (Austin & Devin, 2003) collaboration and play as tools for dealing with complexity, embraces ambivalences and uncertainties, and innovates reliably under deadline pressure. Art facilitates work with overlapping or multiple meanings, contributing thereby also to a tolerance for ambiguity. The effective executive, then, should be well versed not only in the analytical and logical-rational patterns of leading but also in non-logical, intuitive, and aesthetic patterns of leading.

There are, however, limitations and ambivalent qualities associated with art and aesthetics in the context of leadership. One limitation comes from the character of artistic processes themselves: Artistry can be disruptive, deconstructive, deceptive, delusional, and just plain boring or wrong. Furthermore, art and aesthetic processes are often idiosyncratic and evanescent and tend to be non-calculative and unpredictable—one reason why leaders sometimes block aesthetic processes and creative actions (genuine creativity) proposed by their subordinates. Integrating more aesthetic processes can threaten leaders' status and power, and they will be blamed if new practices, strategies, or goals have a negative effect on the organization. Furthermore, art can be not only innovative, it can also be conservative. It can be used for validating and reinforcing already practiced actions, beliefs, and events. In order to realize the potentials and reap the full benefits of integrating art and context-sensitive

leadership, our very understanding of leadership itself must change. What is needed is a kind of transformation of leadership towards an aesthetically responsive leader-follower relationship based on a relational understanding of those involved. In such an approach, the individual person of the leader and each individual follower and their situated context are the emergent products of relational processes. With the focus on relationship instead of leadership, it becomes possible to shift attention to what transpires between people, as opposed to focusing on what is contained within them. This implies that one can move away from the heroic-leadership stereotype, with its dyadic perspective and unidirectional power orientation, and towards a more reciprocal-influence processes associated with shared or distributed leadership. By taking into account art and aesthetics, an integrative and more holistically oriented understanding of the leadership practice can be attained. This can lead to truly authentic transformational leadership, in which all parties share an interest in mutual development and in the development of the organization as a whole. Essentially, learning and practicing art can be a source of potential transformation and added value for the corporation. In the future, leaders who understand how art and artists work and who develop a sense of artful practice themselves will have an advantage over leaders who do not. The integration of art and leadership takes a circuitous and spiral path rather than a linear one because the very nature of artistry transcends much of the myopic, one-best-way approach that characterizes much of conventional leadership. Therefore the integration of art and leadership should itself be understood as a work of art, as an open-ended process of continual creation.

—Wendelin M. Küpers

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ASIA

See Akbar; Ataturk, Mustafa Kemal; Buddha; Confucius; Cross-Cultural Leadership; East Timor, Founding of; Gandhi, Mohandas K.;

Genghis Khan; Hiroshima; Iranian Hostage Crisis; Israel, Founding of; Kurosawa, Akira; Long March; Mao Zedong; Morita, Akio; Muhammad; Nichiren; Sacred Texts; Saladin; Shibusawa Eiichi; Singapore, Founding of; Süleyman the Magnificent; Tiananmen Square; Tokugawa Ieyasu; War on Terrorism; Xian Incident

ATATURK, MUSTAFA KEMAL (1881–1938)

Founder of modern Turkey

Born into a lower-middle-class family in Turkey as the Ottoman Empire crumbled, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk became one of the most respected, or detested, leaders in modern history. He was respected for leading the creation of a secular government in Turkey and detested for the same reason.

As a boy, Ataturk displayed signs that he would become a leader. He frequently strived to be better than his playmates and often, during games, would rather watch his playmates play and accept challenges only from the strongest or fastest boys. At age twelve Ataturk quit attending the local Islamic mosque-run school. His rebellious thoughts and sense of superiority became too challenging for religion-based learning. Soon after, however, Ataturk gained the confidence of a neighbor boy who attended the Military Secondary School in Salonika and whose army officer father could arrange for Ataturk to attend the military school. Ataturk had been intrigued by the self-confidence displayed by military officers who strutted around town and decided that he, too, must become a military man.

During his education at the Military Secondary School, Ataturk was exposed to the Western writings of French political philosophers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Voltaire, and Montesquieu. Exposure to contemporary writings from the Enlightenment (the period during the 1700s in Europe and the United States when the West was emerging from centuries of ignorance into an age of reason, science, and respect for humanity) and

strictly secular teaching at the military school created in Ataturk a desire for national progress. Born “Mustafa,” Ataturk was given the second name of “Kemal” (the perfect) by a mathematics teacher at the military school who was impressed by Ataturk’s superior performance as well as his rapid ascent to the rank of pupil-teacher.

During his teenage years Ataturk revealed to his closest associates his disgust with Turks who viewed the West and its political and societal progress as an affront to Turkey’s future. His education and daily exposure to turn-of-the-century Constantinople (now Istanbul), which grew richer and more exciting because of Western influences, further enflamed his desire to bring his country out of what he felt were the dark ages and up to the standards of contemporary civilization.

After graduating from Military High School (1899), the War College (1902), and the War Academy (1905), Ataturk, now a staff captain, was assigned to various commands where his military professionalism and outspokenness earned him the reputation of being a nationalist visionary and a dangerous rebel. Ataturk earned military respect by leading several victorious military campaigns, some of which were assigned to him by Ottoman government officials—who were displeased with his successes—in order for him to fail. Having established his credibility as a leader through battlefield successes such as his bayonet charge at a battle at Gallipoli (1915) in World War I and having stretched his superior’s comfort level with his success and criticism of the Ottoman sultanate, Ataturk resigned from the army to become a civilian in 1919.

During the next five years, Ataturk survived arrest orders, assassination attempts, and political rivalries and helped establish the rival government Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) as the diplomatically recognized and leading authority on Turkish interests. During these years, Ataturk signed various peace treaties with, and defeated in battle, countries that initially attempted to parcel out and control Turkey. He signed peace treaties with Italy, Russia, Germany, Armenia, France, and Azerbaijan. He defeated Greece and Great Britain in battle.



Turks celebrate in October 1922 following their defeat of the Greeks at Smyrna.
Source: Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis; used with permission.

FIRST PRESIDENT

In 1923 Ataturk was elected the first president of Turkey. He immediately sought, and the TGNA passed, sweeping reforms to create a secular government to ensure Turkey's future. Ataturk believed in "using your head and not religion" as a guide for progressive and successful government. In 1924 the TGNA decreed the sultanate abolished and deported the Ottoman family. During the same year the new Turkish government, under Ataturk's leadership, also abolished the religious education system and replaced it with a uniform civil education system. Shari'a (Islamic law) offices were systematically closed to prevent religious influence on politics, and soon after religious and sectarian convents were closed. Above everything else instituted by Ataturk's secular government, the halt of all religious encumbrances upon the business of the state still is a divisive topic in Turkey.

Given that a leader's success or failure can be measured by how his or her actions affect an individual or group of individuals, Ataturk's reformist measures to convert the Ottoman Empire into Turkey directly affected two groups: Orthodox or radical Muslims and non-Orthodox Muslims. Assessments of the specific changes implemented by Ataturk to

develop Turkey into a contemporary with Western powers are mixed.

CULTURAL CHANGES

To further Turkey's advance into modernity, Ataturk ensured that the Turkish Grand National Assembly ordered adoption of the international calendar (replacing the Islamic calendar) as well as adoption of Western-style civil, penal, and commerce codes. Regarding communication, Ataturk felt that the use of archaic Arabic script kept many Turks from learning to read and write. Ataturk ordered that a new "Turkish alphabet" similar to the Latin alphabet be created and

that a plan of implementation be presented to him. When the plan was returned to him for review, Ataturk deemed the five-year timetable too slow and ordered that all Turks learn the new alphabet in three months or not at all. Soon the entire nation was learning the new alphabet, and Ataturk, acting as the chief instructor, ordered other national leaders to teach as well. Ataturk realized that a citizenry with a literacy rate of less than 15 percent could easily be manipulated by ignorant or morally objectionable people. Today Turkey has a 94 percent literacy rate for males and 77 percent for females and has some of the top universities in the world.

In 1934 the TGNA adopted a law requiring surnames for all Turks and bestowed the surname of "Ataturk" (father of Turks) on Mustafa Kemal. One of the last progressive reforms during Ataturk's governance occurred the next year: In 1935 the TGNA granted voting rights to women in parliamentary elections.

Throughout the reformation of the Ottoman Empire into Turkey, Ataturk was respectful of religion but demanded separation of mosque and state. With more than 95 percent of Turks claiming a single religion, only a leader with Ataturk's vision and diplomatic skills could have led the separation of

religion from government. Whether Ataturk was a visionary with great diplomatic skills who gained the support of Turkish executive and military leaders, or a dictator/tyrant who demanded complete loyalty is and will always be a topic for debate. What cannot be questioned, though, is his ability to lead. He strengthened his goals by welcoming and soliciting ideas and plans for Turkey's reconstruction even if they were contrary to his vision. He successfully countered ideas that were not in line with his goals. His firm belief and unshakable faith in his vision of creating a secular state from an Islamic-dominated frontier gained followers who at times viewed him as a deity among men.

—Jaime L. Benavides

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describes those perceptual and cognitive processes used to understand the causes of human behavior. After observing another's behavior, perceivers often try to make sense of it by ascribing different motivational tendencies, causes, and underlying characteristics to the actor. The observer's beliefs about the causes of the actor's behavior then determine not only the observer's reactions, but also the observer's future expectations for the actor. Attribution theory offers insights for the study of leadership: If an observer perceives the causes of another's leadership behavior to be due to the actor's leadership qualities, a leadership attribution will occur and leadership behavior will be expected in the future.

DEFINITIONS OF LEADERSHIP

Organizational leadership has been conceptualized as one person's influence over others in ways that affect the work of that other person. In their classic text *The Social Psychology of Organizations* (originally published in 1966), Daniel Katz and Robert Kahn note that influence based on leadership is distinct from influence based on authority that may stem from one's position in the organization or from job demands. The cognitive psychologist Howard Gardner has defined leaders as those who "significantly influence the thoughts, behaviors and/or feelings of others" (Gardner, 1995, 6). In the organizational research domain, leadership is often defined as "the interpersonal influence exercised in situations and directed, through the communication process, toward the attainment of a specified goal or goals" (Tannenbaum, Weschler, & Massarik, 1961, 24). Leadership effectiveness is then measured by the achievement (or nonachievement) of these goals, as well as by followers' satisfaction with such goals. One commonality underlying these different definitions of leadership is the importance of follower perceptions and attributions in the recognition of a leader. In fact, from a social-cognitive perspective, leadership can be defined as "social perception, grounded in social-cognitive psychological theory, that produces an influence increment for the perceived leader" (Lord & Smith 1999, 195), which is the definition adopted in this entry.

ATTRIBUTION PROCESSES

One of the most frequently studied areas of person perception is attribution theory. Attribution theory

Attributions play a major role in leadership perceptions. It is the perceptions of observers and the attributions they make regarding the causes of the leadership behavior, as well as their perceptions of the causes of the outcomes obtained, that make observers perceive other as leaders. The scholars James Meindl and Sanford Ehrlich underline the importance of the process of attribution when they observe that leadership is a social construction process centered in the perceiver, as does Katherine Farquhar when she states that “leadership emerges from follower attributions over time” (Farquhar, 1995, 165). Though followers’ perceptions of leadership are born of the attributions they make for the behaviors they observe, it is also clear that a leader’s personal characteristics have a major impact on this process.

ATTRIBUTIONAL PROCESSES AND LEADERSHIP

In their seminal article on attributional processes in the leader-member relationship, Steve Green and Terry Mitchell stress that there is a cyclical, mutually influencing process of leader attributions, leader behavior, follower attributions, and follower behavior. While this entry focuses on only half of this process—the attributions followers make concerning leaders—many of the same principles apply when considering a leader’s attributions regarding followers.

Consider the following example. If a new business executive takes charge of a corporation that is already performing well, and that company continues to perform well, its profitability is often attributed to stable forces outside the leader’s control: The leader is often not given full credit for the success. If, however, a leader is put in charge of an organization that is performing poorly and organizational performance improves, the leader, rather than external forces, is usually seen as causing the shift in the organization’s performance, and attributions of leadership ability increase. In other words, an organizational leader is considered successful based not only on the outcomes he or she achieves, but also on how and why people perceive those outcomes to have come about.

ATTRIBUTION THEORY

People explain organizational events or observed behavior by attributing those events and behaviors to certain factors. In addition to identifying the immediate cause of an event, attributions can focus on who or what was responsible for the event, be it an individual or the constraints of the situation. Attributions can also pertain to the personal qualities of the actors in question. Similarly, attributions can be made regarding one’s own behavior (self-attributions), with consequences for both future expectations and satisfaction.

Many studies have examined how people use attributions to decide if an actor’s behavior was successful or not. One guiding framework for study was proposed by the psychologist Bernard Weiner and his colleagues, who suggested that attributions could be classified in terms of what caused the behavior, the stability of the behavior, and its controllability. The causality dimension examines whether the observer perceives the actor to be causing the event or outcome in question or whether the perceiver believes the event or outcome to be beyond the actor’s control. The stability dimension notes whether the perceiver believes that the cause of the event or outcome will remain stable over time. Finally, the controllability dimension addresses whether or not the actor can control his or her behavior regarding the event or outcome in question.

Using this framework, attributions then fall into one of eight categories determined by the interrelation of their causality, stability, and controllability dimensions. Factors and characteristics that are given an attribution of uncontrollable include ability (internal, stable), mood (internal, unstable), task difficulty (external, stable), and luck or chance (external, unstable). Analogous controllable factors and characteristics include effort (internal, stable), temporary effort (internal, unstable), consistent help or bias from others (external, stable), and unusual help from others (external, unstable). When events or behaviors are viewed by observers as being due to internal, stable, and controllable factors, they are thought to reflect an actor’s intentions and underlying disposition. Actors, in turn, can use the fact that

their accomplishments are seen as resulting from internal, stable characteristics as a way to generate expectations for the outcomes they hope to produce.

CAUSAL SCHEMATA

Observers may attribute causality to others via the activation of causal schemata. Causal schemata, as conceptualized by the social psychologist Harold Kelley, are general conceptions about patterns of cause and effect that can apply in a wide range of circumstances. These schemata develop as a result of our day-to-day interactions with others and represent the ways in which we understand how specific effects develop from specific causes. They act as causal shorthand, allowing the observer to infer cause with little information or evidence: They help people to make causal inferences when information is incomplete.

One causal schema is the discounting principle, which states that a perceiver will discount the effects of one potential cause of an event if other potential causes are available. Often perceivers insufficiently discount actor-related causes when there are adequate situational explanations for an event (that is, they make a fundamental attribution error), causing an increased tendency to make dispositional inferences such as leadership attributions. Another is the augmenting principle, which states that when both an inhibitory cause and a facilitative cause are present, perceivers give the facilitative cause more weight. These two causal schemata are important in understanding the relation of performance outcomes to leadership perceptions.

In an article published in 1985, Randal D. Hansen and Christine A. Hall reported that discounting generally had a greater effect on causal attributions than augmentation. Their study found that a candidate who won an election by a large margin was more likely to be expected to win again in the future than a candidate who won by a smaller margin. However, the candidate who lost by a large margin was judged no more likely to lose again than a candidate who lost by a narrow margin. When winning by a narrow margin, it seems the candidate's personal potential was discounted because other explanations were

available for his or her winning (luck, for example, or poor competing candidates). In contrast, augmenting schemata tend to be used with large victories. When the candidate lost (whether by a large or small margin), observers could think of many reasons for his or her not winning, but the effects of these factors did not work together to strengthen (augment) the belief that he or she would lose again.

SALIENCE IN THE ATTRIBUTION PROCESS

Research has shown that causal attributions correlate with attention such that when observers attend to a certain individual in any situation, they tend to ascribe causality to the observed individual. In their classic article "Salience, Attention, and Attribution: Top of the Head Phenomena" (1978), Shelly Taylor and Susan Fiske discuss the salience hypothesis, which states that the more salient an actor is, the more an observer will ascribe a causality to him or her rather than to external stimuli or to other less salient actors. In a situation with a clear leader, an observer's attention is focused on the leader, and he or she is often seen as the cause of an event, even when that is not the case. This may be because perceivers spend little time thoroughly examining causal agents; instead they rely on the most salient information to make snap judgments, what we colloquially describe as making a judgment off the top of the head.

When perceivers search for the cause of any event, they will often stop their search when a simple, sufficient cause is found. Due to the salient nature of a leader's role, the leader is often seen as a sufficient cause for events, and the perceiver looks no further. This top-of-the-head process may be closely related to leadership categorization. That is, if one is looking for a single, sufficient cause of performance, and one can categorize a person as a good or bad leader, then a sufficient causal explanation has been automatically created and no more processing is necessary.

Observers also tend to attribute proportional causes to proportional effects. That is, an observer will most likely attribute a large effect to a large cause. Because of the salient nature of leaders, they

are often thought of as large causal factors. In choosing between alternative causes, however, people do not simply select the most salient one. Rather, they may use a more complex process of weighting different forces, making use of the discounting and augmenting principles discussed earlier.

SPONTANEOUS TRAIT INFERENCES

Some of the most commonly studied attributions are based on inferences made about an actor's underlying disposition based on his or her behavior. Referred to as dispositional attributions, these are at the heart of social-cognitive psychological principles such as the correspondence bias and the fundamental attribution error. These principles maintain that an individual's behavior is often assumed to reflect his or her underlying personality or disposition, even when situational explanations for behavior are readily available. That is, the observed behavior is thought to be due to the stable personality of the actor. While that assumption is sometimes erroneous, inferring dispositions from behavior helps people describe and understand others, gives them an idea of what to expect, and prepares them for interactions with those others. Often these attributions regarding disposition are not made consciously, but rather are made spontaneously when information is gained and initially encoded. Hence, these attributions are referred to as spontaneous trait inferences (STIs). Because leadership attributions are made in the same manner as other attributions, the perception that someone possesses leadership qualities may well be a type of STI.

Empirical research has shown that STIs are associated with both the actor and the action that he or she is performing, and that these inferences will disappear if information becomes available that negates a personal causal attribution. That is, if the situational constraints are visible to the observer, the observer will take those limitations into account when assigning causality to the resulting behavior or event.

Although STIs are spontaneous, they are not automatic. Research has consistently shown that certain contextual preconditions must be in place before STIs are made. Without the right context cues, or

without a minimal amount of attention being paid by the observer, STIs will not occur. The biggest precondition for STIs is that the actor be deemed responsible for his or her actions and for the outcome of the situation. It is important to realize that when we automatically recognize someone as a leader, we are making a type of STI. However, this process has often been described by leadership researchers in terms of perceivers' implicit leadership theories.

IMPLICIT LEADERSHIP THEORIES

Judging the leadership capabilities of others may also depend on the observer's own implicit leadership theory (ILT). ILTs most likely develop from consistent exposure to leaders and leadership situations. After repeated interaction with leaders, category prototypes may develop. These category prototypes represent the traits that typically occur together in a given domain, and once these traits become linked, the observer need only be exposed to a subset of them to activate the entire prototype and make an STI of leadership.

An ILT perspective explains how observers categorize actors as leaders or non-leaders. When an actor's behavior matches the schema an observer currently holds regarding what a leader is and does, that person will be classified as a leader. When events are attributable to the situation rather than the actor, or when the actor is engaging in behavior that does not match the observer's ILT, the observer does not perceive the actor to be a leader. This leadership perception process is perhaps more explicitly understood in the context of the leadership categorization theory as developed in the early 1980s by Robert G. Lord, Roseanne J. Foti, and James S. Phillips. This theory states that when recognizing leaders, observers first recall leader prototypes and then match the current leader to the prototype. In this way the prototypes provide a structure for the observer to encode or retrieve information.

Implicit theories are recognition based, in that we recognize a leader because of his or her similarity to a schema or an implicitly held theory. This idea diverges from Kelley's original notion of person per-

ception, in which observers were thought to operate as naïve scientists, making judgments based on an examination of the situation rather than based on preconceptions. In his 1967 covariation model of attribution, Kelley suggested that people examine the distinctiveness, consistency, and consensus of the situation to decide whether to make a situational or a dispositional attribution. It seems, however, that people are more primitive in their perceptions of others and use implicit theories of others' behavior to help them recognize and understand others' behavior rather than relying on more comprehensive, scientific processes.

Followers often have a normative prototype of a stereotypical leader to which they then compare the actor they are observing. In 1995 Farquhar found that although individuals do share ILTs, or leadership schemata, situational constraints also affect follower perceptions. He also emphasized the importance of early attributions, as they seem to shape later leadership attributions.

THE ROLE OF ATTRIBUTIONS IN LEADERSHIP PERCEPTIONS

An attributional model of leader behavior examines the process by which followers assign leaders responsibility for the outcome of a situation. More specifically, this research focuses on how observers decide if the outcome was due to the leader's behavior or to situational factors. Research indicates that observers will hold a leader responsible for those outcomes only if certain preconditions are in place. As mentioned earlier, if forces outside of the leader's control led to a successful outcome, the leader would not be given credit for this result. However, if the outcome is seen as arising from stable, internal qualities in the leader, a causal attribution is more likely to be made.

The process of attributing an outcome to a leader's behavior is illustrated by the performance cue effect described in 1977 by Terence R. Mitchell, James Larson, and Stephen G. Green. In this paradigm, subjects are given false information on the performance of a hypothetical or real leader's subordinates or organizational unit, and then the sub-

jects are asked to rate the leader. Subjects judge the leader to be more effective and more leader-like if the performance information they were given was positive rather than negative. These results are explained in terms of the subjects' retrieving leadership information in a biased fashion, consistent with the performance cue. Performance cue effects also interact with causal attributions, being greater if the leaders were perceptually salient and, thus, more causally important.

The belief structures of individuals can also act like perceptual salience to increase causal leadership attributions. This process is discussed in Meindl and Ehrlich's 1985 theory on the romance of leadership. Their research revealed a bias on the part of followers toward viewing leadership as a causal force in situations where performance is extremely good or extremely poor. Observers seem to overestimate the amount of influence leaders have in these types of situations, especially successful situations. These findings resonate with the traditional attribution research that posits that observers tend to ascribe causality to a particular target person rather than taking the effects of the situation into account.

Leaders may also receive more causal attributions because of their assumed effects on others. In organizations, causal attributions are particularly important for top-level leaders, who may influence followers through indirect effects that are distributed throughout company channels, or that are distributed over many years. Because such effects are hard to trace, followers may substitute ILTs for careful causal analysis of outcomes and as a consequence may overestimate the causal effect of top-level leaders.

RECENT AND FUTURE LEADERSHIP RESEARCH

Recent leadership theories have again turned their focus to the attributes of the leader, especially the charismatic qualities of leaders. Charismatic leaders are those leaders who, in communicating their vision to their followers, actually shift followers' foci from the followers' individual needs and aspirations to collective aspirations. Leaders who use charisma in this manner are often called transformational leaders.

Transactional leaders, in contrast, develop a transactional relationship with their followers in which followers exchange compliance for a lower-quality leadership relationship.

Although these leadership theories may seem similar to traditional trait theories of leadership, they are better understood by examining the attributional processes involved. When a leader is perceived as charismatic, that perception is actually an attribution of charisma on the part of followers. Those leaders with an organization-changing vision or who act in unconventional ways are likely to be more salient and are therefore more likely to be seen as charismatic. Further, leaders who make personal sacrifices for the good of their followers are likely to activate augmenting causal schemata that lead to perceptions of internal causality for their actions. Thus on those grounds too they are more likely to be seen as charismatic.

Problems with Attribution and Leadership Research

One major problem associated with the application of attribution theory to leadership theory is its lack of precise conceptualization of leadership. Attribution theory aids in the understanding of leadership, but it is hard pressed to thoroughly explain, define, and measure leadership by itself. Rather, it helps explain the cognitive processes underlying leadership perception. Attributional theory can lend prototype matching, the use leadership schemata, and reliance on ILTs to the study of leadership, but none of these tools provide guidelines that specify how leaders should behave in order to be effective.

A second problem with the study of attributions in leadership research is that our own intuition may lead us in the wrong research direction. That is, intuitively we may feel that we understand what a good leader is, or what a good leader does, and we may simply wish to study the qualities we associate with a good leader. The danger is that those implicit and heuristic applications of “common sense” may not in fact be the products of common sense at all.

A third area of concern centers on how to design research that taps these implicit processes. It is always a challenge to get at perceptual processes that

happen quickly and unconsciously on the part of the observer. Unfortunately, implicit processes are often studied with explicit measures, yielding inconsistent results that are difficult if not impossible to interpret.

A fourth problem with attribution theory may be the assumption of a top-down perspective. ILTs, leadership schemata, and prototype matching research all suggest that leadership perception may operate more as a data-driven sense-making process than as a traditionally viewed attribution process in which attributions occur before one attempts to make sense of behaviors. Researchers should rather recognize that bottom-up and top-down perceptual processes combine to influence leadership perceptions.

Future Research Avenues

This entry has focused on the attributions followers make regarding leaders and has avoided two-way causal analyses connecting leaders and followers. For a more complete understanding of the role of attributions in leadership perception, one should examine leaders' causal attributions as well as those of followers, as attributions in both directions are likely to affect the dyadic relationship between any leader and follower. Practical research by Wofford and colleagues even suggests that leaders may change their behavior based on attributions for poor subordinate performance or the accessibility of transformation and transactional leadership scripts.

Future research on attributions and leadership may also want to take more dynamic modeling systems into account when it comes to explaining human cognitive processes. Traditional attribution approaches based on naïve-scientist models of perception appear less successful than the primitive, perceptually guided approach. Research techniques that better tap these implicit rather than explicit processes are required to gain a better understanding of the role of attribution in leadership perception.

One of the most intriguing research areas may be examining the point in time when the observer's perception of the actor changes—when the actor moves from a leader to non-leader category, or vice versa. Such shifts may be the result of an accumulation of

information causing a rapid change in the way the actor is perceived rather than resulting solely from a discrete event. Thus, to an outside observer such discontinuous change may seem to come out of nowhere, while at other times the shift may be brought about by a clear stimulus or behavior.

Similarly, more advanced statistical analyses may explain the leadership categorization process more effectively than traditional linear modeling does. By considering leadership perceptions and category prototypes as mental attractor states (stable patterns of interpretation that people settle into over time) people's shifts in attributions of leadership or non-leadership may be better understood.

Research on attractor states has shown that once an individual settles into an attractor state (for example, categorizing another as a leader), it is very difficult to change this attractor. (In this example, it would be very difficult to change the observer's attribution of leadership to the actor.) Changing the attractor requires increased effort, attention, or additional information. More recent research, done in the late 1990s and early part of the twenty-first century, has also begun to look at attractor states created through dyadic interactions and has examined the stable attractor regions that interpersonal relationships may settle into. These dyadic attractors may cause each actor to engage in behavior that he or she would not normally engage in outside of that particular relationship. Future research may want to examine attributions as attractor states, the conditions necessary to categorize someone as a leader, and then the conditions needed to change these attributions. Only by examining social-cognitive phenomena as dynamic systems shaped by the attention, knowledge, and biases of the observer, constraints of the situation, and actions of the actor, can the role of attributions in leadership perception be fully understood.

—Christina Norris-Watts and Robert G. Lord

See also Implicit Leadership Theories; Mental Models; Schemata, Scripts, and Mental Models

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AUTHENTICITY

Authenticity is the condition or quality of being authentic, trustworthy, and genuine, free from hypocrisy. An authentic person must actually possess the apparent attributes that others see, so that if you appear to be sincere, you would actually be sin-

care on the inside as well as in the persona you present to the outside world. Authenticity in leaders has important positive implications for others in the organization and in the organization's culture.

Today, authenticity is critical to leadership, yet there are so many examples in politics, corporations, nonprofit organizations, and in daily relationships where this quality is missing. The Enron scandal brought the authenticity of the corporation's leaders into question with its employees, shareholders, and the public. Political leaders who have said one thing but done the opposite cause people to be cynical or skeptical about their trustworthiness. In a time when few secrets can be kept for long, members of organizations look to people in positional leadership and evaluate their behavior based on whether they should be believed, and therefore whether they deserve their active cooperation and support.

A leader's behavior impacts those around them. Persons who hold a management position are metaphorically in the spotlight to their employees. Others watch them more closely and use their actions as justification for their own behaviors. The next section details examples of how a leader's behavior elicits responses in others and affects the organization's environment. When positional leaders choose to engage in their own journey toward greater authenticity, their modeling affects others and their organization.

THE IMPACT OF AUTHENTIC BEHAVIOR ON OTHERS AND ON THE ORGANIZATION'S CULTURE

Authenticity is made up of a cluster of behaviors. It is somewhat like "quality"—hard to define but recognized when experienced. This section identifies a



Executives and Personnel Managers on Executive Traits

*In his book *The Organization Man*, sociologist William H. Whyte, Jr., examined the emerging clash between individuality and conformity in American society. The following extract reports on his study of what executives and personnel managers looked for in executive talent.*

"Because the rough-and-tumble days of corporation growth are over, what the corporation needs most is the adaptable administrator, schooled in managerial skills and concerned primarily with human relations and the techniques of making the corporation a smooth-working team."

"Because the challenge of change demands new ideas to keep the corporation from rigidifying, what the corporation needs most is the man with strong personal convictions who is not shy about making unorthodox decisions that will unsettle tested procedures—and his colleagues."

The response was spirited. Many of the hundred who answered jumped on me for asking such a question, but most of them did choose one way or the other and, more importantly, they went into their reasons at length. The vote: presidents voted 50 per cent in favor of the administrator, 50 per cent in favor of the other type; personnel men: 70 per cent for the administrator.

Source: Whyte, William H., Jr. (1956). *The Organization Man*. New York: Simon & Schuster, pp. 133–134.

variety of behaviors and qualities that support and make up authenticity.

When individual leaders practice *integrity* between their actions and beliefs those around them perceive them to be authentic. When others view their leaders' invitation to engage with them and the organization to be genuine, it gives them permission to be authentic as well. This enriches the dialogue between organizational members and raises the quality of their relationships with each other.

Authenticity is not an end goal but rather a lifelong journey—a commitment to a journey of greater and greater integration between words and actions. Being authentic allows people to be fallible human beings, because authentic behavior by definition acknowledges the wholeness that makes up an individual—the strengths and gifts, as well as the areas that need improvement. As individuals become more authentic, their ability to be candid about their faults and mistakes increases the honesty in an organiza-

tion. The overall impact of leaders modeling authenticity is the creation of a climate of authenticity within the organization.

Trusting behavior is defined by the degree an individual is willing to share his or her thoughts and feelings with others. Trustworthiness is measured by others being willing to share their thoughts and feelings with another because they know that what they say will not be used against them. Authenticity implies being both trusting and trustworthy because authentic individuals will share their responses with others and their promises will hold an honesty and integrity that can be proven over time. When leaders model trusting behavior, it invites others to trust them in return. As both trusting and trustworthy behavior becomes a part of the way people relate to one another, it allows people to talk frankly with each other. Authenticity cannot be learned or practiced without honest conversation. Speaking truth therefore helps authenticity and integrity to develop among people and in organizational cultures.

The degree to which individuals can practice authentic behavior is related to their ability to know themselves. This self-awareness is necessary to an understanding of one's motives and ability to be candid and honest with others. Self-awareness is developed in part through disciplined reflection and being present to what is occurring in the moment. In September 2003, a spoof on National Public Radio reported the development of a new psychological disorder, the "functional executive disorder." This disorder was said to occur when executives become so focused on getting their tasks done that they lose sight of the deeper meaning in their work and their impact on others. Other symptoms include forgetting conversations and not seeing the implications of their actions over time. While this disorder is mythological, we have all seen these symptoms in our workplaces. Being present to others makes others feel appreciated. This appreciation and focus helps slow others down so they too can live in the present moment. Helping others live in the present supports their own efforts to become more authentic through self-awareness and reflection, activities that need time to cultivate.

Another behavior that emerges out of living more

authentically is the ability to laugh at oneself and the situation. When one does not have to protect a false image, the willingness to be candid and truthful about the situation increases. When a leader can see the *humor* in a situation, it allows other individuals to see humor in their own behaviors and reminds them not to take themselves so seriously. Laughter opens up people to positive emotions and facilitates personal change by decreasing defensiveness. The presence of joy and humor in the workplace allows people to work with each other in positive ways and diminishes cultures of judgment.

Part of authenticity is the transparency of personal motives. Authentic individuals are not without motives, but their motives are not hidden. The absence of hidden motives enhances the quality of dialogue about actions and decisions. Usually authentic individuals are seen as not being driven by self-interest. Rather, they are seen as "having their hearts in the right place," as transcending self-interest. The impact on others is significant. First, it gives individuals permission to contribute to the larger community without need for self-protection and defense. Second, it contributes to the development of a culture that has integrative power. Integrative power is the power to integrate a system so that it works together without silos, departmental empires, or self-protection. When integrative power exists in an organization, people in that organization or system are predisposed to trust, care, and be willing to collaborate with one another to get things accomplished. This tends to reorient the work to something larger and more meaningful than just getting the job done or earning the sales quota. The shift from self-interest to more meaning and purpose connects the individual and the organization to something larger than themselves. In this sense, they begin to hold more altruistic beliefs.

Authenticity invites a different quality of relationship into an organization. When relationships are built on integrity, trust, honesty, and meaning, the nature of relationships becomes more like a covenant than a transaction. In a covenant framework, others are treated as sacred, demonstrated in part by treating others with care and respect. This generates relationships that are mutually enriching. A *covenant*

relationship, by definition, transcends legal obligations and employee contracts and goes beyond minimum standards. This standard of relationship can also extend to the larger community and nature, so that decisions are made from the framework of their impact on others, the larger community, and the environment. When people experience covenant relationships, they feel valued and safe. Over time, this creates an organizational culture that models care of employees and enables a community to form within the workplace.

The journey toward authenticity is linked with one's spiritual journey. As one comes to know oneself in deeper ways, the search for greater meaning and the development of a relationship with a transcendent power usually follows. Many of the processes linked with increased spirituality, like reflection, genuineness, being present, and searching for meaning, are similar to the qualities and processes that support the development of authenticity. When a positional leader pursues knowledge and practices related to spirituality, it impacts others by inspiring them and the organization to create deeper meaning for their work.

Being genuine in one's interactions with others lends a legitimacy and validity to the actions and decisions that arise from those interactions. This legitimacy increases trust in interpersonal relationships and spreads throughout the organization's culture. An organization that pulls a defective product off the shelves, despite the cost to their bottom line, actually increases the legitimacy of their organization over the long term.

IMPLICATIONS FOR LEADERSHIP

The concept and associated qualities of authenticity are applicable to the practice of leadership for many reasons. In times when positional leaders—whether they be politicians, corporate leaders, police commissioners—are viewed with widespread cynicism, people tend to search for authentic leaders. When employees see inauthentic behavior in their organizational leaders, they will be self-protective, cautious in their dealings, tend toward self-interest, and offer feigned responses when asked their opinions. If

these kinds of behaviors become widespread, they can lead to the eventual failure of the organization. In studies of significant failures and scandals associated with disasters like the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant accident, the Enron and Andersen accounting scandals, and the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks, there is evidence that knowledge existed within the system or outside the systems that could have prevented the size of the disaster. This knowledge was either not spoken about by the observers who saw the problem or, if it was spoken about, superiors failed to listen because of issues related to authenticity.

If employees believe that it is unsafe to speak the truth in an organization, they will often choose self-protection and remain silent. Or if they do speak up, their supervisors may not want to listen because the information may make them look bad or unsupportive of larger agendas of their supervisors. This silencing of disturbing feedback would be lessened if a culture of authenticity existed. An organization that valued authenticity in its leaders and employees would encourage the sharing of honest feedback even if it was difficult to hear, because maintaining appearances and egos would not be as important as being true to one's values, beliefs, and perceptions.

Authentic leadership can have a startling effect on the quality of an organization or community. What would happen if we treated each other with honesty and respect? What would happen if we could trust and believe in the genuineness of our positional leaders? Or if we believed that our leaders were not operating from self-interest? What would happen if we were able to laugh at our mistakes and learn from them? And what would happen if leaders were candid about what was happening, instead of spinning information for the best effect? The amount of organizational waste of time, money, and energy that emanates from inauthentic behavior is enormous. Authenticity either in pockets or throughout an organization could transform not only the interactions and relationships among people but have a long and lasting effect on the overall value and success of the organization and the communities and nations it touches.

—Kathleen E. Allen

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AUTOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

A popular saying, often seen these days on T-shirts worn by suburban matrons, reads: “Because I’m the Mommy, that’s why!” This innocently humorous slogan contains a core of truth, and it also expresses what many scholars regard as the essence of autocratic leadership: “Do as I say, because I’m telling you to do it!”

The first systematic study of leadership styles was undertaken by Kurt Lewin and his colleagues and published in 1938. Using as subjects a group of ten-year-old children at a YMCA, Lewin examined the reactions of the children to adult leaders who had been instructed to use one of three leadership styles: *autocratic* (the leader makes all decisions), *democratic* (decision making is shared by leader and fol-

lowers), and *laissez-faire* (the followers make all decisions themselves).

Most research in leadership has focused on autocratic and democratic leadership styles, since *laissez-faire* leadership is usually perceived as the lack any meaningful leadership (except in cases where the followers are motivated and knowledgeable experts concerning the task at hand). Traditionally, the distinction between the other two forms of leadership has involved a dichotomy between people and task. Democratic leaders have been seen as those who are principally concerned with the people they lead; autocratic leaders are perceived as being primarily concerned with the accomplishment of a job or mission.

More precisely, autocratic leadership is usually seen as having four characteristics: (1) the leader makes all important decisions; (2) the leader is primarily concerned with task accomplishment, not the happiness or satisfaction of followers; (3) the leader maintains considerable social distance from followers; (4) the leader motivates followers by punishment (or the threat thereof), rather than by rewards.

Although the autocratic approach was once the dominant form of leadership in human affairs, it has fallen out of favor in the present age (with some notable exceptions), often replaced by more democratic or humanistic styles. But it is unacceptably simplistic to say that autocratic leadership is “wrong” at all times and in all circumstances, and it is just as inaccurate to argue that democratic leadership is always “right.” This entry examines autocratic leadership in its psychological, social, and organizational contexts in order to provide a clearer understanding of what this form of leadership is, when it may be effectively used, and when it should be avoided.

PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

In tests measuring various facets of personality, persons identified as highly autocratic also tend to score high in Abasement (they feel depressed when they cannot handle a situation), Aggression (they are quick to attack, blame, and take revenge on others),

and Achievement (they are strongly motivated to do their best, and are very results oriented). Conversely, they tend to score low on intraception (they rarely think about their own motives or those of others), Nurturance (they are often unsympathetic and unfriendly), and Social Values (they do not regard the love of people as important). Of course an autocratic leader who also scores high in Machiavellianism (which combines a tendency toward calculation with a low regard for other people) will usually strive to conceal these personality characteristics from others, since manifesting them can reduce the leader's ability to exercise control.

Autocratic leadership is closely tied to the authoritarian personality type. The concept of the authoritarian personality, which was developed by Theodore Adorno and his colleagues in 1950, posits a personality that tends toward religious and political conservatism, a desire for power, resistance to change, emotional coldness, and hostility toward out-groups. Adorno and his colleagues devised a psychological test, the F Scale, that measured personality between the polar opposites of Authoritarianism and Egalitarianism.

There is a strong positive correlation between authoritarianism and autocratic leadership behavior. Leaders scoring high in authoritarianism are much more likely to prefer punishment over reward as a motivator, to function well in highly structured situations, and to discourage participation by followers in decision making. Some studies also suggest that high authoritarianism tends to correlate with other personality traits such as political and social conservatism, racism, anti-Semitism, and high levels of religious devotion.

However, authoritarianism plays a role in followers' behavior, as well. Just as authoritarian leaders are most likely to manifest autocratic behavior, so too are authoritarian followers most likely to indicate preferences for such leadership. The research demonstrating this tendency goes back at least half a century. In 1952 a number of college students were surveyed as to their preferences for a presidential nominee in that year's election. Those who scored high on the F-scale (demonstrating a high degree of authoritarianism) overwhelmingly picked General

People ask the difference between a leader and a boss. The leader works in the open, and the boss in covert. The leader leads, and the boss drives.

—Theodore Roosevelt

Douglas MacArthur, a highly authoritarian public figure, as their preferred candidate. Since then, a large number of studies have reached essentially the same conclusion: Persons high in authoritarianism strongly preferred a leader (whether political, religious, social, or job-related) who was task oriented, structuring, directive—and autocratic. Moreover, when asked to discuss their own work situations, highly authoritarian employees reported the greatest satisfaction working for supervisors who were also high in authoritarianism and the lowest degree of satisfaction in situations where the leader was perceived as low authoritarian.

SOCIAL PERSPECTIVES

The practice of, and preference for, particular forms of leadership (autocratic, democratic, or laissez-faire) are strongly influenced by social factors. Widespread social anxiety, for example, seems to provide a popular desire for (or, at least, tolerance of) autocratic leadership. Western culture continues to maintain the myth of the “Man on the White Horse,” the strong, heroic, autocratic figure who arises during a time of great crisis, takes control, and saves the day.

Although this phenomenon of social anxiety has been observed in the origins of both Fascist Italy and Soviet Russia, the classic modern example is the rise of Nazism in Germany during the 1920s and early 1930s. Following its defeat in World War I, Germany began to deteriorate as a nation on almost every level. National pride had been devastated by both the loss of the war and also by the Treaty of Versailles, which required Germany to admit guilt for the war, pay huge reparations, suffer military occupation, and severely limit the size of its military. The economy was a shambles, with both rampant inflation and high unemployment. Various political parties were

agitating for change, which often led to riots in the streets. As a result of these conditions, the average German of the period was angry, depressed, and anxious. Along came Adolf Hitler and his fringe political party, the National Socialists (Nazis). Hitler did not offer Germans democracy as the solution to the nation's problems. Instead, he promised strong, autocratic leadership that would, he claimed, restore national pride, reinstitute law and order, and crush those allegedly responsible for Germany's difficulties. He received widespread support and was named chancellor in 1933, in part as a result of his party's electoral successes.

During roughly the same period, the United States also underwent an economic and social crisis, but with a different result. Although the economic depression that began in 1929 devastated the economy, created massive unemployment, and led to a host of social problems, Americans did not exchange their democratic form of government for a system of autocratic leadership. This is not to say that some were not tempted, however. Around the country, demagogues tried to take advantage of the widespread anxiety and resentment by promising to solve the nation's problems in return for unlimited political power. Most of these would-be leaders had only regional appeal at best, but one had national appeal, Huey P. Long, the charismatic senator from Louisiana. Long claimed that he could cure the economic crisis by confiscating wealth from the nation's millionaires and redistributing it to those in need—an autocratic approach if ever there was one. A dynamic public speaker, he made effective use of radio to sell his "Share Our Wealth" plan and generated considerable national support. Only his assassination in 1935 prevented him from mounting a serious challenge to President Franklin Roosevelt in the 1936 election. But the autocratic appeals of demagogues never seriously endangered the nation's political fabric, partly because (1) America had a longstanding tradition of democracy, (2) President Roosevelt's New Deal programs were seen as a genuine effort to improve the lives of the economically afflicted, and (3) U.S. entry into World War II in late 1941 united the country, provided the economic stimulus needed to blunt the effects of the

Depression, and made criticism of the government seem unpatriotic, if not treasonous.

Other cultures foster different approaches to leadership. As William Ouchi noted in 1981, Japanese society has produced an approach to business management that combines democratic and autocratic elements. On the one hand, Japanese corporations actively involve employees in decision making. Through the use of "quality circles," for example, these companies bring employees together from all levels—production workers to vice presidents—and each member has a chance to affect corporate policy. Japanese firms also expect a great deal from their employees in terms of working hours, loyalty, and obedience to authority figures within the organization.

Another important social dimension of leadership involves gender. Unlike biological sex, gender is a social construction, and a considerable body of research addresses the relationship between gender and leadership style. It is worth noting that traditionally the most autocratic institutions (the military, law enforcement, organized religion, and the corporate world) have tended to be the most resistant to the admission and the advancement of women.

Much early research was marred by cultural biases. A number of studies concluded that women were not effective leaders because the prevailing culture held as a given that women could not lead effectively. The next generation of leadership research included many studies that found that women tended to be nurturing and democratic leaders, often because cultural assumptions were that women were more nurturing and democratic than men. More recent research has tended to demonstrate that the relationship between gender and leadership style is not cut and dried. Rosenfeld and Fowler concluded that, although gender seemed to manifest itself differently in democratic leadership (male democratic leaders tended to be analytical, forceful, and in need of the love of people, while female democratic leaders were nurturing and open-minded), there was no significant difference found between the personalities of male and female autocratic leaders.

Other studies have found that women managers are actually more autocratic than their male counter-

parts and are frequently perceived as such by their employees, including other females.

ORGANIZATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

It should be clear by now that there is no clear-cut answer to the question of whether a particular leadership style produces greater organizational efficiency, higher profits, or increased employee satisfaction. A variety of factors determine which form of leadership is likely to be more effective.

Organizational culture plays an important role. Some organizations are characterized by autocratic leadership. Their members have learned to expect it, and those who join such organizations anticipate, and may even prefer, such a leadership approach. The military provides a good example. Military organizations have as their essential goal the conduct of war. Combat often calls for quick decisions, and it requires leaders to give orders that put subordinates' lives at risk. These conditions would seem to require autocratic leadership, at least a good deal of the time. Consequently, military organizations in all nations and eras have evolved a culture emphasizing discipline, order, and unquestioning obedience. Those who enlist in the military expect as much, and those who choose military careers are likely to have a strong preference for autocratic leadership, or at least a high tolerance for it.

Other organizations, such as those involving religious hierarchies, are based on the assumption that the organization takes its authority directly from God, and that its leaders are the designated interpreters of God's will. Leadership in such organizations tends to be autocratic, since God's will, once expressed and interpreted by the leadership, ought not to be the subject of debate. Not all religions have adopted a hierarchical structure that encourages autocratic leadership. But some have—most notably the Catholic Church, along with several of the larger Protestant denominations.

In the business world the picture is less clear. Although many businesses, especially large corporations, tend toward hierarchy, the forms of leadership exercised tend to vary widely, as do the theoretical prescriptions for the ideal leadership approach.

To a large extent the form of leadership exercised in the workplace is a function of the employer or leader's view of the workforce. In Douglas McGregor's classic paradigm, a manager subscribing to Theory X believes that employees are lazy, untrustworthy, and motivated mostly by their wages. Such a viewpoint generally leads to autocratic leadership. Conversely, a Theory Y leader sees employees as interested in their work and motivated by a variety of factors, including pride, comradeship, and approval. A manager with this perspective would gravitate toward more democratic leadership.

The extant literature on leadership in the business world suggests that autocratic leadership is useful in some contexts and should be avoided in others. Autocratic leadership leads to more accurate decisions when the leader is well versed in the subject under discussion. It can increase worker productivity—but only when the leader is present. Such leadership improves worker performance, but only on relatively simple tasks. It also tends to reduce communication problems.

Autocratic leadership seems to be most appropriate in cases in which employees are new and untrained in their jobs. It works best with larger groups. It also seems to be called for when detailed instructions or high-volume production are necessary. It can be appropriate in situations where time is limited, employees challenge the leader's authority, or a business or department has been mismanaged by a prior leader. Autocratic leadership is also useful when work frequently must be coordinated with other divisions of the company.

But autocratic leadership has its downside. It is associated with higher turnover rates and with increased aggression among employees. It decreases employee performance on complex tasks and seems to hamper creativity. This approach also tends to increase employee alienation and resentment and to decrease morale, employee satisfaction, and loyalty. An autocratic approach often leads to lower morale and consequent increased absenteeism. Further, it tends to be less effective with the current generation of employees than it was with those raised in a more traditional and structured culture.

Autocratic leadership should not be imposed in

situations in which a high level of employee creativity is called for or where a democratic leadership model has already been established. It should be avoided in cases where employee resentment is already high or where there is a recent history of work stoppages or other rebellious behavior.

It can thus be seen that autocratic leadership is multifaceted. Like all leadership choices, it must be considered carefully and applied judiciously, if it is used at all.

—J. Justin Gustainis

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B



BANK OF AMERICA

In 1945, with \$5.6 billion in assets, Bank of America Corporation (BOA) became the largest private sector bank in the world. This distinction, attained forty-one years after its establishment in 1904, is largely attributable to the vision, drive, and strategies of one man, A. P. (Amadeo Peter) Giannini, the bank's founder and de facto leader for almost all that period.

FOUNDING A BANK FOR THE SMALL INVESTOR

Bank of America, founded under the name Bank of Italy in San Francisco, California, was created out of Giannini's frustration and entrepreneurial drive. Giannini (1870–1949), the son of Italian immigrants, was already a successful businessman. He had built his family's wholesale produce company into the largest in the region and, at age thirty-one, had sold out his interest and semiretired. He became interested in banking in 1902, after inheriting his father-in-law's position on the board of Columbus Savings and Loan in North Beach, San Francisco's Italian enclave.

At that time, the working class hid their savings, often in gold, in their homes, and when they needed money, they went to loan sharks. Most of North Beach's immigrant population did not speak or

write English and had never been inside a bank. There were several Italian-owned banks, but they did not see any value in doing business with individual customers who had minimal assets and financial needs.

Giannini saw something else when he looked over North Beach. He saw the collective value of tens of thousands of small depositors and borrowers and he saw the credit worthiness and reliability of the hard-working immigrants. As a director, he began pressuring the bank's leaders to actively solicit those customers he labeled "the little people."

Columbus Savings and Loan's leaders did not share Giannini's vision nor would they extend their services to the bulk of North Beach's residents. Frustrated and confident in his own ideas and abilities, Giannini decided to organize his own bank. He gathered a group of local Italian businessmen, including three former directors at Columbus, and one non-Italian, an experienced banker named James Fagen, to lead the new bank.

The men launched the bank with \$300,000 in capital raised by the sale of 3,000 shares of stock to 160 investors. In an era when banks were typically closely held, Giannini tried to ensure that no one individual would have undue influence by suggesting that the directors and officers limited to owning one hundred shares. On 15 October 1904, the first branch of Bank of America opened for business.

SERVING THE IMMIGRANT MARKET

The bank was organized in keeping with Giannini's vision. While most bankers worked behind closed doors, Giannini and his managers took to the streets to solicit business from the local residents. From its earliest days, Bank of America was also an aggressive advertiser. It specifically offered loans under \$100. Giannini shrugged off the criticism of local competitors who felt such aggressive marketing was unseemly. He believed, and often said, that business worth having was worth pursuing.

When the Italians of North Beach entered the bank, they discovered that Giannini had located his bank's managers' desks out in the open on the lobby floor. He himself worked there, greeting customers as they entered the bank, answering questions, and often, taking a moment or two to socialize. The bank employed Italian-speaking tellers, who filled out deposit slips and loan paperwork for those customers who had not yet learned English. These strategies worked and the bank began to grow. By the end of 1905, the bank's first full year in business, it boasted an asset base of \$1.02 million.

THE PATERNAL LEADER

Giannini demanded that the bank's employees follow his lead and treat customers with respect. Employees were also expected to maintain high ethical standards. At the time, it was common for loan officers and other bank employees to maintain personal business ties with individuals and companies that were customers of their bank. Anxious to avoid conflicts of interest and the potential for fraud, Giannini forbade these relationships.

He exhibited the paternalistic attitude of that era's enlightened executives. For instance, he called employees "his boys and girls" and actively discouraged divorce, gambling, and anything other than a staid, conservative lifestyle. At the same time, Giannini won the fierce loyalty of the employees who toed the line with a merit-based system of advancement, generous benefits, profit sharing, and one of the nation's early employee stock ownership

plans. Employees owned 40 percent of the bank's stock by 1949.

OPPORTUNITY IN DISASTER

It was Bank of America's response to the Great Earthquake and Fire of 1906 that secured its future in San Francisco. On 18 April 1906, the city was rocked by an earthquake, which ignited fires that raged out of control for the next few days. One third of the city, including the bank's offices and 3,700 of North Beach's 4,000 residences, was destroyed. A quarter of a million people became homeless and property losses were estimated between \$350 million to \$500 million.

Giannini had reacted quickly to the earthquake and removed the bank's cash and its records to his home outside the city. When the fires died down, he ensured that Bank of America was among the very first to reopen by placing a bag of gold on top a makeshift counter of barrels and planks set up on the Washington Street wharf. The bank immediately started making the loans needed to rebuild the community. Giannini also pressed loans on the local ship captains, urging them to bring in the lumber that would be needed to rebuild the city.

Thanks in large part to the bank's support and Giannini's aura of strength and confidence, North Beach was rebuilt in less than a year, the first section of the city to be restored. Its residents, grateful for the financial assistance, chose Bank of America as their bank. Net assets rose to \$1.89 million in 1906. Giannini later said it was the response of North Beach's residents that convinced him to remain a banker for life.

Because of Giannini's astuteness, Bank of America also prospered through the Panic of 1907, which produced a run on San Francisco's banks. Early in the year on a trip to New York, he had seen warning signs of economic instability and on his return quietly began to build the bank's reserves of gold. When the bank run began in San Francisco in October, Giannini had the gold stacked in the teller's cages and offered it to customers who wanted to withdraw their deposits. The gold had a calming effect that enabled Bank of America to weather a storm that caused the

failure of sixteen local banks and to end the year with another gain in net assets to \$2.22 million.

BRANCHING OUT

The San Francisco branches of two large Canadian banks also navigated the Panic of 1907 with ease. Their performance stimulated Giannini's interest in the concept of branch banking, a business structure that would become his greatest ambition and challenge. In 1908, he traveled to Canada to learn more about the concept and practice of branch banking.

In Canada, Giannini observed how the branch system spread from community to community, creating a wide and ever-growing customer base for a bank. The opportunity to collect deposits and make loans grew proportionally with the bank's expansion. Branch banking was also good for smaller cities and towns, which instead of being restricted to the locally generated financial power, now gained access to the combined assets of the entire system. Giannini decided that Bank of America would establish a statewide system of branches to serve California.

This was a radical idea for a U.S. banker. Although branch banking is an accepted industry practice today, in the early twentieth century, most banks were locally held independent businesses. Typically, the only branch banks that existed were offices located in the same city as the parent bank. A more elaborate or extensive system of branches was illegal in many states. In others, such as California, branches were not expressly forbidden, but required the permission of state regulators.

Nevertheless, in October 1909, the bank acquired the ailing Commercial and Savings Bank of San Jose and established it as its first branch outside of San Francisco. The purchase set in motion a strategy of acquisition and expansion that would make Bank of America the world's largest bank as well as place it at odds with its industry and state and federal governments for decades to come.

FLEXIBLE STRATEGY, ONE VISION

The story of how Bank of America grew over the next two decades provides a case study in corporate

strategy and ultimately, industry transformation. At first, Giannini worked through the state's Superintendent of Banks, gaining permission to "save" banks that were failing and to open branches in underserved communities. By 1912, in this cooperative fashion, Giannini was able to establish four branches and grow the bank's assets to \$11.2 million.

In 1913, Giannini expanded into Los Angeles. That city's bankers organized stiff resistance to the competitive incursion, but they were unable to successfully counter Bank of America's business model, which continued to appeal to customers of all classes. Flush with success, Giannini expanded still further. By 1919, the bank had twenty-four branches and assets of \$137 million. It became California's fourth largest bank.

At the same time, Bank of America's fast rise had created a storm of criticism, especially from competitors. They helped persuade the state banking regulators that Bank of America's rapid branch growth was not financially sound. Convinced, California regulators notified the bank that it would no longer approve its requests for additional branches.

To solve this dilemma, Giannini turned to the federal government. He created holding companies and continued his expansion under the Federal Reserve System, over which California's regulators had no control. Then, in 1927, he used the auspices of the McFadden Act, which extended membership in the Federal Reserve System to all nonmember banks, to unite the separate units into one entity. Bank of America now had 289 branches and \$765 million in assets. It became the third largest bank in the United States.

BANK OF AMERICA DURING THE GREAT DEPRESSION

In 1929, Giannini formed Transamerica Corporation, a holding company that was utilized to expand Bank of America's statewide chain of branches into a nationwide chain by purchasing banks across the United States. The bank was so strong that the Great Crash of October 1929 and onset of the Great Depression had little effect on its fortunes.

In 1930, at age sixty, Giannini gave up his position at the bank and retired. He turned the leadership

over to two bankers, Elisha Wood and Jean Monnet, who had been expressly recruited for just that purpose. Neither, it turned out, had the ability to carry the bank through the deepening economic depression. As conditions worsened through 1930 and into 1931, the bank's growth faltered and its new leaders decided to abandon Giannini's vision of a nationwide system of branches. Further, they announced plans to sell off major pieces of the banking empire already established.

Infuriated, Giannini announced his intention to regain control of the bank and began a proxy battle aimed at ousting the new leadership. The long-term policy of encouraging small and widespread stock ownership paid off in the pitched battle that followed. In February 1932, Giannini and his management platform won control of the company. Giannini fulfilled his promise of reviving the bank. He led the effort to rebuild the business, using marketing techniques, service, and new products such as installment loans. By the next year, the bank was growing again. At the outbreak of World War II, Bank of America had \$2.09 billion in assets.

Giannini's vision of nationwide branch banking was harder to regain. The New Deal was not meant to foster business empires, and throughout the late 1930s and the war years, Bank of America fought a running battle with the federal government. In 1936, the bank had 466 branches and a decade later, in 1945, it had increased that number by only 29. Nevertheless, with over \$5 billion in assets, Bank of America was the world's largest private sector bank.

Giannini retired again that year, turning over control of the bank to his son Mario, a long-time bank executive. Even as a retiree, he continued to fight both the Federal Reserve Board and the Security and Exchange Commission, which was attacking the bank on antitrust grounds. He did not live to see the bank exonerated, but died at age seventy-nine on 3 June 1949.

Bank of America remained the world's largest bank until 1980, when defaults on international loans cost it billions of dollars in losses. The bank began growing again in the 1990s, and in 1998 it merged with the nation's third largest bank, Charlotte, North Carolina's Nations Bank. The new bank boasted

assets of \$617 billion. In 2002, Bank of America had 4,200 branch banks in 21 states and the District of Columbia—the largest retail branch network in the nation. A. P. Giannini's vision of a nationwide chain of branch banks had been achieved.

—Theodore B. Kinni

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BARRIERS TO WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP

The women's movement has challenged the notion of predetermined gender roles as "natural." Gender roles are instead socially constructed classifications that are inspired and furthered by the overarching influence of patriarchy within society, communities, and families. It is thus imperative that these fundamental, patriarchal classification schemes are challenged and deconstructed. The fundamental structure of Western patriarchal society depends upon an understanding that males are superior, more powerful, and that they represent the "norm," whereas women are understood as inferior, lacking in power and autonomy, and secondary. The power of socialization that underlies this system cannot be ignored. In fact, sexist, patriarchal values are so deeply engrained in society's consciousness that they are largely invisible. The very fabric of social organization has been woven by males, for males, to support males. In many bureaucracies, whether they are governmental or corporate, most of the upper positions are held by men. Women are generally concentrated

in the lower, supportive positions necessary to keep this male leadership in power. Thus, the power, prestige, and privileges of those in positions of power, generally males, depend on the subordinate position of women. This ordering of power thus has serious consequences for women's leadership.

Numerous strategies have been attempted to overcome these barriers to women's leadership, particularly within the workplace. The goal is fair representation of women within corporations, politics, the professions, religious organizations, and unions. But there are limits to promoting equality within the structures that are maintained by patriarchal values. Through existing male-dominated organizations, men have come to view their perspectives and norms as being representative of wider, gender-neutral human organizations. With this perspective comes an assumption that the structure is asexual. This results in an undervaluing of women's knowledge and experiences. Even when women move into leadership positions, they are conditioned by the perspectives and power structures to maintain the status quo; while gender composition may be changed, the underlying structure of power, knowledge, status, and wealth is not challenged. Simply put, male dominance is the main obstacle to women rising to top positions in corporations and politics. Furthermore, traditional gender roles, still widespread in society, are barriers to women climbing corporate ladders. Current value systems largely support the notion that it is better for the family if the father is employed and the mother takes care of the majority of parental responsibilities. Unsupportive attitudes from family, friends, and co-workers may have negative effects on women's work and their roles in society.

THE GLASS CEILING

To understand the limited movement of women into prominent positions of leadership, concepts such as the "glass ceiling" have come into wide use. The term is commonly used to describe the invisible barrier that blocks women's chances of further promotion or advancement up the corporate ladder. The glass ceiling is not simply a barrier for individual women, but it also applies to women as a group, who

are kept from advancing simply because they are women. Subtle, indirect obstacles as a result of labeling or stereotyping place stumbling blocks in the career paths of many women.

There are numerous causes of the glass ceiling for women. One important cause is occupational segregation. The labor market, and especially executive positions, remain segregated by gender. Women executives are largely concentrated in specific areas, such as personnel, public relations, and even finance specialties, which seldom lead to the most powerful top-management posts. The route to power generally taken by presidents and chief executive officers is that of the business mainstream, an arena within which the numbers of women remain largely insignificant. While there are indeed women who have reached high management positions, they are often viewed, given their scarcity, as simply "tokens" so that corporate management cannot be accused of discrimination.

Many women in positions of leadership insist that the most important career strategy for advancing to senior levels is to consistently exceed performance expectations. In other words, for women to move up the corporate ladder, they must work harder and longer than their male counterparts. A standard excuse given by the male power structure is that, as a group, women have not moved into the most powerful positions because there are too few women with the right combination of training, education, and seasoning. In other words, doors have not been open long enough for women as a whole within the top leadership milieu. Bureaucracies that consistently reveal a dearth of women in choice executive positions insist that it is merely a matter of time before women close the equality gap with men in terms of leadership. But many women who are on the climb up the corporate ladder disagree. They believe that the lack of gender equity in leadership positions exists because of the patriarchal values that undergird the structure of leadership. In essence, women fail to get to the top because of systemic discrimination against them.

THE OLD-BOY NETWORK

Another barrier, and perhaps the most significant to women, is that the "old-boy network" shuts women

out of top management. This old-boy network consists of males who have been educated at the same institutions or who have climbed the corporate ladder together. The “old boys” tend to promote individuals who are like themselves. Men who are in these top decision-making roles often look to former colleagues and friends to fill these positions. Women frequently are not even considered when it comes to promotions because they are outside these networks. Although corporations claim to be meritocracies—institutions in which advancement up the corporate ladder is based on performance and skill—the reality is that, despite men and women’s similar educational attainments, ambitions, status, starting salaries, and commitments to their careers, men generally progress faster, attain higher-status positions, and receive significantly higher compensation than women. Men’s associations with their male peers play a significant role in their rise to power and prestige. Given that women traditionally have not been an integral force within corporations, they simply have not developed similar networking systems.

EXCLUSION FROM INFORMAL SOCIAL GATHERINGS

Related, but different in its ramifications, is the issue of women executives being excluded from informal social activities where the groundwork is subtly laid for corporate advancement. This is a barrier to women in terms of developing rapport with their colleagues, potential clients, and male bosses. Corporations may further handicap women by sponsoring explicitly male-only gatherings. These social activities become ritualized and take on meaning as spaces where positive relationships are created. A significant consequence of women being excluded from these informal networks of communication is that women remain “the other,” the “outsider.” Golfing, for instance, has long been viewed and used as an important tool in developing business relationships. Deals are advanced on the golf course and sealed in the boardroom. If women are not a part of these invaluable networking scenarios, they are denied the possibility of climbing the corporate ladder. Moreover, stumbling blocks remain even if women do

join their male counterparts on the green. Some golf courses are not female friendly; others restrict times when women can play, based on the assumption that they will slow down the field. Other clubs are overtly discriminatory in that they bar women from membership. Given the importance of networking through these and other informal social gatherings, women are at a distinct disadvantage. This seriously undermines women’s strivings for equality within the workforce and in their progression into positions of leadership in particular.

SEX DISCRIMINATION

Sex discrimination is a serious obstacle facing women in leadership. Unique barriers that affect women’s ability to shatter the glass ceiling involve career assumptions by management about women as a group and contradictory expectations for women. Discriminatory attitudes are often veiled in inaccurate “facts” about women’s capacity for leadership. Women are presented as not aggressive enough, lacking the self-confidence required for the job, and not being serious enough about their careers to climb the corporate ladder. But prejudices and gender stereotypes persist because they allow males to protect their privileged status and keep women in their place. Despite overwhelming evidence that these stereotypes are wrong, they persist. Many female executives are convinced that they are not taken seriously by their male colleagues; many have reported being mistaken for secretaries at business meetings. While few women in executive positions report serious anti-women attitudes at work, the forces of discrimination are far more subtle: Women are simply ignored more than men. Furthermore, female executives are generally paid less than their male counterparts with similar responsibilities. Women’s status in the leading professions of health, education, law, accounting, and engineering is similar to those in corporate settings. Female health professionals are concentrated in low-status and less prestigious positions. In higher education, an insignificant number of women fill the positions of president, chancellor, or provost.

Initiatives that must be put in place to rectify

prevailing attitudes toward women include training in gender awareness, diversity, and combating sexual harassment.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Sexual harassment is another serious problem for women in bureaucracies. Harassment is used as a form of power by an employer; sexual harassment intimidates and demoralizes women and creates an atmosphere of silence, because many women fear that reporting sexual harassment will jeopardize their careers. Indeed, patriarchal value structures allow men to believe that they have a right to control women. Feminists insist that preconceived notions of gender roles are central to this understanding; these lead to a wide range of rules pertaining to gender-determined behaviors and expectations. Society's acceptance of these rules sets up the rationale for male supremacy and the potential for male harassment or violence against women.

LACK OF MENTORS

Another barrier to women in leadership is the lack of a critical mass of senior or visibly successful female role models and mentors. Mentoring is an arrangement whereby an individual who has experience and knowledge in a particular field can actively guide and offer support to facilitate the learning or development of another person. The arrangement generally involves a person in a leadership position providing guidance and assistance to an individual in a more junior position. While corporations or institutions of higher learning have recognized the importance and value of mentoring for their employees and have put formal structures in place to support this process, mentoring generally occurs on an informal basis. Given the old-boy network that has been central to men's mentoring and advancement, women traditionally have had fewer mentoring opportunities open to them than their male colleagues. Women in executive positions stress that the lack of mentoring among women has been detrimental to their climb up the corporate ladder. Because men generally occupy the highest positions of leadership, men are more

likely to be in powerful positions to open doors for those with inferior status. This is a serious barrier to women's advancement. Since the basis of patriarchy has been organized through men's relationships with other men, a similar unity among women is an effective means by which to combat institutional forms and norms that largely exclude women.

ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO LEADERSHIP

For many women who are within reach of executive positions, the costs of consistently outperforming men and the lack of rewards in the race to the top are simply too high. Women-owned businesses are growing dramatically both in number and in economic viability. Women are leaving the corporate world and are drawn instead to business ownership because it allows for greater control over their time, productivity, and advancement. As a result, corporations are under pressure to find ways to retain their most talented women.

Given the barriers to women's advancement, theorists are questioning the very structures of leadership dominant in society. Alternative organizational structures and, by extension, alternative modes of leadership call for questioning the patriarchal values that underlie leadership and long-accepted leadership ideals. The type of leadership that is exercised by many in executive positions is not the style of leadership that attracts and sustains women, nor is it necessarily just and effective. The classic leadership role involves power over another, and women in particular traditionally have been secondary, subordinate, and disempowered. Alternative modes of leadership—in essence, a contra-bureaucratic model—reject classical, patriarchal, hierarchical systems that are composed of vertical positions of authority, be those legally or traditionally defined. This approach attempts to counter competitive, patriarchal, and individualistic values that are intrinsic to the hierarchical process with alternative modes that focus instead on communication and participation at all levels as the basis of leadership. Leadership is thus understood as a process of reaching consensus and following through on group decisions. The goal of such leadership, in which relationships are primary, is under-

standing rather than persuasion. In this scheme, individuals can be both followers and leaders at different times or even simultaneously. The goal is a horizontal and consensus-based process that focuses on a more democratic, egalitarian method of participation and communication.

Communicative leadership is truer to women's styles of leadership; historically, women have been in positions and played roles in which dialogue, nurturing, and problem solving are central. Since patriarchal, hierarchically based positions of leadership have traditionally been closed to women, women may be more open to alternative approaches that are more communicative and participation-based. Horizontally based leadership, in aiming to involve the broadest range of individuals in the process of decision making, cannot be restricted to women. This more interactive approach must reorient both women's and men's approaches to leadership.

—Doris R. Jakobsh

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BAY OF PIGS

The failed attempt to overthrow the Cuban regime of Fidel Castro in April 1961 by landing 1,400 Cuban exiles at the Bay of Pigs had consequences that reached far beyond the deaths of 140 of the rebels and the capture of more than 1,000 others. With Washington's involvement in the operation obvious to all, the debacle weakened President John F. Kennedy right before his crucial first meeting with Soviet General Secretary Nikita Khrushchev at the Vienna summit. Seeing Kennedy as weak and inexperienced, Khrushchev was emboldened to present him with an ultimatum over West Berlin, triggering a series of events that led to the construction of the Berlin Wall. The episode also strengthened Castro's position at home, enabling him to consolidate his regime, and pushed him into the Soviets' arms as he looked for protection against the United States. As a result, the Bay of Pigs turned out to be a critical step that led to Castro's decision to allow the Soviets to base missiles in Cuba and to the subsequent Cuban missile crisis. By the same token, however, the les-

sons Kennedy gleaned from his poor decision making in the Bay of Pigs episode led to more thorough and cautious procedures during that crisis.

In the rest of the world, the fiasco undermined U.S. credibility, as well as other countries' faith in the new administration's judgment. Finally, the failure at the Bay of Pigs led Kennedy to adopt Operation Mongoose, another covert operation aimed at overthrowing Castro, which led to various ill-conceived plots involving exploding seashells and poisoned cigars.

THE ORIGINS OF THE PLAN

The plan for what became known as the Bay of Pigs was originally conceived during the Eisenhower administration. After Castro came to power on 1 January 1959, the Eisenhower administration watched with trepidation to see what sort of policies he would pursue. Once Castro began leaning toward Communism and instituted land reform, Washington decided that he posed a significant threat to U.S. national security by providing a base for Soviet influence and exporting radicalism to the rest of Latin America. Eisenhower formally approved "A Program of Covert Action Against the Castro Regime" on 17 March 1960. The plan involved creating a covert intelligence and action organization within Cuba and developing a paramilitary force outside the country. What the planners envisioned was a guerrilla force of 300 men who would infiltrate Cuba in small teams, connect with the opposition within the country, and spark a revolt. Soon after the plan was approved, the CIA began training Cuban exiles in guerrilla warfare at camps in Guatemala.

By the fall of 1960, however, the CIA realized that its efforts to develop a guerrilla network inside Cuba were failing and that the planned infiltration of three hundred exiles would not be able to trigger a mass uprising. In addition, Castro's forces, bolstered by arms shipments from Czechoslovakia, were fast becoming better armed and more proficient at combating guerrilla activity. As a result, the CIA changed its approach from an infiltration to an amphibious assault with 1,500 men, which was designed to achieve a "minimum critical mass" that

would spark an islandwide revolt. The change in plan also meant that the Cuban exiles received no further guerrilla training.

Eisenhower approved the change, although he was out of office by the time the CIA produced a detailed operational plan. Kennedy was first briefed on the plan in November 1960, during the transition, and raised no objections to the operation. Moreover, neither he nor any of his advisers contacted the outgoing administration regarding any aspect of the operation during the two-month transition period. Thus, once Kennedy took office, a considerable amount of momentum had built up behind the plan.

KENNEDY INHERITS THE OPERATION

Kennedy received his first briefing as president on 28 January 1961. The CIA explained that the exile brigade would stage a daylight amphibious assault at the town of Trinidad. During the attack, the exiles' air wing would destroy Castro's air force. Once the exiles had secured a beachhead, they would announce a provisional government, which the United States could then recognize, paving the way for overt American assistance and the hoped-for mass revolt. The CIA's recommendation of the plan carried considerable weight with Kennedy. Both CIA Director Allen Dulles and the official in charge of the operation, Richard Bissell, had close ties to the Kennedy administration, and the new president was impressed by the Agency's efficiency and can-do attitude relative to the more ponderous State Department.

Kennedy was also susceptible to their arguments for other reasons. The new administration saw Cuba as just as much of a threat as Eisenhower's had, and its view was colored by domestic political considerations. During the campaign, Kennedy had taken Eisenhower to task for having "lost" Cuba and had openly pledged his support for the Cuban "fighters for freedom." Having won the election by a scant 118,000 votes, Kennedy felt that aborting an anti-Castro operation that Eisenhower had put in motion would make him look weak. Moreover, halting the operation would create what became known as the "disposal problem": what to do with, by then, around five hundred Cuban exile trainees who desperately

wanted to overthrow Castro. Administration officials thought there was a high probability that the frustrated exiles would spread the word that the U.S. government had been training them and then pulled the plug on the operation.

Bissell and Dulles were strong and effective advocates of the plan. Bissell later conceded that after having spent over a year on the plan, the CIA officials involved had become heavily invested in it emotionally. In addition, Bissell himself had an interest in scoring a notable success because Kennedy was considering him as Dulles's successor as CIA director.

The CIA also pressured Kennedy to move quickly, warning that delay could be fatal to the operation because Castro's continued buildup of security forces decreased the chances of a successful popular revolt. Castro also continued to receive Soviet arms and was expecting to receive Soviet jet fighters, which would greatly increase his air capability. CIA officials also argued that the Cuban exiles were well trained and ready to go, but that the fast-approaching rainy season in Guatemala would soon put a stop to the training. Finally, the publicity the training camps had attracted sparked a revolt against Guatemalan president Ydigoras, leading him to plead with Washington to move the exiles out by March.

The Military Weighs In

At Kennedy's request, the Joint Chiefs of Staff evaluated the operational plan two separate times. Both times, they identified serious problems, including the exiles' lack of amphibious training, poor logistics, and the lack of secrecy concerning the training camp in Guatemala, which had been described in the *New York Times* as well as in the Latin American press. Both times, however, the Joint Chiefs buried their specific criticisms in annexes to their reports, and hedged their assessments in the more visible cover letters or executive summaries. In an oral summary of one of their reports at a White House meeting in early February, Bissell said, "Despite the shortcomings pointed out in the assessment, the Joint Chiefs consider that timely execution of this plan has a fair chance of ultimate success" (U. S. Department of

State 1997, 35). What Bissell either did not realize or did not pass on to Kennedy was that "fair" meant no more than a 30 percent chance of a favorable result. General Lyman L. Lemnitzer, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, was present at the meeting but did nothing to clarify Bissell's characterization of the report. Similarly, their investigative team concluded in late February that the odds were 85 to 15 against achieving surprise, and that without surprise, the air mission would probably fail, which meant that Castro would have at least some aircraft available to destroy part or all of the invasion force. Once again, though, instead of calling attention to the specific negative conclusion in their cover letter to Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, the Joint Chiefs suggested only that the CIA should try to improve security around the brigade and that if they could not enhance it, the plan's chances of success "should be reevaluated." Ultimate success, they noted, would depend on the political part of the plan, the triggering of a popular revolt.

The Joint Chiefs' reticence to speak out against the operation has been attributed to their having been made very aware that it was a CIA, not a military, plan. The CIA purposely kept the military out of the planning process, even after the Joint Chiefs warned that their expertise was needed once the operation developed from a guerrilla-type action into a military-style invasion. The Joint Chiefs offered to provide logistical experts for support, but Kennedy repeatedly told them: "No. This is a CIA operation. It is not a military operation. You will not become involved in this. I do not want the United States to appear to be an aggressor" (Vandenbroucke 1993, 23). Consequently, the Joint Chiefs were even less inclined to challenge the CIA's dominant position in the administration. However, as several participants in the discussions later noted, by not speaking up against the plan, the Joint Chiefs gave the civilian officials the impression that they approved of it.

Dissenting Voices?

One of the most distinctive features of the Bay of Pigs episode was the lack of dissenting voices beginning with the military's muted reactions. Part of the problem was that the administration was still so new

that its members were unfamiliar with each other as well as with the president. Consequently, many of his advisers were cautious about openly criticizing the plan, particularly since Kennedy had made clear his admiration for the CIA.

Special Assistant Arthur Schlesinger, for example, opposed the plan, both skeptical that it would trigger the needed uprising and fearful that it would damage the new administration's standing in the international community. However, he was still unsure of his status within the administration; so, aside from sending Kennedy some memos detailing his opposition, he refrained from speaking up at the policy meetings. Similarly, Secretary of State Dean Rusk was skeptical of the plan's ability to spark a popular revolt or to remain covert, as well as the ramifications of it at the United Nations and the Organization of American States but, like Schlesinger, he did little aside from telling Kennedy privately of his concerns. Rusk was reluctant to criticize the CIA because he knew he had not yet established a power base within the administration and was unsure of Kennedy's level of confidence in him. He also felt that as head of the State Department, it was not his role to evaluate the military aspects of the plan.

Psychologist Irving Janis has described the behavior of Kennedy's advisers as a good example of his groupthink hypothesis: He argued that the individual policymakers' instincts for critical appraisal and debate were sublimated by the group's tendency to seek consensus as a way of building group solidarity.

At a meeting on 8 February, Kennedy expressed his own doubts about the invasion plan. He feared that it was too visible and asked about making it more of a guerrilla-infiltration operation; he made it



It Might Have Been Worse if They Had Succeeded

Analysis of the failure of the Bay of Pigs invasion has focused on failures in leadership, planning, and coordination. As the text that follows suggests, even if the invasion had succeeded and Castro had been removed from office, major political and economic differences in the Cuban-American community posed a whole host of other problems that would have sorely taxed American leadership.

It was also from south Florida that emigrés waged their war against Castro, a paramilitary and propaganda campaign to discredit the Cuban leader and undermine his government that at times received financial and institutional support from the United States government. However, the Cubans were as diverse politically as they were socioeconomically. While opposition to Fidel Castro's government was the *raison d'être* of the community, the Cubans had different political visions for their country's future. The emigrés all claimed to want "democracy" for their homeland, but they had different ideas of what democracy entailed, and their visions were shaped by the successes and failures of Cuban politics. Some favored an authoritarian, non-communist government that would establish social and economic order, modeled in part on the Batista government that Castro's July 26th Movement overthrew. Others advocated an open, multiparty electoral system, modeled after that of the United States or the parliamentary systems of other western democracies. In economics, some were free-market capitalists, while others favored some variation of socialism that would address the social and economic inequalities that had plagued *la patria* since the creation of the Republic. Some wanted to continue their country's symbiotic relationship with the United States, while others, more staunchly nationalistic, favored political and economic independence. Represented within the emigré population were supporters of the various political parties, factions, urban resistance groups, and guerrilla groups of pre-1959 Cuba, as well as literally hundreds of new political organizations that emerged in exile, each coalescing around either some charismatic individual or a particular political concern.

The debates between these different groups contributed to a heated and often violent political climate in south Florida. A segment of the emigré community even came to adopt a more tolerant view of the Castro government and dedicated its efforts to trying to ameliorate U.S.-Cuba relations.

Source: García, María Cristina. (1996). *Havana USA: Cuban Exiles and Cuban Americans in South Florida, 1951-1994*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 3.

clear that he would not approve any overt U.S. intervention. The CIA's answer was that trying to land many small groups was impractical as it increased the risk of one of them being discovered. Moreover, it maintained that there needed to be a big enough

operation to induce the hoped-for popular revolt, particularly since Kennedy's prohibition on U.S. involvement meant that there would be no immediate assistance for the provisional government. Throughout the next two months, Kennedy went back and forth with the Agency on this issue, but the answer was always the same. As a way of alleviating Kennedy's unease with the landing operation, the CIA stressed that even if the invasion did not go according to plan, it would not be a failure because the rebels would be able to retreat into the Escambray mountains and connect with other guerrillas to stir up civil unrest. They neglected to tell him, however, that the exiles were no longer being trained in guerrilla tactics and had been assured that the U.S. military would assist them if the need arose.

From Trinidad to the Bay of Pigs

In mid-March, Kennedy's continued dissatisfaction with the Trinidad plan as too "spectacular" forced the CIA to present him with three hastily conceived new options. Of these, he chose a night amphibious landing at the remote and barely inhabited Bay of Pigs on the Zapata peninsula. The Joint Chiefs had reported that the Zapata plan was the best of the new options, which seemed to indicate their acceptance of it; however, they failed to make it clear that they still thought the original Trinidad plan was the most likely to succeed. General David Gray, the Joint Chiefs' main liaison to the CIA for the project, later conceded that the Zapata plan was devised so quickly that the Joint Chiefs never had time to "war-game" it to determine the differences it made in the operation. The most significant difference was that the new site was 80 miles away from the Escambray mountains and surrounded by impassable swamps, which effectively removed the "fail-safe" option of the rebels disappearing into the mountains to fight a guerrilla war. When Kennedy approved Zapata, he thought the guerrilla option was still viable. Another important difference not explained to the president was that moving the landing away from the town of Trinidad, where there was already some dissension against the regime, to the nearly uninhabited Zapata peninsula, reduced the chances of triggering mass

political action, the acknowledged key to the whole operation.

THE FIASCO PLAYS OUT

The operation began with the first of two planned air strikes on 15 April, two days before the invasion. Three B-26s took off from Nicaragua with their U.S. markings painted over with Cuban ones to make it look like they were being flown by defectors from Castro's air force. The bombing raids had little impact on the Cuban air force, but did have a significant impact in alerting Castro. In addition to readying his defenses, the Cuban leader took the crucial step of imprisoning suspected regime opponents, a number which quickly reached 200,000. The air raid also had important reverberations within the administration. Because the air raid, which was quickly attributed to the United States, caused so much trouble at the UN for Adlai Stevenson, the U.S. ambassador to the UN, Rusk convinced Kennedy to cancel the second air strike, scheduled for 17 April, the morning of the invasion. The CIA pleaded with Rusk to reinstate the strike but he refused. Notably, neither Rusk nor Kennedy consulted the Joint Chiefs before making the military decision to cancel the second air strike.

The invasion itself was a string of mishaps and disasters. The exiles had been led to believe that the landing beach would be deserted but they were met by a Cuban militia that alerted its command. Many of the motors of the launches intended to transport the troops to land malfunctioned. CIA intelligence had not identified an offshore coral reef that sank some of the launches and marooned the crafts carrying tanks and heavy equipment until high tide at dawn. With the first light, the remaining Cuban air force hit one troop and supply ship and sank another ship that was carrying most of the supplies and the communication equipment. Castro's planes also shot down two B-26s that were giving air cover to the exiles.

Although the exile brigade fought with determination and a few Cuban militiamen and local residents joined them, they were soon facing tens of thousands of Cuban troops armed with tanks and heavy artillery. In Washington, at an emergency White House meet-

ing on the night of 18 April, Bissell argued vociferously for U.S. forces to intervene to prevent a disaster. Kennedy refused, relenting only to authorize six unmarked Navy jets to protect a B-26 mission for one hour the following morning so that they could strike the Cuban army forces advancing on the beachhead. As it happened, there was a miscommunication and the B-26s arrived an hour before the Navy jets. Two of the B-26s were shot down and the rest fled before the Navy jets ever arrived. At that point, the exiles began to surrender. A few tried to flee into the swamps but were rounded up. In the end, 140 were killed, while 1,189 were captured, and 26 were rescued offshore by the U.S. Navy.

ENOUGH BLAME TO GO AROUND

Publicly, Kennedy accepted full responsibility for the fiasco, but privately he and his advisers blamed the CIA and the military. Both certainly share a large measure of the blame. Dulles and Bissell advocated the plan so forcefully that they were unable to evaluate it objectively. They overlooked negative information, such as the obvious lack of secrecy surrounding the operation, and purposely kept other information from the president, such as the fact that the exiles were not trained to become guerrillas if the need arose.

Moreover, in their zealotry to preserve secrecy, they cut many relevant experts out of the decision-making process. Most notably, they did not consult the Cuba experts in the CIA's own directorate of intelligence or the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, who could have told them that there was very little anti-Castro sentiment within Cuba and would have pointed out the problems with the landing site. There was also more than a trace of bureaucratic politics in the CIA's refusal to use the military's expertise in planning the invasion. Bissell and Dulles also made it hard for those involved to give the project their considered attention; for instance, they demanded that meeting participants hand their briefing papers in at the end of meetings.

For their part, the Joint Chiefs clearly served Kennedy poorly by not being more forthcoming about their significant doubts concerning the operation. In their own bureaucratic political response, the

Joint Chiefs determined that because it was a CIA operation they would not get too involved. In addition, both the CIA and the military should be faulted for agreeing to Kennedy's requests to change the plan to ensure that the U.S. role remained covert but not telling him how those changes were handicapping the mission. Finally, although Kennedy had clearly stated that he would not commit U.S. troops to the operation, in retrospect it is clear that both the CIA and the military assumed that if things began going badly once it was underway, Kennedy would, in the end, intervene to save the mission. The CIA and the military were conditioned by Eisenhower's dictum that once you commit the flag, you must ensure that the operation will be a success. They assumed that Kennedy would reason the same way.

However, Kennedy and his other advisers should not escape blame either. Kennedy had doubts about the plan all along, but allowed himself to believe the illusion that the U.S. role could remain covert as long as U.S. troops did not actually participate, even in the face of clear evidence to the contrary. He also did not very actively question the briefings he was given or ask for competing opinions. He later ruefully acknowledged that he had assumed "that the military and intelligence people have some secret skill not available to ordinary mortals" (Vandenbroucke 1993, 36). Schlesinger has also theorized that the complacency of Kennedy and some of his advisers stemmed from his long record of career successes; the assumption that he had the Midas touch probably played a role in helping them all ignore their doubts. Since then, several advisers have expressed regret that they did not voice their doubts and question the CIA more forcefully.

LESSONS

The Bay of Pigs fiasco had a lasting impact on Kennedy's decision making, and the changes were evident in his approach to the Cuban missile crisis. He no longer trusted government bureaucracies, particularly the military, whom he never forgave for not speaking out. He brought in his own outside advisers, challenged the Joint Chiefs, and made a habit of talking to lower-level officials to prevent their supe-

riors from screening out information. In addition, he made sure that all his advisers felt free to speak out. Finally, when he did receive advice from experts, he relied on his own instincts to question their opinions and evaluate information.

—Jennifer D. Kibbe

See also Groupthink; Kennedy, John F.

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changed the course of popular music and influenced and inspired many who came after them. The Beatles’ influence over millions of fans was rooted in their storytelling and their vision. In addition to being leaders in the world of popular music, the Beatles, collectively and individually, had an impact on fashion, language, politics, marketing, and social issues.

OVERVIEW OF THE BEATLES’ CAREER

A working-class neighborhood in Liverpool, England, was the backdrop for the Beatles. Inspired by the music of Buddy Holly, Elvis Presley, and Jerry Lee Lewis, John Lennon formed The Quarry Men in 1957. Among the seven members were Paul McCartney and George Harrison. Between 1957 and 1960, John, Paul, and George played in various musical groups and formed the Beatles prior to a trip to Hamburg in August 1960.

Although the group had various membership combinations, John Lennon (1940–1980), Paul McCartney (b. 1942), George Harrison (1943–2001), and Ringo Starr (b. Richard Starkey, 1940), who joined in 1962, were the lasting incarnation of the Beatles. The Beatles released their first single “Love Me Do,” in 1962; it was successful. The Beatles rose to world superstardom in 1963 and 1964. In 1965, they toured the United States for the first time and appeared on the *Ed Sullivan Show*, a television variety show that often featured musical acts. These years were marked by “Beatlemania”—worldwide fan recognition, merchandizing, and commercialism.

The Beatles gave their last public concert in 1966, after which the members became increasingly interested in other endeavors. During the late 1960s the band existed primarily in the studio; the group’s last live appearance took place on the roof of Apple Records in January 1969. In May 1970, The Beatles released their final album of new material, *Let It Be*, and a month later Paul McCartney announced his departure from the group.

All four members of the Beatles went on to successful solo careers and were busy through the 1970s. John Lennon and his wife Yoko Ono (b. 1933) made music and became involved in the peace move-

BEATLES, THE

The Beatles were a rock and roll band from Liverpool, England. Their popularity in the 1960s

ment. Along with wife Linda (1941–1998), Paul McCartney began a band called Wings. Ringo Starr and George Harrison also enjoyed modest success as solo artists.

THE BEATLES' DOMINANCE OF THE MUSIC CHARTS

Throughout their career, the Beatles established milestones that assured their place in the history of popular music. They had seventeen number-one singles in the United Kingdom, twenty number-one singles in the United States, fifteen number-one albums in the United Kingdom, and nineteen number-one albums in the United States. They spent 1,278 weeks on the British charts (more than any other act), 175 weeks at number one on the British charts (more than any other act), and in 1965 produced the first British album to debut at number one (*Help!*). They had the highest album sales in the United States of any group ever, with close to 107 million albums sold. Further, the Beatles' *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* (1967) remains the United Kingdom's all-time best-selling album.

The Beatles were among the first artists to use sound and studio effects in production and orchestration in pop music; they were also the first group to develop the concept album. In every sense, the Beatles were second to none in the domain of 1960s pop music. Within the band, it is hard to say who was the leader. Both John and Paul were major forces, and George and Ringo often felt left out of the decision-making process. Some feel that manager Brian Epstein had a significant impact on the group and helped maintain the relationships between band members prior to his death in 1967.

THE BEATLES AS VISIONARIES

The Beatles shared their vision with fans. Whether the topic was simple or complex, they consistently challenged their fans to look at life through a new lens. For instance, early in their career, the Beatles had an impact on what was a socially acceptable "mop top" for men. Later in their career, the Beatles' interest in Eastern culture introduced the sitar and

They were doing things nobody was doing. Their chords were outrageous, just outrageous, and their harmonies made it all valid. Everybody else thought they were for the teenyboppers, that they were gonna pass right away. But it was obvious to me that they had staying power. I knew they were pointing to the direction where music had to go.

—Bob Dylan

Source: Scaduto, Anthony. (1973). *Bob Dylan*. New York: Castle Books. Retrieved August 27, 2003, from <http://www.geocities.com/SunsetStrip/Arena/1537/quotes.html#others>

concepts such as transcendental meditation and spiritual regeneration to the West. The scholar Warren Bennis, who has studied leadership for many years, calls this phenomenon management of attention, the ability to draw others to them. In Bennis's words, they had the ability to "manage attention through a compelling vision that brings others to a place they have not been before" (Bennis 2000, 17). In all phases of their career, their vision, ability to speak to the hearts and minds of fans, physical appeal and friendly personalities, and avant-garde fashion sense affirmed their stature as icons. The Beatles' success also took the industry to new places, as they became the model of what a successful band should be.

THE BEATLES AS STORYTELLERS

Above all else, the Beatles told stories and shared their vision through their music. According to the developmental psychologist and cognitive scientist Howard Gardner, "stories of identity—narratives that help individuals think about and feel who they are, where they come from, and where they are headed—that constitutes the single most powerful weapon in the leader's literary arsenal" (Gardner 1995, 43).

The music of the Beatles experienced a dramatic evolution in their approximately ten years together. Although their songs of love and relationships are perhaps their most popular works, their range of song topics grew over the years and appealed to a wider range of fans. One of their biographers, Marvin Martin, notes: "their studio production, espe-



Excited Beatles fans in October 1965 outside Buckingham Palace in London are held back by police officers. The fans have gathered hoping to see the Beatles who are scheduled to be named members of the order of the British Empire by Queen Elizabeth II.

Source: Deutsch Collection/ Corbis; used with permission.

cially as represented in such works as ‘Revolver’ and ‘Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band,’ reflected many themes of the human condition: the foibles of man, the disaster of war, the power of love, loneliness, futility and hope” (Martin 1996, 188–189).

LASTING INFLUENCE

The Beatles impacted fashion with mop-tops, mohair suits, Cuban-heeled boots, velvet-collar suits, Eastern clothing, and granny glasses. Popular usage of words such as “gear” and “fab” is also attributed to the group. In the studio, the Beatles were among the first to release a concept or “themed” album; use sitars, orchestration, and quartets in a pop song; use intentional feedback; fade songs directly into one another; and produce backward vocal and guitar sounds—all techniques that are commonplace today.

A quote by folk singer and songwriter Bob Dylan may sum up the Beatles best. He said, “They were doing things nobody was doing. Their chords were outrageous, just outrageous, and their harmonies made it all valid. Everybody else thought they were for the teenyboppers, that they were gonna pass right away. But it was obvious to me that they had staying power. I knew they were pointing to the direction where music had to go” (Scaduto 1973, 203–204).

Quantitative and qualitative data support Dylan’s account of the Beatles. Countless groups have followed the Beatles, but none have achieved the success of John Lennon, Paul McCartney, George Harrison and Ringo Starr.

—Scott J. Allen

See also Music

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🌐 BEETHOVEN, LUDWIG VAN (1770–1827)

German composer

Few artists have so fascinated their own and future generations to the degree that Beethoven has. As a figure of legend, he is equalled among his contemporaries only by Napoleon (1762–1821), whose early triumphs as a revolutionary leader inspired Beethoven and many other artists of the time. More generally, Beethoven is one of the artists who shaped Romantic consciousness. Within this consciousness, willingly and unwillingly, he became the supreme model of the artist as moral and symbolic leader.

It is no exaggeration to talk of a Beethoven

myth—the myth of the artist who triumphs over all the woes that fate places in his path, whether social and political adversities or personal tragedies and debilitating illness, through the extraordinary power of his musical creation. The triumph does not come easily; it requires sacrifices, isolation, privations, and heroism on a truly cosmic scale. This artist becomes a romantic symbol of the independent spirit, a symbol of all humanity and its unending struggles. The adjectives *promethean*, *titanic*, *heroic*, *colossal*, and *transcendent* are frequently used to describe Beethoven the man as well as his art. His artistic legacy comprises nine symphonies, sixteen string quartets, thirty-two piano sonatas, the opera *Fidelio*, five piano concertos, a violin concerto, two masses, and numerous chamber music compositions, songs, choral works and orchestra overtures. Virtually none of Beethoven’s mature works can be regarded as anything other than a masterpiece, and his influence on many musical genres was truly revolutionary.

LIFE AND WORKS

Fact and fiction in Beethoven’s life are very difficult to separate. Born in Bonn to a family of musicians, he had a difficult childhood, though his musical ability at thirteen impressed his teacher, Neefe, who wrote that “this young genius . . . will undoubtedly become a second Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart if he progresses as well as he has begun” (Quoted in Robbins Landon 1992, 43).

He moved from Bonn to Vienna in 1792, the year after Mozart’s death, and he remained there to the end of his life. His early career in Vienna as a piano virtuoso caused a stir. His powerful percussive technique was quite at odds with Mozart’s fluid use of the instrument. His early piano sonatas all start with powerful recurrent musical phrases that instantly command listeners’ attention. From his earliest works, Beethoven was an artist who demanded to be heard. Unlike Haydn (1732–1809), Mozart (1756–1791), and other composers who had aristocratic patrons or were commissioned to create works for specific occasions, Beethoven composed and performed for bourgeois audience who paid for the privilege.

By 1800, Beethoven had established himself as a serious composer with sets of string quartets, string and piano trios, several piano sonatas, a highly popular septet, and a symphony. “My compositions bring me in a considerable amount, and I can truthfully say that I receive more offers of commissions than I can possibly accept. Moreover, for every composition I have six or seven publishers and could have more if I should want them. People no longer bargain with me: I state my price and they pay” he wrote to Dr. Franz Wegeler in June 1801 (Robbins Landon 1992, 87).

It was then that the first signs of deafness appeared, and a few years later he was almost entirely deaf. His letters and notebooks from the period offer testimony of a profound psychological and even spiritual crisis, from which he emerged into his “heroic phase” in 1803. His musical creativity reached astounding new heights with the Third Symphony, called the *Eroica*, a work which revolutionized the symphonic genre; the opera *Fidelio*; the Fifth and Sixth Symphonies; the *Appassionata* piano sonata; the Fourth and Fifth Piano Concertos; and the transcendental Violin Concerto. It is to these middle-period works with their infinite melodic richness, rhythmic audacity, and sweeping emotional power that Beethoven the Promethean owes his reputation. This is music that grabs the listener from first hearing and is capable of eliciting an extraordinary range of emotional and spiritual responses. The scale of many of these works is truly epic, in duration, in deployment of musical forces, and above all in dynamic and expressive range. They demand concentration and could not be further from entertaining or relaxing; instead, through the use of dissonances and discontinuities they question and challenge the performer and listener alike. This is music for all humanity and for all time, proclaiming universal and absolute ideals.

Beethoven’s late-period works include the last five sonatas and the *Diabelli Variations* for piano, the *Missa Solemnis*, the famous Ninth Symphony, and the last five string quartets. These were composed when he was profoundly isolated through deafness. They may lack the melodic invention of earlier works, but they attain levels of musical perfection

rarely matched by any other artist. These late works represent a true consummation of Beethoven's art, combining the most diverse musical forms, including fugues, variations, recitatives, seamless lyrical passages, and violent percussive sections. Abstract musical meditations alternate and merge with the most personal and intimate expressions. Beethoven continued to compose until the last months of his life, by which time he was viewed as the greatest composer, living or dead, and a major celebrity of his age. When he died at fifty-seven in 1827, obituarists reported a terrible storm raging over Vienna and unleashed torrents of superlatives.

CHARACTER, RELATIONSHIPS, AND IDEALS

Beethoven's character has been a source of endless fascination. Uncompromising, rude and disputatious, he could nevertheless display considerable sensitivity and gentleness. His courage and pride were legendary, yet it is said that when the French troops marched into Vienna in 1803, he hid under the kitchen table with a towel over his head. His dedication to his art was complete, though he would probably have considered musicians of the twentieth century to be intolerably pompous and self-serious.

Arguably, the two most widely discussed features of his character are his problematic relation with authority, especially of the aristocratic sort, and his inability to settle in a marriage. It is generally acknowledged that Beethoven viewed himself as somehow above conventional morality and norms. "The devil take you," he wrote to a friend in 1798, "I refuse to hear anything about your whole moral outlook. *Power* is the moral principle of those who excel, and it also mine" (Solomon 1978, 86).

Beethoven's relation to conventional authority is summed up in a famous story told by the writer Bettina Brentano von Arnim (1785–1859), who claimed to have heard it from Beethoven himself. During his stay in Teplitz Spa in 1812, Beethoven met the philosopher and poet Goethe (1749–1832) for the first time. One day they went for a walk together, and as they were walking down an avenue they came across the Empress of Austria and her entourage. Goethe at once stood on one side and

took off his hat; Beethoven, for his part, strode on staring ahead of him and pushing his hat lower down his head. The story, never authenticated, squares with Beethoven's comment in a letter that "Goethe delights far too much in the court atmosphere, far more than is becoming in a poet" (Jones 1998, 117).

As a rebel, Beethoven had since his youth identified with the ideals of the French Revolution. His Third Symphony was conceived, on a massive scale, as a tribute to Napoleon, the liberating hero, who brings freedom and unites humanity. The heroic first movement is followed by a funeral march that epitomizes the tragic in music, a scherzo (one of Beethoven's great innovations in the symphonic genre), and a Promethean finale of extraordinary energy. Upon learning that Napoleon had crowned himself emperor, Beethoven tore up the title page in disgust and dedicated the piece to Prince Lobkowitz of Vienna. The printed edition carried the subtitle "Heroic Symphony [Sinfonia Eroica] composed to celebrate the memory of a great man." In spite of Beethoven's clear fascination with figures of nobility and grandeur, his music was from its conception nourished by the emerging democratic ideal of his age, and he is seen in our times as the composer par excellence of universal brotherhood and sisterhood. It is not accidental that his Ninth Symphony, with its unprecedented choral finale based on Schiller's "Ode to Joy," was performed in Berlin shortly after the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989) and is regularly heard on symbolic occasions marking reconciliation, freedom, and common humanity.

In spite of his endorsement of a universal human ideal, Beethoven found it hard to make lasting relations, repeatedly fell out with his closest friends and relatives, and never settled into marriage or a stable partnership. His sexual conquests were numerous, as indeed were his unconsummated romantic attachments, most famous among them the one to his "Immortal Beloved." It is interesting, then, that the twin themes of resistance to tyranny and marital love lie at the heart of his opera *Fidelio*. It is in this work, which eschews most operatic conventions, that we get a close look at Beethoven's conception of leadership. The story unfolds in a prison, where Flo-

restan is unjustly held by Pizzaro, the despotic prison governor and classic representative of the ancient regime. Leonore, Florestan's wife, attempts to free him by entering the service of Pizzaro dressed as a man, Fidelio. Her bravery eventually saves her husband, yet the prison is not liberated by a revolutionary crowd; instead it is the representative of the enlightened ruler who arrives in the time-honored *deus ex machina* tradition to free the prisoners and dismantle the prison. The opera concludes with a jubilant affirmation of faith in the universal human values of freedom and justice.

BEETHOVEN AS ARTISTIC LEADER

Beethoven's standing as an artist has survived all subsequent musical developments as well as the inevitable process of personal demythification. But what about Beethoven's standing as a leader? Unlike Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951), a seminal composer of a later generation, Beethoven never sought to create followers or to lead a new artistic wave or school. In this sense he can hardly be said to have led anyone. Yet his influence on other artists cannot be overestimated. His music inspired and intimidated in equal measures artists who followed him, including Schubert (1797–1828), Berlioz (1803–1869), Schumann (1810–1856), and especially Brahms (1833–1897). It was only in the twentieth century that it became possible for the first time to speak of Beethoven in terms other than reverential: He was dismissed by the French composer Ravel (1875–1937). Yet, it is telling that the composers Richard Strauss (1864–1949) and Dmitri Shostakovich (1906–1975) both quote Beethoven's works in some of their final and most profound works. Perhaps even more important is Beethoven's influence as a role model for creative artists who do not merely seek to impress or entertain their social superiors, but, through their art, discover a powerful voice with which to comment, castigate, and critique their age and to proclaim gripping new ideas and visions. In this sense, Beethoven's leadership style is like that of a biblical prophet, an uncompromising outsider who not only demands to be heard but believes that he has a God-given right to be

heard, because he can see what others cannot. By communicating this vision, the artist irreversibly alters the way everyone else sees.

—*Yiannis Gabriel*

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BEN & JERRY'S ICE CREAM

On 5 May 1978, two young men named Ben Cohen (b. 1951) and Jerry Greenfield (b. 1951), originally from Merrick, New York, started an ice cream business called Ben & Jerry's Homemade, Inc., in Burlington, Vermont. Beginning with only \$12,000 and a great liking for food, they have since become internationally famous business leaders, best known perhaps for their philanthropic style of business. They are also among the chief early contributors to a growing business movement that promotes "socially responsible business." For this achievement Ben Cohen and Jerry Greenfield were named the U.S. Small Business Persons of the Year in 1988 by President Ronald Reagan.

The business, Ben & Jerry's Homemade, Inc. (hereafter Ben & Jerry's), is considered a good example of the classic entrepreneurial success—with a twist. What makes Ben Cohen and Jerry Greenfield stand out from the entrepreneurial crowd is that they

Maybe there's a chance. Ben and Jerry and Unilever, I wish you success, measured in more than money. But if it doesn't work, if five or twenty years from now there's nothing more than a Ben & Jerry's historical marker in Vermont, maybe we will be willing to rethink the system that rewards corporations for seeking the cheapest raw materials, workers, and environmental standards in order to produce the fastest growth. Maybe, instead of being cynics, we'll become activists in forging a corporate environment that measures success, as Ben and Jerry's did, in more than money.

—Environmentalist Donella Meadows

advocate a business philosophy called “caring capitalism.” Indeed, this philosophy is thought by many to be the most significant factor in their successful climb to the top of the ice cream business world.

Ben & Jerry's is perhaps the best-known corporate representative today of a movement in business that adopts a “new corporate concept of linked prosperity” (Ben & Jerry's 1993 Annual Report). This “new concept” places an equal emphasis upon both the repercussions a business has on its surrounding society as well as on the conventional economic priorities of a business (survival in a competitive market). Ben Cohen has from the beginning maintained that business has a responsibility to give back to the community. This ideal, established during the early days of Ben & Jerry's, embodies the idea that a business can prosper as the community around it prospers.

THE EARLY PERIOD, 1978–1985: COMMUNITY INTEGRATION AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

In the beginning, the business was all about the local community of Burlington, Vermont. Fred “Chico” Lager, former CEO of Ben & Jerry's, offers this quote by Caryl Stewart, who sublet the gas station that was to become their very first scoop shop: “They had *connected* with their customers, who felt like they were an integral part of what was happening, not merely a source of revenue to some faceless

businessmen.” Lager continues, “They truly believed that the joy was in the journey, and were determined to seize upon every opportunity to have fun that came their way” (1994, 36). A no-frills, down-to-earth style also appealed to consumers and became a basic element of the Ben & Jerry's company culture.

From the very beginning of Ben Cohen and Jerry Greenfield's careers as capitalists, they wanted to achieve a sense of community by using the business as their catalyst. They began by giving away free ice cream. Soon they were holding movie festivals and began an annual community celebration. But as they became more economically successful and much busier, the two characteristics of Ben & Jerry's social program that were emphasized were the amount of the donations they began to give and the recipients of those donations. Ben Cohen was not satisfied with a 5 percent pretax donation figure. He wanted to make it 10 percent. Lager disagreed, comparing their 5 percent to the average contribution from corporate America in the 1980s, a figure of 2.1 percent pretax profits, most of which went to arts organizations or the United Way (Human Resources Network 1975, 25).

There was no question by six or seven years into the development of the business that Ben & Jerry's was not a typical corporation with respect to where their profits were going. Although one criticism of the business has been that the social program is simply a marketing tool, Lager insists that the motivation for giving back had always been genuine. In response to an increasing concern regarding the direction in which the company was headed as it continued to grow, the board of directors at Ben & Jerry's concretized the values inherent in the early projects of the company into the Statement of Mission in 1987. The statement was an effort to institutionalize the idea of the “new corporate concept.” The mission of Ben & Jerry's Homemade, Inc., focused specifically on three areas: product quality, economic success, and contribution back to the community. The quality of their product was always first on their minds; they were in business to create a super-premium ice cream, and they were confident that they could sustain a niche in the market at a competitive price within their grade of ice cream.

Little did they imagine how large was the niche they would fill.

In fact, due to a satisfactory corporate climate in general and their socially conscious mission in particular, they at times seemed to be growing too fast. True to their communitarian roots, the financial rewards were initially distributed in a very egalitarian way: the ratio of highest-paid worker to lowest-paid worker showed the fairness of the financial reward gained by the individual employees of the company. In 1985, the five-to-one compressed salary structure policy was formalized, in which the highest paid employee could get paid no more than five times the lowest paid employee. One of the incentives of adopting such a policy was to recognize the contribution made to the company's success by people throughout the organization.

Their penchant for irreverence toward traditional market economics was embodied in the down-to-earth style of Ben & Jerry's. But despite this "nose-thumbing" attitude toward traditions of business procedure and bureaucracy, the "new corporate concept" has gained respectability. Ben Cohen and Jerry Greenfield chose to use the power position they gained through their increasing notoriety and economic leverage to manipulate the market toward the social good, with conscience as their motive. This is what the third part of their mission statement addresses.

THE MIDDLE PERIOD, 1985–1994: MANAGING GROWTH VS. COMMITTING TO THE MISSION

Several socially conscious projects followed the arrival of the mission statement. The first was Peace Pops, a chocolate/popsicle confection that came about in response to the introduction of a similar product by their major competitor, Häagen-Dazs. Cohen took it upon himself to integrate a "socially responsible" aspect into the release of the product as well. He decided he was going to start a nonprofit organization called 1% for Peace, a proposal originally offered by Paul Snyder, a friend of the company's lawyer, in 1983. According to Cohen, "the organization would try to get Congress to pass a law

allocating one percent of the annual military budget toward activities focusing on peace through understanding." (Lager 1994, 174).

Another early initiative involved the use of the Greyston Bakery of New York City as a supplier. "The bakery hired the homeless and the hard-core unemployable to make cheesecakes and fancy torts that sold in gourmet shops and restaurants throughout the New York area. Profits from the bakery were used to provide transitional housing, counseling, and training for its employees—all intended to break the cycle of homelessness" (Lager 1994, 186). The Greyston Bakery continues to supply the company today.

The end of the Cold War changed the ideological stance that the 1% for Peace issue used as its premise. It changed its name to Business Partnership for Peace and in 1993 was merged into Businesses for Social Responsibility, which counts such Fortune 500 companies as Reebok and Stride-Rite among its members. Ben & Jerry's decided to begin a project with a new focus toward a more domestic concern. The Call for Kids was established in the place of 1% for Peace, as the board made the decision to focus the social mission into a single area and integrate it formally into the company's marketing and promotions.

All these initiatives are representative of the efforts that Ben & Jerry's made to contribute not only to the community that supported the production of their ice cream but also to society in general. The community has grown for them to an international scope as they have expanded into new markets. The later social initiatives continue to encompass a strong emphasis on politicization in their programs. Social responsibility to Ben & Jerry's means doing more than what may traditionally be known as "social work," "compassionate" giving to the unfortunate through Partnerships (Ben & Jerry's shops that are owned and operated by nonprofit groups) or donations to nonprofit organizations aimed at counseling or guidance. It means making an attempt to change the larger, well-rooted and institutionalized structures of society. Social programs that were politically motivated were 1% for Peace, the Call for Kids, and the setting up of "scoop shops" in Russia.

What is perhaps most striking about Ben & Jerry's program of social responsibility is its straightforward

attempt to actively support political opinions that offer alternatives to the hyper-rationalized and individuated business world that is too often separated from its community. As the business grew, however, it became harder and harder for the cofounders to maintain their ideals. In 1982, after deciding to sell the business and then declining all of the offers they received, they realized that they were too close to their work to let its unique style be changed by the multibillion-dollar candy company that was intent on purchasing Ben & Jerry's. The process of change had already begun, however, because they were compelled to deal more and more with the "real" business world.

In 1985, their third new plant opened in Waterbury, Vermont. The move to the new plant was a significant step in the process of change. "In Waterbury we were suddenly separated. The production and warehouse crews were in one part of the plant, the office workers in another. The up side was that more work was getting done. The down side was that as people became more task-oriented, they began to lose their connection to the whole of the organization" (Lager 1994, 143). While the founders suspected that these changes might impact their internal organization, they never anticipated the extent to which that impact would affect their social mission.

THE LATE PERIOD, 1994–2003: THE GROWTH ETHIC AND THE BUYOUT OF BEN & JERRY'S

Slowly, the nontraditional values that were upheld earlier were replaced by an ethic that incorporated efficiency, predictability, calculability, and control as primary values. An evolution took place, infusing the previous style with a bureaucratic temperament. It was the growth of the company that pushed this reform. Any plans to limit the growth of the company were thoroughly washed away in the early to mid-1990s. But in 1994 the company saw their first annual loss. Shareholders were not happy.

Robert Holland, Jr., hired as the CEO of the company in the spring of 1995, stated in a press release that the company would double its revenue from \$150 million by expanding distribution overseas and

by increasing the number of retail outlets. Despite an unconventional search for a CEO (titled, "Yo! I'm Your CEO!"), where anyone could write a one-hundred-word essay explaining why they would be the correct choice, Holland was found by an executive search firm due to his experience in the global marketplace (Holland was a thirteen-year veteran at McKinsey & Company and consultant to several Fortune 100 companies). Holland abandoned the five-to-one pay ratio (which had since expanded to a seven-to-one ratio).

In the early and middle period of the company, attention to the social mission had been the priority. But given the dwindling sales of 1994, Holland was hired "not so much as to clean house, but to get the house in order," said Mitch Curren, "Info P.R. Queen," in 1995. "His main priority will be to concentrate on the economic mission" [personal interview]. The expansion was created by Holland and the "new" Ben & Jerry's Homemade, Inc., followed the trend in the corporate world of international investment. International direct investment during the period when Ben & Jerry's was growing had increased by over 1,000 percent, and the number of transnational corporations grew from 7,000 in 1975 to 37,000 in 1995. A wave of economic globalization was cresting and it could be said that Ben & Jerry's was swept away with the tide.

In April 2000, the Ben & Jerry's franchise was purchased for \$326 million by Unilever, a \$45 billion multinational company. Although part of the buyout agreement was a continued commitment to the Statement of Mission, including the social mission, that contractual agreement was made for only two years. As Jeffrey Kanter, senior food analyst at Prudential Securities, said in a National Public Radio interview (13 April 2000): "It's tie-dye versus capitalism and capitalism won" (Baron, 2000).

In December 2000, when it came time to appoint a new CEO for the company, Unilever ignored the suggestions of Ben & Jerry's advisory board and appointed a twenty-four-year Unilever veteran. In response, company cofounders Cohen and Greenfield put out the following statement: "We strongly supported a different candidate, a longtime member of Ben and Jerry's Board of Directors, whose commitment to our social policies was clear and estab-

lished. As owner, Unilever of course has the legal right to manage Ben & Jerry's in the way it sees fit. We have not decided whether or not to remain with the company" (as reported in AlterNet.org, 2 January 2001).

Today, holding the title cofounders, Ben Cohen and Jerry Greenfield carry on their progressive mission outside of the context of the business, but because of name recognition and the political volatility of the issues of war and peace, the company has attempted to distance itself from the cofounders. According to a posting in 2003 to the Ben & Jerry's website, "When they speak they do so as private citizens or as representatives of one of the organizations they are involved with like True Majority, Business Leaders for Sensible Priorities, or the Peace and Justice Center in Burlington, VT."

THE FUTURE OF BEN & JERRY'S HOMEMADE, INC.

What had changed between 1982, when Ben Cohen and Jerry Greenfield could not bring themselves to sell the company, and 2000, when they did? Certainly, the massive amount of time and energy that the two had put into building the business had taken its toll. But beyond any personal explanations of exhaustion or boredom, it is clear to see that Ben & Jerry's Homemade, Inc., had changed over the years as the business grew and succumbed to the increasingly global forces of the mainstream economic world. Nonetheless, the leadership of Ben & Jerry's Homemade, Inc., has had a strong influence on the development of a corporate ethic of social responsibility, as well as on the organization of consumer awareness and support for this ethic. The basis for this ethic of social responsibility lies in a recognition of the intertwined relationship between economic, political, and social forces. Economic actors do not operate in a void. By changing some basic business practices and making a greater contribution of profits to philanthropic causes, a company can ultimately improve its chances of success in the long-term by creating a connection between business and community.

—Kurt Reymers

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BIG FIVE PERSONALITY TRAITS

The Big Five Model of personality provides a framework for identifying and structuring personality traits

using five dimensions: extraversion/surgency (assertiveness), agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability, and intellect/openness to experience. This model is based on seventy years of statistical research on the structure of peer ratings, which started with Louis Thurstone (1934). Thurstone summarized his research on the structure of adjectives used to describe acquaintances by stating, “It is of considerable psychological interest to know that the whole list of sixty adjectives can be accounted for by postulating only five independent common factors” (Thurstone, 1934, 13). Digman (1996) traces the history of Big Five personality research, identifying the work of Tupes and Christal (1961) as providing the first definitive demonstration of a five-factor solution extracted from correlations among personality scales.

EVIDENCE FOR THE BIG FIVE PERSONALITY DIMENSIONS

Research stimulated by Tupes and Christal provides compelling evidence for the robustness of the Big Five personality dimensions. This is the basis for the recent interest in personality assessment in applied psychology. The evidence indicates that the five-factor structure of personality is consistent across different theoretical frameworks (Goldberg, 1981; Johnson and Ostendorf, 1993; McCrae and Costa, 1996), using different measures (Conley, 1985; Costa and McCrae, 1992; Lorr and YOUNISS, 1973), in different cultures (Bond, Nakazato, and Shiraishi, 1975; Borkenau and Ostendorf, 1989; Digman and Takemoto-Chock, 1981), using ratings from different sources (Digman and Inouye, 1986; McCrae and Costa, 1987; Norman, 1963; Watson, 1989), and across different methods of data accumulation (Borgatta, 1964). The Big Five is a structure for organizing the natural language of human attributes; it is not a theory of personality or an explanation of behavior. However, McCrae and Costa (1996) point out that these factors provide the nucleus for a theory of personality, and they describe certain distinctive elements of such a theory.

The word *personality* has two definitions, and the distinction between them is important. On the one

hand, *personality* can be defined from the viewpoint of an actor and concerns a person’s identity. On the other hand, *personality* can be defined from the viewpoint of an observer and concerns a person’s reputation. Reputation reflects the distinctive features of another’s behavior; trait words are used to describe how a person is perceived by others. Each person’s reputation can be described using the Big Five personality dimensions in the following terms:

1. Quiet and unassertive versus active and outgoing (extraversion/surgency)
2. Hard-nosed and tough versus tactful and sensitive (agreeableness)
3. Impulsive and careless versus dependable and conforming (conscientiousness)
4. Nervous and moody versus calm and assured (emotional stability)
5. Narrow and unimaginative versus curious and imaginative (intellect/openness to experience)

One answer to the question of what to include, when measuring personality, is to assess the major components of reputation—the Big Five. Some personality inventories assess Big Five constructs, although scale labels are not consistent with the Big Five terminology. Only a few recently developed inventories explicitly measure the Big Five, and these usually have different scale labels for the same constructs (Costa and McCrae, 1992; Hogan and Hogan, 1995; Mount and Barrick, 2001). Before 1990 many researchers doubted the validity of personality measures for predicting occupational performance. However, when the Big Five structure is used to organize personality scales across studies, accumulated results indicate that personality measures significantly predict of a wide range of performance for virtually every job in the world of work (Hogan and Holland, 2003). The study of personality and leadership is a specific instance of this state of affairs.

A CONTEXT FOR DEFINING LEADERSHIP

Leadership is one of the most frequently studied topics in management and applied psychology; the

interest comes from the fact that, as members of collective enterprises, everyone is affected by who is in charge. Students of leadership seek to understand characteristics that contribute to leadership success and positive impact on organizations. We can make a fundamental distinction between leadership and organizational status that confounds the study of leader effectiveness. People who climb to the top of large bureaucratic organizations may owe their positions more to their political skills than to their leadership capabilities. Consequently, leadership research that focuses exclusively on high-status individuals may have little relevance for understanding real leadership.

What is leadership? We define it in the following context (Hogan, 1996). First, we think about leadership from an evolutionary perspective. People evolved as group-living, culture-using animals. People live (and work) in groups, and every group has a status hierarchy. Second, a status hierarchy implies an ordering of people based on factors important for group survival, with those people at the top contributing the most to group viability. Third, people in a group need, at an unconscious level, social acceptance from other group members, and they need status; acceptance and status ensure individual reproductive success. In short, people are motivated to get along—which facilitates group living and enhances individual survival—and to get ahead—which facilitates preferential opportunities for reproductive fitness. Fourth, there is an inherent tension between the processes of getting along and getting ahead. Actions that enhance acceptance tend to reduce status, and, conversely, actions that enhance status can reduce acceptance because success often comes at the expense of another individual or group. Finally, the success of any group involves balancing individual self-interest against the welfare of the group. Absent external threats, individuals typically pursue their short-term self-interest; in contrast, actions that promote long-term individual self-interest also enhance group longevity.

Leadership involves persuading people to set aside, for a time, their individual concerns and to pursue a common goal that is important for the welfare of a group (Hogan, Curphy, and Hogan, 1994).

LEADERSHIP AND PERSONALITY: BIG FIVE AND OTHER CHARACTERISTICS

Until recently, researchers doubted that any personality traits were reliably associated with leadership effectiveness. The first major indication of this skepticism appears in Stogdill's (1948) influential book, which concluded that leadership is not a "mere possession of some combination of traits" (Stogdill 1948, 66). The alternative view—that leadership is a function of the situation—prevailed from the 1960s forward. Some scholars branded the search for personality traits associated with leadership as simplistic and futile (Conger and Kanungo, 1998; House and Aditya, 1997). Nonetheless, even Stogdill (1948), despite his overall conclusion, noted that measures of dominance, extraversion, sociability, ambition or achievement, responsibility, integrity, self-confidence, mood and emotional control, diplomacy, and cooperativeness are positively related to emergent leadership.

Any review should distinguish between leadership emergence and leadership effectiveness. Emergence concerns being perceived as leader-like. Much of the research on this topic comes from studies of students and military personnel (Judge, Bono, Ilies, and Gerhardt, 2002). Effectiveness concerns a leader's ability to influence a work group to perform. Thus, evaluating effectiveness requires metrics (measurements) associated with work group performance. Judge, Bono, Ilies, and Gerhardt (2002) use this distinction to organize a definitive meta-analysis of the personality traits associated with leadership. Using 222 correlations from seventy-three studies and classifying the personality variables in the Big Five framework, Judge and associates conclude that extraversion/surgency is the most consistent predictor of both leadership emergence and effectiveness criteria. Statistically, the estimated true validities for leadership emergence and effectiveness, respectively, are extraversion/surgency (.33; .24); agreeableness (.05; .21); conscientiousness (.33; .24); emotional stability (.24; .22); and intellect/openness to experience (.24; .24). Regressing all Big Five personality measures on overall leadership yielded a multiple correlation of .48, with extraversion/surgency (.33; .24); agreeableness (.05; .21); conscientiousness (.33; .24); emotional stability (.24; .22); and intellect/openness to experience (.24; .24).

sion/surgency, intellect/openness to experience, and conscientiousness as the best predictors when using the Big Five as a test battery. Judge and associates provide an answer to the question of what personality traits distinguish leaders from non-leaders. The next question concerns why.

The links between personality and leadership can be summarized in terms of four points. First, recalling the distinction between the actor's and the observer's view of personality, leadership can be defined only as regards a group of followers, and it is best defined in terms of the leader's reputation. Reputation is attributed to an individual by others based on the performance that they observe during a period of time. Reputation is easily studied and reliably assessed. Second, implicit leadership theory indicates that a well-defined reputation is associated with effective leadership. Specifically, people expect leaders to be trustworthy, competent, decisive, and visionary (Dirks and Ferrin, 2002); those who are not perceived in these terms will not be viewed as leaders, regardless of their position in an organization. Third, although all people want acceptance and status, individual differences exist in people's ability to acquire acceptance and status, and effective leaders have the social skill necessary to negotiate successfully for both.

Fourth, taking a theory-based approach to the study of leadership, the Austrian neurologist Sigmund Freud and the German sociologist Max Weber both defined (at about the same time) the essential features of leadership in terms of charisma. They described charismatic leaders as having unusual interpersonal appeal and the ability to rally people to a cause based on the sheer force of their personalities. Charismatic theories of leadership (Conger and Kanungo, 1998) are, by definition, personality-based theories of leadership. House (1977) developed a rating form based on Weber's descriptors and found that persons with high ratings were seen as effective leaders. Bass's (1985) theory of charismatic leadership draws on Burns's (1978) influential book, in which Burns distinguishes "transformational" from "transactional" leadership; transformational leadership is the same as charisma. Judge and Bono (2000) summarize the distinction between transfor-

mational and transactional leaders as follows: Transformational leaders inspire followers to adopt a vision that involves more than individual self-interest, whereas transactional leaders appeal to followers' self-interest. These discussions also refer to laissez-faire (non-interfering) leadership, in which the leader does nothing.

Avolio, Bass, and Jung (1995, 1999) developed a measure to assess transformational, transactional, and laissez-faire leadership styles; meta-analyses showed that transformational leadership is positively related to leadership effectiveness (Lowe, Kroeck, and Sivasubramaniam, 1996). Laissez-faire style is negatively related to transformational leadership (Bass, 1997).

During the past twenty years, transformational leadership theory has dominated the leadership literature (Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, and van Engen, 2003; Judge and Bono, 2000), and ratings for transformational leadership (e.g., a kind of leader reputation) predict a range of effectiveness outcomes (Avolio, Bass, and Jung 1995; Judge and Bono, 2000). Transformational leadership is a function of three broad personality traits: extraversion/surgency (Judge and Bono, 2000); agreeableness (Bartone, Snook, and Tremble, 2002; Hogan and Holland, 2003); and intellect/openness to experience (Hogan and Hogan, 2002; Hogan and Holland, 2003). The links between personality and leadership can be traced to individual efforts to acquire acceptance and status. To gain the acceptance of others, leaders must be seen as sensitive to the needs of followers, concerned, considerate, and generous. Such traits are all tapped by the Big Five agreeableness dimension. To achieve status in a group, leaders must be seen as dominant, expressive, persuasive, and willing to take initiative to get things done. Such traits are the core of the Big Five extraversion/surgency dimension. Transformational leaders also achieve status by articulating a vision, which is the essence of charismatic and inspirational styles, and this is associated with Big Five openness to experience. Considerable empirical support exists for these personality-leadership linkages and a persuasive conceptual rationale for the results.

—Joyce Hogan and Robert Hogan

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BIRTH CONTROL

Throughout history, women have actively sought safe and effective methods of birth control. Using folk medicine to prevent unwanted pregnancies, women often suffered real physical and psychological illness. The birth control movement was fueled by the desire for effective, mass-produced contraceptives, and it gathered strength from the efforts of women like Margaret Sanger. Commercialized by the mid-nineteenth century, contraceptives were readily available, however, their effectiveness was often dubious. Nonetheless, early attempts to control births prevailed with some success, and by the 1870s the overall birthrate dropped significantly. In contrast, however, by the 1890s the U.S. Catholic population dramatically increased because of eastern European Catholic immigration and strict mandates from the Catholic church that made using birth control a sin. Typically, historians note socioeconomic concerns and health-related issues as guiding factors in the emergence of the American birth control movement, specifically the health hazards brought about through multiple pregnancies and the hardship of rearing numerous children on meager resources. During colonial times women quietly practiced birth control, keeping the topic a private matter. Some practiced a variety of home remedies to prevent pregnancy, and others resorted to abortion as a means of controlling birth, a practice that went unnoticed in a largely rural environment.

As immigration swelled the American urban population during the nineteenth century, poverty

became part of the national landscape. Overcrowded tenements were commonplace, and underemployment and unemployment plagued the poor. Maternal and children's health and the need for effective and affordable contraceptives emerged as prominent issues for many American citizens, although not for prosperous industrialists and business owners who benefited from the massive immigrant labor pools. Lower-class individuals could barely afford daily subsistence let alone proper medical treatment. At best, the poor could obtain minimal medical treatment through charitable agencies, such as the public health departments, which some of the larger city governments sponsored. Public health entities, however, often failed to provide substantial health care or offer advice on birth control. And abortions concerned nineteenth-century conservatives, with some state legislatures seeking to restrict or outlaw the procedures.

In urban America, multiple pregnancies, poor health care during gestation, and overwork from childrearing left poor women in precarious health. To complicate matters, mothers were often forced by necessity to hold jobs outside the home, a situation that further eroded their health and led to child neglect. As a result, desperate women who found themselves pregnant repeatedly sometimes resorted to harmful self-induced abortions or abortions performed by the unskilled, which often resulted in severe bodily trauma or death. Women who could afford them used purgatives, plant abstracts, salts, salves, douches, and other agents designed either to prevent pregnancy or to induce menses, thus aborting unwanted children. Abortion practitioners were often arrested and jailed as restrictive laws became more pervasive by midcentury. Some physicians who merely gave out birth control advice or devices were shut down and sometimes jailed. Not only were doctors who attended the working class unwilling to recommend contraceptives, but poor women could not afford available contraceptives like vulcanized rubber condoms that were readily available by the 1830s. Bound by social mores and religious restrictions, especially those for Catholics, men remained reluctant to take charge of birth control. By 1873, restrictive federal laws were in place that forbade the

public distribution of contraceptive literature and materials, a situation that resulted in a political control of women's bodies under the guise of controlling vice in society. Yet, many upper- and middle-class women had fewer children and managed to control the number of their births, which suggests that certain classes of Americans were able to obtain the most effective contraceptives throughout the nineteenth century.

OPPOSITION LEADERSHIP: ANDREW COMSTOCK

Dedicated and determined leaders led both sides of the nineteenth-century birth control controversy. At one end of the continuum were the moralists who sought to suppress all forms of birth control, which they labeled as a companion of vice. At the other end were the reformists who sought to liberate women from the hardships of overwork and multiple pregnancies. Both groups of reformers hoped to create a better society where families could grow and create future generations of successful citizens. The moral reformers did little to alleviate the suffering of poor women and instead punished them for seeking birth control alternatives. Among the most ardent moralist and self-righteous spokesmen for the anti-birth control movement was Anthony Comstock, a devout Christian who emerged as a leader during the 1860s and continued the fight well into the twentieth century. Unfortunately for poor women needing birth control, Comstock's early campaigns were very effective in controlling the distribution of contraceptive devices and literature about avoiding pregnancies. Prior to the passing of the federally mandated Comstock laws in 1873, vice control was a matter left up to various city and precinct leaders. For example, during Comstock's reign in New York, the local Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) created a Committee for the Suppression of Vice. The group regularly purchased and destroyed birth control goods, shut down book dealers of supposedly erotica-based literature, and at times committee members took over clinics that supplied contraceptives. Eventually the YMCA became an independent operation, and Comstock went on to become the

head vice investigator for the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice. By gaining the support of New York's elite citizens, Comstock effectively created an institutional base.

THE AGE OF COMSTOCKERY AND THE LEADERSHIP OF MARGARET SANGER

During the 1870s, President Ulysses S. Grant appointed several men as vice agents for the U.S. Postal Service. The job of the agents was to screen mail for pornography, literature suspected of encouraging vice, and contraceptives. Andrew Comstock was instrumental in getting Congress to pass legislation that was dubbed the Comstock laws. This legislation effectively gave the postal service the ultimate authority to suppress vice and to investigate and arrest individuals for using the federal mail services to distribute items such as birth control literature and contraceptive devices. Once the restrictive legislation was in place, Comstock arrested numerous individuals, ordered the destruction of thousands of books and pamphlets deemed erotica and the confiscation of thousands of contraceptive devices. Comstock had little sympathy for the plight of the poor, blaming them for the presence of vice in society because he believed that they lacked proper self-control.

Comstock and his supporters did not meet their goals without resistance. In the late nineteenth century, women actively sought effective contraceptives, helping to pave the way for a full-scale birth control movement in America. Among the handful of physicians, nurses, and laypersons involved in the movement was Margaret Higgins Sanger, who fought for legal and publicly available birth control.

Sanger was born Margaret Higgins in Corning, New York, in 1879. She was one of eleven children born to first-generation Irish Americans Michael and Anne Purcell Higgins. Her mother was a dedicated Catholic, and her father was a freethinking, atheist stonecutter prone to drinking alcohol. Interesting enough, religious differences did not destroy the Higgins marriage, which lasted until Mrs. Higgins's death at age fifty in 1899. Margaret Sanger believed that her mother's early death occurred because of the hardships she suffered from eighteen pregnancies,



Margaret Sanger's "The Case for Birth Control"

Everywhere we look, we see poverty and large families going hand in hand. We see hordes of children whose parents cannot feed, clothe, or educate even one half of the number born to them. We see sick, harassed, broken mothers whose health and nerves cannot bear the strain of further child-bearing. We see fathers growing despondent and desperate, because their labor cannot bring the necessary wage to keep their growing families. We see that those parents who are least fit to reproduce the race are having the largest number of children; while people of wealth, leisure, and education are having small families.

It is generally conceded by sociologists and scientists that a nation cannot go on indefinitely multiplying without eventually reaching the point when population presses upon means of subsistence. While in this country there is perhaps no need for immediate alarm on this account, there are many other reasons for demanding birth control. At present, for the poor mother, there is only one alternative to the necessity of bearing children year after year, regardless of her health, of the welfare of the children she already has, and of the income of the family. This alternative is abortion, which is so common as to be almost universal, especially where there are rigid laws against imparting information for the prevention of conception. It has been estimated that there are about one million abortions in the United States each year.

To force poor mothers to resort to this dangerous and health-destroying method of curtailing their families is cruel, wicked, and heartless, and it is often the mothers who care most about the welfare of their children who are willing to undergo any pain or risk to prevent the coming of infants for whom they cannot properly care.

There are definite reasons when and why parents should not have children, which will be conceded by most thoughtful people.

First—Children should not be born when either parent has an

inheritable disease, such as insanity, feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, or syphilis.

Second—When the mother is suffering from tuberculosis, kidney disease, heart disease, or pelvic deformity.

Third—When either parent has gonorrhea. This disease in the mother is the cause of 90 percent of blindness in newborn babies.

Fourth—When children already born are not normal, even though both parents are in good physical and mental condition.

Fifth—Not until the woman is twenty-three years old and the man twenty-five.

Sixth—Not until the previous baby is at least three years old. This gives a year to recover from the physical ordeal of the birth of the baby, a year to rest, be normal and enjoy her motherhood, and another year to prepare for the coming of the next.

We want mothers to be fit. We want them to conceive in joy and gladness. We want them to carry their babies during the nine months in a sound and healthy body and with a happy, joyous, hopeful mind. It is almost impossible to imagine the suffering caused to women, the mental agony they endure, when their days and nights are haunted by the fear of undesired pregnancy.

Seventh—Children should not be born to parents whose economic circumstances do not guarantee enough to provide the children with the necessities of life.

A couple who can take care of two children and bring them up decently in health and comfort, give them an education and start them fairly in life, do more for their country and for mankind than the couple who recklessly reproduce ten or twelve children, some of them to die in infancy, others to survive but to enter the mill or factory at an early age, and all to sink to that level of degradation where charity, either state or

Source: Sanger, Margaret. (1924). "The Case for Birth Control." *Woman Citizen* 8, 17–18.

and that her parents' ignorance of birth control contributed to her family's poverty and social estrangement. By the time Sanger had finished her public school education, she had concluded that poor women desperately needed birth control in order to preserve their health and to adequately provide for their children. A natural leader who defied convention, Sanger went on to attend Claverack College

and the Hudson Institution, where she received a liberal arts education for three years. She relished relationships she developed with upper-class women at Claverack and made many important social connections that would aid her future leadership role. After a brief stint of teaching, Sanger entered nursing school in White Plains, New York, which helped solidify her determination to promote birth control.

private, is necessary to keep them alive. The man who cannot support three children should not have ten, notwithstanding all pleas of the militarists for numbers.

Eighth—A woman should not bear children when exhausted from labor. This especially applies to women who marry after spending several years in industrial or commercial life. Conception should not take place until she is in good health and has overcome her fatigue.

Ninth—Not for two years after marriage should a couple undertake the great responsibility of becoming parents. Thousands of young people enter marriage without the faintest idea of what marriage involves. They do not know its spiritual responsibilities. If children are born quickly and plentifully, people consider that the marriage is justified. I claim that this is barbaric and wrong. It is wrong for the wife, for the man, for the children.

It is impossible for two young people to really know each other until they have lived together in marriage. After the closeness and intimacy of that relation there often comes to the woman a rude awakening; the devoted lover becomes careless and dissatisfied. If she becomes pregnant immediately, she becomes physically disturbed, nervous, and irritable. The girl has changed, and the boy who knew her as a happy smiling sweetheart finds her disagreeable and disgruntled. Of course thousands of people learn to adjust themselves. Nevertheless, I maintain that young people should marry early and wait at least two years to adjust their own lives, to play and read together and to build up a cultural and spiritual friendship. Then will come the intense desire to call into being a little child to share their love and happiness. When children are conceived in love and born into an atmosphere of happiness, then will parenthood be a glorious privilege, and the children will grow to resemble gods. This can only be obtained through the knowledge and practice of Birth Control.

As a young nurse working the night shift, she saw poverty and destitution at its worst. She witnessed women suffering from puerperal infections, uterine disorders, and other illnesses brought about from exhaustion from overwork and childbearing. During her early years of nursing, she assisted doctors who attended births and practiced midwifery herself in the immigrant tenements. Sanger wrote in her auto-

biography about the desperate women who begged her for birth control advice.

Although Margaret vowed she would never marry, by the time she neared the end of her nursing training at the age of twenty-two, she had married architect William Sanger, with whom she had three children.

However, she did not abandon her nursing career or her mission of promoting birth control. In July 1912, Sanger nursed back to health Sadie Sachs, a Russian immigrant who had given herself an abortion and nearly died. The impoverished woman chose the abortion because she already had several children whom she and her husband could barely afford. The physician attending Sach offered the suffering woman no advice about birth control, and about a year later Sanger witnessed Sachs's death after a second self-induced abortion. At that point, Sanger vowed that she would work to put an end to the unnecessary suffering and poverty brought about from unwanted pregnancies and poor family planning.

EARLY BEGINNINGS OF THE BIRTH CONTROL MOVEMENT

In spite of Comstock's efforts, birth rates continued to decline, women continued to use birth control and obtain abortions, and publishers continued to produce sexually explicit literature that was eagerly purchased by the public. Yet, effective and affordable birth control was not fully available, and the Comstock agents continued to deter public clinics from opening for fear of retribution. In 1916, despite legal obstacles and fear of prosecution, Margaret Sanger, along with her sister Ethel Higgins Byrne and her friend Fania Mindell, opened a birth control clinic in one of the poorest neighborhoods of Brooklyn, New York. All three women were arrested and taken to jail; Mindell was released, but the sisters served prison sentences for breaking the Comstock laws.

Sanger fought for legalized birth control for over fifty years. By 1921, Sanger had founded the *Birth Control Review*, and in the same year, Sanger and her friend Mary Windsor were arrested during the first

American Birth Control Conference. In spite of legal repercussions Sanger continued to gain support worldwide. Sanger went on to found the American Birth Control League. However, emerging clinics and birth control meetings were routinely shut down during the 1920s and numerous birth control reformers were arrested. By the 1930s, birth control regulations began to ease and male-dominated hospitals and other health institutions began openly supporting birth control and formed alliances with the league. A key factor in this support was the 1936 decision in *U.S. v. One Package* by the Second Circuit Court of Appeals in New York, allowing physicians to legally import contraceptive devices for medical purposes. Then, in 1937, the American Medical Association endorsed birth control after years of urging by progressive physicians such as Dr. William J. Robinson and Dr. Abraham Jacobi, an eminent physician and former AMA president.

Through the league, Sanger reached thousands who supported family planning. Outreach clinics sprung up across the nation. In 1939, the American Birth Control League and the Clinical Research Bureau merged and became the Birth Control Federation of America (BCFA). By the end of the 1930s, the federation successfully reached the nation's poorest in the rural South, with W. E. B. Du Bois serving on an advisory board that led to county health departments supporting family planning.

The 1940s ushered in a host of progressive developments in birth control and several leaders like Kenneth Rose and Dr. Gregory Pincus emerged as prominent supporters of birth control. Rose became the national director of the Federation, and in 1942 BCFA changed its name to Planned Parenthood Federation of America. Pincus spent several years conducting steroid research in order to create an effective injection or birth control pill that completely modernized contraceptives. His diligent research led to production of the birth control pill by 1960, the most successful method of birth control of the time, which would become the leading form of birth control in America. Physicians practicing in Catholic hospitals, however, were routinely fired for not abiding by contraceptive bans, and federally mandated legislation made it virtually impossible to obtain a legal abortion.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the organization previously led by Margaret Sanger became the International Planned Parenthood Federation. By 1970, Congress had repealed most of the Comstock laws, and birth control gained the acceptance of most Americans. This acceptance was echoed by President Richard Nixon who, in 1970, signed into law Title X of the Public Health Act, which provided funding for national family planning and established the Center for Population Research. The bill had been cosponsored by George Herbert Walker Bush, then a congressman, who noted at the time, "We need to make family planning a household word. We need to take the sensationalism out of the topic so it can no longer be used by militants who have no knowledge of the voluntary nature of the program, but rather are using it as a political stepping stone. If family planning is anything, it is a public health matter" (Planned Parenthood Federation of America History:1960s).

The topic of abortion remained a hotly contested issue among clerical leaders and became a subject of partisan politics. Despite the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision that paved the way for legalized abortion, opposition continued against family planning and abortion. Following Sanger's example, leaders like John D. Rockefeller began funding and organizing worldwide conferences on population control, which continue to be funded to promote family planning globally. The United Nations World Population Conference gained support from most countries for population policies and programs that would positively enhance social and economic growth. Only the Vatican continued to reject family planning, the use of contraceptives, and any type of abortion regardless of circumstances.

During the last decades of the twentieth century, birth control information and products became increasingly available to Americans; at the same time, however, pro-life supporters continued to stymie family planning organizations' activities and to fight for antiabortion laws. The leadership of Ronald Reagan and George Herbert Walker Bush aided opponents of birth control and effectively decreased funding for national family planning organizations, thus encouraging the activities of pro-

life supporters. Both presidents actively curtailed funding for family planning. Reagan's executive orders included cutting funds to third-world organizations that performed abortions. The most prominent measure was dubbed the "Mexico City Policy," which successfully limited funding for family planning clinics and made it illegal for these organizations to perform abortions or fight politically for legalized abortions—a policy continued by Bush who had once been a strong supporter of family planning.

As a result, many abortion and family planning clinics were attacked. Doctors, nurses, and supporters were verbally harassed, assaulted, and several people were murdered. The conservative leadership during the 1980s created a negative backlash that effectively discouraged legalized abortion. Although conflicting views continue to exist in the twenty-first century, without the strong leadership of women like Margaret Sanger, the freedom to choose birth control over maternity might not exist in modern America. Regardless of extremist views on family planning and abortion, the gains made by Sanger and her followers have made permanent marks on history that have benefited women and men alike worldwide.

—Denise R. Johnson

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BODY SHOP, THE

Anita Roddick (b. 1942), founder of The Body Shop cosmetic company, has long had an understanding of how to play the media. Her first encounter with the media came in 1976 as she was opening her first shop in a down-in-the-heels alley in Brighton, an English south coast resort town. No one, certainly not Roddick herself, foresaw that this hole-in-the-wall, inopportunistically situated across from a funeral parlor, would become a fifty-country empire of two thousand stores with annual revenues of more than a half-billion dollars.

Roddick said that when she put up "The Body Shop" sign, the funeral parlor owner demanded that

she change the name and even threatened her. He was afraid that it would confuse his customers. Roddick rang up the local newspaper, the *Evening Argus*, and landed a sympathetic column, creating a publicity stir. Much to everyone's surprise, The Body Shop's cash register was soon ringing.

It's a heart-warming tale, but according to friends and colleagues, as with many of Roddick's tales, it's a tall one. There was no threat. Beginning a pattern of stretching the truth that would serve her well for many years—but that would also challenge the ethical claims that became The Body Shop's calling card—Roddick simply concocted the story of a naïve woman entrepreneur under siege. The understaffed newspaper ran with it. It was a lesson in media gullibility that Roddick would never forget.

Operating on a skimpy budget, Roddick sold soaps and shampoos with no-frill promises in no-frill plastic bottles. Well before the “natural” craze had caught on, she struck a responsive chord among the hippies who dominated the scene in Brighton by claiming that her fragrances and lotions were “100 percent pure.” Neither she nor her customers were sophisticated enough to know that the bright colors, heavy scents, and preservatives in her products were made with synthetic chemicals.

While her husband Gordon masterminded the company's fast expansion through franchising, the charismatic Anita emerged as a media favorite with a tart tongue. She took shots at mainstream cosmetic companies, run almost exclusively by men, who, she charged, “lie,” “cheat,” and “exploit women.” She vowed she would never hire an executive with an M.B.A., particularly from Harvard, one of many promises she would make to great fanfare and break to little notice. She was quick to play the beleaguered female card. “Business practices would improve immeasurably if they were guided by ‘feminine’ principles—qualities like love and care and intuition” (Roddick & Prokop, 1994), she often said, a quip from a speech that found its way into almost every adoring feature story written about her.

In its early days, The Body Shop thrived on the idealism of young women such as Anne Downer, a British citizen living in Singapore. On a visit home in 1981, Downer wandered into a Covent Garden,

London, store and fell in love with The Body Shop concept. The twenty-two-year-old hopped on a train to company headquarters in Littlehampton, eventually coming away with rights to markets in eight Asian countries for a few hundred British pounds. “I thought Anita was quite a maverick,” said Downer. “I liked her wacky sense of ‘let's do it differently’” (interview by author, 1993).

The wackier Roddick came across, the more her popularity—The Body Shop sales—grew. A mocking critic of the “pin-striped” dinosaurs of the London Stock Exchange, this anticapitalist icon sold stock in her fast-growing company in 1984. She and her husband Gordon, who together owned one-quarter of the shares, became instant multimillionaires.

The Body Shop myth is a confection of such quixotic and contradictory themes. Roddick would go on to help inspire the “socially responsible” business movement by promoting herself as a new breed of “caring capitalist.” However, she built her ethical myth on a pattern of exaggerations and sometimes ruthless business practices. It's a combustible mix that sparked a blaze of free and overwhelmingly positive publicity in The Body Shop's early years only to transform into a firestorm of critical press that left her company financially limping and her reputation in tatters.

Roddick's reputation as a social activist, which emerged two years after the company went public, was ironically tied to a sales promotion. At the time, Roddick marketed her popular line of jojoba oil as a substitute for whale spermaceti-based cosmetics, which The Body Shop misleadingly implied were sold by competitors. That provided a natural tie in with Greenpeace in the United Kingdom, which had just launched a “save the whales” campaign. The Body Shop printed catchy fundraising posters. The effort generated a blizzard of publicity and new customers. Roddick “the social activist” was born.

By the late 1980s, Roddick had become a renowned gadfly, promoting the latest politically correct cause: ending animal testing of products, saving the rain forest, encouraging recycling, AIDS awareness. She boasted of pioneering trade links with third world producers, from Amazonian natives who collected Brazil nuts to people in Nepal who made

paper. Young women idolized her, snapping up her not-tested-on-animals, Brazil nut hair conditioner.

ACCOLADES

U.S. consumer advocate Ralph Nader anointed Rod-dick “the most progressive business person I know” (interview by author, 1993). *People* magazine, NBC News, and the *New York Times* produced enthusiastic profiles. *USA Today* headlined one story “The Mother Teresa of Capitalism.” She was awarded an Order of the British Empire, and the Audubon Society bestowed its top environmental honor on her. The Baby Boom generation seemed to have found its voice. Here was a harbinger of the new age, weaned on can-do chutzpah (self-confidence) and do-right values.

Eventually touted by such stock gurus as Merrill Lynch’s Peter Lynch, The Body Shop rode the green wave, opening cookie-cutter franchises in suburban malls around the world. However, beneath the socially responsible patina there was growing trouble. Although The Body Shop continued to open profitable stores in marquee locations, it was mostly a wholesaler supply cosmetics to franchisees, who shouldered the startup costs. Over the years The Body Shop gradually increased fees, pocketing hefty chunks of others’ risk capital. Franchisees in the United States can pay as much as \$775,000 plus a 5 percent sales royalty—far more than The Body Shop’s franchised competitors charge.

However, by the early 1990s the market began to change as competitors such as Boot’s in Britain and Bath and Body Works in the United States copied the formula. At first The Body Shop felt little pain because it continued to profit from hefty franchise fees. However, soon often-naïve entrepreneurs, leveraged to the edge with loans to support their venture, saw their margins evaporate. Many franchisees failed or were barely surviving, touching off disputes. All told, in recent years The Body Shop has shelled out more than \$130 million to settle dozens of disputes with dissident franchisees in North America, Asia, and Europe. Once the goose that laid the golden egg, The Body Shop’s formerly impregnable business model of franchising had become a liability.



Values Mission Statement of the Body Shop

The Body Shop Values Mission commits the Company to the pursuit of social and environmental change. Our Trading Charter defines the principles by which we will trade in order to deliver profits with principles. This includes instituting appropriate monitoring, auditing and disclosure mechanisms to ensure our accountability and demonstrate our compliance with our principles.

The Body Shop is committed to maintaining high standards of social and environmental performance. We believe in doing business with integrity and transparency. This means using our ethical principles to inform the way we do business, setting for ourselves and our business partners clear standards of practice. It also involves engaging stakeholders behind our business aims, and reporting on our performance and our intent to improve within the overall context of our business strategy.

The Body Shop Foundation complements our approach by giving financial and in-kind support to innovative, pioneering groups or projects who work to achieve sustainable progress in the areas of human and civil rights and environmental and animal protection.

Source: The Body Shop. Retrieved September 11, 2003, from www.bodyshop.com/web/tbsgl/values_approach.jsp

Some of the embarrassing situations were public and ugly. Downer collected \$6.2 million to settle a dispute after The Body Shop occupied her Singapore stores, snatched her Asian franchise rights, and tried to force her into bankruptcy on Christmas Eve. The Body Shop paid \$878,900 to its former Norwegian head franchisee, who alleged breach of contract. The Body Shop was permanently barred from operating in Israel after being accused of financial and ethical shenanigans. “Rebels vent anger over ethics of Body Shop,” screamed a headline in *The Sunday Times* of London in yet another high-profile wrangle with British franchisees. Operations in France, Spain, and Germany were in turmoil. Most recently, in Canada in 2001 an Ontario judge blasted The Body Shop for “egregious breach of widely accepted commercial morality . . . not consonant with our system of justice and general moral outlook” (Entine, 2002). The

Canadian Court of Appeal later joined in, accusing The Body Shop of engaging in “dishonest and unconscionable” (*Body Shop v. Lambert*, 2002) practices in dealings with its former franchisee.

Roddick herself tacitly acknowledged the problems, deriding her creation as a “dysfunctional coffin.” After trying to sell the troubled company for years, the Roddicks pulled it off the market in early 2002, announcing that they were reducing their management roles—for the third time in five years—and hiring a new CEO—the fourth corporate makeover in a decade. The Roddicks still control the board, however. Whereas husband Gordon has retired, Anita said she has no intention of stepping into the shadows. “Being now a non-exec is going to be much more fun for me because you can be much more a tyrant” (Entine, 2002), she said. Roddick then named herself “creative consultant” and is paying herself \$320,000 annually to offer “essential expertise in product, marketing and values”—the very issues at the heart of The Body Shop’s problems.

Touted a decade ago as the “shares that defy gravity,” The Body Shop’s stock has long since rediscovered the English physicist Isaac Newton’s *Principia*, (the book of proofs of the law of the universal gravitation) losing more than 75 percent of its value, peak to trough, a loss in valuation of more than \$750 million. The company is bleeding cash. According to the London-based securities firm Investec Henderson Crosthwaite, The Body Shop is “barely profitable” on an ongoing basis. “Their extraordinary expenses, reorganization charges, and costs of acquiring failing franchises have become recurring and commonplace” (Entine 2002).

“Body Shop hasn’t had positive net cash flow for more than five years,” added ING Barings Charterhouse, another London securities company. “As an innovative leader and growth company, they’re a dead concept” (Entine 2002).

Although details in each case are different, franchisees have broadly contended that the growing financial troubles have reflected deterioration in ethics as the company evolved from an idealistic startup into a hard-edged multinational company and as Roddick emerged as a celebrity. In recent years,

The Body Shop has been dogged by public ethical blowups on everything from product quality to its once-admired third world trading ventures to its reputation for philanthropy.

The Body Shop’s products have faced unusually harsh criticism. The U.S. publication *Women’s Wear Daily* has called its cosmetics “low-end at a premium price” (*Women’s Wear Daily* 1996). The Body Shop’s eye gel has come under attack from *Consumer Reports*, which noted that chemical fumes that irritate the skin create the gel’s cooling sensation. The eye gel, moisturizer, and baby cream were the subject of scathing exposes by German consumer magazine *Öko-Test* (Green Test), which found cancer-causing formaldehyde. The investigating scientist said the formaldehyde resulted from overuse of synthetics to control systemwide bacterial contamination. In contrast to its claims of being environmentally friendly and its self-promotion as a “natural” beauty company, The Body Shop has relied on bright artificial colors and heavy synthetic scents, created in the laboratory, often with petrochemicals.

QUALITY PROBLEMS

Quality has also been a problem. The Body Shop’s pumice foot scrub was regularly contaminated, according to founding cosmetologist Mark Constantine, a finding confirmed by managers and internal company memos. The U.S. Food and Drug Administration cited The Body Shop for eight health violations in 1993 after employees complained that the company suspended standard microbiological procedures to increase production before Christmas. The company shipped and sold hundreds of bottles of contaminated banana shampoo before getting wind of the FDA investigation.

The Body Shop has maintained that it has overhauled its products and quality control practices. However, as recently as 2001 Denmark’s *Green Guide* blasted The Body Shop’s two best-selling cosmetics for containing chemicals that it scorned as “poison.”

Roddick’s reputation for charitable giving has also stirred resentment among franchisees, who often give generously in time and money but see the

head office garner credit. Roddick has claimed that she “gives most of our profits away.” However, reviews of company records show that The Body Shop did not contribute to charity over its first eleven years and did not increase donations to even average corporate levels until a wave of negative publicity in 1994. Roddick countered the critics by claiming that The Body Shop’s social campaigns, which often have been tied to product promotions, are a form of philanthropy.

Controversy also has centered on the company’s “Trade Not Aid” hair rinse promotion, particularly use of Brazil nuts as a source. The former face of the promotion, a Kayapo Amazon chief, successfully sued The Body Shop for exploiting his image. University of Chicago anthropologist Terrence Turner ridiculed the promotion as a gimmick, calling it “Aid Not Trade”—aid by developing peoples to The Body Shop with no real trade in return. Stephen Corry of Survival International (a worldwide organization supporting tribal peoples), who once partnered with The Body Shop in the Amazon, went so far as to characterize the company as “sleazy and no more ethical than a heap of beans” (personal correspondence with author, 1994).

Much of The Body Shop’s good publicity flowed from its self-reporting of its internal social and environmental practices. However, even here the story is mixed. The Body Shop quashed at least two environmental audits after embarrassing problems turned up. David Brooks, a former U.S. Environmental Protection Agency lawyer and The Body Shop’s U.S. environmental director in the early 1990s, dismissed the company’s environmental initiatives as “window dressing.” He detailed lackluster recycling practices and regular discharges of hazardous waste into the water system near the company’s headquarters in New Jersey, which was then covered up by executives.

Few people doubt Anita Roddick’s idealism about broad principles, from achieving human rights to empowering women. The company has become a respected world corporate leader in issuing environmental and social accounting statements. However, Roddick, the symbol of the brand, has been dogged by ethical questions that began

with the founding of the company. Just how ethical is her company at its core?

For years Roddick posted a sign on her office: “We will be the most honest cosmetics company around.” Yet, The Body Shop started as a lie. According to Roddick, she personally hatched the idea of a no-frills cosmetic shop. The Body Shop name, she said, was inspired by auto repair garages she noticed during a visit to the San Francisco area with Gordon in 1970.

However, it is now widely documented that Roddick fabricated her founding myth. She was indeed in the United States in 1970. Anita and Gordon stayed with Gordon’s best friend, David Edward. Edward’s former wife, Alma (now Dunstan-McDaniel), remembered taking Anita to her favorite shop, filled with tie-dyed decorations and redolent with incense. “That was *the* place to buy shampoo and body cream,” Dunstan-McDaniel recalled (interview by author, 2002). She remembered watching as Anita bought armfuls of hand-cut soaps, loofah sponges, and cosmetics in small plastic bottles with handwritten labels. The store had been a sensation when it had opened, housed in an abandoned garage. Its owners, sisters-in-law Peggy Short and Jane Saunders, had called their store “The Body Shop.” Roddick frequented the second store, which had just opened at Union Square.

When Roddick debuted her copycat version six years later, she mimicked almost every aspect of the original Body Shops—including the hand-sketched logo, color scheme, plastic bottles, and “break-through” recycling policy.

Comparisons of the brochures of the original and Roddick’s copycat version are telling. “Four O’clock Astringent Lotion” was changed to “Five O’clock Astringent Lotion.” “Korean Washing Grains,” developed by women who sewed kimonos for the U.S. market, appeared later in Roddick’s Body Shop as “Japanese Washing Grains.” Roddick even lifted the blurb on the original brochure masthead, which noted: “All of our products are Biodegradable & made to our specifications,” “Bottles 20 cents or bring your own.” Roddick’s version read: “All our products are biologically soft and made to our specifications,” “Bottles 12p, or bring your own.” Roddick copied



Anita Roddick, founder of *The Body Shop* brand and chain of stores, in 1986.

Source: Deutsch Collection/Corbis; used with permission.

product descriptions word for word, including grammatical errors.

For years, Short and Saunders were unaware of the duplication. As a result, when the Roddicks approached them in 1987 to buy the copyright to *The Body Shop* name in the United States for \$3.5 million, they jumped. Short and Saunders became instant millionaires but got to keep their stores, which they renamed “Body Time.” Only later did they stumble upon the Roddicks’ copycat brochures. “What really got them angry,” said a colleague “was the ongoing deception, Anita’s lie that she originated the idea, the products, all the things that gave the company its unique identity. Never in our wildest imagination did we think that Roddick, with all her claims about being so honest, would keep this fabrication going” (author interview, 2002).

DENIALS

The Roddicks denied “any knowledge” of the duplication. Dunstan-McDaniel dismissed the Roddicks’ claim that they had no knowledge of the original store. She talked to Roddick there herself, she said. “She had a number of those products in her suitcase to go home. She made sure she had one of each. It was a lie from the start. Anita ripped them off” (interview by author, 2002).

Roddick would later embellish her founder’s myth with claims that she had come up with exotic

products during wanderlust travels when in her twenties. According to Mark Constantine, her original cosmetologist, and public relations director Janis Raven, these stories were fiction. “I was fully aware that she hadn’t had the idea about wandering in Polynesia,” said Constantine. “The wonderful joke with Janis Raven was always: ‘Janis, can’t you do something about Anita? You created all this bloody publicity thing.’ You create the monster you can’t control” (interview by author, 1993).

Ironically, the myth and exaggerations were typical of a cosmetic industry built on hyperbole. Of course, Roddick was not the first person to steal someone else’s idea and do it better. Competitors, notably Bath and Body Works, would rip off Roddick’s copycat version and flourish. The issue is the hypocrisy and exploitation of the idealism of *The Body Shop*’s customers, mostly teenaged girls who paid far higher prices—an integrity premium—for *Body Shop* products because they believed that the products were natural and that the company operated at a higher standard of ethics.

Raven chose her words carefully when asked to assess Roddick’s ethics. “I think Anita Roddick is a very brilliant woman,” Raven said. “You know, Anita’s gone over the top. We used to joke that I’ve created this Frankenstein. If you start believing all this stuff that is written about you, you have got to go dotty, haven’t you? She started to believe her own publicity and this is always the death knell to anybody” (interview by author, 1993).

Now in business more than a quarter of a century, *The Body Shop* has long since graduated from the ranks of feisty upstart to staid multinational company. Mark Constantine, who went on to found the British-based cosmetic firm Lush, which tried to acquire *The Body Shop* a few years ago, had mixed feelings about Roddick’s legacy. He thought back to the early days, mixing weird potions in his kitchen while Anita and Gordon Roddick looked on like kids in a candy store. “There is still a mass of innocence to those two despite it all,” he observed (interview by author, 1993).

The Body Shop story—its inspiring initial success and its troubled present—reflects the contradictory personalities of its founders, who still control

more than half the voting stock and a toothless board. Even with all the problems, no one can take away Roddick's success in building a cosmetics empire. However, it is increasingly doubtful that she will be remembered as the world's most socially responsible entrepreneur. "Roddick stands full square between Estée Lauder and Elizabeth Arden," noted Constantine, "They all wrote their own stories" (interview by author, 1993). Although she has been a powerful and often inspiring figure, Anita Roddick's legacy rests in her ethical contradictions as much as her vision. She is, after all, one more beauty baroness who created her own myth to make her entrepreneurial dream come true. While the mainstream cosmetics industry packaged beauty in a bottle, Roddick misleadingly peddled idealism and integrity.

—Jon Entine

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BOUNDARIES AND AUTHORITY

Everything in the universe is organized or delineated by boundaries. Boundaries can be viewed essentially as dividing lines or limits that define what is “in” and what is “out.” Paradoxically, this view also makes boundaries privileged places (or means) of contact and relatedness. As such they are crucial places for learning and innovation.

Systems theory maintains that all living systems, including social systems, preserve their vitality by importing resources across a permeable boundary, transforming those resources into life-sustaining products and then exporting some of the transformed products back across the boundary into the larger environment. A college, for example, can be thought of as a social system that imports students by means of an admissions process, transforms them by offering courses and activities aimed at helping them learn and develop, and then exports them at the time of graduation.

The well-being of a system depends to a significant degree on the “fit” between the needs of the system for resources and the permeability of its boundary with the surrounding environment. If the boundary is too rigid or impermeable, the system suffocates or becomes excessively isolated from its environment; if the boundary is too porous, the system loses energy and, perhaps, even its identity. For example, if the admission requirements of a college are so steep that it cannot pay its bills because not enough students qualify for admission, then there is a “mismatch” between the college’s boundary permeability and its need for resources in the form of tuition-paying students. If the admission requirements are too loose, then the college loses prestige, and its identity begins to change as it becomes less attractive to talented students and faculty. Decisions and actions governing boundary permeability at the overall level of organization as well as within units or subsystems are linked to the practice of authority.

Authority, whether formal or informal, is a bargain or exchange by which power is conferred (or entrusted) in return for a service or benefit. For example, the power to issue traffic citations is conferred on police officers by the citizens of the state in

exchange for the service of being protected from reckless drivers. Thus, the exercise of authority is fundamentally a practice, something that people do for and with one another. The practice of authority—what those people who are exercising authority *actually do*—consists primarily of managing key group or organizational boundaries such as those that define, protect, or regulate purpose, task, membership, role, procedures, resources, time and space in order to promote the work of the system. Managers, for example, engage in the activity of managing membership and role boundaries when they hire, fire, and promote personnel. People manage resources by setting boundaries that determine salaries, product pricing, advertising budgets, dividends, and so forth.

BOUNDARIES

Boundary is a fundamental notion that at once is simple and complex, logical and paradoxical. Boundaries give shape and form (or the perception of them) to everything on Earth—land masses, bodies of water, nations, families, individuals, actions, thoughts, and feelings. In groups boundaries function as a kind of “glue” by protecting and preserving networks of connection, shared traditions, common purposes, and modes of operating. Yet, conceptualizing and defining the notion of boundary are elusive tasks despite a great amount of theoretical discussion on the subject. This elusiveness is especially true with regard to the ways the term *boundary* is used in the social, behavioral, and administrative sciences, where the term is used to describe everything from physical infrastructure and flow charts to processes of goal setting and values clarification, dynamics of interaction, and symbolic realms of significance.

The essential functions of boundaries are separating, defining, containing, limiting, and distinguishing. They thereby become places of contact, bridging, relationship, exchange, conflict, and conversion from one form to another. (Someone has suggested that the in many cases the term *interface* or something like it should replace the term *boundary* because *interface* better conveys this dual function of a boundary as something that both separates and connects.)

All groups and social institutions have boundaries. These boundaries come in various types, shapes, and sizes. Broadly speaking, they can be conceptualized as physical and spatial (e.g., a fence, city limits, headquarters) or non-spatial (e.g., roles, tasks, ideas, perceptions, etc.). The most obvious boundaries are physical and can usually be readily observed, although not always (the physical boundaries that determine race and gender, for example, are usually but not always apparent). Categories used to ascribe status or intelligence, on the other hand, are mostly intangible. They can be even more abstract, such as boundaries that define patterns of relational processes and work flows. Some are subjective and connected to human feelings, such as those that determine the degree to which a participant feels included in conversation, develops a sense of territoriality about a certain space or task, or experiences a touch or joke as a form of sexual harassment. These latter examples call attention to the fact that boundaries may resemble more of a region or zone, with “fuzzy” borders, than a precisely defined line.

Complex social systems (e.g., families, clubs, organizations, and governments) are composed of many kinds of interdependent and overlapping subsystems, all of which need to be managed. The ongoing challenge of authority is to determine how permeable to make various boundaries and where to place them. The quality of boundary management in an organization as a whole, including its subsystems, ultimately determines whether the overall organization is vital, effective, cohesive, and linked or stressed, inefficient, disorganized, and isolated. (Of course, causality in human systems is never unidirectional, and the condition of system boundaries will influence the way authority is exercised within a system as well as vice versa.)

BOUNDARY MANAGEMENT

Organizational boundaries can be as impenetrable as the walls of a nuclear reactor or as permeable as city limits; they can be managed tightly like “no smoking” regulations in a hospital’s intensive care unit or loosely like the “no spitting” rules that are

on the books in most cities but rarely enforced. The effective practice of authority involves matching boundary permeability with a deep appreciation for the situation being addressed. Dysfunction occurs when boundaries are managed too tightly or too loosely.

All interactions occur at some kind of boundary. Thus, boundaries can be highly charged sites where energy gets generated, confined, channeled, or released. Social systems rely on human energy for a significant portion of their work, and system boundaries provide a means for creating, channeling, or discharging energy. Energy in the form of enthusiasm or inspiration may be generated, for example, by contact across an organizational boundary in the form of an exchange with a colleague working in the same field at another organization. Transferring an employee across an internal organizational boundary to another department might serve to confine, channel, or release energy that erupts in the form of a personnel conflict.

The vitality and effectiveness of a group depend in large measure on whether the group’s boundaries are sufficiently permeable to access needed resources and respond flexibly, but not so permeable that either outside influences become disruptive or that energy and resources are drained from the group. Clayton Alderfer (1980), former professor of applied behavioral science at the Yale School of Management, coined the terms *overbounded* and *underbounded* to designate two types of problematic systems he encountered in the course of his consulting practice. Overbounded systems are those with less-than-optimal boundary permeability, and underbounded systems are those with excessive boundary permeability.

Authority in overbounded systems, according to Alderfer, is typically highly centralized and autocratic. Boundaries are clear and managed tightly. The primary threat to overbounded systems, according to Alderfer, is that they lose the capacity to respond adaptively to change. In underbounded systems, boundaries are often diffuse and unclear. “Instead of a single, centralized authority to whom everyone must ultimately answer, there are multiple authorities and unclear lines of reporting. Responsibility often

rests with several individuals or groups or with no one (Alderfer 1980, 271). Underbounded systems run the risk of being disorganized and chaotic and in more serious cases may lose their sense of coherence and identity.

We could easily draw a simplistic conclusion that resembles the refrain from “Goldilocks and the Three Bears”: This group manages boundaries too tightly, this one too loosely, and this one “just right.” Empirical studies suggest that a more nuanced conclusion is in order (Vroom and Yago, 1998; Monroe, 2002). The solution to proper management does not seem to be one overall style of exercising authority that strikes a “happy medium” between tight and loose boundary management, but rather a contingency approach tailored to the particular situation or problem being faced. When a problem is routine or technical, a more “tightly bounded” approach is often appropriate. A more complex problem, however, calls for more of a cooperative effort, and effectiveness thus requires that boundaries be managed more “loosely.” This suggests that there is no one “best model” for managing boundaries. The demands of particular kinds of situations and problems determine the effectiveness of exercising authority in a more autocratic or more participatory mode—that is, managing boundaries more tightly or more loosely.

AUTHORITY

Authority occupies a central place in the literatures of philosophy, religion, political science, psychology, law, and business. These disciplines, however, have no shared definition of *authority*, and authority is often treated in various ways. Is authority, for example, an entity? A quality or characteristic? A role or position? Philosophical studies tend to treat authority as if it were an object—something that can be acquired, possessed, held, or delegated by someone by virtue of his or her status or position. Much of the literature in political science grapples with issues of the legitimacy, location, and distribution of authority. The difficulty with this approach is that it tends to identify authority with the role of the superior, thereby ignoring the struc-

tures, processes, and actions by which authority is generated and exercised.

The organizational literature does not place a high premium on definitional clarity regarding the notion of authority. This low premium is attributable in large part to two factors. First, those writing in the field tend to be less interested in the philosophical aspects of authority than in its practicalities. Second, those writing in the field are more interested in studying the process and dynamics of authorizing and deauthorizing than the essential nature of authority as a property or entity.

One composite working definition of *authority* in the organizational behavior literature offered by Kahn and Kram (1994, 17) is “the right to do work within the confines of a particular *role*.” The notion of authority as a “right” implies something that has to be legitimated, sanctioned, or conferred by others and thus avoids a simple identification of authority with the person who exercises it. Further, this notion acknowledges that authority has a relational aspect and directs attention to the dynamics involved in the authorizing process. The notion of role implies that authority will be exercised within certain constraints rather than in an arbitrary fashion.

Kenwyn Smith and David Berg define *authority* as “sanctioned power” (Smith and Berg 1987, 135). This definition represents an advance because it identifies power as an essential element of authority. The notion of power that is sanctioned captures the dynamic and relational qualities previously suggested by right, minus the confusing and complicating associations to political theory. Moving away from the notion of right also helps people think more in terms of the job or task to be accomplished than in terms of the person making the decision.

Many leadership theorists stress the relational and reciprocal nature of authority as something “conferred” by followers (Gould, 1994; Heifetz, 1994; Monroe, 2002). The notion of “conferral” captures the same dynamic and relational qualities as the notion of “sanctioned” but perhaps better conveys the idea that authorization can be informal and implicit as well as formal and explicit, whereas the word *sanction* suggests something more official and codified. In fact, as Heifetz (1994) points out, the

conferral of power is not always deliberate or even conscious, but sometimes happens when people fail to comprehend the extent to which they are the source of authority's power and adopt a pattern of habitual deference or unquestioning obedience (Milgram, 1974).

Heifetz (1994, 57) defines *authority* as "conferred power to perform a service." Including the notion of service in the definition helps to distinguish authority from simple dominance or coercion—a common confusion. He points out that not all exchanges of power are authority relationships. Although a victim may defer to a mugger with a gun, it is not an act of authorization.

The notion of service also calls attention to authority as a way of making power responsible to some common standard or value or purpose (e.g., fairness) that is shared by both those who exercise authority and those over whom authority is exercised. "The best leaders get their orders obeyed because they, too, are obeying" (Follett 1994, 172). The notion of service is also a reminder that defaulting on the agreement by failing to perform the service puts one at risk of losing one's authority. Even in the most hierarchically structured organizations, cooperation is usually sought in the preliminary study of situations—the gathering of statistics and other information, the formulation of interpretations and recommendations—before an executive makes a final judgment on a substantive policy matter. By the time all of this information has been gathered and passed on to the person in authority, the decision has at least been framed, if not already determined (e.g., Follett 1994). Thus, we would be mistaken to think that orders get their validity solely in the moment of consent. They often



Boundaries and Authority—Not Always Clear

The following description of the authority wielded by the rulers of the Zande people of the southern Sudan makes very clear that the boundaries of a leader's authority can vary and that what look like clear boundaries (in this case, rivers and streams) may not be social boundaries at all.

The authority of the ruler of a province extended between certain streams, and anyone who lived between those streams was his *vuru*, subject. The prince ruled (*zoga*) him and he was the man of (*ra fu*) the prince. People who lived outside that area were subjects of other provincial governors, and a man could not live in one province and be the man of a ruler of another province. But though the *aligbu* were responsible for the various parts of a province, these were not exactly defined in terms of rivers; and it seems also that not all who lived in a district necessarily followed the deputy responsible for it, though in the nature of the case the great majority must have done so. When I was in Zandeland most of the Sudan Azande had been moved into settlements along government roads, and their attachment to a prince's deputy was determined by the settlement they lived in, each settlement being in charge of a deputy. In the past, according to the information I was given, when men moved from one district to another they often retained their attachment to the deputy predominant in the district in which they formerly lived, though they presumably did so only if the districts were not very distant from each other. The reason for this seems to have been that the military organization crossed the territorial organization, so that a man who moved from one area to another might still wish to remain a member of his *vura*, "company", for purposes of fighting, laboring on the royal estates, and paying tribute. The whole following of a *ligbu* would therefore only come together in fighting and hoeing the king's cultivations; and some Azande have told me that, as far as their distribution is concerned, they were *wunzuguwunzugu*, "all over the place". This may have been the case, but I believe that in all matters other than war, labor, and tribute a man recognized the authority of the deputy of his district. If this were so, we have to distinguish between the two roles of a deputy, his role as leader of a senior company and his more general role as the prince's representative in a district.

Source: Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1971). *The Azande: History and Political Institutions*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 209–210.

gain validity long before that from a process to which both order givers and order receivers have contributed.

THE PRACTICE OF AUTHORITY

In the end, when definitions of *authority* are isolated from actual practice, they are of little help to practitioners. From a practical perspective, the meaning of authority is best discovered in the processes, prac-

tices, and relationships that constitute authority. The notion of authority as “boundary management” provides a helpful theory-practice linkage.

Most of the significant activities that occur within an organizational system or subsystem can eventually be traced back to the management of boundaries. All the decisions made and actions taken by managers to promote the work of the organization essentially boil down to activities that establish, maintain, regulate, adjust, and span boundaries. The very act of defining the mission, for example, can be thought of as establishing a boundary that stakes out a particular arena of competence—“This college will focus on educating undergraduates in the liberal arts and therefore will not build a medical school.” A decision to cap enrollment at present levels serves to maintain the college’s size boundary. Stepping up recruiting efforts may be aimed at regulating or adjusting the enrollment boundary. Signing a cooperative agreement with a nearby college to allow “cross registration” between the two colleges is an example of boundary spanning.

Authority can be exercised formally or informally. The practice of formal authority is associated with a role, position, or office. Authority is power granted or conferred in the expectation that the officeholder will provide the services specified in his or her mandate or job description. The formal authority to manage course boundaries by assigning certain readings, for example, is entrusted to a professor in exchange for providing the service of teaching a certain course. That authority is also “decision specific.” The professor, for example, may have the power to adjust time boundaries by deciding to adjourn class early on the first day of the semester, but he or she cannot prescribe that another professor do the same.

When people seek to influence others in areas where the people don’t have formal authority, their effectiveness is governed by the degree of their informal authority. Informal (or personal) authority is power conferred in anticipation that someone will be able to meet implicit expectations and hopes for factors such as trustworthiness, competence, strength, intelligence, sincerity, decisiveness, kindness, physical appearance, persuasiveness, and so

forth. A professor, for example, may have the formal authority to teach a particular class but lack the informal authority (gained by meeting students’ expectations of a “good professor”) necessary to persuade students to take another elective class from him or her.

CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENTS

Authority is often identified in the popular imagination with rigid hierarchies and tightly managed boundaries and thereby is easily confused with dominance, imperialism, patriarchy, and oppression. The trend today is toward flatter organizations with more fluid, flexible, and permeable boundaries. Distinctions of title, role, and function are deemphasized, and getting work done often requires superiors, subordinates, and peers to collaborate and thereby share authority.

Collaborative organizations have not a condition of “no boundaries,” but rather the experience of shifting boundaries. Just as authority is still being exercised when a professor manages the grade boundary “loosely” by giving a large number of high grades, so, too, is authority being exercised in more horizontal and collaborative organizations. These organizations are referred to in the literature by a variety of terms—*boundaryless*, *high involvement*, *high commitment*, *horizontal*, and *postmodern*. Boundaries in these organizations are more permeable, fluid, and mobile and, therefore, require increasingly sophisticated strategies to manage.

Many practitioners grasp the fact that contemporary conditions require more horizontal and inclusive organizational designs, but some practitioners are confused about how authority operates or should operate in these settings. As a general rule, excessively “tight” boundary management no longer serves new organizational realities—crucial perspectives, information, and stakeholders (people with an interest in an outcome) can easily be overlooked in the name of efficiency. At the same time, excessively loose organizational boundaries can result in chaotic conditions that undermine coordination and leave groups vulnerable to fragmentation and eventual disintegration.

We cannot escape the need for authority in the

form of boundary management. No family or group has ever existed without some form of it. If no formal authority is established, then informal authority will inevitably emerge and begin to provide the service of orchestrating some kind of boundary management. Wise authority in the form of boundary management requires a deep appreciation for the nature of the problem or issue at hand as well as for the subtleties of the context or culture. The crucial guiding questions are not “Should there be authority?” but rather “What kind of boundaries are needed?” and “How should they be managed?”

—Theresa Monroe

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BRIGHTON DECLARATION

The Brighton Declaration is a statement of principles about women and sport that has gained worldwide acceptance since it was first developed in 1994. It is an example of leadership in the genesis of an international women and sport movement that aims to change sporting culture to one that enables and values the full involvement of women in every aspect of sport.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE BRIGHTON DECLARATION

In 1994, the first World Conference on Women and Sport—aimed at policy and decision makers in sport—was held in Brighton, England. It was organized and hosted by the British Sports Council and supported by the International Olympic Committee. The aim of the conference was to address the issue of how to accelerate the process of change so as to redress the imbalances women faced in their involvement in sport. The conference was attended by 280 delegates from 82 countries representing governmental and non-governmental organizations, national Olympic Committees, international and national sport federations, and educational and research institutions.

The conference agenda embraced a range of issues including culture, gender, disability, and sexuality along with discussions on leadership, the management of change, marketing, mentoring, and networking. A major outcome of the conference was the Brighton Declaration that conference organizers believed could be used as a way of raising awareness of gender issues in sport and gaining the commitment of governmental and nongovernmental organizations to work toward gender equity in sport.

The process of developing the Brighton Declaration was organized to facilitate input from conference delegates through feedback from workshops,

collective discussion of a draft declaration and individual submissions to a drafting group. An initial draft was developed by Sue Baker-Finch of the Australian Sports Commission before the conference, and she was then joined by Julia Bracewell and John Scott of the British Sports Council and the Honourable Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana, Minister of Youth and Sport from Namibia, on the drafting group, which worked through the conference. Revisions and amendments were made to align the document with other international women's rights and human rights agendas as well as to include issues and concerns of conference delegates from all parts of the world. This small drafting group demonstrated leadership in the way they worked to gain input and ownership to the document from conference delegates. The four members of the group brought different skills and types of experience to the table. Sue Baker-Finch had considerable experience of women and sport policy development in Australia, Julia Bracewell was a former international fencer and a practicing lawyer, John Scott had significant experience of international relations in sport, and Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana had knowledge of the struggle for human rights in Africa and the workings of the United Nations. A final draft was distributed to delegates on the last day and unanimously endorsed.

Though the group was responsible for the development of the document at the conference, the decision to stage the conference that provided the context for the Brighton Declaration's development is important. The British Sports Council (a governmental organization) was the instigator and organizer of the conference. It was active not only in developing national sports policy and programs but also in international sports policy (for example antidoping), and it had strong links with both European and Commonwealth networks. In the early 1990s, it had provided leadership of the European Women and Sport Working group through Margaret Talbot, and this group had already embarked on a series of biannual conferences in Europe. By enlisting the support of its Commonwealth networks, the Sports Council was able to widen the conference to make it a world event. Its partner sports councils in Canada, New Zealand, and Australia were all leading organizations in the

women and sport field, having developed national policies and programs to combat gender inequality in sport. Their experience, together with that of the Europeans, particularly the Scandinavian countries, provided the expert resource base needed to initiate the international women and sport movement at the Brighton Conference. The success of the conference was due to the vision and determination of a number of influential women leaders in Europe and the Commonwealth backed by organizations that had the power, networks, human, and financial resources to stage a successful conference. Women provided the necessary leadership—working collectively (though not without some conflict) and being supported by men in powerful institutional positions who respected the ideology of their work and recognized the need for the sports world to address gender issues.

ADOPTION OF THE BRIGHTON DECLARATION

A key measure of the success of the Brighton Declaration as a leadership tool is the extent of its adoption and endorsement. This is monitored by the International Working Group on Women and Sport (the IWG). National and international organizations that have endorsed the declaration are listed on its website (www.iwg-gti.org).

It is interesting to consider the range of organizations that have adopted the Declaration. Starting with international government coalitions or organizations, and given the origins of the women and sport movement, it is not surprising to see Europe and the Commonwealth well represented. European ministers of sport and the Council of Europe together with Commonwealth heads of government, Commonwealth ministers of women's affairs and Commonwealth ministers of sport have all adopted the declaration. However, adoption is not confined to European and Commonwealth coalitions; the multicultural appeal of the declaration is demonstrated by its adoption by Arab ministers of youth and sport and the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa. Moving on to the international nongovernmental sector, most people would agree that the two most influential international multisport organizations in the world are the Interna-

tional Olympic Committee and the International Paralympic Committee. Both have adopted the declaration, as has the Commonwealth Games Federation. The declaration has apparently had less impact with international sports federations, though some (for example, track and field athletics and field hockey) have been very active in its implementation. Many leaders in the women and sport movement come from a background in physical education and sport research and education, so it is not surprising that they have submitted the declaration to the lead international organizations for adoption, such as the International Council for Sports Science and Physical Education. This organization has also been active in trying to implement the declaration by drawing up a gender equality plan that is regularly monitored. At the national level, more than 150 national organizations from all parts of the world have adopted the declaration. They include national Olympic committees, sports federations, ministries of sport, culture, youth and women, and women's sports associations.

In nearly every case, adoption of the declaration has been due to the initiative, determination, and persistence of individuals who are part of the women and sport movement. They have been helped by the fact that the basis of the declaration is grounded in human rights and women's issues, which are increasingly acknowledged in the governmental sector. Although the sports world has sometimes been slow to shed its "malestream" culture, the example of the IOC in adopting the declaration and developing women and sport initiatives has set an example that others have followed.

Adoption of the declaration however is only the first step—more important are implementation and action to make the changes that are needed to translate the principles of the declaration into practice. This is much more difficult to monitor, though an attempt has been made by the IWG, which publishes quadrennial progress reports on its website.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN AND SPORT MOVEMENT

Leadership of the international women and sport movement is diverse but coordinated. At an interna-



The Text of the Brighton Declaration on Women and Sport

Background

Sport is a cultural activity which, practiced fairly and equitably, enriches society and friendship between nations. Sport is an activity which offers the individual the opportunity of self-knowledge, self-expression and fulfillment; personal achievement, skill acquisition and demonstration of ability; social interaction, enjoyment, good health and well-being. Sport promotes involvement, integration and responsibility in society and contributes to the development of the community. Sport and sporting activities are an integral aspect of the culture of every nation. However, while women and girls account for more than half of the world's population and although the percentage of their participation in sport varies between countries, in every case it is less than that of men and boys. Despite growing participation of women in sport in recent years and increased opportunities for women to participate in domestic and international arenas, increased representation of women in decision making and leadership roles within sport has not followed. Women are significantly under-represented in management, coaching and officiating, particularly at the higher levels. Without women leaders, decision makers and role models within sport, equal opportunities for women and girls will not be achieved.

Women's experiences, values and attitudes can enrich, enhance and develop sport. Similarly, participation in sport can enrich, enhance and develop women's lives.

A. Scope and Aims of the Declaration

1. Scope

This Declaration is addressed to all those governments, public authorities, organizations, businesses, educational and research establishments, women's organizations and individuals who are responsible for, or who directly or indirectly influence, the conduct, development or promotion of sport or who are in any way involved in the employment, education, management, training, development or care of women in sport. This Declaration is meant to complement all sporting, local, national and international charters, laws, codes, rules and regulations relating to women or sport.

2. Aims

The overriding aim is to develop a sporting culture that enables and values the full involvement of women in every aspect of sport. It is the interests of equality, development and peace that a commitment be made by governmental, non-governmental organizations and all those institutions involved in sport to apply the Principles set out in this Declaration by developing appropriate policies, structures and mechanisms which:

(1) ensure that all women and girls have opportunity to

participate in sport in a safe and supportive environment which preserves the rights, dignity and respect of the individual; (2) increase the involvement of women in sport at all levels and in all functions and roles; (3) ensure that the knowledge, experiences and values of women contribute to the development of sport; (4) promote the recognition of women's involvement in sport as a contribution to public life, community development and in building a healthy nation; (5) promote the recognition by women of the intrinsic value of sport and its contribution to personal development and healthy lifestyle.

B. The Principles

1. Equity and Equality in Society and Sport

a. Every effort should be made by state and government machineries to ensure that institutions and organizations responsible for sport comply with the equality provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

b. Equal opportunity to participate and be involved in sport whether for the purpose of leisure and

Source: International Working Group on Women and Sport. Retrieved February 4, 2003, from: <http://www.iwg-gti.org>

tional level coordination and leadership is provided by the IWG. It includes representatives from each continent and the two international voluntary organizations for women and sport (WomenSport International and the International Association of PE and

Sport for Girls and Women), as well as individually co-opted members. The IWG has deliberately adopted feminist styles of leadership with an emphasis on sharing, cooperation, openness, informality, networking, and mentoring. Since the Brighton Con-

recreation, health promotion or high performance, is the right of every woman, regardless of race, color, language, religion, creed, sexual orientation, age, marital status, disability, political belief or affiliation, national or social origin.

c. Resources, power and responsibility should be allocated fairly and without discrimination on the basis of sex, but such allocation should redress any inequitable balance in the benefits available to women and men.

2. Facilities

Women's participation in sport is influenced by the extent variety and accessibility of facilities. The planning, design and management of these should appropriately and equitably meet the particular needs of women in the community, with special attention given to the need for childcare provision and safety.

3. School and Junior Sport

Research demonstrates that girls and boys approach sport from markedly different perspectives. Those responsible for sport, education, recreation and physical education of young people should ensure that an equitable range of opportunities and learning experience, which accommodate the values, attitudes and aspirations of girls, is incorporated in programs to develop physical fitness and basic sport skills of young people.

4. Developing Participation

Women's participation in sport is influenced by the range of activities available. Those responsible for delivering sporting opportunities and programs should provide and promote activities which meet women's needs and aspirations.

5. High Performance Sport

a. Governments and sports organizations should provide equal opportunities to women to reach their sports performance potential by ensuring that all activities and programs relating to performance improvements take account of the specific needs of female athletes.

b. Those supporting elite and/or professional athletes should ensure that competition opportunities, rewards,

incentives, recognition, sponsorship, promotion and other forms of support are provided fairly and equitably to both women and men.

6. Leadership in Sport

Women are under-represented in the leadership and decision making of all sport and sport-related organizations. Those responsible for these areas should develop policies and programs and design structures which increase the number of women coaches, advisers, decision makers, officials, administrators and sports personnel at all levels with special attention given to recruitment, development and retention.

7. Education, Training and Development

Those responsible for the education, training and development of coaches and other sports personnel should ensure that education processes and experiences address issues relating to gender equity and the needs of female athletes, equitably reflect women's role in sport and take account of women's leadership experiences, values and attitudes.

8. Sport Information and Research

Those responsible for research and providing information on sport should develop policies and programs to increase knowledge and understanding about women and sport and ensure that research norms and standards are based on research on women and men.

9. Resources

Those responsible for the allocation of resources should ensure that support is available for sportswomen, women's programs and special measures to advance this Declaration of Principles.

10. Domestic and International Cooperation

Government and non-government organizations should incorporate the promotion of issues of gender equity and the sharing of examples of good practice in women and sport policies and programs in their associations with other organizations, within both domestic and international arenas.

ference regional networks, groups, associations have been set up in Africa, Asia, and Arab nations. Knowledge and experience from the longest established regional group in Europe was used to inform the establishment of other groups. At the national level,

many countries have followed the example of the United States and established women and sport organizations. The Women's Sports Foundation in the United States continues to be a leader in this field along with the Canadian Association for the

Advancement of Women in Sport and both have been generous in sharing resources and ideas internationally. All these are examples of the development of new structures to address the challenges of bringing about change in sport and improving the status of women.

A different but complementary strategy has been to mainstream gender equality within existing sporting organizations and structures. The IOC and IPC both have working groups on women and sport that report to their respective executive boards and many national Olympic Committees and federations of sport have followed suit. Their work focuses on raising awareness and bringing about change within existing sporting culture and practice.

Momentum from the Brighton Conference has been sustained not only by the activities of these organizations, groups and networks, but also through quadrennial world conferences held under the auspices of the IWG. The second conference was held in Windhoek, Namibia, in 1998, the third in Montreal, Canada, in 2002, and the fourth is planned for Kumamoto, Japan, in 2006. In all these activities the Brighton Declaration remains the cornerstone statement of values and guiding principles.

A TOOL FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP IN SPORT

The development of the Brighton Declaration in 1994 is a good example of strategic feminist leadership in a field that is traditionally male dominated. Women leaders throughout the world have used the Brighton Declaration as a political tool to raise awareness of women and sport issues and gain commitment of powerful institutions to gender equity in sport. The timing of the initiative was crucial for although there were pockets of women and sport work going on in the early 1990s, there was little international co-operation and communication on the issue. As a result of the Brighton conference and its outcomes, women and sport is now firmly on the agenda of sporting and other agencies throughout the world and a strong network has been created. Some creative tensions exist between different factions, for example governmental and nongovernmental organ-

izations, radical and liberal feminists, and between different cultural approaches. However this diversity is managed partly through the agreement on fundamental principles set out in the Brighton Declaration and the acknowledgment that there are different ways of working to achieve the universal aims and principles contained within it.

—Anita White

See also King, Billie Jean; Women's Olympics

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 **BUDDHA** (c. 463–c. 383 BCE)
*Religious leader and founder
of the Buddhist tradition*

The term *Buddha* refers to a fully awakened and enlightened being. According to the Buddhist tradition, there have been many such beings, but the term most commonly refers to Siddhartha Gautama, an influential religious leader in ancient Nepal and India. He was born into the ruling and military class, but at about the age of twenty-nine, he left his comfortable palace life on a religious quest to find a way out of suffering. After six years of searching, learning, and meditating, he was transformed by an experience of enlightenment and then spent about forty-

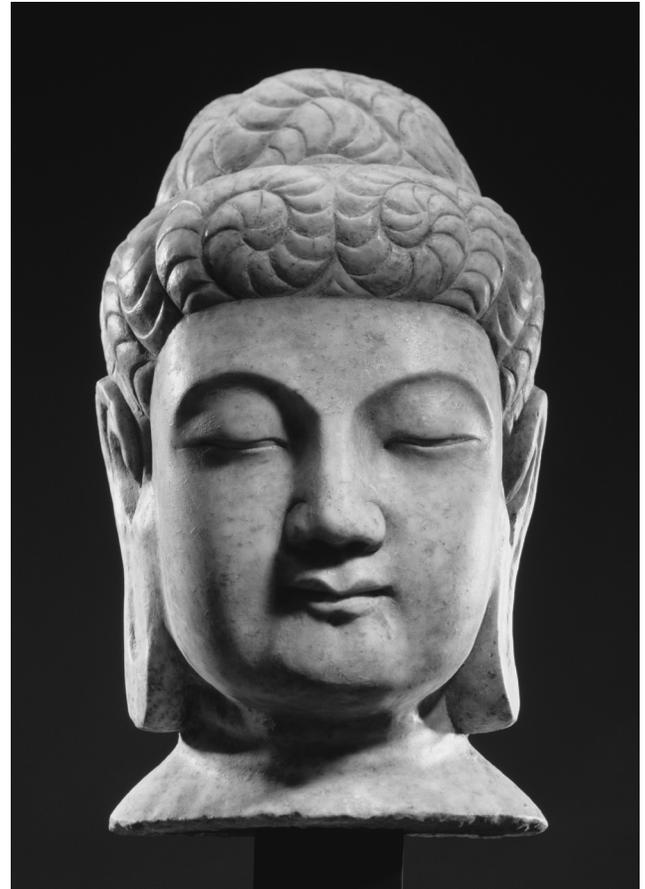
five years teaching, advising laypeople, and forming monastic communities in northern India and Nepal. The Buddhist tradition reveres him as the great teacher of wisdom and compassion, the discoverer of the true nature of existence and the way to overcome suffering; in some Buddhist perspectives he is venerated as the manifestation of ultimate reality itself. The entire human community can recognize that Siddhartha Gautama, who became Shakyamuni Buddha, is one of the most influential religious leaders in all of history, the founder of a tradition that has influenced cultures across south, central, and east Asia for centuries and that is practiced by millions of people throughout the world today.

To distinguish him from other Buddhas, Buddhists refer to Siddhartha Gautama after his enlightenment as Shakyamuni Buddha. His personal name, Siddhartha, means “goal attained.” Gautama (spelled “Gotama” in the Pali language of ancient India) was the name of his family; Shakya was the name of his clan. “Muni” literally means “the one who keeps silent” and commonly refers to a sage. Thus Shakyamuni is the sage of the Shakya clan. His father, Suddhodana, is often called a king by the later Buddhist tradition, but he may have been the elected head of a clan.

Like Socrates, Jesus, and Muhammad, Shakyamuni Buddha left behind no writings of his own. The earliest written accounts of his life and teaching come from the Buddhist scriptures written in Pali, composed long after his death, and contain legendary elements, and so it is difficult to be certain of the exact details of his historical life; indeed, even the dates of his life are in dispute. Most American, European, and Indian scholars have traditionally dated his birth about 566 BCE and his death about 486 BCE; Theravada Buddhists in Sri Lanka and southeast Asia place his birth in 624 and his death in 544 BCE; however, many recent Japanese and Western scholars believe his dates were later, variously from 448 to 368 BCE, or from 463 to 383 BCE. This article will examine his life and teaching as remembered and revered by the later Buddhist tradition.

THE EARLY LIFE OF SIDDHARTHA GAUTAMA

The traditional narrative of the life of Shakyamuni Buddha hinges on a choice between two forms of



A white marble sculpture of the head of Buddha made between 618 and 960 BCE during the Tang Dynasty in China.

Source: Christie's Images/Corbis; used with permission.

leadership. As soon as Siddhartha was born, a religious seer named Asita came to see the child and proclaimed to his father, Suddhodana, that the newborn boy would become a very important leader. According to the later Buddhist tradition, however, it was not clear if he would be a great religious teacher or a mighty political and military ruler. Eager to have a powerful heir who would extend the might of the kingdom, Suddhodana resolved to shelter the young Siddhartha from any awareness of suffering, fearing that such knowledge could prompt him to a religious quest. The prince reportedly grew up surrounded by worldly pleasures, unaware of illness, old age, or death. The later Buddhist tradition would see the conditions of his youth as representative of a widespread problem: Humans often block out awareness of suffering because it is unpleasant. For Siddhartha and his



The Noble Eightfold Path

This is the Middle Path which the Perfect One discovered and expounded, which gives rise to vision and knowledge, which leads to peace, wisdom, enlightenment, and nirvana—the Noble Eightfold Path:

1. Right Understanding: of suffering, of its origin, of its cessation, of the way leading to the cessation of suffering.
2. Right Intention: of renunciation, free from craving; of good will, free from aversion; of compassion, free from cruelty.
3. Right Speech: abstaining from false speech, abstaining from malicious speech, abstaining from harsh speech, abstaining from useless speech.
4. Right Action: abstaining from taking life, abstaining from stealing, abstaining from sexual misconduct.
5. Right Livelihood: giving up wrong livelihood, one earns one's living by a right form of livelihood.
6. Right effort: to prevent unarisen unwholesome evil states of mind from arising by making effort, stirring up energy and exerting mind.
7. Right mindfulness: mindful contemplation of the body, mindful contemplation of feelings, mindful contemplation of the mind, mindful contemplation of mental objects.
8. Right Concentration: Quite secluded from sense pleasures, secluded from unwholesome states of mind one enters and dwells in the first *jhana* (meditative absorption), which is accompanied by applied thought and sustained thought with rapture and happiness born of seclusion.

With the subsiding of applied thought and sustained thought one enters and dwells in the second *jhana*, which has internal confidence and unification of mind, is without applied and sustained thought, is filled with rapture and happiness born of concentration.

With the fading away of rapture, one dwells in equanimity, mindful and discerning; and one experiences in one's own person that happiness of which the noble ones say: "Happily lives one who is equanimous and mindful"—thus one enters and dwells in the third *jhana*.

With the abandoning of pleasure and pain, and with the previous disappearance of joy and grief, one enters and dwells in the fourth *jhana*, which has neither-pain-nor-pleasure and has purity of mindfulness due to equanimity.

Source: Buddhist Studies. Retrieved September 10, 2003, from: <http://www.buddhaneet.net/e-learning/history/devotion/devotion12.htm>

palace during which, despite his father's best efforts, he encountered in succession an old man, a sick man, a dead man, and a holy man. Puzzled by each of these encounters, he asked his charioteer about old age, sickness, and death and learned that these are part of the human condition and come to all human beings. These discoveries prodded him to ponder the transience and fragility of existence and the inevitability of suffering. The fourth encounter with an ascetic holy man taught him that an alternative lifestyle was possible and challenged him to undertake a religious search to resolve the problem of the unsatisfactory character of existence.

After much internal reflection, Siddhartha informed his father and wife that he would leave them to find an end to suffering. They entreated him to stay and perform the duties of his class as a political and military leader, but he insisted on pursuing his goal. He left the palace, cut his hair, and went to study with renowned Hindu religious masters, first with Arada Kalama and later with Udraka Ramaputra. He learned as much as they could teach him about meditation and wisdom, but he was frustrated that they did not teach how to attain full freedom from suffering. He joined a group of ascetics and undertook extreme fasts, but he eventually decided this was not

the way to genuine liberation. Instead, he pursued a middle way, neither the luxury of the palace nor extreme asceticism.

Abandoning other teachers, he sat under a tree, determined to stay there until he reached his goal. Mara, a supernatural spirit who rules over the world

followers, this restriction of consciousness is the first and most formidable obstacle to genuine leadership.

When he was sixteen or seventeen, Siddhartha married a beautiful woman, Yasodhara, who bore a son, Rahula. After this, according to the Buddhist tradition, Siddhartha made four trips outside the

of suffering and tempts human beings, reportedly came and tried to frighten him into abandoning his quest, but Siddhartha remained firm and sat unmoved. As Mara continued his efforts but only became more frustrated, Siddhartha put his hand on the earth, calling the spirit of the earth as a witness that his resolve was unshaken and his resistance to temptation was firm. This began the process of his enlightenment. That night Siddhartha became a Buddha, sitting through the night, remembering his past lives, and understanding for the first time the cause of suffering and the path of liberation.

THE TEACHING OF THE BUDDHA

Immediately after his enlightenment, Shakyamuni Buddha reportedly doubted that anyone else could understand what he had learned. According to later Buddhist tradition, the Hindu god Brahma came and implored the Buddha to share his wisdom with others. Shakyamuni then went to the Deer Park in Varanasi (Benares) and met the ascetics with whom he had earlier lived. His first sermon to them expressed the central content of his enlightenment in the Four Noble Truths.

The First Noble Truth is that life as ordinarily lived is *dukkha*, unsatisfactory and marked by suffering because it is impermanent and leads to decay and death. Even the greatest pleasures come to an end. The Second Noble Truth teaches that the cause of this unsatisfactoriness lies in *tanha*, a word often translated as “desire,” but probably better understood as “craving,” as in an addiction. This craving comes from the illusion that we possess a permanent, substantial self, and it leads us to grasp at things that cannot ultimately satisfy us. Craving leads to endless forms of unnecessary suffering. The Third Noble Truth promises that there is an end to suffering; this is called nirvana, the blowing out of the flame of craving. This is an indescribable state. Images and concepts can only point toward it but cannot convey its true meaning. The Fourth Noble Truth teaches the Eightfold Path, which leads to liberation and enlightenment. The Four Noble Truths are similar to a doctor’s analysis of a disease, diagnosis of the cause, promise of a cure, and prescription for recovery.

The Eightfold Path includes three interdependent stages: wisdom, ethical conduct, and meditation. The first stage consists of Right Understanding and Right Intention. Right Understanding is the transformative recognition of the truth of the Buddha’s teaching; it is not simply understanding a concept but fully realizing for oneself the Buddha’s insight. At the center is the realization of interdependence; nothing exists as a separate and permanent entity unto itself. Right Intention renounces all ill will and violence. The second stage includes Right Speech, Right Action, and Right Livelihood. This stage centers on the Five Precepts taken by all Buddhists, monastic and lay: not to kill or injure any living being; not to take what is not given; not to indulge in sensual pleasure, especially sexual misconduct; not to speak in ways that are false or unkind; and not to use intoxicants or drugs that affect one’s consciousness. The third stage embraces Right Effort, Right Mindfulness, and Right Concentration. This stage is the practice of meditation, which leads from ethical conduct to a fuller comprehension of transformative wisdom. Most Buddhist traditions trust that a proper practice of meditation will lead eventually to overcoming illusions and cravings and will bring peace and tranquility even amid difficulties. While there is a wide variety of forms of meditation, many focus on following one’s breath and being aware of the present moment without judging, grasping, or resisting what arises in consciousness.

THE BUDDHA AS LEADER

After his enlightenment, the Buddha became one of the most influential leaders in northern India and Nepal. He organized a monastic community called the Sangha for men and women who wished to dedicate themselves completely to the path he taught. Monastics from all classes of society came together and lived as equals. Buddhist monks would go out to beg for food from the surrounding community. The virtue of generosity, *dana*, allowed lay Buddhists to support and share in the benefits of the monastic community.

Shakyamuni Buddha also taught many principles for ruling society. He saw the reordering of con-

sciousness through meditation and ethical conduct as inextricably linked to reordering social relations. He believed that poverty was a cause of immorality and crime. He rejected punishment as not an effective way to suppress crime, and he called for adequate wages for workers to prevent crime. He urged workers, in turn, to be skilled and energetic in their professions, earn their wages in righteous ways, and spend reasonably in proportion to their income, neither too much nor too little.

The Buddha, coming from the ruling class himself, served as an advisor to kings, and the principles he set forth have shaped the vision of political leadership in Buddhist cultures for centuries. The king had a special responsibility to be an agent for the eternal dharma, the order of truth that is the basis for human duties. The king should give his wealth and reputation for the good of his people and be willing even to give his life for his people. The Buddha was the supreme realization of spiritual authority; the ideal monarch was to be the righteous ruler in the secular sphere.

At the center of Shakyamuni Buddha's life and teaching are the twin virtues of wisdom and compassion. His teaching, example, and the practice of Buddhist meditation have enriched the lives of countless people from many cultures and religious traditions.

—Leo D. Lefebure

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BUREAUCRACY

Nearly everyone experiences bureaucracy at work, at school, or at the Department of Motor Vehicles. These experiences include filling out forms, standing in line, going up the chain of command, climbing the corporate ladder, and getting the runaround.

For academic purposes, *bureaucracy* can be thought of as the word for a cluster of experiences attributable to certain types of complex organization.

WHY BUREAUCRACY MATTERS TO LEADERSHIP

Leadership takes place within a social context. That social context influences leadership. What works in one context will not work in another, just as different flowers thrive in different climates. The effectiveness of leadership varies, depending on the context. Social context is, in other words, one of the contingencies of leadership.

Part of the social context is organizational structure. This is true even if the leader rises up in opposition to an organization. Thus, in order to understand leadership thoroughly, one has to consider organizational structure. Former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare John W. Gardner (1912–2002) made this explicit: “The first thing that strikes one as characteristic of contemporary leadership is the necessity for the leader to work with and through extremely complex organizations and institutions” (Gardner 1990, 81).

This is not to say that organizational structure is fixed and absolutely determines what people will do. Organizational structure certainly influences individual behavior, but individual behavior also influences organizational structure. Organizational structure is itself the result of what people have been doing. Accordingly, just as leader effectiveness depends on organizational structure, organizational structure depends on leadership.

As a practical matter, therefore, in order to exploit a given situation, an effective leader will recognize the prevailing organizational structure and appreciate its needs and constraints. A leader will also learn

how, and at what points, the leader can alter the structure to get things done.

WHAT IS BUREAUCRACY?

Bureaucracy is the term given to certain organizational structures. Frequently in ordinary language it is a term of abuse, yet the unbiased student of leadership will recognize that *bureaucracy*, as a term of art, is analytically useful. It has a specific value-neutral range of meanings. In the abstract *bureaucracy* is neither good nor bad.

Bureaucracy is by no means restricted to government agencies; bureaucracy as a structure can arise in any sector. Nevertheless, people frequently associate bureaucracy with government for two reasons: Bureaucracy originated as part of governmental structure, and certain writers argue that government is the only appropriate locus of bureaucracy.

What then is bureaucracy? Bureaucracy is what is known as a sociological form with distinct structural properties and a pattern of development. In other words, bureaucracy can be understood by means of a static (or structural) model and a dynamic (or procedural) model.

THE STATIC MODEL OF BUREAUCRACY

Instead of abstract phrases, images offer a more vivid way to understand bureaucracy. Gareth Morgan prefers the metaphor of organizations as machines. Another perspective known as archetypal psychology identifies deep and basic images or metaphors we all share to make sense of the world. These images are represented using the imagery of ancient gods, in this case, the Greek and Roman god Apollo. Apollo was, in the words of the British writer Charles Handy, “the god of order and rules, [assuming] that man is rational and that everything can and should be analyzed in a logical fashion” (1995, 17). Apollo was the champion of organization, security, and efficiency. These are not the only representations. Some of the most arresting images of bureaucracy reside in literature and other works of art. The Austrian writer Franz Kafka especially (1883–1924) depicted bureaucracy as “some vast, ominous, shad-

owy realm . . . that has severed all connection with human need” (Matthews 1992, para. 18, 20). The Russian writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn (b. 1918), in his short novel *For the Good of the Cause*, underscored the dilemma of bureaucratic leaders caught between their followers and the uses of power by those in higher positions of authority (1964). Films with similar themes include:

- *Catch-22* (1970/2001, Paramount Home Video)
- *1984* (1984/2003, MGM, UA Video)
- *Brazil* (1985/2003, Universal Studios)
- *Article 99* (1992/2001, MGM, UA Studios)

Many experts have described bureaucracy by listing its attributes. Words often associated with bureaucracy include *routine*, *regimented*, *uniform*, *standardized*, and *centralized*. The classic work was done by the German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920). The following paragraphs in this section derive from his book titled in English *Economy and Society* (1956/1978).

“The basis of every system of authority . . . is a *belief*” in its legitimacy (Weber 1956/1978, 263). In comparison to traditional and charismatic bases, the legitimacy of bureaucracy rests on the application of reason and impersonal laws. People regard bureaucracy as legitimate because of claims that bureaucracy is indeed more rational and impersonal. The demands of bureaucracy rely on the authority of disinterested reason exercised by professional experts, sometimes referred to as the “administrative staff.” Large and complex systems require “the existence and continual functioning of an administrative staff” (Weber 1956/1978, 264). Bureaucracy is simply the most rational, efficient, stable, and therefore indispensable order for an administrative staff, no matter what purpose it serves.

Of what does bureaucracy consist? The founder of a bureaucracy (e.g., an entrepreneur) and its topmost authority (e.g., stockholders) are not themselves part of bureaucracy. Otherwise, participants interact in a formal way, within prescribed spheres of competence determined by qualification as to a person’s technical knowledge and experience. Thus, bureaucracy depends on “domination through knowledge”

(Weber 1956/1978, 225). Then, alongside bureaucracy is a parabureaucracy to monitor compliance. This would include government inspectors and bureaus of internal affairs.

Bureaucracy is a hierarchy determined by a system of impersonal rules. Participants are not meant to obey *people*. They obey written rules issued by the prescribed office, for which the occupant is (1) appointed based on qualifications signifying competence and then (2) held strictly accountable. Participants then apply these rules to prescribed cases. Ideally, bureaucrats discharge their obligations “precisely, unambiguously, continuously, and with as much speed as possible” (Weber 1956/1978, 974). Because they are not owners or dilettantes, participants will regard their participation as a phase in a career with salaries and the freedom legally to quit.

Bureaucrats also tend to prevent scrutiny, hiding their work from criticism. Some information is legitimately secret. Bureaucracy was also designed to monitor itself, despite the interest of third parties, such as customers, politicians, and the media to exercise oversight over so powerful an institution.

THE DYNAMIC MODEL OF BUREAUCRACY

To understand the dynamics of a sociological form, we should examine its origin. Bureaucracy began as a response to alternate organizational structures based on individual leaders and managers whose longevity, talent, and interest varied so much that large and complex projects suffered. The Macedonian king Alexander the Great conquered the known world, only to have the empire collapse within a generation of his death because it had no enduring structure. A society cannot take root and grow without some kind of organization. To last, an organization has to reflect the collective vision, energy, and skills of that society.

Bureaucracy in one form or another has existed since the beginning of recorded history. As a distinct form, bureaucracy really came into its own with the reign of the French King Louis XIV (1643–1715) and then spread to other continental monarchies, especially to Prussia at the onset of the Enlightenment (a philosophic movement of the eighteenth

century marked by a rejection of traditional social, religious, and political ideas and an emphasis on rationalism).

This proliferation occurred for two reasons. Both reasons appear in a quotation by the Prussian King Frederick II (1712–1786):

A well-conducted government ought to have a system as coherent as a system of philosophy, so that all measures are well reasoned, and finance, policy, and the army are coordinated to the same end: namely, the integration of the state and the increase of its power. (Manuel 1951, 100)

First, the so-called Age of Reason emphasized the importance of bureaucratic traits, such as logic, order, and coherence. Previous authority depended on non-rational foundations, for example, blood relation among the nobles, power among the armies, and divine sanction within the Church. Their administration seemed arbitrary. When it came to expertise, bureaucracy contrasted favorably with organizations run by volunteers and elected officials, who are frequently dilettantes. Thus, rational bureaucracy was perceived to be an improvement.

Second, the simultaneous rise of monarchs and the nation-state required that kings gather power in one place while distributing their influence directly over large territories. Existing power structures tended to serve smaller territories, such as cities, or larger ones, such as the Roman Catholic Church. Existing organizational structures also tended not to defer to the wishes of the king because their base of support was independent. The new class of bureaucrats, on the other hand, owed its position plainly to the king. As the influence of bureaucracies grew, they tended to drain away the available talent for administration, which only accelerated the process of solidifying the preeminence of the state and creating a new class of nonhereditary nobles.

National bureaucracies provided clear accountability, rewarded expertise, overcame non-uniform, irrational administration among the little fiefdoms, promoted fairness throughout the territory, and answered some emerging issues that were truly national in scope.

When the era of continental monarchs came to a

close in bloodshed and war, the bureaucracies survived as the only credible source of order. Today they are pervasive.

In the same way that societies require organization, organizations cannot grow without some kind of coherent structure, or what the U.S. economist Ludwig von Mises called an “administrative apparatus” (von Mises 1944/1983, 17). The sheer size and complexity require coordination. According to Weber, bureaucracy is more likely to emerge when the system is especially large, relies on technical expertise, or needs to continue indefinitely (unlike a transitory political campaign or a fund drive). Such an organization has to sort priorities, achieve efficiency in multiple phases of the operation, and distribute rewards.

To the extent that an organization at any level depends on the limitations of a single individual, that organization is at risk. In other words, every organization feels pressure “to limit the discretion of subordinates” (von Mises 1944/1983, 49). Organizations must figure out a way to exploit the strength of individuals without becoming vulnerable to their weaknesses. That is to say, society must evolve a functional and durable administrative form that is impersonal.

To do this, society must establish a system of checks and balances, operating according to a set of rules plus a budget. Bureaucracy does not contain the simple measure of a leader’s success that one finds, for example, in a free market, that is, profit. In this sense, administration without “cash value on the market” can serve as one definition of bureaucracy (von Mises 1944/1983, 51). Consequently, because other performance measures do not exist, leaders will be measured by their adherence to the rules and budget to the exclusion of all else.

Once it exists, bureaucracy tends to preserve itself, growing in scale and intensity, without contemplating its own dissolution. Why should this be the case?

Any organization has three leadership tasks. One is to ensure the operation of the system. Another is to alter the system for the sake of its purpose. A third is to define or amend the purpose of the system. Bureaucracy exists to make the first task easy, the second task difficult without explicit justification, and the third task nearly impossible because the pur-



Principles of Classic Management Theory

Unity of command: an employee should receive orders from only one superior.

Scalar chain: the line of authority from superior to subordinate, which runs from top to bottom of the organization; this chain, which results from the unity-of-command principle, should be used as a channel for communication and decision making.

Span of control: the number of people reporting to one superior must not be so large that it creates problems of communication and coordination.

Staff and line: staff personnel can provide valuable advisory services, but must be careful not to violate line authority.

Initiative: to be encouraged at all levels of the organization.

Division of work: management should aim to achieve a degree of specialization designed to achieve the goal of the organization in an efficient manner.

Authority and responsibility: attention should be paid to the right to give orders and to exact obedience; an appropriate balance between authority and responsibility should be achieved. It is meaningless to make someone responsible for work if they are not given appropriate authority to execute that responsibility.

Centralization (of authority): always present in some degree, this must vary to optimize the use of faculties of personnel.

Discipline: obedience, application, energy, behavior, and outward marks of respect in accordance with agreed rules and customs.

Subordination of individual interest to general interest: through firmness, example, fair agreements, and constant supervision.

Equity: based on kindness and justice, to encourage personnel in their duties; and fair remuneration which encourages morale yet does not lead to overpayment.

Stability of tenure of personnel: to facilitate the development of abilities.

Esprit de corps: to facilitate harmony as a basis of strength.

These principles, many of which were first used by Frederick the Great and other military experts to develop armies into “military machines,” provided the foundation of management theory in the first half of this century. And their use is very widespread today.

Source: Morgan, G. (1986). *Images of Organization*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, p. 26.

pose has already been set by an external authority. Critics argue that in actual practice bureaucracy makes the first task so narrow and complex that participants lose sight of the purpose, with the result that bureaucracy becomes an end in itself. Whatever it would have been created to do, over time it simply works to perpetuate itself. According to Weber, "Once fully established, bureaucracy is among those social structures which are the hardest to destroy" (Weber 1956/1978, 987).

Ralph Hummel understands bureaucracy this way. Bureaucracy exists to achieve some limited, discernible end. Toward that end, it limits the tasks it will perform in a limited class of cases. The tasks it will perform are its processes. Participants are relevant only to the extent they assume roles within these processes. Everything else is a distraction and threatens efficiency. Management exists to align the roles and cases with the predetermined end by ensuring the execution of processes. In other words, managers put a limited range of human predicaments into a predesigned box and ignore the rest. Their role is preserving that box. They see it as their job to *cultivate* leadership that serves the box and to prevent leadership that threatens the box. This tendency led John Gardner to complain that "Just about everything in large scale organization seems to militate against leadership" (Gardner 1990, 91).

As a result, bureaucracy promotes a certain type of person and discourages other types.

We usually experience bureaucracy when we interact with a bureaucrat, otherwise known as a "clerk," "administrator," or "civil servant." After repeated experiences, we may form an impression of the kind of person who works in bureaucracies, even if the impression is in truth a stereotype. The stereotype says a lot about the way people imagine bureaucracy. In fact, many of our most descriptive words originate from these experiences—words such as *officious*, *careerist*, and *bossy*.

What then is the profile of a bureaucrat? The research conflicts. What remains constant is that a bureaucrat will be suited and adapted to the system because bureaucracies create or promote bureaucrats by a process of selection and socialization. Those who do not fit do not stay, and they certainly do not

advance. Organizational practice, through time, further shapes the persona of participants who do stay.

How does this shaping occur, according to Hummel? Whenever new participants in bureaucracy ask themselves certain existential questions, they find the same answer. "Who am I?" That is defined by the system (role). "What am I doing?" That is defined by the system (process). "Why should I care?" That, too, is defined by the system (purpose). "Is what I am doing morally right?" That is defined by the system, as well, namely to obey the rules and budget.

Communication in bureaucracy, therefore, is one-directional down a chain of command; dialogue about such existential issues of identity, process, purpose, and morality with those in positions of authority is impossible. Rather than assert oneself and critique the system, a participant learns not to think critically at all and devotes attention to the system's ritualistic processes. In other words, participants all work to perpetuate the system because bureaucracy provides them with identity and purpose, grounded in claims of rationality.

While participants labor to perpetuate the system, they engage in processes established and monitored by their managers. To the extent that the work of these managers has been separated from the work of the owners, they find a way to operate independently and assume greater importance over the lives of everyone. James Burnham conceived of managers specifically as a new power elite: the interchangeable autocrats of powerful independent organizations.

The dynamic model indicates that bureaucracy is the tendency of human organizations to order themselves indefinitely, according to rational principles.

CRITICISMS OF BUREAUCRACY

Bureaucracy is powerful, pervasive, and irrepressible—a juggernaut. There is a reason for its success. At the same time, people complain about bureaucracy and use the term as an epithet. Their arguments fall into three types.

First, they argue that bureaucracy is less useful than alternatives, such as organic models, networks, and team structures. One accusation against bureaucracy is that because of its size, formality, and com-

plexity, it adapts to change slowly—which in a manner of speaking is also one of its strengths.

Organizations assume a structure as a result of the interplay of competing interests, in a set of tensions. Many critics simply want balance. Centralization has its merits, but so, too, does decentralization. Uniformity can be appealing, except to the extent it frustrates experimentation and a sense of local ownership. Expertise makes sense, but then so does self-determination. Otherwise, organizations become vulnerable to social engineering by a technical elite.

Second, bureaucracy has unintended consequences. For example, bureaucratic activity has been accused of draining talent from productive activities, especially in the private sector. The specialization inherent in bureaucracy keeps participants from developing their complete personality and talents, leaving them reasonably ignorant of the wider world. These unintended consequences interfere with other values, such as individual freedom and dignity. Weber himself called the prevalence of bureaucracy an “iron cage.”

Third, bureaucracy becomes an end in itself and prevents critique.

Finally, the impersonal nature of bureaucracy can be construed as dehumanizing—“eliminating from official business love, hatred, and all purely personal, irrational, and emotional elements which escape calculation” (Weber 1956/1978, 975)—which is why John Gardner advised leaders to soften this effect by engaging directly in the lives of others and paying attention to them as unique individuals, no matter how large and complicated the organization where they live and move and have their being.

BUREAUCRACY VERSUS LEADERSHIP

Leaders create and reform bureaucracies. In some systems leaders exercise oversight. Nonetheless, in its ideal form, bureaucracy resists and discourages leadership, both from within its ranks and from the outside. This is an inconvenient truth. Weber, for example, noted that under bureaucracy “qualities of political leadership have never been born and brought to fruition anywhere in the world” (Weber 1956/1978, 1413).

That is why so many leaders look for other outlets, such as entrepreneurship, where their talent and ambition can flourish. As ideal types, bureaucrats stand in direct contrast to leaders. For this reason, Weber urged leaders to become “the countervailing force against bureaucratic domination” by entering electoral politics (Weber 1956/1978, 1417).

This is not to say that bureaucrats lack the capacity for leadership and never exercise leadership in small ways within the system, but the forces at work to preserve and expand bureaucracy itself oppose leadership. Leaders must overcome the system and are likely to suffer in the attempt. Nevertheless, for the sake of accountability and the system’s ongoing vitality, bureaucracy requires infusions of leadership. Leadership within bureaucracy can succeed at this despite the bureaucrats. As bureaucracy increases in power, opportunities for leadership diminish.

It is a paradox. Bureaucracy *consumes* leadership as a fox consumes chickens.

—Nathan Harter

See also Change Management; Organizational Climate and Culture; Organizational Dynamics; Teamwork

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BUSINESS

The United States is, more than anything else, a business society. Although millions of U.S. citizens participate daily in religious worship, governance, national defense, schooling, leisure, and sports, no activity more thoroughly defines U.S. culture and U.S. institutions than the quest for entrepreneurial and corporate success. Office buildings—not cathedrals or (outside of Washington, DC) great civic structures—dominate urban skylines. Suburbs are honeycombed with strips of small stores and air-conditioned office modules. Even the countryside bears abundant evidence of the business impulse, from “agribusiness” corporate farms to modest roadside vegetable stands. Even ostensibly non-business preoccupations, such as those mentioned, are infused with business practices and business sensibilities. Many churches are now housed in shopping malls (for better “spillover” traffic) and funded by aggressive, televised fundraising; government and national defense increasingly are “outsourced” to private-sector subcontractors; public

schools are under increasing pressure to perform like their private counterparts; and, of course, much of sports, leisure, and entertainment is big business.

Business came to dominate U.S. society in large measure because of the nature and public image of its leaders. More than that, U.S. business leaders historically have defined a great deal of U.S. culture and institutions. During some periods business leaders have stood at the apex of power and respectability, whereas during other periods the general reputation of the business community, along with the personal reputations of some of the most prominent figures in business, has fallen into disrepute. However, whether celebrated or derided in the headlines and opinion polls, business leaders have never been far from the center of power and influence in U.S. history. Indeed, according to many authorities, they have never left that center.

A historical perspective on U.S. business reveals dramatic changes in the styles and methods of business leadership, as well as some notable continuities.

ELITE MERCHANTS AND PLANTERS IN COLONIAL AMERICA

Business and religion coexisted sometimes comfortably, sometimes uncomfortably, in the early colonies. However, within a generation or two after the first Puritans settled in Massachusetts in 1607, business elites had emerged in New England and, in a different guise, in the middle Atlantic colonies. New England’s business leaders were general merchants situated in port cities such as Boston, Salem, Newburyport, and Providence. The volume of commerce did not encourage specialization, so these merchants engaged in a wide range of activities: as shippers and ship owners, retailers and wholesalers, commission agents, money lenders and issuers of credit, and insurance underwriters.

Trust was a prized commodity among New England’s elite merchants. Given the lack of timely and reliable market information in the colonial period, merchants had to entrust their ships and cargos to others for months or years at a time. The key figure aboard ship was the supercargo, who was empowered by the merchant to negotiate on his behalf dur-

ing the long and unpredictable trading voyages. Merchants also relied on networks of agents at foreign ports. Not surprisingly, New England's elite merchants preferred supercargos and foreign agents who were related by blood or marriage. The general merchant's typical day began with some drinking and hobnobbing at a local tavern or coffee shop to gather information about recently arrived ships and market conditions. Then came a stint in the counting house, where transactions were entered by quill pen into ledger books, and correspondence was posted. The more successful merchants typically employed a clerk, one or two bookkeepers, and a couple of apprentices. Two dozen transactions a day were considered busy.

Initially, New England Puritans were wary of, and at times outspoken against, the region's burgeoning commercial spirit. During the 1640s, a Boston merchant named Robert Keene was fined by the General Assembly and sanctioned by the church for charging too much for a bag of nails. The case exemplified the clash between commonwealth-centered notions of "just price" (dating back to medieval times) with more recent capitalist sensibilities. For the most part, Puritan strictures encouraged economic development because prosperity was seen as a sign of God's approval, and saving was valued over consumption. By the end of the seventeenth century, the region's leading seaport merchants were not only the leading economic actors in their communities but also the most influential figures in politics. Many sat on general assemblies, town councils, and judges' benches. They also played major roles in the church—as deacons, parishioners, and donors.

In the middle Atlantic and southern colonies, large planters emerged as the leading business figures. Early British settlers in Virginia gained an economic foothold by cultivating and exporting tobacco as a cash crop. Half the working population was composed of indentured servants, but during the middle of the seventeenth century planters increasingly relied on African slaves for labor. Rice, indigo, sugar, and then cotton emerged as major cash crops. Cotton cultivation migrated farther south, where production was increasingly concentrated in plantations. The middle-Atlantic economy began to diver-

sify, but in the South cotton was king, and large planters effectively ruled the society. They enjoyed much greater wealth than northern elites and exercised considerable political power and total autonomy among the members of their households. Their patriarchal control extended over business relations, family, and slaves alike.

Business elites played a central role in the American Revolution. In the North, leading merchants who were squeezed by a surge of British imports during the 1760s and early 1770s mobilized for independence. In the South, planters were angered when Scottish merchants became dominant intermediaries in the cotton trade. Everywhere, business leaders had attained a strong sense of their own interests apart from the prerogatives of British imperialism.

BUSINESS LEADERSHIP IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY INDUSTRIALIZATION

U.S. business and business leadership evolved dramatically during the nineteenth century. In 1800, nine of ten U.S. citizens farmed the land. However, as the economy grew it also became more specialized, giving rise to firms devoted to insurance, banking, securities trading, commodities trading, and the like. In 1822, a group of New England investors known as the "Boston Associates" founded the nation's first industrial town at Lowell, Massachusetts. Early factory owners and managers in the United States strived hard to avoid the squalid working conditions and moral decay that too often accompanied factory life in Great Britain; and for awhile they succeeded. Lowell and its imitators closely supervised the young farmwomen who worked in their mills to ensure their religious training and moral rectitude. However, by the 1840s, as Irish and other immigrants displaced the "mill girls," factory conditions at Lowell became more like those of their Old World counterparts.

Entrepreneurs in the middle of the nineteenth century typically were religious, aggressive, flexible, mobile, and optimistic. Firms sprang up, changed names and partners, and failed with amazing rapidity. Those people who participated in building the nation's transportation and communication infrastructure—its roads and turnpikes, canals,

steamships, railroads, telegraphs, and postal services—cooperated closely with public officials, who in turn offered an array of state incentives. This public-private collaboration suffered a major setback when many of the nation's major canal projects faltered, leading to a backlash against public promotion of internal improvements that forced the railroads to rely chiefly on private (especially British) investment capital.

The coming of the railroads ushered in a new era in business leadership. The rapid expansion of railroad lines from local affairs running fewer than 50 miles to regional and interregional lines spanning hundreds or thousands of miles required a new breed of professional manager. As the railroad corporations built multilayered bureaucracies staffed with professional managers, business ownership and control were separated for the first time in U.S. business history. At the top were leaders who ranged from the efficiency-minded J. Edgar Thomson of the Pennsylvania Railroad to the more speculative Jay Gould of the Erie and other railroads. During the 1860s and 1870s railroad managers drew criticism from the farmers, shippers, and merchants who relied heavily on their services yet saw railroad rate-setting practices as fundamentally unfair.

After the Civil War several major manufacturing industries grew and consolidated to become giants, and with them emerged a highly visible cohort of industrial multimillionaires. In iron and steel Andrew Carnegie dominated the scene. Rising from poverty as a Scottish immigrant, Carnegie eventually accumulated a fortune worth \$500 million, most of which he gave away before he died. John D. Rockefeller controlled 90 percent of U.S. oil refining by the 1880s, making him the richest man in the world. Devoutly religious, watchful of every penny, and hard-nosed in his dealings with competitors, Rockefeller was both admired and despised. Few attained the wealth and power of Carnegie and Rockefeller, and few rose as they did from rags to riches. The great majority of manufacturing leaders during this period was Protestant, descended from northern and western Europe stock, Protestant, well educated, and from well-to-do families.

The great power of the trusts (as the giant corpo-

rations were called) was a major political issue by the late nineteenth century. During the Progressive Era (which lasted until World War I), the federal government put into place a host of corporate regulatory controls. However, these were not simply imposed on the railroads and giant manufacturers; business leaders participated in crafting them. Many industry leaders actually welcomed the coming of federal regulation, seeing it as both inevitable and a preferable alternative to a patchwork of state laws. By World War I business leaders were learning to work with an emerging system of administrative government that placed some constraints over their actions but still left them considerable independence.

BUSINESS LEADERSHIP IN WAR, PROSPERITY, AND DEPRESSION

U.S. business leaders were tested during the years 1914–1945 by three major national crises. The period was bracketed by world wars in which business leaders played a key role in mobilizing the nation's industrial might for victory. During the interwar decades the reputation and influence of the U.S. corporate world swung from an apex during the prosperous Roaring Twenties to a nadir during the depths of the Great Depression.

The United States entered World War I as a combatant with great reluctance and after long delay. Although hostilities broke out in Europe in August 1914, U.S. troops didn't enter the war until April 1917. After the war some people would claim that “merchants of death”—mainly munitions makers as well as bankers who made large war loans to the British and Germans—undermined the nation's neutrality. Although some people profited, most U.S. business leaders were concerned about the disruptive effects of war on trade and international stability.

In spite of the long lead-up to U.S. direct involvement in the war, the United States was largely unprepared to engage in a large-scale war. Inventories of battle-ready warships, planes, tanks, bombs, and ammunition were thin. Moreover, the federal government lacked an effective administrative apparatus to coordinate the flow of essential materiel and the conversion of major industries to war production.

In 1916 the Council of National Defense (CND) and the U.S. Shipping Board handled most wartime economic coordination, but shortages of critical fuels, transportation, ships, and matériel were commonplace. In July 1917 the CND created the War Industries Board (WIB) to set priorities and increase production of critical matériel. This was the first formal attempt at central economic planning in U.S. history. The WIB became much more effective after President Woodrow Wilson appointed Wall Street financier Bernard Baruch as its new head in 1918. Baruch brought legions of corporate managers to Washington, where they volunteered their services on behalf of the war effort as “dollar-a-year” men. In return for their altruism, business leaders gained considerable influence over the setting of national economic priorities. Not surprisingly, these priorities often favored the companies and industries that had been, and would again be, run by the dollar-a-year men.

Business people also played a critical role in the nation’s propaganda campaigns. The federal government’s Committee on Public Information—which churned out millions of advertisements, banners, and flyers promoting war bonds, bashing the Germans, and whipping up patriotic sentiment—was headed by advertising executive George Creel, who staffed his committee with advertising talent. In many ways the modern public relations industry was born during World War I.

Not all business leaders were eager to switch to war production. The government’s constitutional power to compel cooperation was murky at best. However, through a combination of cajoling, threatening, appealing to patriotism, and using moral suasion, the federal government motivated corporate leaders to convert to war production on a massive scale. In time, the government’s control over industrial United States reached unprecedented levels. In 1918, the WIB took over the operation of the nation’s railroads, and later it assumed control of the telegraph and telephone industries. Many business leaders viewed these moves with great trepidation—as a dangerous step in the direction of socialism.

Their gravest fears proved to be unfounded. Overall corporate profits during the war were generous, and the federal government relinquished its controls

over key transportation and communication sectors with the return of peace. For the most part business leaders emerged from the war well regarded by the public, and they carried with them a newfound appreciation for what a business-government partnership could accomplish.

A severe but brief economic recession followed the war, after which the economy entered a decade of robust expansion. Several glamour industries helped propel the economy forward: automobiles, radio, motion pictures, electric appliances and other consumer durables. Many of the men who headed the leading firms in these industries became household words, including David Sarnoff of RCA, Alfred P. Sloan of General Motors, and Robert C. Wood of Sears, Roebuck. They were seen as stewards of progress, bringing modernity—in the form of new products and services—to the lives of middle-class citizens at affordable prices. Advertising became much more sophisticated in its use of color, design, and psychological themes that played on consumers’ desires and insecurities. A few women reached the upper echelons of the advertising business, most notably Helen Resor of J. Walter Thompson, the nation’s largest advertising agency. Resor was expected to comprehend the “female point of view” much more effectively than did her male counterparts. The decade’s fascination with advertising at times reached absurd levels, as when adman Bruce Barton’s book, *The Man Nobody Knows*, hit the best-seller lists. The supersalesman featured in the book who “picked up twelve men from the bottom ranks of business and forged them into an organization that conquered the world,” was none other than Jesus Christ.

A few of the nation’s most prominent business leaders, such as Gerard Swope and Owen D. Young of General Electric, achieved statesmen status during the 1920s. In the pervasive confidence of the decade, many business leaders attempted to address the chronic problem of competition and overcapacity by cooperating more systematically and openly through trade associations such as the National Association of Manufacturers. The federal government agreed to take a backseat to business efforts to coordinate wages, prices, and output in a movement that became

I used to think that running an organization was equivalent to conducting a symphony orchestra. But I don't think that's quite it; it's more like jazz. There is more improvisation.

—Warren Bennis

known as “associationalism.” Herbert Hoover, a wealthy engineering contractor, played a key role in these efforts, first as secretary of commerce in the laissez-faire (non-interfering) administration of President Calvin Coolidge and then as president himself from 1928 to 1933. However, associationalism rested on the rather naïve notion that big business, in watching out for its own interests, also would serve the best interests of consumers, small business, and the larger society.

The great Wall Street crash that began in October 1929 redefined U.S. business leadership for a generation. Although economic historians now understand that the Depression was deepened and prolonged by failures of economic policymaking, most Depression-era citizens held corporate leaders chiefly responsible for the economic debacle. Many culprits were responsible. Herbert Hoover had captured the presidency—his first elected office—with the promise that he would bring business-like efficiency to federal government; but his response to the onset of the Depression appeared tepid and narrow-minded. The financial community was chided for falsely inflating the value of stocks and for erecting complicated and highly leveraged holding company structures that collapsed like houses of card as soon as the market turned bearish. The dramatic economic reversal seemed to many citizens to smack of a grand morality play in which they would now pay the price for a decade of heavy borrowing, overconsumption, and high living.

All of this contributed to a rise in the power and authority of government leadership at the expense of business leadership during the 1930s. The charismatic presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt stood at the center of the shift. Roosevelt asserted a positive role for the state as a source of relief from economic hardship, recovery from economic depression, and

reform of the economic system. During the first few years of his New Deal, Roosevelt followed in Hoover’s associationalist footsteps by seeking business cooperation under the guidance of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA, which set industry codes for wages, prices, and production levels). However, after the Supreme Court struck down the NIRA in 1935, Roosevelt became more adversarial toward big business in both his rhetoric and his use of antitrust laws against business combinations.

Although most businesses suffered during the 1930s, chemical manufacturing, aircrafts, and a few other sectors made gains by buying up failed competitors, improving technology, and consolidating. However, few business leaders had national prominence. The relative position of U.S. business leadership was eroded further by the passage of the National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act in 1935, which strengthened the position of organized labor. Even so, the fundamental legitimacy of corporate capitalism was never severely challenged during the Great Depression. Roosevelt never attempted to socialize banking or other key sectors (apart from an experiment with rural electrification in the Tennessee Valley), and no widespread civil unrest or great surge in communist membership occurred.

The coming of World War II, rather than Roosevelt’s economic policies, finally lifted the economy out of the Depression in the late 1930s. Once again the United States entered the war largely unprepared, and once again successful mobilization of the U.S. industrial base proved to be a decisive factor in winning the war. Roosevelt organized the war effort much as he had organized the New Deal—in a dizzying array of “alphabet agencies” that sometimes created administrative confusion and duplication of effort. Corporate leaders flocked to Washington, D.C., again, although business leaders did not eclipse their government partners as in the previous world war.

The mobilization effort earned back much of the status and authority of the business sector. Full employment for non-drafted or enlisted men combined with millions of new factory jobs for women to fill the pockets of the middle class after more than a decade of deprivation. Industrialist Henry Kaiser

epitomized the World War II industrialists who contributed mightily to the war effort while profiting handsomely himself. Kaiser operated large aluminum, cement, and steel plants, manufactured automobiles and ships, and founded a large health maintenance organization. He was as entrepreneurial in his relations with the state as he was with large-scale industry.

POSTWAR BUSINESS LEADERSHIP: FROM CONFIDENCE TO CRISIS

U.S. business leaders again enjoyed popularity and prominence in the generation after World War II. The leaders of the nation's largest industrial corporations brought a level of professional training to their jobs not seen before. Many held advanced degrees from business schools, engineering schools, or both. Depression-era antagonisms were distant memories; the new "technocrats" were eager to cooperate with the state in its global campaign to contain communism. When President Dwight D. Eisenhower spoke of the "military-industrial complex" in his 1961 farewell address, he referred to the tight linkages between the military establishment and the electronics, aerospace, nuclear, and other critical industries that supplied it.

Public opinion polls during the 1950s and 1960s showed favorable ratings for U.S. business in all categories. When Charles E. Wilson of General Motors declared that what was good for General Motors was good for the United States, few questioned the legitimacy of the declaration. Corporate executives embraced bureaucracy and the new technology of computers as tools for modern managerial efficiency. New consumer and producer goods improved the quality of life for millions—from chemical pesticides and herbicides that boosted agricultural output to "miracle" petrochemical plastics such as polyester and polypropylene that replaced cotton, wool, and other natural fibers in clothing, upholstery, and rugs.

Confidence among the nation's corporate leaders at times shaded into hubris (exaggerated pride). This was perhaps most apparent in the conglomerate movement of the 1960s. Conglomerates were sprawling combinations of scores or even hundreds

of firms in unrelated businesses that were acquired and sold much like shares in a stock portfolio. Even firms that remained chiefly in one business frequently diversified into unrelated areas during the 1950s and 1960s. The trend was driven by a philosophy that general management principles were equally valid in all businesses.

However, undercurrents of discontent about the postwar corporate world and its leaders were growing. Several prominent public intellectuals from across the ideological spectrum—William Whyte, John K. Galbraith, David Riesman, Ayn Rand, and Vance Packard, among others—derided the stultifying effects of business bureaucracy on creativity and individuality. According to such critics, big corporations—with their personnel departments and career escalators—were exerting too much pressure on their workers and managers to conform in all manner of dress and behavior. Sloan Wilson's 1955 novel, *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*, became a bestseller.

In retrospect, these critiques contained some truth. When U.S. business confronted serious external and structural challenges during the late 1960s and early 1970s, most of its leaders were at a loss for how to respond. One major challenge came from overseas as Japanese, German, and other foreign competitors began to make serious inroads into U.S. markets for textiles, steel, machine tools, automobiles, and consumer electronics. The onset of high rates of inflation beginning during the mid-1960s (as President Lyndon Johnson's administration scaled up the Vietnam War) placed additional pressure on the economy, as did the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) oil embargo and the subsequent global energy crisis of 1973.

It was a new age for corporate leaders, who no longer could focus their attention almost exclusively on maximizing profits while keeping workers reasonably content. Now they had to work with a variety of stakeholders (persons with an interest in an outcome) such as regulators, environmentalists, and consumer groups. This placed a premium on corporate image, and new public relations specialists devised "softer" techniques that spoke of strategic partnerships, "going green," and "corporate social responsibility."

U.S. economic stagnation extended into the late 1980s. This prompted both painful reexamination and finger pointing by business leaders. Some appealed to the federal government for protection against allegedly unfair foreign competitive practices that at times escalated into outright “Japan bashing.” Others blamed the new wave of federal consumer product, workplace, and environmental regulation put into place during the late 1960s and early 1970s for placing U.S. business at a competitive disadvantage. Still others indicted organized labor for driving up manufacturing costs. As during the 1930s, few corporate leaders played visible and prominent roles on the national stage. The most popular business leader of the period was Chrysler President Lee Iacocca, whose greatest career achievement was to negotiate a government bailout when his company faced bankruptcy.

The process of business recovery was long and painful—especially for the nation’s middle managers and lower-level employees. During the 1980s, millions of U.S. workers were laid off as the U.S. corporate world underwent a process of “restructuring” that often entailed “downsizing.” Much of the restructuring was called for, and ultimately beneficial, particularly the massive shedding of unrelated business units acquired during the conglomerate era. This restructuring restored much of the focus on production and marketing fundamentals that had long been missing.

However, corporate restructuring of the 1980s had a number of insidious dimensions as well. In their desire to escape regulations and cut labor costs, many corporate leaders set up plants outside U.S. borders. In addition, at least two massive merger waves swept through the decade, each involving a prominent number of “leveraged buyouts” and hostile takeovers. A new breed of financiers—most notably the “junk bond king” Michael Milken of Drexel Burnham—devised innovative methods of raising billions of dollars of investment capital in order to take over firms that were undervalued in the financial markets. Whereas some of these takeovers ousted poor management regimes and resuscitated companies, others led to the partial or complete dismantling of once-stalwart companies. Dealmakers

captured the popular imagination during the 1980s. *The Bonfire of the Vanities*, author Tom Wolfe’s satire of young “masters of the universe” bond traders, topped the best-seller lists, and the lead character in the Hollywood film *Wall Street* declared infamously that “greed is good.”

A different breed of twenty- and thirtysomething business leaders appeared to come to the rescue of the U.S. business system during the final decade of the twentieth century. Although the economic boom of the 1990s had many causes, the high-tech sector—particularly microcomputing hardware and software, the Internet, and (later in the decade) the World Wide Web—was perceived to be the driving force behind the economic recovery. The heroes of the so-called “new economy” were the entrepreneurs of Silicon Valley, California, and other high-tech regions. They attracted venture capital to found “dot.com” start-ups at an astonishing rate. Their model of success was Bill Gates, founder and chairman of the software giant Microsoft. In spite of being the richest man in the world, running a massive corporation, and spending much of his time fighting antitrust litigation, Gates affects the boyish demeanor of the hapless computer “nerd” with tousled hair and khaki pants.

At the turn of the twenty-first century, U.S. business leadership endured another crisis of confidence and legitimacy. Middle-class citizens watched in horror as roughly half the value of their retirement portfolios evaporated in a massive “dot.com” meltdown. A wave of accounting scandals—exemplified by the \$67 billion collapse of the energy trading company Enron and its auditor, Arthur Andersen—has sparked a wave of government investigations. Unemployment is high, yet some corporate executives continue to garner compensation packages that run into the tens or hundreds of millions of dollars a year. Few prominent figureheads represent and defend U.S. business.

Yet, robust continuities undergird this latest metamorphosis in the reality and perception of U.S. business leadership. The United States remains at its core a business society, where each day millions of small proprietors and middle managers of every ethnicity take on the task of competing and possibly succeeding as industrial leaders, colorful entrepreneurs, cor-

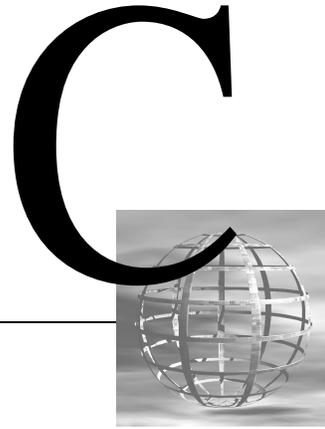
porate scoundrels, and celebrity CEOs define the era's culture of business leadership.

—David B. Sicilia

See also Bank of America; Ben & Jerry's Ice Cream; Body Shop, The; Carnegie, Andrew; Chanel, Coco; Disney, Walt; Dot-Com Meltdown; Enron Scandal; Ford, Henry; Kroc, Ray; Labor Movement; Management; Management, Business; Mayer, Louis B.; Morita, Akio; Nader, Ralph; Rockefeller, John D.; Sarnoff, David; Sears, Roebuck & Co. Catalogue; Shibusawa Eiichi; Sloan, Alfred; Small Business; Trust Busting; Watson, Thomas, Jr.; Welch, Jack; Winfrey, Oprah; Women and Business Leadership

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 **CARNEGIE, ANDREW**
(1835–1919)

U.S. industrialist, author, and philanthropist

One of the most influential leaders in history, Andrew Carnegie essentially created the modern steel industry, which in turn fostered U.S. global economic preeminence. Authoring a new ethic in corporate social responsibility, Carnegie pioneered the philanthropic industry. A prodigious writer, he was outspoken, often radical. He endures symbolically as both hero and villain in the controversial era that the writers Mark Twain (1835–1910) and Charles Dudley Warner (1829–1900) dubbed “The Gilded Age.”

A LEADING PARADOX

Paradoxes defined Carnegie’s life. Born in Dunfermline, Scotland, the child of parents thrown into unemployment because of industrial technology, Carnegie exemplifies the prepotency and efficacy of industrial innovation. The quintessential symbol of U.S. rags-to-riches folklore, he was also an elite business entrepreneur who personified the unprecedented power of big business. Having created one of the most powerful vertically integrated companies in the world, he nonetheless criticized the protective tariff and corporate trusts, championing instead competition and the limited partnership form of business

organization. Innovative in bureaucratic management systems, he developed an unrivaled method of systematic cost accounting, which he oversaw personally. Ironically, when the financier J. P. Morgan (1873–1913) challenged Carnegie’s steel empire, Carnegie opted to sell the enterprise to his rival for \$480 million (worth about \$10.1 billion in 2002 dollars but equivalent to an astounding \$238 billion to equal the same percentage of GDP), effectively making him, as Morgan dubbed him, “the richest man in the world.” Though he respected select Judeo-Christian values, he was not religious. Rather, he “came fortunately upon Darwin’s and Spencer’s works,” which inspired him to get “rid of theology and the supernatural” in favor of “the truth of evolution” (Carnegie 1986, 327). Social Darwinism’s doctrines of extreme individualism and devotion to survival of the fittest helped him justify his hard-nosed acquisition of wealth, his merciless industrial competition, and his heavy-handed treatment of his workers. Nevertheless, in his controversial “true Gospel concerning Wealth” Carnegie emphasized—to the disdain of his wealthy peers—that the rich were morally obligated to practice bountiful and altruistic philanthropy, for “the man who dies thus rich dies disgraced” (Carnegie 1889a, 664). To this end, he engaged in unprecedented philanthropy toward educational institutions and public libraries and in support of medical research and world peace.

While the Vanderbilts, Rockefellers, Morgans, and others passed unprecedented fortunes from one generation to the next, the renegade Carnegie argued for an inheritance tax, and, even more radically, that the wealthy should not burden their children with great fortunes, as “great sums bequeathed oftener work more for the injury than for the good of the recipients” (Carnegie 1889a, 658). While his wealthy peers conspicuously championed what his contemporary, the economist Thorstein Veblen (1857–1929), disdainfully called “conspicuous consumption,” Carnegie called for “modest, unostentatious living, shunning display or extravagance” (Carnegie 1889a, 661). Nevertheless, Carnegie had a magnificent mansion in New York City (now the Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum), the Skibo Castle in northern Scotland, and a hundred-room summer home in Lenox, Massachusetts. Optimistic, combative, supremely self-confident, even arrogant, Carnegie also had times of crisis of conscience and self-doubt, harboring a strong need to be found exceptional, to be noticed. Loyal to friends, he still found it difficult to share power.

As the author of *Triumphant Democracy* (1886/1971), Carnegie trumpeted U.S. democracy and capitalism, becoming celebrated as a defender of the common laborer. Yet Carnegie’s workers toiled grueling twelve-hour shifts seven days a week, their only holiday the Fourth of July. Carnegie’s image as a friend of the worker was tainted further by his participation in the crushing of the 1892 Homestead strike. It took the wages of nearly 4,000 steelworkers to match the earnings of Andrew Carnegie. Devoted to caring for his strong-willed mother, Carnegie did not marry until her death, wedding Louise Whitfield in 1886. The couple’s only child, Margaret Carnegie Miller, publicly remembered her father as a kind benefactor. Yet in private she expressed weariness about the one-sided romanticism of this image of her father. Certainly there seems enough evidence for whatever “Carnegie” one wishes to portray.

A LEADER OF IRON—AND STEEL

Carnegie’s life is divisible into five periods, each demonstrating remarkable leadership. The first

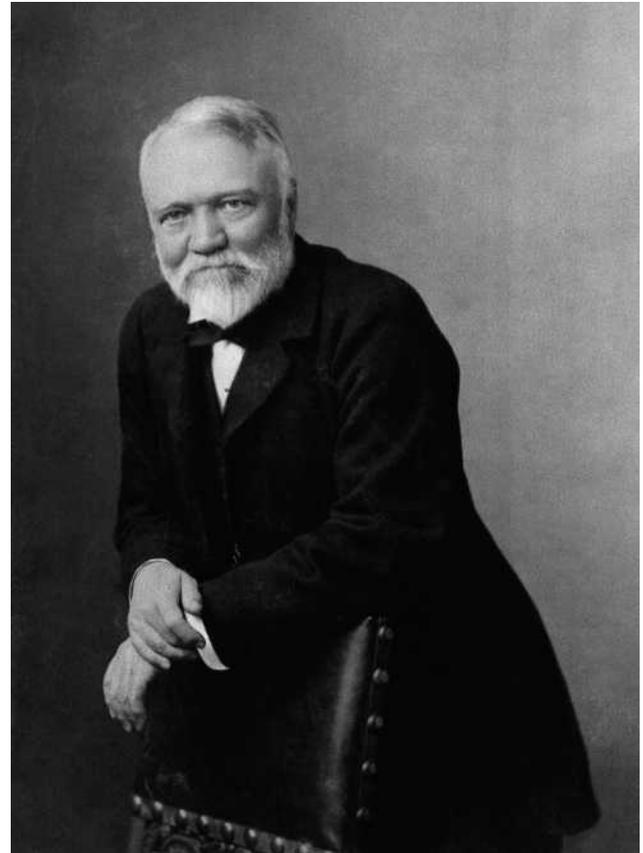
period (1848–1852) began with Carnegie’s immigration at age thirteen from Scotland to the United States, where he found employment in 1848 as a bobbin boy in a Pittsburgh textile mill, studying accounting in night school after his arduous twelve-hour workday. With characteristic quickness and hard work, he soon became a messenger boy in a telegraph office, where he learned telegraphy on his own time, resulting in a promotion in 1851 to telegraph operator. This led to his big break and the second period (1852–1865), when he worked for the Pennsylvania Railroad, initially as the personal telegrapher and secretary to Thomas Scott, a superintendent. Carnegie’s purchase of dividend-rich stocks and bonds revolutionized his business sense, as his early investments in a sleeping car company and oil quickly supplied him with earnings far greater than his salary as a railroad superintendent. His first fortune was made when he not only bought into a company that manufactured iron railroad bridges—which were in high demand during the Civil War and as heavier trains became more commonplace—but also sold bonds on commission in New York and Europe to fund the construction of bridges as well as railroads. Carnegie’s gift for utilizing vertical organization led to his buying iron production facilities to supply his bridge building, which became so successful that he left the Pennsylvania Railroad in 1865, never to work for salary again. His innovations in the iron industry included new technologies, exacting cost accounting and efficiency measures, and vertical integration to ensure constant supply and to manage the specialized stages of iron production within one organization—all of which increased production and lowered costs. Later, the daring and radical Carnegie became convinced that the future of railroads was in steel production; he and other investors founded the Edgar Thomson Works in 1873, thus beginning his age of steel (1873–1892).

Carnegie’s leadership skills included surrounding himself with intelligent partners or advisers such as Henry Clay Frick (1849–1919) and Charles Schwab (1862–1939), reinvesting profits into more efficient technologies (such as the Bessemer process for converting pig iron to steel) even during times of eco-

conomic downturn, pursuing vertical integration and meticulous supervision, and retaining ownership in all his enterprises. Under Carnegie, U.S. steel production jumped dramatically; his ability to supply unlimited, inexpensive steel for railroads, skyscrapers, and bridges was unrivaled. His efforts to make production more efficient and to foster vertical integration cut his companies' costs by more than half—and Carnegie's wealth continued to increase exponentially. In 1892 Carnegie merged his various steel companies into the Carnegie Steel Company, an industrial colossus whose profits ballooned from \$6 million in 1896 to \$21 million in 1899 to \$40 million in 1900. Even then, at age sixty-five, Carnegie considered building a huge new plant and expanding production. Yet his desire to retire, combined with the challenge of J. P. Morgan's energetic move into the steel industry and Charles Schwab's advice that the industry needed specialization and consolidation, prompted Carnegie's famous handwritten offer to his rival—\$480 million—which Morgan accepted, resulting in the formation of United States Steel in March 1901, and the last phase of Carnegie's remarkable career: full-time philanthropy (1901–1919).

LEADING PHILANTHROPY

On the walls of his study surrounding his massive desk were the mottoes that had inspired him and that now spurred his massive drive to become the greatest of all philanthropists: “Let There Be Light,” “The Kingdom of Heaven Is Within You,” “The Gods Send Thread for the Web Begun,” “All Is Well Since All Grows Better,” “Thine Own Reproach Alone Do Fear” (American Experience Online 1999). Here Carnegie decided on what he believed to be the wisest disposal of his fortune, based on a plan he had published in 1889 as “The Best Fields for Philanthropy.” First he gave money to educational institutions, then to create free libraries (which appealed to his sense of democratic and self-educated idealism), then to hospitals, parks, concert halls, and swimming pools, and lastly, to churches. By 1917, Carnegie had invested \$68,333,973 (equivalent to about \$956 million in 2002) in 2,811 libraries worldwide, including 1,946 in the United



Andrew Carnegie in 1896.

Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

States. By the time of his death in 1919, he had given away \$324,657,399—an astounding amount worth about \$3.36 billion in 2002 dollars, though the equivalent of \$44.1 billion today to equal the same share of GDP. It represented 90 percent of his fortune.

Carnegie's leadership in establishing the industry of philanthropy met with mixed reviews. Clergy lamented being last on the list. Carnegie's exhausted workers might value the free libraries, but many had neither time nor energy to use them, and their pent-up resentment often kept them stubbornly away regardless. Although he won praise from the industrialist John D. Rockefeller (1839–1937), who was also a philanthropist, as well as from Mark Twain and Elihu Root (1845–1937), a diplomat and eventual Nobel Peace Prize winner, Carnegie was criticized by the union organizer Eugene V. Debs (1855–1926), the social reformer Jane Addams



An Excerpt from Andrew Carnegie's "The Best Fields for Philanthropy" (1889)

The aim of the first article ["Wealth"] was thus to lead up to the conclusion that there is but one right mode of using enormous fortunes—namely, that the possessors from time to time during their own lives should so administer them as to promote the permanent good of the communities from which they have been gathered. It was held that public sentiment would soon say of one who died possessed of million of available wealth which he might have administered: "The man who dies thus rich dies disgraced."

The purpose of this article is to present some of the best methods of performing this duty of administering surplus wealth for the good of the people. The first requisite for a really good use of wealth by the millionaire who had accepted the gospel which proclaims him only a trustee of the surplus that come to him, is to take care that the purpose for which he spends it shall not have a degrading, pauperizing tendency upon its recipients, and that his trust should be so administered as to stimulate the best and most aspiring poor of the community to further efforts for their own improvement. It is not the irreclaimably destitute, shiftless, and worthless that it is truly beneficial or truly benevolent to attempt to reach and improve. For these there exists the refuge provided by the city or the state, where they can be sheltered, fed, clothed, and kept in comfortable existence, and—most important of all—where they can be isolated from the well-doing and industrious poor, who are liable to be demoralized by contact with these unfortunates. One man or woman who succeeds in living comfortable by begging is more dangerous to society, and a greater obstacle to the progress of humanity, than a score of wordy Socialists. The individual administrator of surplus wealth has as his charge the industrious and ambitious; not those who need everything done for them, but those who, being most anxious and able to help themselves, deserve and will be benefited by help from others and extension of their opportunities at the hands of the philanthropic rich.

Carnegie, Andrew. (1889). "The Best Fields for Philanthropy." *The North American Review*, 149(397), 682–699.

(1860–1935), and the social activist and clergyman Walter Rauschenbusch (1861–1918), who decried the "Christ-less" manner with which he had obtained his fortune. Carnegie's philanthropic activities were also self-serving. He believed that unless the wealthy class returned a portion of its wealth to society for the good of everyone, the appeal of socialism would be too strong among the poor and the working class. Some of his writings were devoted to showing the interrelationship of laissez-faire capitalism, philanthropy, and social Darwinism; these argued that capitalists must spend their fortunes for the public good to prevent serious social unrest, because such unrest could lead to the loss of fortunes. Wise philanthropy

not only protected individual survival of the fittest, it also guaranteed the fittest society.

This ideology, arising from his own experience, fueled Carnegie's leading philanthropic passion: the building of public libraries as educational institutions. These efforts undergirded his belief that the United States was best served by a "meritocracy"—by leadership based on effort and ability, not the status of one's family. Likewise, though any community could apply for a library grant, Carnegie required matching capital from communities in the forms of donated land and annual operating funds of at least 10 percent of the value of his grant. In this way the fittest both emerged and survived. By 1917, Carnegie had invested \$68,333,973 (equivalent to about \$946 million today) in 2,811 libraries worldwide, including 1,946 in the United States.

A LEGACY OF LEADERSHIP

An indefatigable author, Carnegie published eight books, sixty-three articles, and ten public addresses from 1882 to 1916. His practical

aphorisms, like those of Benjamin Franklin, commanded credibility because of his own manifest success. The man of steel certainly saw himself as a role model for aspiring entrepreneurs, and the advice he shared was the very wisdom by which he himself had been guided. Nevertheless, the personal resolve, positive attitude, and devotion to individual merit reflected in his writings ultimately can neither be reduced to simple formulas nor divorced from Carnegie's unique place in history.

How effective was Carnegie's leadership? While the influence of his own largess in philanthropy is without dispute, he generally did not inspire his peers to follow his example. Some, like the Rocke-

fellows and Julius Rosenwald (1862–1932), established foundations that still benefit the public today. Others, like J. P. Morgan and the Vanderbilts, thought Carnegie to be foolish. Typically, the enormous fortunes of the Gilded Age remained family inheritances rather than being emptied back to society, as Carnegie prescribed. Likewise, Carnegie's business principles of competition, efficiency, and meeting the demands of the market were overshadowed by the business structure of Rockefeller's Standard Oil and Morgan's United States Steel, which favored consolidation and the creation of trusts. His philanthropy notwithstanding, Carnegie continued to be caricatured as a grossly wealthy and uncaring robber baron whose fortune was built on the exhausted backs of his workers. His outspoken opposition to U.S. imperialism and support of international arbitration and world peace were eclipsed by the nation's involvement in the Spanish-American War, the Philippines, and World War I.

Nevertheless, Carnegie's defense of the gold standard was used in William McKinley's victorious 1896 presidential campaign to counter the "free silver" bimetallism position of William Jennings Bryan. Carnegie's arguments on central banking played a role in Woodrow Wilson's creating the Federal Reserve System, and his dedication to encouraging global peace inspired support for the League of Nations. His commitment to funding education and libraries benefited countless people, including African-Americans, whose cause he championed. Although intensely devoted to hands-on management, when he set up his philanthropic foundations, he wisely gave his trustees the freedom to adapt to changing situations. As the quintessential success story, his bold example still holds out the promise of the ideal of the self-made man. As the United States' most conspicuous philanthropist, he emerged as "Saint Andrew" (as Mark Twain dubbed him) to most, though others regarded him as a sham. What remains is Carnegie's sheer magnitude, whether saint or sinner, friend or foe, sage or fool. When Mark Twain died in 1910, Carnegie published a moving tribute in the June issue of the *North American Review* (Carnegie 1910). His poignant words are likely those he would have wished for his own

legacy: "‘If there's another life, he lives in bliss. If there be none, he made the best of this.' Let us follow his example."

—Craig H. Roell

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CARSON, RACHEL (1907–1964)

U.S. scientist and environmentalist

With her 1962 book *Silent Spring*, scientist Rachel L. Carson alerted postwar America to the hazards of synthetic chemical pesticides and established herself as a major intellectual leader of the contemporary environmental movement. *Silent Spring* focused primarily on the dangers posed by DDT to wildlife and human health. Only eighteen months after the book's publication, Carson died from breast cancer, but her insights—in particular, that humans and nature are inextricably connected ecologically—have lived on. The first annual Earth Day in 1970 officially launched the current U.S. environmental movement, and many successes followed—in environmental legislation and activism, conservation efforts, and the growth of organic agriculture, for example. Carson's ideas helped to guide these trends. However, Rachel Carson did not fit traditional models of leadership.

EARLY YEARS

Growing up in western Pennsylvania, Carson spent comparatively little time with other children her age. Her mother believed that Carson had a frail constitution, and often kept her out of school. As a follower of the nature study movement—a teaching method which held that direct experience of nature could lead a child to both an aesthetic and scientific appreciation of the environment—Carson's mother

tutored her according to these beliefs. The two spent hours roaming the land around their small farm, identifying birds, plants, and animals. This early upbringing later helped Carson to envision herself as not only a member of a human community, but also of the nonhuman environment.

When she entered Pennsylvania Women's College (now Chatham College), Rachel Carson decided to become a member of the scientific community as well. She began college with the intention of becoming a writer, but then found herself fascinated by biology and the life sciences. With the encouragement of her mentor and science instructor, Mary Scott Skinker, Carson majored in English and biology. In 1929 Carson entered graduate school in zoology at Johns Hopkins University. At this time much bias and discrimination existed against women in the sciences. Most people believed that women were not intellectually or physically capable of pursuing scientific careers. In the scientific professions, few if any women ever rose to positions of power.

Her difficult family situation, compounded with this discouraging atmosphere, had a negative impact on Carson's graduate career. As she began graduate school, the Depression had also just begun. Jobs and resources were scarce. Because of age or health problems, few of her family members could hold full-time jobs. At one point while a graduate student, Carson was financially responsible for five only partially able-bodied family members. To accommodate her outside employment, she was forced to drop to part-time student status. As a result, her research moved slowly as well. More and more, she found herself on the margins of academic life. Finally Carson was forced to acknowledge that she could not both go to graduate school and support her family. After finishing her thesis and receiving a master's degree, Carson gave up her dream of pursuing a doctorate and started looking for a job instead.

A SCIENTIST AND A WRITER

The gender bias against women in science followed Carson into employment. Luckily, however, given the dire economic climate, she did find a position.

She began working in 1936 as a science writer for the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries (later the U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service). Although trained to perform scientific research, Carson instead found herself editing and summarizing the research of others. At this time, it was not uncommon for female scientists to find themselves supporting the work of male scientists, rather than directly participating in or directing fieldwork or experimentation. However, the low-paying job did have some advantages. Carson had access to a vast realm of scientific literature, much of it unavailable to the general public. Later in her career as a writer, she would draw on the background and expertise provided by this job.

For over fifteen years Carson stayed with the Fish & Wildlife Service. To help supplement her income—she now supported a household that included her aging mother and two young nieces—Carson also began writing science articles for local, regional, and eventually national publications. In her day job, she also began to move into positions of more responsibility, coordinating researchers, artists, and writers on various publication projects. While the career paths for a non-research scientist in government employment were limited, Carson still found opportunities to develop her leadership abilities. In particular, she learned to balance the often different perspectives of creative and scientific people.

To the casual observer, Carson's gender, upbringing, employment, and to some extent her personal inclination—she often displayed the solitude-loving characteristics of a writer—would seem to have worked against her becoming a leader. In fact, her life simply demonstrated a less traditional route toward leadership. Early in life Carson assumed a guiding role within her family. Her mother took care of the home, and Carson became that home's primary connection with the outside world. Even within the somewhat constrained world of government employment, Carson developed many close friendships with other women in similar positions. Her most important connections were immediate, intimate, and supportive. She and her community of friends also learned to negotiate the hierarchical structure of the government bureaucracy that

employed them. From these experiences, Carson developed a canny sense of politics and power.

These years immersed in scientific literature also added new dimensions to Carson's sense of membership in a larger ecological community. Moreover, the Fish & Wildlife Service was the home of the conservation movement in the federal government. This movement, begun around the turn of the century and focused primarily on issues of land and game management and wilderness preservation, was the precursor to the environmental movement. From these conservation contacts, Carson gained an in-depth understanding of the nature advocates whom she would eventually inspire with *Silent Spring*. When she did take on a leadership role, it would not be to exercise power over the natural world, but to become an advocate on its behalf.

BECOMING A LEADER

Carson made her first impression on the public mind as a science and nature writer. After the success of her 1937 article "Undersea" in the *Atlantic Monthly*, she wrote *Under the Sea-Wind* (1941). However, the book was published only one month before the attack on Pearl Harbor. In the rush of America's entry into World War II, it quickly disappeared from sight. Disappointed, Carson decided to focus on writing articles. However, in part because of her dissatisfaction with her job, by 1948 she had begun conceiving her second book, a natural history of the earth's oceans. *The Sea Around Us* (1951) was an enormous success. It won the National Book Award, and by the end of 1951 had sold over 250,000 copies. Carson was able to quit her job at the Fish & Wildlife Service and become a full-time writer.

As a best-selling author, Carson began her first ventures into public speaking. Some of her favorite themes included the beauty and complexity of nature, as well as the respect that it deserves from humanity. She also discussed the dangers of science and technology, and the need for science to be accessible to all citizens, so that they might make informed decisions on the risks posed by industrialized society. As she told one audience in 1952, "Mankind has gone very far into an artificial world



Dorothy Freeman to Rachel Carson

This letter from her close friend Dorothy Freeman to Rachel Carson speaks to Carson's prominence and significance in the world in the 1960s.

May 15 [1963]
Darling [Rachel]

For I am denied the big things, the biggest of which would be to be with you in this triumphal hour. To see you last night (I am now writing at 6 A.M.) on the screen gave me a sense of frustration that I could not touch you! And how I should have enjoyed seeing you descend the curving stairs in the spotlight and hearing the applause. If you were a surprise to most of them, as you think, I can imagine what an impact it was—Rachel Carson!!! No wonder you couldn't hear the organ. But their tribute must have been sweet music.

Thank you for giving us the delightful details. It seemed like old times. For I have missed so much of the intimate events—just at a time when the events are Big Ones.

Well, I mustn't complain for I am so thrilled, so proud, so humble to know that I am near you in your thoughts during all these momentous happenings. And I am quite overcome knowing that I am so close to a national figure. I almost wish at times I had the old sense of awe I had when there was the abyss between that separated me from the famous author. But there isn't, and I think perhaps you are glad. Of course, you are still on a pedestal but that position is for what you've accomplished—my worship is for what you are, darling, in spite of all your fame.

A thought struck me last night, that suddenly the dear old Sea Around Us has been displaced. I never dreamed that it could ever happen—that now I think your game will rest on *Silent Spring*—when people talk about you they'll say "Oh yes, the author of *Silent Spring*," for I suppose there are people who never heard of *The Sea Around Us*, strange as that may seem to us, but surely, I doubt if there is a household in this country where your name is unknown. How could it be from "Peanuts" to "CBS Reports"—not to mention all the lawns which have become a major concern now—what to do for crabgrass because Rachel Carson says!

A mountain of love,
Dorothy

Source: Freeman, Martha. (Ed.). (1995). *Always, Rachel: The Letters of Rachel Carson and Dorothy Freeman 1952–1964*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, pp. 462–463.

of his own creation. He has sought to insulate himself, in his cities of steel and concrete, from the realities of earth and water and the growing seed. Intoxicated with a sense of his own power, he seems to be going farther and farther into more experiments for the destruction of himself and his world" (quoted in Lear 1997, 221).

Indeed, this statement introduced one of the major

themes that would make Carson such an important intellectual leader for the contemporary environmental movement: the idea that man was wrong to try to dominate nature. Such efforts would only result in self-destruction, she held, since man too is a part of the environment. In her third book, *The Edge of the Sea* (1955), Carson emphasized the importance of humans gaining direct, immediate experience of the natural world. Such intimacy with nature, she believed, would make destroying the environment all but impossible.

SILENT SPRING

Carson originally intended her fourth book to focus on evolution, not pesticides. However, during the late 1950s, several events turned her attention toward these synthetic chemicals. Carson had first become interested in the environmental hazards of pesticides in the mid-1940s while working at Fish & Wildlife. After World War II, chemical manufacturers released the wartime chemical DDT (dichlorodiphenyl-trichloroethane) into domestic markets. Several wildlife biologists had expressed worries over DDT's impact on wildlife populations. Other scientists were concerned with its potential effects on human health. As the public and agribusi-

ness enthusiastically welcomed the chemical, however, such worries were pushed aside.

But a decade later the public mind, at least, had begun to change. Increasingly, the postwar environment seemed saturated with synthetic chemicals. These included food additives and various pollutants as well as pesticides. A group of Long Island residents sued their local government for an injunction

to prevent aerial spraying of their homes, farms, and livestock. Disturbing reports began to surface from the South, where the U. S. Department of Agriculture's aerial spraying campaign had wreaked devastation on wildlife and domestic animals. Grassroots anti-pesticide campaigns began to organize around the country.

Carson too found herself disturbed by environmental damage from pesticides. Originally she only meant to write an article on the topic, but could find no magazine to publish it. Thus the project evolved into a book. Beginning in 1957, Carson meant to write quickly, but instead *Silent Spring* took almost five years to complete. One reason was that the research fascinated and absorbed her. However, Carson suffered many health problems during this time as well. The most severe came in late 1960: a diagnosis of advanced breast cancer.

Finally published in 1962, the message of *Silent Spring* was alarming. As a scientist, Carson pointed to ecological principles to communicate the dangers of synthetic chemical pesticides. All living creatures, humans included, are made up of cells, she pointed out. All of them live embedded in habitats composed of air, water, soil, and plants. All depend on a fragile genetic code to perpetuate their communities. Pesticides disrupt and damage this fragile ecology. The long-term effects of pesticides on both wildlife and human health would prove the danger of man dominating, rather than accommodating, nature.

The reaction to *Silent Spring* was immediate, enormous, and widespread. The public was horrified; few had realized the dangers of the pesticides that permeated their everyday lives. The chemical and pesticide industries were outraged, countering that their products *saved* lives by increasing agricultural production and preventing the spread of epidemic disease. Other reactions were more mixed. Scientists split over whether Carson was right. The Department of the Interior rejoiced at the opportunity to mitigate the effects of these chemicals on wildlife, but the Department of Agriculture dug in its heels at any new attempts to regulate agricultural chemicals. Politicians called Senate hearings, where pesticide policy reform found itself deadlocked.

In the controversy over *Silent Spring*, a public

unnerved and alarmed by the potential long-term effects of pesticides—not only on their environment but on themselves—became Carson's followers. *Silent Spring* touched off a storm of debate that lasted long past Carson's 1964 death from breast cancer, barely eighteen months after the book's publication. Rachel Carson led a new way of thinking about the environment, one that launched a revolution in public opinion aimed at eliminating the hazards of industrial chemicals. Her example tells us that leadership not only comes from within organized groups, but also can come from the outside. Speaking truth to power—in this case, the entrenched powers of the agribusiness lobbies and government bureaucracies—is just as important as the exercise of power. Rachel Carson's leadership took the form of speaking up for nature.

—Maril Hazlett

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CASTRO, FIDEL (b. 1926) Cuban leader

Fidel Castro has been the leader of Cuba since overthrowing the pro-U.S. dictator Fulgencio Batista in a Communist revolution in 1959. As a leader, Castro exudes the aura of being of the people, by the people, and for the people while suppressing, coaxing, or neutralizing by intimidation or by forced or encour-



A View of Fidel Castro in the Cuban–American Community

As the excerpt below indicates, Cuban-Americans still await the day when Fidel Castro's leadership comes to an end.

September is a time for Cuban commemorations of the patron saint. The story of Nuestra Señora de la Caridad, Our Lady of Mercy, is a Cuban myth of the Virgin Mary. According to one woman, the story goes that during colonial days when Cubans were struggling against the Spaniards, people began to leave the island. Three men, one freed black slave and two white men, got in a boat to leave. When they got out on the water, a hurricane struck and almost killed the men. They prayed and the sky opened up and the Virgin saved them, and kept them from leaving the island. She also saved all the Cuban people from death in the storm. The Virgin then went from the sea to the mountains, where the Cuban people built a Shrine for her.

The woman who told this myth was not only very involved with preparations for Cuban celebrations in Washington, but also very anti-communist. She had relatives remaining in Cuba who could not leave, and grieved for them. In recounting the tale of Nuestra Señora de la Caridad she laughed ruefully when she mentioned the mountains. The mountains in which the Virgin took refuge are the same mountains from which Castro came. She went on to say that there is an updated version of the story, but she does not know "whether it is true or not." It is said that the Virgin's shrine was stolen when Castro took over, and will be returned only when communism is overthrown on the island. Therefore, for Cuban exiles the Virgin is not only a religious figure, but a political one. She saved Cuba not only from a natural holocaust, but from Spanish rule, and will symbolize the return of "Cuban rule" when Castro leaves power. The updated version repeats the same dual importance of the patron saint.

Source: Boone, Margaret S. (1989). *Capital Cubans: Refugee Adaptation in Washington, D.C.* New York: AMS Press, pp. 99–100.

aged exile any viable opposition to his decades-long regime. Castro rules with charisma, bravery, tireless work, and ambition. He manipulates his subjects, international institutions such as the Catholic church and the United Nations, and foreign dignitaries such as Pope John Paul II and Jimmy Carter with brinkmanship (the art of pushing a dangerous situation to the limit of safety) toward the demonized United States and alliances with global powers such as the former Soviet Union. He also projects a populist appeal worldwide to a progressive audience who admires his revolutionary credentials. This global stature, especially in Latin America and in the devel-

oping world, confers upon Castro an aura of grandeur and invincibility at home and abroad.

Although from a middle-class background, Castro became a radical activist while studying law. In July 1953, he began leading violent attacks against Batista, whose oppressive, inept, and corrupt regime impoverished and disenfranchised most Cubans but received military and financial help from the United States. Castro demanded substantial reforms in political, agrarian, and economic policies, endearing him as a courageous, outspoken, and visionary leader to ordinary Cubans aspiring to liberty and affluence. The realization of Castro's agenda was practically impossible under Batista, under whose leadership Cuba was beholden to U.S. interests, as was the pattern since Cuban independence in 1903.

Initially unsuccessful in his agenda in an authoritarian police state, Castro was jailed but did not recant his ambitious goals. He fled to Mexico to reorganize. In December 1956, he returned to Cuba secretly with his brother, Raul, and the Argentine-born revolutionary Ernesto "Che" Guevara. Pursued by

the Batista regime but receiving support from Cuban exiles, especially in the United States, Castro based the troops he led in the countryside, intermittently attacking military targets. This tenacious guerrilla warfare was coupled with intensive recruiting of dedicated followers. Positioning himself as a national leader with a progressive agenda, Castro curried favor with wide groups in the population, in contrast with the oppressive conduct of Batista's "liquidation campaign," which was a brutal attempt by his regime to destroy Castro's forces through torture, murder, and destruction.

Castro toppled Batista in 1959, forcing him into

exile. Castro promised democracy and freedom—promises that he broke within months in favor of his own version of an authoritarian police state. Castro also gradually marginalized the old guard who had brought him to power, forcing insubordinate activists into exile, especially to the United States, thus securing that the most potent opposition would be based abroad and be tainted with its connection with U.S. power.

Castro displayed leadership through personal contact with an obedient public, enabled by orchestrated mass gatherings and long speeches castigating the United States while glorifying his own achievements. He revealed himself as Marxist through egalitarian economic and social policies. Castro survived by distributing lands to peasants, providing free access to education and free universal health care, nationalizing U.S.-owned property, and substituting Soviet aid for U.S. markets. Castro trampled any opposition through strict control over the media and the political system, coupled with imprisonment and his ultimate safety net of forcing his opponents into exile.

Castro denounced U.S. policies and personally insulted President Dwight D. Eisenhower. Castro also demanded the return of control of Guantanamo Bay naval base (established by the United States after the Spanish-American War of 1898), and as a result the Eisenhower Administration, in one of its last acts before JFK became president, severed diplomatic relations in January 1961. After the failed invasion of Cuba by U.S.-trained Cuban exiles at the Bay of Pigs in April 1962, Castro used this victory to consolidate his control over all matters of state, legitimizing oppression of any dissent through fears of a supposedly impending U.S. invasion. He also convinced the Soviets that using Cuba's close proximity to Florida would improve Soviet leverage against the United States, provoking the October 1962 missile crisis between the United States and the Soviet Union. Whereas the Soviets had to withdraw their nuclear weapons from Cuba, Castro emerged as a world-class leader who could stand up to a superpower and be treated with respect.

Castro used his new prestige to increase the power of the Cuban armed forces—which are totally

dependent on his regime and commanded by his brother, Raul—as the custodian of the revolutionary spirit in his nation and as a major employer of young people. A larger army, financed, trained, and equipped primarily with Soviet aid, became the backbone of Castro's governance structure, helping Castro to strengthen his image as a competent, indomitable warrior.

The military and logistical services that Cuban troops performed as agents of incursion for the Soviet Union in Africa, however, diminished Castro's claim to be independent in the 1970s. He was able to leverage this challenge to his political potency at home by enhancing domestic social, educational, and medical services while cultivating regional revolutionaries in places such as Nicaragua in Central America and Grenada in the Caribbean. In addition, when internal pressures for more freedoms grew, Castro in 1980 both encouraged and forced dissidents (and criminals) to flee Cuba from the port city of Muriel.

As the Communist bloc collapsed in the 1980s and 1990s and as the Cuban economy shrank considerably, Castro increased his nationalistic tone—primarily anti-American—and improved relations with the Catholic church to counter the demise of his ideological doctrine. Castro legalized the use of the U.S. dollar in 1993 to encourage tourism and to facilitate contributions from exiled Cuban-Americans to their impoverished brethren, enhancing his own stature as a caring father to his struggling nation. His regime enacted laws that protected foreign investments from nationalization. He also allowed direct elections to the provincial and national assemblies of popular power while refusing to lessen the monopoly of power that the Communist Party has enjoyed in Cuba, with its consequent control of public life and total loyalty to his leadership.

—Itai Sneh

See also Bay of Pigs; Cuban Missile Crisis; Guevara, Ernesto Che

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🌐 CHANEL, COCO (1883–1971)

French fashion designer

A pioneer in women's fashion, Gabrielle "Coco" Chanel founded a business empire in the early twentieth century, leading women away from impractical clothing to designs that emphasized comfort and functionality as well as high style.

Born into poverty in the French town of Saumur in central France, Chanel learned to sew while attending a local convent school. In 1902, she took her first job as a dressmaker; she became a milliner around 1908. Chanel's simply trimmed hats were a sharp contrast to the extravagant styles prevalent in the first years of the century. Fascinated by her unconventional approach to fashion, society women joined actresses and courtesans as customers of the rising designer. In 1910, Chanel opened her first shop, Chanel Modes, in Deauville, France. Her lease prevented her from competing with another dress-



Coco Chanel at 79.

Source: Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis; used with permission.

making shop, but the women who bought Chanel hats admired the dresses worn by the milliner and requested copies. Sometime around 1910, Chanel also began selling clothing.

RISE OF THE HOUSE OF CHANEL

Although Chanel's artistry is indisputable, much of her success can be credited to timing. With the arrival in 1914 of World War I, conspicuous consumption suddenly became in extremely poor taste, and women pared down their attire. The many women who labored in support of the war effort sought versatile yet elegant clothing, and Chanel's designs satisfied these new dressing requirements by focusing on loose-fitting styles. She often favored masculine styles, elements of which were to survive even into her formal collections, in particular the small boater-shaped hats, neat collars, and shirt cuffs fastened with cuff links. Sleeves became a career-long obsession as the couturier constantly sought a design that would allow movement without distorting the line of the garment. By 1917, her loose sweater with a sailor collar and long, easy line had become a general fashion.

A shrewd marketer, Chanel anticipated the popularity of sportswear for outdoor living. During the war, she visited Biarritz, a fashionable resort in southwestern France that catered to the idle rich fleeing the ravages of war. Realizing that these moneyed refugees still wanted luxury in their lives, Chanel marketed her designs to them. War shortages in materials such as serge forced the couturier to use knitted jersey as a replacement, but she soon made it into a high-fashion item. Knitted jersey eventually became such a Chanel favorite (because of its comfort and shape) that the fashion magazine *Vogue* nicknamed her couture business "The Jersey House." Many of her later wool and cotton jersey fabrics were enhanced with silk to provide additional luster for added luxury.

CELEBRITY MARKETING

By the 1920s, Chanel had become a celebrity with much-copied designs. While she never sold cheap

goods, she did believe that her success depended in large part upon the dissemination of her styles. Her use of inexpensive textiles such as jersey and the minimal amounts of cloth her styles required reduced the cost of duplication for the ready-to-wear market, while the loose shapes of her suits and dresses overcame sizing problems in manufacture.

To increase sales, Chanel exploited her personal celebrity status by using look-alike models in advertisements and cultivating an air of mystique. She also became the first designer to capitalize on her fame by marketing a perfume, Chanel No. 5, which launched in 1921 in a modernist bottle designed by Chanel herself. The simple name and bottle represented another break from tradition by moving away from the exotic titles and decorative flacons that had characterized perfume in the years before the war. To sell the perfume, Chanel sprayed samples in her fitting rooms, told her clients that only a small amount had been made up as gifts, and asked them if they thought it would sell. With a personal stake in the success of the perfume as a result of Chanel taking them into her confidence, these socialites helped promote Chanel's new luxury good and made it into an immediate success.

FASHION INNOVATIONS

An innovative leader, Chanel saw her business boom in the 1920s. In 1924, she branched into costume jewelry and became the first designer to gain social acceptance for these adornments. Pearls were a particular Chanel favorite, with her workshops producing masses of fake beads that defied nature in size and color. In 1926 Chanel introduced the "little black dress" that would eventually become a staple of women's wardrobes. While black had always been a popular choice for evening wear, Chanel became the first to exploit the elegance and flattering qualities of the color with fabrics such as satin and silk velvet. She broke taboos by designing and wearing two-tone shoes and loose sailor-style trousers that ended above the ankle. The dramatic use of a combination of black and white in shoes as well as clothes became a Chanel trademark.

Chanel notoriously paid her workers little and

It's amazing how many cares disappear when you decide not to be something, but to be someone.

—Coco Chanel

gained a reputation as an irascible and autocratic leader. Chanel leadership as a couturier led her into manufacturing. Many of the designers of this era endorsed products and designed textiles for manufacture as a means of gaining additional publicity and revenue. In 1928 Chanel opened her own factory, Tricots Chanel, in Asnières, northwest of Paris, to control production of her products better. The couturier would choose materials, explain her ideas to staff members, and then rely upon them to monitor production. She never drew designs but created them on a model, in the manner of a tailor. In 1930 she employed 2,400 workers in her factory and workrooms, with this number rising to 4,000 by the end of 1935.

Although Chanel had sold clothing during World War I, she closed her shop three weeks after the start of World War II in 1939 with the declaration that this was not a time for fashion. She continued to sell perfume and remained in Paris throughout the conflict. In 1953, Chanel reopened her business in an effort to help the sales of her perfume in a highly competitive marketplace. Her multicolored tweed suits in pastels as well as beige and white became favorites of society notables. On 10 January 1971, Chanel died in Paris.

A groundbreaking designer who combined elegance with ease of movement, Chanel changed the look of twentieth-century women's wear through shrewd marketing and an ability to capitalize on emerging needs.

—Caryn E. Neumann

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CHANGE MANAGEMENT

People often say that the only thing in life that people can be certain of is change. The last half of the twentieth century brought great changes to organizations and organizational leadership. The initiation of total quality improvement programs (efforts designed to decrease production errors and waste or to improve services), the impact of globalization, changing demographics and worker values, a greater emphasis on participative and higher employee involvement strategies, new information, and manufacturing technology were just a few of the trends that caused organizations to focus on change management, which is the practices, models, and theories that leaders use to help individuals and groups adapt to changes in their environment.

DEVELOPMENT OF CHANGE MANAGEMENT THEORIES

Kurt Lewin, a German sociologist, played a major role in shaping thinking about leadership and change management. Lewin was one of the first to describe organizational change processes in terms of a three-stage model of unfreezing, changing, and refreezing. Unfreezing can be understood as those processes designed to break up the status quo. Changing is the transition process from the old state to a new state. Refreezing is cementing the new changes in place, creating a new state of equilibrium. In addition, Lewin noted the presence of driving and restraining forces in relation to change (1951). Driving forces are those forces that support change, and restraining forces are barriers that inhibit the acceptance of change. Although his simple typology (classification) has been criticized since the 1990s as being inadequate to accommodate the rapid pace of change in the current environment, it has shaped the landscape of change management theories and practices. It has provided the backdrop against which future

change management theories are reflected and measured. As the pace of technological and organizational change quickened in the last three decades of the twentieth century, a variety of conceptual models appeared. Among these might be termed the “organic models,” “the organizational stage models,” and the “interactionist models.” These models have likely reflected the disciplinary background of their proponents.

Organic Models

An emerging approach uses natural phenomena as metaphors for understanding how organizational change takes place. This approach has come in various forms, but it is based on how decay, growth, and adaptation take place in the physical and biological worlds. This approach can be seen in the work of Erich Jantsch, who examined the connection between biological concepts and their link to socio-cultural levels (1980). A related approach was used by Margaret Wheatley (1992), Lawrence G. Hrebiniak and William F. Joyce, which applied variations of evolutionary concepts to organizational life (1985). What have these models contributed? First, they have emphasized the complexity of change processes and the impact of interrelated systems. Second, they have served as metaphors or images to help leaders approach change management processes. For example, to entertain the notion that an organization or an industry might have a self-organizing capacity or to understand how cellular matter transforms itself by activities at the outer boundaries of the cell structure might influence how a leader approaches the change management process within an organization. This approach has also led to the introduction of complexity theory, as illustrated by Ralph D. Stacy (1995). Complexity theory emphasizes an open systems approach to thinking and focuses on the complexity of interaction between system components.

Organizational Stage Models

Change management has also been linked to organizational life-cycle models (Van De Ven & Poole, 1990). Organizational life-cycle models focus on

whether products and services are toward the beginning or end of the development cycle—close to discovery and introduction or closer to maturity and obsolescence. These models were exemplified by organizational behavior theorists in the late 1960s using organizational phase concepts, such as that developed by Larry Greiner (1967). Greiner's research was focused on distinguishing between successful and unsuccessful responses to change and identifying different phases that an organization goes through depending on whether the change is being reacted to or initiated by leaders. The selection of change management strategies and approaches may also be determined by an organization's position on the growth or decline curve, as noted previously. Additionally, organizational stage models have focused on the internal capacity of the organization to transform itself. Attention is directed to the interpersonal, group, and organizational processes needed to create adaptive responses in the organization. External environmental forces are taken into account but less so than in interactionist models.

Interactionist Models

This model focuses on the interaction between the environment and the organization. Change management strategies are selected on the basis of the particular competitive challenges faced, the specific technological innovations being introduced or phased out, and the nature of the strategic choices being considered. These are exemplified in the readings put together by organizational behaviorists Michael Tushman and Philip Anderson (1997). Change management strategies may vary depending on the variables identified. Paul Strebler, an organizational management theorist, outlines different strategies depending on the nature of the change and the internal resources available to the organization. For example, an organization facing an anticipated large-scale technological change but having a nonsupportive employee base might select a strategy of restructuring instead of an alternative approach such as grassroots experimentation, those experiments undertaken at the lowest staff levels within organizations. Strebler contends that the key variables are the

strength and intensity of the change forces (such as external environmental or technological forces) and the state of support or resistance within the organization (1997).

CHARACTERIZING CHANGE FORCES

As change management theories have evolved, greater emphasis has been placed on an analysis and characterization of change forces themselves. Understanding the nature of change forces faced influences the approach taken to manage change from a leadership perspective. Theorists and practitioners have used three approaches to create a change force map: a technical versus adaptive approach, a systems approach, and an incremental versus discontinuous changes approach.

Technical versus Adaptive Approach

In this approach, organizational theorists Ron Heifetz and Donald Laurie draw a distinction between problems that are technical and changes that are adaptive (1997). Technical problems in organizations may be solved by more traditional leadership approaches. An example of a technical problem is the need of an organization to design a new product delivery system for an existing product. An example of an adaptive problem is the need to design a completely new product because consumer needs have changed. Different leadership approaches may be called for in each situation. An interesting observation made by Heifetz and Laurie is that in most organizations, people look to leaders to be more technical problem solvers.

Systems Approach

This approach has been drawn from the work of organizational behavior and systems thinkers Chris Argyris and Peter Senge. Argyris focused on the difference between single- and double-loop learning (1994). Single-loop learning refers to efforts aimed more at solving a specific problem rather than at understanding the root causes and contexts for what created the problems in the first place. The latter is

more characteristic of double-loop learning, which aims at changing the system so similar problems don't occur in the future. Senge developed broad organizational learning strategies and the explanation of archetypal patterns in organizations (1990). In this approach the distinction is not so much between technical and adaptive change forces as between the degree of new learning required to approach the change force and the interconnection of organizational problems and solutions. Although these terms originated with the development of organizational learning and systems thinking, they are relevant to the management of change. Whereas the technical-versus-adaptive approach focuses on the nature of the challenge faced, the systems approach focuses on the interdependency of all organizational actions.

Incremental versus Discontinuous Approach

This approach focuses on the pace and intensity of changes and the resulting impact on organizations. Every organization faces some kind of change management issue. A static organization will soon be a dead organization. However, there is a fundamental difference between change management strategies utilized when an organization is fine-tuning practices to deal with smaller, incremental changes and having to respond to change forces that have a short but intense duration. The pace of change accelerated exponentially in the last half of the twentieth century. This is why critics have suggested that Lewin's three-stage model is no longer adequate to deal with contemporary issues, namely because there is no time for a refreezing process to occur. Organizations, faced with discontinuous change, are in a permanent state of transition.

RESOURCES AND MODELS

Two types of resources are generally available to leaders. The first type is numerous case studies (Tushman & Anderson 1997; Jick & Peiperl 2003). These case studies allow people to observe the actual change management issues either facing or having been faced by numerous organizations. The

second type of resource focuses on organizational change management processes and models. This type of resource is typified by the work of organizational management and behavior theorists John Kotter (1996), Jay Conger, Gretchen Spreitzer, and Ed Lawler (1996) and by Conger, Spreitzer, and Lawler (1999).

Practical change management models cluster in three general areas: general adaptation and learning, transitional management skills, and organizational diagnosis and cultural development models.

The *general adaptation and learning model* focuses on increasing the general adaptation and response capabilities of individuals within organizations (Senge, 1990; Tichy & Devanna, 1986). The theory behind this model is that change occurs at such a rapid rate and in such unpredictable ways that individuals simply have to acquire the ability to be more agile in both spotting key changes and responding quickly and appropriately to these changes. When individuals master this ability, the specific nature of the changes faced is less critical.

The *transitional management skills model* focuses on how leaders may help their organizations deal with transitions (Bridges, 1991; Beckhard & Harris, 1987). In many respects this is an interpersonal relationship model. The focus is on facilitating individuals through the adjustment processes that change inflicts. Models also focus on changing power and political relationships during change processes (Oshry, 2003). In some ways the criticism directed at Lewin might also be directed at practitioners and theorists of this model because a turbulent environment may leave people in a constant state of transition. However, even in a turbulent environment, transitional management skills may be valuable.

The *organizational diagnosis and cultural development model* is represented by the work of Kotter, Tushman, and Nadler. In this model organizational leaders assess the fit between such elements as organizational structure, nature of the technology, composition of the workforce, communication systems, and organizational policies and procedures. The key to successful change management under this model is to identify incongruities and points of tension

between aspects of organization design. Those incongruities can emerge either as internal conflicts that will impede successful adaptation or as conflicts between the current state of alignment and the changes required from the external environment.

These three models may be used in combination with each other. However, organizations have finite resources to assist them in managing change, and the choice of one model or another will influence the end results. Organizational outcomes will vary depending on the model or models selected.

CHANGE MANAGEMENT LEADERSHIP SKILLS

An abundance of material is available on the skills of leaders. What student of management has not been exposed to profiles of individuals such as former General Electric CEO Jack Welch, Southwest Airlines co-founder Herb Kelleher, civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr., and countless other women and men in leadership positions? The personal change management skills of individual leaders are an important variable in the change management process. These skills may include building a vision, networking, communicating powerfully, identifying and dealing with differences, creating leverage to motivate people, and conceptualizing alternative strategic paths.

Change management is a complex process. The future of many organizations in today's environment will depend on the organizations' ability to recognize change forces and respond adaptively to opportunities. The leading organizations will likely be the ones that can capture the knowledge that they gain from addressing each successive change and anticipating what different approaches might be required in the future.

—David W. Frantz

See also Bureaucracy; Conflict; Deep Change; Transformational and Visionary Leadership

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CHARISMA

Charisma is the special quality some people possess that allows them to relate to and inspire others at a deep emotional level. Persons possessing charisma tend to be attractive to others, to be influential and inspirational, and to be characterized as brilliant and effective communicators. Although charisma has been widely discussed in sociology, psychology, political science, communication, and other disciplines, it is a very elusive construct, and has been defined in a number of ways. Currently, there is no generally agreed-on definition of charisma.

Although there are many definitions of charisma, people tend to agree on famous historical figures who possessed charisma, and on those who did not. Yet just as definitions of charisma differ, some of these well-known charismatic figures do not appear to have much in common—except for the great impact they have had on others. For example, commonly mentioned charismatic heads of state include India's Mohandas Gandhi; Israel's Golda Meir, the U.S. presidents Franklin Delano Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy, and Ronald Reagan; Great Britain's Winston Churchill; and China's Mao Zedong. The list also includes infamous individuals such as Germany's Adolf Hitler, Russia's Rasputin, the terrorist leader Osama bin Laden, and leaders of various cults and religious movements, such as Jim Jones, the instigator of the 1978 mass suicide at Jonestown, Guyana.

Originally used in a religious context, charisma can mean “a divine gift of grace,” and the term has connections to so-called charismatic religious movements. However, the majority of researchers of charisma do not believe that it is an inherited or inborn quality. Rather, charisma is believed to be a constellation of personal characteristics that enable an individual to have impact on others by inspiring them, influencing them, and affecting their feelings, emotions, and behaviors. Since its beginning, charisma has been closely associated with certain types of leaders.

THEORIES OF CHARISMA

The earliest mention of charisma occurs in religious writings. Religious prophets and leaders such as

Moses, Buddha, Jesus, and Mohammed were believed to possess special characteristics that captivated and inspired followers. Most often, these characteristics included divine or magical powers, including the power to heal, perform other miracles, and foresee the future.

Social-science interest in charisma began when the German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920) examined what he termed “charismatic authority.” For Weber, charismatic individuals possess an extraordinary quality that captivates others, but it is in the relationship between the leader's qualities and the followers' devotion to the leader and belief in the leader's cause that charisma lies. This notion that the leader-follower relationship is the key to charisma permeates many of the modern theories of charismatic leadership. Weber also believed that the leadership context was important, with charismatic leaders more likely to emerge during times of crisis and social upheaval.

The psychoanalytic theory of charisma also tends to emphasize the role of the follower in charisma and charismatic leadership. According to the psychoanalytic theory, followers idolize a chosen individual in much the same way that a young child idolizes a parent, imbuing the charismatic individual with great qualities and projecting their own needs onto an individual whom they perceive as able to satisfy those needs. In addition, however, psychoanalytic theorists note certain characteristics that accompany charisma, qualities such as physical attractiveness, an air of mystery, or something such as a physical flaw, a foreign accent, or a striking birthmark that draws attention to the person. According to the psychoanalytic model, the charismatic leader, through the use of authority and capitalizing on the followers' strong identification with the leader, induces the followers' unquestioning devotion and allegiance.

More recent psychological theories of charisma focus primarily on the personal qualities of charismatic individuals (as opposed to charismatic leaders). This approach focuses on the role that emotional communication and social skills play in determining an individual's personal charisma. Charisma is defined as a combination of highly developed communication skills, including skills in

emotional communication, verbal communication, and social role-playing. In these theories, perhaps most important to perceptions of charisma is emotional expressiveness—the ability to convey feelings and emotions accurately and effectively to others. Charismatic individuals use their emotional expressiveness to arouse and inspire others and to spur them to action. It is also this spontaneous emotional expressiveness that causes people to describe charismatic individuals as animated, emotionally charged, and full of life. However, emotional expressiveness is only the most visible component of charisma, for truly charismatic individuals are also skilled at reading the emotions of others and at regulating or controlling their emotional communications (in other words, charismatic persons are skilled emotional actors). For example, when speaking before a crowd of followers, a charismatic leader can successfully read the crowd's reactions and determine if they are accepting or rejecting the message. The charismatic leader can then alter the message, or the emotional tone, in order to manipulate the crowd's reaction. These emotional skills are components of the larger construct of emotional intelligence. In addition to these emotional skills, personal charisma also includes speaking skill (eloquence), the ability to engage others in conversation, knowledge of social rules and customs, and the ability to adopt various important social roles, such as the leadership role. Personal charisma, then, is a constellation of a number of highly developed communication and interpersonal skills.

Although these theories of charisma are different from one another, there are certain common themes: the charismatic individual's ability to attract attention, to communicate effectively, and to affect followers at an emotional level. This ability to attract attention and arouse emotions elicits followers' strong devotion to charismatic leaders.

SIX CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH CHARISMA

Independent of any particular theory of charisma, a review of the empirical research on charisma from its roots to the present day suggests that there are seven

characteristics that are most often associated with charismatic persons. Individuals with charisma are emotionally expressive, enthusiastic, driven, eloquent, visionary, self-confident, and responsive to others.

As mentioned earlier, charismatic individuals use emotional expressiveness to arouse, inspire, or motivate others. Emotional expressiveness is perhaps the most recognizable characteristic of the charismatic person. Research has demonstrated that emotionally expressive persons are evaluated more favorably in initial encounters, that they have more friends and acquaintances than unexpressive individuals, and that they receive more support from others.

Clearly the most successful charismatic leaders are those who are motivated, possess high levels of energy, and are committed to a cause. Enthusiasm and drive work together with the charismatic leader's emotional expressiveness to spur followers to action and keep them loyal.

Almost without exception, charismatic individuals are effective verbal communicators. In addition to being eloquent, gifted speakers, people with charisma are good conversationalists—they are able to initiate conversations with strangers, make meaningful contributions to discussions, and keep the conversation going.

Charismatic leaders are most often described as visionary, but this aspect of charisma is most effective when combined with some of the other characteristics. For example, a charismatic individual may have a clear vision of where he or she wants to go, but without the ability to articulate that vision (eloquence) and the ability to infuse it with emotion and energy (emotional expressiveness; enthusiasm), the charismatic leader will not be able to convey the vision to followers appropriately and effectively.

Charismatic individuals are self-confident. This is likely a result of being skilled communicators and being effective and influential in social situations, qualities that lead to a form of social competence, or social intelligence, that allows the charismatic individual to feel confident and efficacious in a variety of social situations.

Finally, charismatic individuals are responsive to others. Because they are skilled emotional communicators, charismatic persons can easily read the feel-



Charisma and *Tsav* in a West African Society

Charisma is a difficult concept to apply to real people in real world situations. It become even murkier when we attempt to use in non-Western cultures. The following text discusses the concept of *tsav* in the Tiv society of Nigeria. *Tsav* involves some of the elements commonly lumped under charisma but also some different ones.

None of the literature translates the word *tsav*. We find that we can best explain *tsav* to non-Tiv speakers by examining it in connection with the range of meaning of four English words, none of which is alone an adequate translation: (1) witchcraft substance, (2) power, (3) talent, and (4) ability.

Tsav is a substance which grows on the heart of human beings and of some animals. Akiga says that it looks like the liver, only much smaller, and that it is of two kinds: one kind which is rounded at the edges and is the good kind, and the other which is notched at the edges and is the bad kind, made bad by a diet of human flesh. Our informants add that *tsav* may be of three colours: red, black, and white (the worst shows a mixture of colours); and that *tsav* grows claws in the last stages of degradation.

Tsav can be either good or bad. East stressed the fact that *tsav* itself is of a neutral character, because there is no real distinction between good and bad *tsav*, save these surface characteristics of the substance itself. We would agree that *tsav* encompasses both good and bad, but to say that it is neutral is misleading. *Tsav* is a positive not a neutral force, but it is a supra-moral one.

Tsav may thus be regarded as a witchcraft substance, since it is a physical attribute of the human body which endows its possessor with certain potentialities. As is usually the case where the potentiality for witchcraft is believed to adhere to such a substance, its possessor may be unaware of it and (as in the case of great physical strength) it may lend his actions a greater force than he consciously intended. The phrase is an inadequate translation mainly because, although no one not

possessed of the substance can become a witch, the potentialities given by the substance *tsav* stretch far beyond the field of witchcraft.

Power, particularly personal power (charisma), is a good translation of some aspects of *tsav*. In some of its aspects *tsav* is very like *mana* or *wakanda*. That aspect of personality which enables a man to dominate a situation, to turn events the way he wishes them to go, to command obedience and attract loyalty—be it through charm, persuasion, bullying, or whatever means—is evidence of *tsav*. *Tsav* then gives power over other people and, in a furiously egalitarian society like that of the Tiv, such power sets a man apart; it is distrusted, for Tiv believe firmly that no one can rise above his fellows except at their expense. Furthermore, *tsav* in this sense of power can be kept at bay only by greater *tsav*. Thus all old people, by definition, have *tsav*; if they did not, they would have succumbed to the *tsav* of someone else at an earlier age.

Tsav means talent. Any man who is particularly good with his hands, or who can perform any technological process better than the average man, has *tsav*. His possession of *tsav* is proved by his talent for carving, weaving, farming, or lovemaking. Jealousy thus often leads to accusations of *tsav*. Talent is something which is present in some people at birth, but must be developed: so with *tsav*. It may develop slowly, as the man's personality develops, without apparent or sudden loss to his neighbours. But it may be developed by a diet of human flesh, which causes the substance *tsav* to grow with abnormal rapidity and thus to form serrated edges or claws. Taken as a parable, this belief refers to people of small talent who get ahead by misuse of the substance of others; there are, of course, other levels at which interpretations can be made.

The word ability in English comes nearer than either talent or power, for it tends to imply both. There are also obsolescent meanings of the word ability referring to wealth or affluence which should be recalled here. For Tiv, to have *tsav*

Source: Bohannon, Laura, & Bohannon, Paul. (1953). *The Tiv of Central Nigeria*. London: International African Institute, pp. 84–85.

ings, emotions, and attitudes of others. It is this ability to be responsive to followers' needs and desires that helps form the strong bond between charismatic leaders and followers.

CHARISMA AND SOCIAL EFFECTIVENESS

As might be expected, because of their emotional expressiveness, their high levels of energy, their

eloquence, and their social self-confidence, charismatic individuals tend to make very positive first impressions. Moreover, charismatic individuals tend to be judged more physically attractive than their noncharismatic counterparts, not so much because of any static physical characteristics of beauty but because their high levels of energy and emotional expressiveness create a sort of dynamic attractiveness.

means to have ability in all these senses: to have talent, leadership, and affluence. Such a "man of ability" has many wives and children, large farms which provide him with large harvest; he attracts many people; game falls into his nets and fish into his traps; through his power (given by tsav) of manipulating kombo he can promote the health and fertility of those under his protection and through his tsav he can ward off the attacks of their enemies. The meanness, selfishness, or misuse of his ability would, however, be immediately fought by tsav—be it the combined tsav of the tiv or that of some single individual. The duration and degree of his prosperity and ability would then demonstrate his tsav to be the greater.

Above all, tsav is mystically dangerous (bo), and this aspect is undoubtedly its most vivid one. Tsav is witchcraft substance, though possession of tsav does not necessarily indicate a witch. Only a man with tsav can bewitch (tambe) another; only a man with tsav can send evil omens, including dreams (both are called mnyam); only a man with tsav can make poisons effective to kill a man. Tsav renders both good and evil effective. That tsav will be used for evil purpose—at least sometimes—is confirmed by Tiv beliefs in human nature and human relationships. In itself, tsav merely endows a man with great potentialities; but it is the man himself who directs and controls these potentialities. In Tiv belief any sane man chooses to benefit "his own"; a good man extends the connotation of "his own" through a wide range of kinsmen. Nevertheless, every benefit to "his own" is matched by someone's loss, and even "his own" are never sure that sometime it might not be theirs. A man of probity may never have taken anything from his kith and kin. Yet a man of ability has more wealth than his neighbours and more influence than his peers. One cannot make something out of nothing; he must have got this somewhere; therefore, he did get it from his kith and kin, if not by daylight then "by night," that is, by witchcraft.

In addition to the charismatic person's personal appeal, there is some research evidence that charismatic individuals appear more credible. For example, in studies of ability to successfully deceive, it was found that charismatic individuals tended to be judged as more honest or credible, regardless of whether they were lying or telling the truth. Further analyses suggested that charismatic individuals' verbal fluency, emotional expressiveness, and other-

oriented behavior, such as greater eye contact, outward gestures focused toward the audience, and the use of inclusive pronouns ("we," "our"), coupled with an absence of stereotypic nervous cues (for example, head scratching, shifting posture and eyes), led to their being judged more credible and honest.

As one might imagine, charismatic individuals are unlikely to characterize themselves as lonely, shy, or socially anxious. Charismatic individuals tend to have large social networks, to be successful in school and in work, and to describe their social lives and lives in general as satisfying. There is also some evidence that charismatic individuals are better able to cope with the stresses of everyday life because they can more easily rely on their large, supportive network of friends to help them deal with stress and challenges.

CHARISMA AND LEADERSHIP

Charisma is obviously a core component of both charismatic and transformational leadership theories, as well as being implicated in other leadership theories. It is important to note, however, that personal charisma does not guarantee that one will be capable of charismatic leadership.

Most theories of charismatic leadership view it as an interaction between the leader's personal charisma, the followers' reactions to the charismatic leader, and situational characteristics. The followers' relationship to the leader is also important; when all these elements interact well, then charismatic leadership can develop. Specifically, to be successful, the charismatic leader needs to have loyal and devoted followers, but certain situational characteristics, such as a time of crisis or situational stagnation (a situation that is ripe for change), tend to be more conducive to charismatic leadership.

Very little research has been done on the possibility of increasing personal charisma, despite the fact that there is an entire industry devoted to increasing the appeal and charisma of political leaders (and just about anyone else). Theoretically it should be possible to train a person to be more charismatic, given that many of the components of charisma, such as communication skills, self-confidence, and appear-

Charisma becomes the undoing of leaders. It makes them inflexible, convinced of their own infallibility, unable to change.

—Peter F. Drucker

ing enthusiastic, can be developed. The success of certain leadership programs is likely due to the fact that the training emphasizes developing communication and interactional skills.

A dissertation project conducted at the University of California, Riverside, focused on improving participants' verbal and nonverbal communication skills as a means of increasing personal charisma. Ratings of the participants made before and after their training suggested that trained individuals were more animated, more influential and persuasive, and more effective communicators following the training session. In addition, trained participants reported greater social self-confidence and reported receiving positive feedback from family and friends following their training.

THE FUTURE

The concept of charisma draws great popular attention. People are captivated by the notion of gifted, charismatic individuals who can arouse and inspire followers. Yet, charisma has been largely neglected as a serious topic of study by social scientists. Charisma, as opposed to charismatic leadership, has been both understudied and difficult to define. The most promising line of research has focused on the common, core characteristics possessed by persons identified as charismatic, particularly elements such as emotional expressiveness, communication skills, and an air of self-confidence. However, a great deal more work needs to be done before charisma is understood to the same degree as other personal qualities that are commonly associated with leadership.

—Ronald E. Riggio

See also Charismatic Theory

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CHARISMATIC THEORY

Certain leaders, such as Winston Churchill, Mohandas Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, inspired their followers to throw heart and soul into creating a better world. Other leaders led their followers down paths of destruction and disaster—perhaps the most notable being Adolf Hitler. Whatever history's judgment on their goals and the outcome of their efforts, these leaders all share the quality of charisma. Defined as a special power to attract and inspire followers through a compelling vision and perceptions of extraordinary capabilities, the phenomenon of

charisma is based in followers' perceptions, as described below.

The German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920) was the first to apply the adjective *charismatic* to leaders. He posited three forms of authority in society (the traditional, the rational-legal, and the charismatic), with charismatic authority being based on people's collective perception that a given individual is extraordinary and therefore worthy of leading. In contrast to leaders whose authority derives from tradition or rules or elections, leaders whose authority derives from charisma are "set apart from ordinary men and . . . treated as endowed with . . . exceptional powers and qualities . . . [which] are not accessible to the ordinary person but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary" (Weber 1947, 358–359).

While Weber did not give a detailed explanation of the behaviors associated with this form of leadership, his writings do provide us with elements of the character and the course of charismatic leadership. Weber describes the condition under which it typically arises (distress), one requirement for its maintenance (success), its likely outcome over time (institutionalization), and some of the means by which charismatic leaders exercise their authority (powers of vision, speech, heroism). Because of Weber's sociological perspective, however, he largely overlooked the issues of personal attributes and relational dynamics between the leader and followers. Only later in the twentieth century did organizational theorists turn their attention to those particular gaps in our understanding.

THE DISTINGUISHING BEHAVIORS OF CHARISMATIC LEADERS

Most social psychological theories consider leadership to be a by-product of the interaction between members of a group. As members work together to attain group objectives, they begin to realize their status in the group as either a leader or a follower. This realization is based on observations of their relative influence within a group. The individual who exerts maximum influence is perceived to be playing the leadership role. That leadership is affirmed by group members' continuing interactions with and

deference to that person. In other words, leadership qualities are attributed to an individual on the basis of his or her influence.

Similarly, followers characterize a leader as either charismatic or not charismatic on the basis of his or her behavior. But what are the behavioral components responsible for such an attribution? What attributes are charismatic and what attributes are not? A simple process model of leadership allows us to highlight the distinctions.

To learn the distinguishing behaviors of charismatic leaders, we can examine how leaders approach and solve a problem. In the initial stage, the leader must evaluate the existing situation or status quo critically. Deficiencies in the status quo or poorly exploited opportunities in the environment lead to formulation of future goals. Before devising those goals, however, the leader must assess what resources are available and what constraints he or she faces. In addition, the leader must assess the inclinations, the abilities, the needs, and the level of satisfaction experienced by his or her followers. Having completed this evaluation, the leader formulates the goals. Finally, in stage three, the leader demonstrates how the goals can be achieved. As leaders move through these three stages, we can identify behavioral components unique to charismatic leaders.

Stage One: Sensitivity to the Environmental Context

We can distinguish charismatic leaders from non-charismatic leaders in stage one by their sensitivity to environmental constraints and by their heightened sensitivity to deficiencies and poorly exploited opportunities in the status quo. For this reason, we find that entrepreneurs are often charismatic leaders. Entrepreneurs are very critical of the status quo. They tend to be highly sensitive to the social and physical environments in which they operate. Charismatic leaders also tend to be highly sensitive to the abilities and the emotional needs of their followers—who are the most important resource for attaining the leaders' goals. This is especially true of leaders of social movements, such as Gandhi, Martin Luther King, and César Chávez. A non-charismatic leader is less likely to pay a great deal of attention to the short-

comings in their environment and to see these as platforms for action.

In the business context, a charismatic leader's increased sensitivity to deficiencies in the environment lets him or her perceive strategic opportunities. For example, a charismatic entrepreneur can see the retail potential of the Internet, as did Jeff Bezos, the founder of Amazon.com, the online bookstore that grew into an online department store. The charismatic business leader may also recognize internal organizational deficiencies and advocate radical internal change. During periods of relative tranquility, charismatic leaders often foster a need for change by actually creating the deficiencies or exaggerating existing minor ones. A non-charismatic leader, by comparison, is more likely to accept and work within the status quo—making improvements but not fundamentally challenging the system.

Because of their emphasis on deficiencies in the system and their high levels of intolerance for them, charismatic leaders always act as agents of innovative and radical change. The attribution of charisma is dependent not on the outcome of change but simply on the fact that the leader demands that action be taken to bring about that change.

Stage Two: The Future Vision

After assessing the environment, a leader will formulate goals for achieving the organization's objectives. Charismatic leaders can be distinguished from others by the nature of these goals and by the manner in which they articulate them. For example, charismatic leaders tend to aim for an idealized future. In stage two, it is their formulation of that idealized future vision, their ability to evoke it in the imagination of their followers, that sets them apart from other leaders. Steven Jobs, founder of Apple Computer, and Fred Smith, founder of Federal Express, are two examples of charismatic leaders who articulated compelling visions of a future filled with opportunity.

The more idealized or utopian the future goal advocated by the leader, the greater the discrepancy with the status quo, and the greater the discrepancy between the goal and the status quo, the more likely

followers are to attribute the leader with extraordinary vision. Moreover, by presenting a very discrepant and idealized goal to followers, a leader provides a sense of challenge and a motivating force for change. Psychologists have suggested that within a certain latitude of acceptance, the greater the discrepancy between reality and the goal, the greater the pressure on followers to shed their resistance and accept the advocated change. Since the idealized goal promises to meet followers' hopes and aspirations, it tends to be within this latitude of acceptance in spite of its extreme discrepancy. Leaders become charismatic as they succeed in winning followers' support for the advocated vision. They are charismatic when their vision is an idealized embodiment of a perspective shared by followers.

It is the fact that they can articulate a shared vision with the potential for satisfying followers' needs that make charismatic leaders so attractive. Furthermore, the fact that the vision is idealized (and therefore discrepant) makes the leader who champions it an admirable person in the eyes of the followers, one deserving of respect and worthy of identification and imitation.

To be charismatic, leaders not only need to have visions and plans for achieving them, they must also be able to articulate their visions and plans effectively so as to influence their followers. Here articulation involves two separate processes: articulation of the context and articulation of the leader's motivation for leading. Articulating the context involves explaining the nature of the status quo and its shortcomings, describing the vision of the future, and explaining how, when realized, the new reality will have eliminated existing deficiencies and fulfilled the hopes of followers. Finally, articulating the context means articulating the leader's plans for realizing the vision.

In articulating the context, the charismatic leader is careful to emphasize only the positive features of the future vision and only the negative features of the current status quo. The status quo is usually presented as unacceptable, while the vision is presented in clear, specific terms as the most attractive alternative and, though deeply challenging, attainable. The charismatic leader attempts to create among follow-

ers disenchantment or discontentment with the status quo, a strong identification with future goals, and a compelling desire to be led in the direction of the goal in spite of obstacles.

In articulating their motivation for leading, charismatic leaders are highly expressive. They convey strong conviction, emotions, self-confidence when communicating. They use colorful phrases and descriptions along with engaging gestures. As masters of rhetoric, charismatic leaders choose words that convey assertiveness, confidence, expertise, and concern for followers' needs. These same qualities may also be expressed through their dress (for example, Gandhi's dhoti, or loincloth, which conveyed simplicity and unity with the common people of India), their appearance, and their body language. Charismatic leaders' use of rhetoric, their high energy, persistence, unconventional and risky behavior, heroic deeds, and personal sacrifices all serve to articulate their high motivation and enthusiasm, which then become contagious among their followers.

Stage Three: Achieving the Vision

In the final stage of the leadership process, an effective leader inspires followers with confidence in his or her abilities and clearly demonstrates the tactics and behaviors required to achieve the shared goal. The charismatic leader does this by building trust through personal example and risk taking, and through unconventional or innovative expertise (for example, Steven Jobs's success with the personal computer in an era dominated by mainframe computers). It is critical that followers trust the leader's vision, otherwise they will not follow. Generally, leaders are perceived as trustworthy when they advocate their position in a disinterested manner and demonstrate a concern for followers' needs. However, in order to be charismatic, leaders must make these qualities appear extraordinary. They must transform their concern for followers' needs into a total dedication; they must engage in exemplary acts that are perceived as involving great personal risk—for example, the possible loss of personal finances, the possibility of being fired or (in a political context) jailed, and the potential loss of formal or infor-

mal status, power, authority, and credibility. The higher the manifest personal cost or sacrifice for the common goal, the greater is the trustworthiness of a leader. The more leaders are able to demonstrate that they are indefatigable workers prepared to champion the shared vision regardless of cost to themselves, the more they are perceived as charismatic.

Finally, charismatic leaders must appear to be knowledgeable and experts in their areas of influence. Some degree of demonstrated expertise, as reflected in successes in the past, may be a necessary condition for the attribution of charisma. For example, Steven Jobs's success with the Apple I personal computer and Lee Iacocca's responsibility for the Ford Mustang made them both more credible with employees at Apple Computer and Chrysler Corporation, respectively. First, charismatic leaders use their expertise to demonstrate the inadequacy of the traditional technology, rules, and regulations of the status quo. Then they use their expertise to devise effective but unconventional strategies and plans of action. We can say that leaders are perceived as charismatic when they expertly transcend the existing order through unconventional or countercultural means. For instance, Gandhi chose to use nonviolent actions to lead his revolution in sharp contrast to the conventions of a revolution using combat.

As hinted at above, the attribution of charisma to leaders also depends on followers' perceptions of their leaders as revolutionary or countercultural. The countercultural qualities of leaders are partly manifested in their discrepant idealized visions. But more important, charismatic leaders adopt unconventional, countercultural, and therefore innovative plans and strategies for achieving desired changes, and their exemplary acts of heroism involving personal risks or self-sacrifice are novel and unconventional. Their uncommon behavior, when successful, evokes in their followers emotional responses of surprise and admiration—and the attribution of charisma.

THE CHARISMA CONSTELLATION

Charismatic leadership is not a mysterious force. It is the product of a distinct collection of behaviors and activities on the part of the leader. While we have

identified many of the critical dimensions that distinguish this remarkable form of leadership, it is important to note that charismatic leadership is a constellation of behaviors. In other words, as a leader manifests a growing number of the behaviors described above, the likelihood of an attribution of charisma increases. Thus, a leader who is only skillful at detecting deficiencies in the status quo is less likely to be seen as charismatic than one who not only detects deficiencies but also formulates future visions, articulates them, and devises unconventional means for achieving them.

Besides the total number of manifested behavioral components, leaders may differ in the intensity or frequency (or both) with which they exhibit a given behavioral component. The greater the intensity or frequency of a behavior, the more likely it is to reflect charisma. Finally, certain behaviors are critical and effective sources of charisma in some organizational or cultural contexts, but not in others. For example, in some contexts, unconventionality may be less valued as an attribute of charisma than articulation skills, while in other contexts it may be more valued. For example, in highly individualistic organizations or societies, unconventionality might be more the norm and so would be less appealing. The constellation of behaviors and their relative importance as determinants of charisma will differ from one organization to another and from one culture to another.

—Jay A. Conger

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CHARLEMAGNE (742–814)

First emperor of the Holy Roman Empire

Charlemagne (Charles the Great) is considered by many to be the “father of Europe.” His political, military and cultural leadership decisively reshaped the early medieval West, uniting most of Western Christendom, contributing to the preservation of the classical Latin heritage of learning, and laying the foundations for political developments for centuries to come. He must be counted among the most influential leaders in European history.

CHARLEMAGNE’S CAREER

Charles was the elder son of Pepin the Short, son of the Charles Martel who had famously defeated an Arab raid at Poitiers in 732. When Charles was born, Pepin held the position of Mayor of the Palace to the last Merovingian king, Childeric III. That real power rested with the descendants of Charles Martel was recognized by Pope Stephen III in 754 at Pepin’s request, and the Carolingians (from Carolus, Latin for “Charles”) assumed the full royal dignity. The child Charles and his younger brother Carloman accompanied their father on a number of military expeditions as they grew up, which served to prove their mettle to Pepin’s followers and to educate them in the ways of ruling.

Pepin died in 768, having arranged for his kingdom to be partitioned between his sons—the Franks did not practice primogeniture in this period. Ideally, the brothers would have cooperated in ruling their parts of the Frankish *regnum*, but Carloman showed signs of fractiousness, and Charles prepared for a struggle by winning the support of powerful friends

and relatives including his mother Bertha, daughter of the count of Laon. Fortunately for Charles and the kingdom, Carloman died in 771 and Charles assumed control of the entire realm.

Charles then embarked on the career of conquest and consolidation that would posthumously earn him the nickname “the Great.” Nearly forty years of campaigning brought large new areas under Frankish rule, with most of the gains coming before about 790, after which time the king engaged more in consolidation and suppression of rebellion than in new offensive actions. Appeals for protection from Pope Adrian led to war with the Lombard kingdom in northern Italy, and the peninsula to just south of Rome came under Frankish rule. Campaigns in the Pyrenees stabilized the frontier with Muslim Spain; it was during the return from one of these that a Basque ambush on the Frankish rearguard took place, an incident that became transformed into a heroic battle against the Moors immortalized in *The Song of Roland*. The conquest of Bavaria brought the Franks into contact with the Avars along the upper Danube. But the crown jewel in Charlemagne’s conquests was Saxony, a pagan territory in northern Germany that fell to persistent campaigning, including rare winter operations, and was finally pacified after Charlemagne’s forces subdued three major revolts. The conquests of Bavaria and Saxony together added significantly to the world of Roman-influenced Latin Christianity; it was during this period that the Catholic Church first became established in Germany. Charlemagne’s efforts were crowned, quite literally, on Christmas Day of 800 when Pope Leo III bestowed the title of Emperor of the Romans on him. Even the Byzantines, to whom that title had previously been reserved, had to acknowledge Charlemagne’s position as emperor in the West, for by this time he ruled virtually all western Europe outside Iberia and the British Isles. He died in January 814, leaving his Empire intact to his only son Louis.

CHARLEMAGNE AS A POLITICAL AND MILITARY LEADER

Charlemagne’s qualities as a leader may usefully be examined in two areas: his role as a political and mil-

itary leader (politics and military action being virtually inseparable in his time, especially for a secular king); and his role as a cultural leader.

To evaluate Charlemagne as a political and military leader, it is necessary to understand the context within which he operated. Since the height of the Roman Empire, the economy of western Europe had become underdeveloped and currency was in short supply. Communications were slow and difficult. Literacy was at a low ebb. Political power in these circumstances had become both fragmented and privatized—military power, especially, was concentrated in the personal retinues of important landowners, followings that constituted essentially private armies, though the king was recognized to have some call on the forces of his magnates. Building and holding together a large empire within the constraints these conditions imposed was a difficult task, and it speaks to Charlemagne's will and skill that he was able to consolidate the disparate factions.

He drew on a number of tools in forging a coherent kingdom. First, he looked the part, no small matter in an age when visual symbolism was crucial to the projection of a convincing image of power. He was tall (over six feet), well-built, and handsome, and is said to have taken good care of himself. Charlemagne's deliberate echoing of the Roman empire in his persona—as in the use of Roman titles at court and in official positions or through his portrayal on coinage—was imitated in the Latin of his biographers and court writers, creating a vivid but misleading picture of pervasive *Romanitas* that sometimes obscures to later eyes the less-than-Roman reality below.

Projecting the image and reality of his personal power beyond the confines of the royal court required that itineration be another of his tools of leadership. Charlemagne and his court traveled constantly to cement the personal relationships that were crucial to the political unity and stability of the kingdom, to impose his will directly on recalcitrant subjects, and not incidentally to make provisioning the court easier—moving people to the food gathered at scattered royal estates was easier than trying to transport food to the court. So despite his founding of a capital city at Aachen, Charlemagne ruled from

horseback. And *ruled* may, in this context, convey too strong a sense of the king's power. Given the independent military force available to powerful men, politics for Charlemagne was as much or more about persuasion and the creation of a common set of interests among the Frankish ruling class as it was about command and automatically obeyed authority. Although fear was one of the ways in which Charlemagne could persuade, friendship and generosity formed indispensable elements of the king's political calculus. Generosity took two major forms. One was the distribution of the spoils of war, which encouraged (though it did not determine) offensive campaigns—the Frankish empire was always going to be easier to build than to maintain in stasis for this reason. (But slow communications over a large empire eventually limited the scope of possible offensive action.) The other was rewarding his supporters and officials with land, which (unlike money) was in abundant supply. Finally, to make up for the lack of a bureaucracy created by the shortages of literate men and money, Charlemagne relied on the church as the only real source of administrative continuity and literacy in the Frankish realm. Here too friendship and cooperation were the keynotes, as Charlemagne's role as protector of the church clearly benefited both sides, though the king was apt at times to be a bit more imperious with church leaders, whose weapons for resisting the royal will were moral rather than military, than with his magnates. All these tools were harnessed to what must have been a clear idea of what he wanted to accomplish, though exactly how that idea was formulated in the king's mind is impossible to say, given the paucity and character of the sources we have for his life and thought and the dangers of teleology and anachronism that bedevil post hoc interpretation of what he did accomplish.

Thus, the king's physical presence, tirelessness, personal and political persuasiveness, and ability to improvise systems of administration from limited resources allowed him to create a large empire. Use of military force was central to this process, and the same qualities that made Charlemagne a successful political leader also contributed to his military victories. For Charlemagne seems not to have been a



Selection from Einhard's *The Life of Charlemagne*

Saxon War

At the conclusion of this struggle, the Saxon war, that seems to have been only laid aside for the time, was taken up again. No war ever undertaken by the Frank nation was carried on with such persistence and bitterness, or cost so much labor, because the Saxons, like almost all the tribes of Germany, were a fierce people, given to the worship of devils, and hostile to our religion, and did not consider it dishonorable to transgress and violate all law, human and divine. Then there were peculiar circumstances that tended to cause a breach of peace every day. Except in a few places, where large forests or mountain ridges intervened and made the bounds certain, the line between ourselves and the Saxons passed almost in its whole extent through an open country, so that there was no end to the murders, thefts and arsons on both sides. In this way the Franks became so embittered that they at last resolved to make reprisals no longer, but to come to open war with the Saxons [772]. Accordingly war was begun against them, and was waged for thirty-three successive years with great fury; more, however, to the disadvantage of the Saxons than of the Franks. It could doubtless have been brought to an end sooner, had it not been for the faithlessness of the Saxons. It is hard to say how often they were conquered, and, humbly submitting to the King, promised to do what was enjoined upon them, without hesitation the required hostages, gave and received the officers sent them from the King. They were sometimes so much weakened and reduced that they promised to renounce the worship of devils, and to adopt Christianity, but they were no less ready to violate these terms than prompt to accept them, so that it is impossible to tell which came easier to them to do; scarcely a year passed from the beginning of the war without such changes on their part. But the King did not suffer his high purpose and steadfastness—firm alike in good and evil fortune—to be wearied by any fickleness on their part, or to be turned from the task that he had undertaken, on the contrary, he never allowed their faithless behavior to go unpunished, but either took the

field against them in person, or sent his counts with an army to wreak vengeance and exact righteous satisfaction. At last, after conquering and subduing all who had offered resistance, he took ten thousand of those that lived on the banks of the Elbe, and settled them, with their wives and children, in many different bodies here and there in Gaul and Germany [804]. The war that had lasted so many years was at length ended by their acceding to the terms offered by the King; which were renunciation of their national religious customs and the worship of devils, acceptance of the sacraments of the Christian faith and religion, and union with the Franks to form one people.

Saxon War (continued)

Charles himself fought but two pitched battles in this war, although it was long protracted one on Mount Osning [783], at the place called Detmold, and again on the bank of the river Hase, both in the space of little more than a month. The enemy were so routed and overthrown in these two battles that they never afterwards ventured to take the offensive or to resist the attacks of the King, unless they were protected by a strong position. A great many of the Frank as well as of the Saxon nobility, men occupying the highest posts of honor, perished in this war, which only came to an end after the lapse of thirty-two years [804]. So many and grievous were the wars that were declared against the Franks in the meantime, and skillfully conducted by the King, that one may reasonably question whether his fortitude or his good fortune is to be more admired. The Saxon war began two years [772] before the Italian war [773]; but although it went on without interruption, business elsewhere was not neglected, nor was there any shrinking from other equally arduous contests. The King, who excelled all the princes of his time in wisdom and greatness of soul, did not suffer difficulty to deter him or danger to daunt him from anything that had to be taken up or carried through, for he had trained himself to bear and endure whatever came, without yielding in adversity, or trusting to the deceitful favors of fortune in prosperity.

Source: *Einhard: The Life of Charlemagne*. (1880). Translated by Samuel Epes Turner. New York: Harper & Brothers.

“great captain” in the mold of Alexander, Caesar, or Hannibal, but rather a true heir of Roman-style military expansionism, relying on superior numbers, engineering skill, and sheer determination as against brilliant battlefield exploits. The king showed no lack of bravery, but his armies in fact fought relatively

few pitched battles. Rather, they conducted determined sieges and could often deploy enough men to advance into enemy territory along several axes, stretching and overwhelming the opposition. Clearly, large forces that were willing to stay in the field for many months were a by-product of the king’s politi-

cal achievements in building a loyal and coherent network of supporters among the Frankish leadership class.

The edifice proved fragile in one way. The empire began to suffer from Viking invasions even before the king died, and factionalism increased during his son's reign. When Louis died in 840 the empire split into three warring sections, each led by one of Louis's sons, and disintegrated rapidly after that under combined internal and external stress. Clearly, the fate of the empire is further evidence of the central role that the king's person and personality had played in creating and maintaining it. But some of Charlemagne's administrative techniques, especially the use of land in return for service and royal inspectors, survived in fragmented form as building blocks for the rulers of later ages. Above all, the emotional legacy of a powerful, just ruler and a unified Christendom survived as a political ideal for most of medieval Europe. This emotional legacy was reinforced by Charlemagne's even more lasting achievements as a cultural leader.

CHARLEMAGNE AS A CULTURAL LEADER

Charlemagne seems genuinely to have believed in his duty to rule for the benefit of his subjects, and the intellectual and spiritual welfare of his realm was the beneficiary of his leadership efforts in this direction. He attracted scholars from across Europe to his court, the most prominent being his biographer Einhard and the British monk Alcuin; he promoted church reform as well as supporting missionary activity in conquered lands; he instituted educational reforms, especially at the level of monastic schools, whose copying activities were responsible for the preservation of many classical texts; and his court instituted an important reform in handwriting, as the script of the time was nearly illegible. The Carolingian miniscule script invented at this time was such a model of clarity that it became, through its revival by Renaissance scholars, the basis for modern print typefaces.

Charlemagne's leadership in cultural affairs was perhaps even more striking than in the political and military realms, because he was trained to the latter

but not the former. He learned to read only as an adult and never learned to write, yet took a keen interest in literature, learning, and even Church doctrine. In addition to his native Germanic tongue, he knew Latin and a bit of Greek. Through his personal example and by providing a hospitable environment for scholars he fostered what historians have come to call the Carolingian Renaissance, a crucial episode in the continuity of western culture and in the formation of a western European cultural identity. It was this achievement—given prestige by the extent and immediate influence of his empire—that justifies his reputation as the “father of Europe.”

—Stephen Morillo

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CHILDREN, SOCIALIZATION AND LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT IN

All societies, organizations, and institutions depend for their success and progress largely on their leaders. The study of children and their socialization provides valuable insight into how societies prepare

and nurture individuals to become leaders. Studies of the development of children as leaders throughout their childhood years would be most valuable in identifying characteristics and environments most conducive to producing leaders. However, this would require longitudinal or systematic retrospective studies. Any cursory look at the literature in developmental psychology reveals no such study of children and the socialization of leadership in children. Over the last century however, there have been many studies of child leaders, their characteristics, styles of leadership, and to a much smaller degree environmental antecedents of their leadership. Therefore it is possible to talk about what we know about leadership in children and its development.

At the outset, it is important to mention that the body of literature on leadership in children is disparate and noncohesive, spread as it is over almost a century. Although the study of leadership has been a popular topic, the majority of research has focused on adults.

CHILDHOOD LEADERSHIP AND ITS RELATION TO POPULARITY AND DOMINANCE

Childhood leadership has often been studied as a construct imbedded in other concepts, such as dominance and popularity. When relating popularity to leadership, it has been shown that not all popular children are identified as leaders, although child leaders are among the most popular. Most child leaders who are popular are found to be elected and appointed leaders. Regardless of their sociometric status, emerging child leaders are more likely to be effective leaders (for example, in managing the group's task well and attending to the group's emotions and needs) than the popular children who are not leaders. Based on these results, we can safely say that although childhood leadership and popularity are connected, they should initially be studied as separate constructs.

Studies of dominance have primarily concentrated on characteristics such as toughness and the ability to get one's way. Ethological studies (studies examining how human character forms) conducted

in nursery schools have kept the notions of leadership and dominance closely related. In adults, some aspects of dominance, such as directing and organizing, are related to a leadership style that is a controlling and structuring rather than supportive and considerate. In a study published in 2001, Ryoko Yamaguchi found that the task conditions that promote more dominance in children are different than those that promote leadership, with performance-based tasks bringing about dominance and mastery tasks increasing leadership and positive behavior. Mastery conditions promoted both group cohesion and focus on the study's math task, whereas the performance conditions led to the emergence of one child who overpowered the group process. Dominance, like popularity, is related to but not synonymous with leadership, and should be considered a separate construct.

TRENDS IN THE STUDY OF LEADERSHIP IN CHILDREN

Studies focusing specifically on leadership in children, although small in number and disparate in focus, are similar to those focusing on adults. Paralleling a similar trend in studies of adult leaders, studies of leadership in children from the 1930s through the 1950s tried to tease out specific personality characteristics of the child leaders. These characteristics included high intelligence and a desire for achievement, as well as confidence, popularity, and sociability. Child leaders were found to have a greater sense of humor, versatility, and strong social skills in general. Many studies found that student leaders were often boys who were active in sports; these boys were healthier and had more vitality than their non-leader peers.

The 1960s through the early 1980s saw a move away from the examination of traits and toward studies of children's leadership behaviors and styles. Some of the earliest work of this type resembled trait studies, specifically those contrasting a task orientation with a people orientation. In the 1970s, R. C. Hardy, continuing in the tradition of the contingency model of leadership effectiveness, found that children who were task-oriented leaders were more



“Girl Mapping” Project Teaches Leadership Skills to Young Women

CHICAGO (ANS)—Clutching clipboards and clad in purple shirts, 30 teen-age girls hit the streets of Chicago recently to investigate exactly what services, programs and opportunities their communities offer girls.

The “girl mapping” project is part of a two-year study into teen-age girls’ lives. The goal is to provide communities with information about the needs of young women aged 13 to 19 and how those needs are being met. At the same time, the mappers are broadening their knowledge of their neighborhoods and learning leadership skills.

“We see girls as strong and bold and powerful and wanted to create a research initiative where teen girls themselves became the researchers,” said Betsy Brill, executive director of the Girl’s Best Friend foundation, the study’s sponsor and one of a handful of organizations across the country dedicated exclusively to funding programs for girls and young women.

Before hitting the streets in the mapping project, girls from three Chicago communities spent months in case study discussion groups and took tape recorders home to interview their friends on issues important to them. They also kept journals of their perceptions of home and school.

Then, in a two-week mapping blitz, the girls canvassed their communities block by block, surveying young people, adults, businesses and organizations about their attitudes and perceptions toward youth and about their sense of what resources were available and what was needed in the community.

The girls themselves helped develop the surveys and went through intensive training to learn how to approach people on the street. They produced more than 700 surveys, which are currently being analyzed.

Youth mapping, where young people canvas their communities to record resources available to youth—including everything from schools to the YMCA to video stores—has become popular, and such projects are under way in places from Des Moines, Iowa, to Detroit to Pinellas County, Fla.

“The mantra in communities is, ‘There are not enough things for young people to do,’” said Raul Ratcliffe, a program director at the Center for Youth Development and Policy Research in Washington, D.C., who is assisting 32 cities across the country with youth mapping projects. “But nobody knows what exists. This is getting the lay of the land. What currently exists and what are the gaps?”

More than that, said Ratcliffe, mapping can be a way to mobilize communities. Baltimore used youth mapping as a means to bring youth and adults together. Denver used youth mapping to determine where it should locate beacon schools. Detroit made the information it gained through youth mapping available at kiosks, where young people can locate everything from help with their math homework to internship or employment opportunities.

Chicago’s girl mapping project is the first to focus specifically on girls. “Too often, when programs are designed for youth in general, they are designed with boys in mind,” said Lynn Phillips, a psychology and women’s studies professor at the New School for Social Research in New York City and a researcher on the Girl’s Best Friend initiative.

“Even in the research literature I’ve seen, far too often when people study youth, all of their subjects are male. They’re getting the perspectives and the needs of boys and assuming that that’s going to translate into the needs and perspectives of girls, but it doesn’t necessarily.”

Phillips and Brill say they hope the information they’re gaining will be used to direct funding and to design programs for girls that focus on their strengths and well-being. The next phase of research will involve girls from downstate Illinois in the same process of case study discussion groups and mapping. A preliminary report is scheduled to be released in early 2000; the final report should be out a year later.

“By the end of this we’ll have a good sense of the needs and expectations and strengths of girls not only in Chicago but in Illinois, and that will give us a springboard for looking

Source: “Girl Mapping Educates Communities About Needs of Young Women.” American News Service, September 30, 1999.

effective in highly favorable and unfavorable situations, whereas relationship-oriented leaders were most effective in moderately favorable situations.

Observational studies of leadership behavior in preschool-aged children in the context of their peer interactions in nursery classrooms have found different styles of leadership. As early as 1933, for example, Mildren Parten found two distinctive directive leadership behaviors: “artful” (tactful),

and “forceful” (aggressive). Research by A. P. Hare published in the 1950s revealed similar patterns among thirteen-year-olds. Hare found that leaders were either self or group oriented, participatory or supervisory. He also found that these different types of leaders worked differently with their groups and developed different kinds of relationships with the other group members. In a study published in 1963, Dexter Dunphy identified two types of leaders in

at other communities around the United States," said Phillips.

Meanwhile, it's clear that the girls involved in the project are already benefiting. "Youth mapping is really about creating information that empowers young people to be more involved," said Renae Ogletree, co-researcher on the Girl's Best Friend study and executive director of the Chicago Youth Agency Partnership, a nonprofit group that's teaming up with the city of Chicago to undertake youth mapping with girls and boys throughout the city. "Do you know how many girls said to me, 'I didn't know this was in my community!' It exposes the neighborhood in a much broader way."

Ogletree recalled, "One of the girls came back to me and said, 'We're not going to this store anymore. He didn't talk nice to me. He didn't have time for me.' That becomes very powerful information in the hands of kids."

By participating in the project, said Phillips, the girl mappers get training and experience in public speaking, talking to the media and associated skills like thinking critically about how they want to present themselves.

One of the explicit goals of the research is to make girls aware that they are experts in their own lives, encourage them share this information with their communities and become advocates on their own behalf.

Eighth-grader Lorena Nelson said participation in the girl mapping project and other girl-only programs sponsored by a local community organization has given her self-confidence. "It's made me more able to talk about what I want to talk about and tell people my opinion without feeling like, 'Oh, I shouldn't tell them.'" Nelson said surveying her community made her realize that "a lot of people want to help out their community but a lot of people don't know how."

Now that this phase of the project is over, said Ogletree, the challenge for social service agencies is to figure out how to keep young people engaged in the community.

—Linda Lutton

adolescent groups. The first were crowd leaders who were the group representative to the outside, and the second were clique leaders who were the coordinators within the group. In 1959 Cassel and Haddox reported that gifted children who were in positions of leadership tended to use parliamentary patterns of leadership rather than authoritative or laissez-faire styles. Most studies, including those with preschoolers, have found that leadership positions and domi-

nance ranks gained by children remain relatively stable over time.

From the early 1980s and to the present, there have been very few studies of leadership in children from any perspective. Studies of this period can be categorized in three broad areas: There are studies inspired by Piaget's cognitive theory, showing the relation between children's developmental level and their descriptions of leaders; there are studies interested in training and application of leadership in children; and there are studies on the socialization of leadership and parental influences on leadership in children. In none of these areas can one find large numbers of studies or a systematic approach that yields conclusive results. However, there are a handful of very valuable studies in each area that are important to review and bring to mind.

Piaget-Inspired Studies: Leader Schemata

In the 1980s the study of leadership in children was influenced by Piaget's theory and an increased interest in cognitive psychology in general. Tina Daniels-Beirness (1986), Matthews, Lord, and Walker (1988), and Robert Selman (who focused on interpersonal awareness in children in works published in 1979 and 1980 and with Jaquette in 1978) described a structuralist view of the development of leadership concepts in children. This body of research suggests that children define their understanding and expectations of leaders differently at different ages, with the differences paralleling Piaget's stages of development. When comparing children from kindergarten to sixth grade, it was shown that younger children used more physical characteristics in defining leaders while older children used more affective and motivational characteristics.

Concerned about theoretically imposed approaches to studying children's perceptions of leadership, Saba Ayman-Nolley, Roya Ayman, and Jeffrey Becker conducted research in 1993 that examined children's implicit theory of leadership through children's own drawings of leaders. While they found that children in kindergarten through eighth grade mostly had a schema of a leader that was a white male, this was not uniformly true; there were grade, gender, and ethnic-

ity effects. About half the girls drew female leaders, and their drawn leaders were more likely to be smiling. The older children's leaders were more autocratic with fewer smiles and distinctly larger bodies. Saba Ayman-Nolley and Roya Ayman conducted a second study in 1995 that looked at children's verbal descriptions of their schema of a leader and found results very similar to the drawing data. A small number of parents in this study returned a parent questionnaire about their schema of a leader; analyzing these revealed that more sixth-grade responses agreed with those of their parents than did third-grade responses (50 percent as opposed to 30 percent). Girls' responses agreed more with their parents than did boys' (63 percent as opposed to 33 percent). The African-American children's responses were more likely to agree with their parents' responses than were the white children's (70 percent as opposed to 35 percent). Data have recently been collected for a ten-year replication of the drawing studies that should shed light on the effects of sociocultural changes on children's schema of the leader.

Socialization and Familial Influence

Although the question of the antecedents of leadership and its development in children is a very important and valuable one, the body of work devoted to this topic is very small. In 1983 Bruce Klonsky published results of the most comprehensive work in this area—his study of sport leaders in a New York high school. One of his many findings was that the socialization process that yielded male leaders was different from the one that produced female leaders. Males seemed to benefit from intense socialization such as high parental achievement demands, maternal principled discipline, and parental authority discipline. For female leaders the family factors that seemed to play influential roles were having a major voice in the familial decision-making processes, low-intensity socialization, and low to moderate parental warmth.

Almost ten years later, James Whorton and Frances Karnes examined the relationship between parent and child leadership styles and their perceptions. They concluded that those parents who desire their children to assume positions of leadership

should engage in a parenting style that they called "delegating." Of course the children would have to be able and willing to do things on their own. In a 1992 article, Hartman and Harris reported that parents had a greater influence on boys' leadership than on girls' leadership; interestingly, the boys' perception of their parents' leadership seemed to have had more of an influence than parents' actual behavior (as reported by the parents). In a study published in 1995, Frances Karnes, Suzanne Bean, and J. C. McGinnis found that female students in a leadership program saw their immediate family as the greatest influence on their leadership potential. This overwhelming ranking of familiar antecedents was followed by influences from their teachers and their opportunities for involvement in student government.

There is a reasonable body of literature that has shown that there are more political leaders among first-born males than any other birth-order ranking. Joan Newman, Jill Pettinger, and J. B. Even have hypothesized that "Perhaps family practices provide girls with the skills required for face-to-face interpersonal leadership and conciliation rather than training in competition and aggressive assertion which may be required for the confrontations of many political offices" (Newman, Pettinger, and Even 1995, 126).

Another area of work on children and leadership in the last two decades has been in developing leadership training programs. There is, however, very little conclusive data and systematic inquiry on the effectiveness of these programs.

GENDER DIFFERENCES

Although almost every study reports significant differences between boys and girls, gender differences in children's leadership, as in other areas, are inconclusive. The differences across all studies and factors seem to equal out, with boys and girls possessing different strengths. Among early studies, Madaline K. Remmlein (1938) showed boy leaders to be endowed with scholarship, intelligence, and socioeconomic status; Caldwell and Wellman (1926) obtained somewhat similar results for girl leaders who rated high in scholarship, citizenship, and I.Q.

When dominance and leadership are viewed together, more striking differences appear. Overall, dominance in boys tended to be identified more in the domains of athletics and intelligence; dominance in girls, on the other hand, was related to domains of being fashionable, well groomed, and attractive.

In looking at gender differences in leader behavior, a 1978 study by Hynes, Richardson, and Asher showed social sensitivity to be a predictor of self-reported leadership for boys and not girls. This was further supported the following year by Victoria Fu, who demonstrated that both boys and girls were more likely to be identified as successful leaders if they acted in gender-appropriate ways. Klonsky, Phillips, Piato, and Blanchet reported in 1991 that girls more frequently assumed leadership roles in social and classroom activities in contrast to boys' interest in more instrumental leadership roles. In 1976, Lockheed presented evidence that even in children's groups, when males are present there is suppression of female verbal expression and less possibility of leadership behavior from female group members. In 1990 Singer suggested that overall girls "attached a greater value or significance to being in leadership positions" (Singer 1990, 152). Along those lines, Morris (1991) found that adolescent school leaders tended to be girls.

In a study published in 1996, Ganz reported that male adolescents indicated that they were drawn to positions of leadership mostly because of a sense of competence or a desire to have control over an activity, whereas the girls were more likely than boys to choose leadership positions out of a sense of duty. ("Somebody has to do it.") Ganz also found that female students in decision-making positions were more likely than boys to engage in the ethic of care and response. Not too different from these results are those of Moore (1988), who found that overall, teachers were more likely to perceive girls as having more leadership skills than boys. These researchers also found that high-equity environments in desegregated schools are better environments for nurturing leadership in females and minorities than their low-equity segregated counterparts.

It is interesting to note that Karnes, Bean, and McGinnis found that females who were attending a

leadership training program believed that in the future there would be more female and minority leaders in our society. These same girls strongly disagreed with the generalized statement "Males make better leaders than females." When looking at children's image of a leader, Ayman-Nolley and colleagues found that girls were just as likely to draw male leaders as female leaders, whereas boys drew solely male leaders. Other research supports that pattern in boys' and girls' choices of heroes.

OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

As a result of the discontinuity and nature of methodology used to examine leadership in children over the last half of the twentieth century, major questions remain unanswered. The use of adult categories and measures has made it difficult to arrive at conclusive findings about many aspects of leadership in children. It is clear that there is a need for more studies of leadership in children in almost every area, especially in leadership styles, leadership concepts, leadership development, and socialization. It is important that the field moves toward a multimethod, multitheory approach. Furthermore, it is crucial that those interested in this field support a steady and systematic approach to unraveling the mysteries of how some people become great leaders and some do not. Understanding children's concepts of leadership and how they construct associated schemata will help us develop strategies to cultivate in them the skills to be great future leaders. It must be remembered in all these attempts, however, that it is essential to keep cultural and gender variations in mind. To date we know very little about cultural differences in children's concepts and styles of leadership. This is probably one of the least-studied areas of childhood leadership. The coming century is ripe with numerous possibilities for important scholarly research into the development and socialization of leaders.

—Saba Ayman-Nolley

Further Reading

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THE CHRISTIAN RIGHT

For roughly ten years, beginning in 1978, the Christian Right was led by a coalition of conservative evangelical ministers and New Right political figures. The most prominent ministers were Jerry Falwell (1933–), Pat Robertson (1930–), and Timothy LaHaye (1932–). By 1979 Falwell was a popular televangelist and the church and university he founded, Thomas Road Liberty Baptist and Liberty University (both located in Lynchburg, Virginia) were flourishing. Robertson was well known through his nationally syndicated television show *The 700 Club* and through the Christian Broadcasting Network he founded in 1961. LaHaye led a thriving ministry in San Diego, California that included a church, an elementary school, and a high school. The important New Right political figures were Paul Weyrich (1942–), Richard Viguerie (1933–), and Howard Phillips (1941–). Leaders who bridged the New Right and the Christian Right included Connie Marshner (1951–) and Phyllis Schlafly (1924–). Marshner, a Catholic, opposed feminism and worked for various New Right organizations. Schlafly, also Catholic, was active in right-wing politics for many years before founding Stop ERA, the organization that helped defeat the Equal Rights Amendment.

THE CHRISTIAN RIGHT/ NEW RIGHT COALITION

These two groups came together in the late 1970s when Weyrich, Phillips, and Viguerie asked Falwell to organize conservative evangelicals through an organization called the Moral Majority. Falwell



During the scandal involving evangelist Jim Bakker in 1987, Jerry Falwell (third from right) leads the new PTL (Praise the Lord) board of directors in prayer.

Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

agreed, and several of the evangelical ministers who joined the Moral Majority later formed their own organizations.

The Christian Right/New Right coalition was characterized by two different kinds of leadership that, by the end of the 1980s, would be synthesized by the Christian Right into an effective leadership strategy that coordinated grassroots politics with national appeals. The first kind of leadership reflected the leaders' common experience as evangelical ministers. The second kind of leadership reflected the New Right experience as a political force contending with an entrenched two-party system of government.

The leadership of evangelical ministers emphasized entrepreneurial spirit and aggressiveness. Evangelical church-building is based on an entrepreneurial model wherein each minister starts his own church (sometimes in his living room) and growth comes from his ability to attract and keep a congregation. Building a congregation large enough and committed enough to pay a salary and maintain church buildings fosters the development of a set of skills and abilities—rhetorical and leadership skills, the ability to establish community boundaries, charisma—that are easily transferred to social movement mobilizing. Sharing similar professional backgrounds contributed to the consensus among the early leadership that rank-and-file members had lit-

tle to do with governance decisions. Their vision assumed that financial resources would flow upward while organizational and tactical decisions would be made at the top.

The second leadership style, based in the political experience of the New Right, emphasized building networks of powerful politicians, selecting hot issues, and building stable funding bases through foundations, think tanks, and political action committees. New Right strategists established groups that met regularly to discuss agendas and strategy, and these groups gradually became durable networks connecting the New Right to a wider set of receptive political figures. Library Court and the Kingston Group were two such groups. Both were little known outside of New Right circles and were rarely mentioned in the press. Library Court began meeting in 1979 and took its name from the Capitol Hill location of its regular meetings. Connie Marshner, then director of the Family Policy Division of the Free Congress Foundation (a think tank headed by Paul Weyrich), led the group and also included Christian Right leaders in strategy meetings.

New Right leaders deliberately decided upon “social issues” (meaning issues of morality, family life, and gender) as the issues highlighting liberalism’s vulnerability. Attention to social issues represented the clearest break between the New Right and the Old Right. The Old Right had always focused on a strong national defense, nativism, anticommunism, and defense of free market principles. For Weyrich to say in a 1980 *Conservative Digest* piece that social issues were the future of the American Right marks the ideological point where common cause with the Christian Right made sense to the New Right leadership.

WOMEN IN THE CHRISTIAN RIGHT

Despite the emphasis on traditional gender roles within the movement, women have, from the beginning, played important leadership roles. In the late 1970s, before Falwell got the idea for the Moral Majority from the New Right leadership, Phyllis Schlafly and Beverly LaHaye (1929–) were building and leading effective political organizations that

continue to be politically important. Though Schlafly's organization, Eagle Forum, targets conservative women, she also regularly engages the predominantly male conservative leadership. She has spoken at important events, such as the annual Road to Victory meetings hosted by the Christian Coalition (that have taken place annually since 1991), has run for Congress three times (unsuccessfully), and regularly wins battles for extreme positions on key issues of the Republican Party Platform. Beverly LaHaye founded Concerned Women for America (CWA) in 1979, several months before Falwell announced the Moral Majority. In interviews she has claimed that she was not sure who would respond to her call for a mass meeting of women against the ERA and that the turnout (of several hundred) surprised her and inspired her to form CWA. At that time, her husband, Timothy LaHaye, was minister to a large church and, through the family business (running family and marriage counseling seminars) she was a well-known and well-loved figure among evangelical Christians. She organized the women at that first meeting into prayer chapters and the prayer chapter structure is still an effective strategy for recruiting new members and retaining veteran activists.

Both of these leaders recognized that women could be organized to do the routine work necessary for a long-term campaign to redeem America. Women were first organized around already-familiar tactics like phone trees and rotating monthly or weekly prayer meetings and around new tactics like calling or writing letters to politicians by following a model sent out in the organization's newsletter. LaHaye called it "kitchen table" activism and it was extraordinarily effective.

THE CHRISTIAN RIGHT LEADERSHIP REGROUPS

By the end of the 1980s, the Christian Right leadership was in retreat. Falwell had withdrawn to Lynchburg, Virginia, to focus on his ministries. Robertson's presidential campaign had failed. The LaHayes lost their close connection to the grassroots by moving CWA to Washington, D.C., and were struggling to make the organization known on Capitol Hill. The

heads of many national-level Christian Right organizations disappeared when their organizations closed down while others publicly called on conservative Christians to retreat from politics and tend to their families and communities. Colonel Doner (his first name, not a military title) is one example. His call to retreat was published in leading Christian periodicals and carried some weight because he was lauded as the founder of Christian Voice, an organization that successfully organized ministers into a well-funded political force that popularized the strategy of "moral report cards" (evaluations of the morality of positions taken by elected officials).

But the retreat of national-level leaders did not bring down the movement. Instead, the Christian Right was reinvigorated from below by the many tireless local and state-level leaders who founded a plethora of organizations focused on local referenda, school board and city council seats, and the like. More of these leaders were not ministers, reflecting both the maturity of the movement (activists had worked their way up into leadership) and the new dispersion of the movement across mostly local and state-level battles. Activists who were now leaders included Michael Farris (who started as the Washington state Moral Majority chapter leader and also served as legal counsel to CWA) and Kay Cole James (1949–). James is one of the very few African-Americans holding a leadership position within the Christian Right. She started as a prayer chapter leader for CWA and, after many years of activism, became the Virginia Secretary of Health and Human Resources in 1993. Important local leaders included Lon Mabon, an Oregon businessman who founded the Oregon Citizens Alliance that sponsored Measure 9 (a ballot initiative aimed at prohibiting state protections for gays and lesbians), and Will Perkins (a Colorado car salesman), the founder of Colorado for Family Values (sponsor of Amendment 2, the anti-gay measure that was eventually declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court). These leaders brought a new repertoire of tactics to the Christian Right. First, these leaders were more sensitive to the nuances of political language and they set about tempering and modifying the movement's rhetoric. Second, many of these people had been grassroots

activists and appreciated the fervor of newly active members. Third, they brought to the movement a vision of the Christian Right as a central player in the Republican Party.

CHANGING RHETORIC OF THE CHRISTIAN RIGHT

The Christian Coalition, founded by Pat Robertson and led by Ralph Reed (1961–), led the move toward tempering movement rhetoric. The organization debuted in 1990 with full-page advertisements in national publications decrying the National Endowment for the Arts. These advertisements had broad appeal to Catholics, Jews, and Protestants (signaling the coalition's commitment to ecumenism). Subsequent public statements by the Christian Coalition and by Reed continued to advance a temperate and modified rhetoric that contrasted with the earlier bombastic style of Falwell and Robertson (Robertson, in a fund-raising letter, claimed that feminism is an "anti-family political movement that encourages women to leave their husbands, kill their children, practice witchcraft, destroy capitalism, and become lesbians"). Perhaps the most important instance of the new language came in an article written by Reed and published in the Heritage Foundation's *Policy Review* in 1993. Reed's position became widely known through long excerpts reprinted in the *New York Times* and in the Christian Coalition's own publication, *Christian American*. Reed called on Christian activists to "cast a wider net" and focus on issues that matter to "the average voter" in the areas of crime, taxes, government waste, health care, and financial security. Though this language succeeded in appeasing the Republican leadership (wary of the Christian Right as a political liability), Reed's advice to quiet the rhetoric around abortion and homosexuality offended some conservative evangelicals.

ORGANIZATIONAL INNOVATIONS

James Dobson (1936–), who founded Focus on the Family (now located in Colorado Springs, Colorado, with a 2000 budget of \$128.8 million) in 1977, leveraged activist fervor through state affiliates that are

identifiable by having the words "council" or "forum" or "policy" in their names. These state affiliates (there are now approximately thirty-six nationwide) connect new activists with local and state-level issues and provide policy information to state legislatures. Legally independent, these organizations host "Citizen Impact Seminars" that use a Focus-produced training manual to train activists in political action. The affiliates make it possible for Focus on the Family to indirectly support direct political action (lobbying state legislatures, for example) while concentrating on producing its very popular resources for families, such as videos, books, magazines, and radio programs.

ASSESSMENT OF CURRENT LEADERSHIP

In contrast to the ministerial leadership of the early Christian Right, the current leadership pool is more ideologically diverse and includes a wide range of professions. This leadership is also much more pragmatic about political realities. Based on the failure of Moral Majority to achieve religious coalitions, the leaders that emerged within the movement in the 1990s dealt proactively with the political reality that a movement comprised of many religious traditions would have difficulty organizing as a national body. The Christian Coalition took up the long-range vision of these leaders to organize the nation "precinct by precinct." Christian Coalition state chapters (sometimes hundreds in one state) were charged with identifying all the voters who would support Christian Right candidates. At election time, these voters were encouraged to cast their votes according to Christian Coalition recommendations.

The Christian Right is also benefiting from "movement entrepreneurs," activists who form their own organizations to pursue interests that are narrower than the movement's interests as a whole. These entrepreneurs bring new tactics, new organizational structures, and new recruits to the movement, thus serving a revitalizing role even if their particular efforts fail. Additionally, movement entrepreneurs are very likely to also hold more extreme views than the established leadership. Their radicalism serves the movement by attracting the zealous

who can be a tremendous (albeit short-lived) resource to fuel specific campaigns. An example of this is Lon Mabon, whose organization, Oregon's Citizens Alliance, did not win passage of their anti-gay legislation but did bring in funds, new recruits, and publicity, and in addition to training large numbers of people in grassroots activism.

RESOURCE FLOWS

Christian Right organizations responded to the failing fortunes of the movement at the end of the 1980s by seeking to stabilize their financial base. Both long-time leaders and newcomers saw that the organizations that were thriving had a reliable financial base in membership dues. In this regard, CWA and Focus on the Family are exemplars. The organizations that flourished in the 1990s also provided enormous purposive incentives by linking members (through regularly received publications, radio and television shows, letter and phone-call campaigns, and the like) to a morally charged community *without* requiring members to subscribe to a particular theology.

However, with the breakdown of the Christian Coalition in the late 1990s, the movement lost a key national-level organization that had nurtured many politically savvy efforts. Additionally, a few long-time leaders have called for a retreat from politics, declaring that Christians should focus on their own families, churches, and communities—leaving the field of politics completely. New national-level organizations have not emerged, and the movement appears to be experiencing a political lull that, given the incredible productivity on the cultural side of organizations like Focus on the Family, Promise Keepers, and the many men's and women's fellowship groups, is most likely only temporary.

—*M. Eugenia Deerman*

See also Graham, Billy; Religion

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CHURCHILL, WINSTON (1874–1965)

British statesman and prime minister

Winston S. Churchill is among the select group of individuals whose name has become synonymous with historic, indeed heroic, leadership. Churchill's life spanned the Victorian era to the 1960s. After an accomplished, tumultuous preparatory public career, he became prime minister of Great Britain at the age of sixty-five, in May 1940—at the moment of supreme threat to his nation's survival from Adolf Hitler's (1889–1945) German war machine, then invading westward with unprecedented speed. Even more isolated than the nation he led, Churchill stood nearly alone—against the judgment of most of his cabinet and conventional “establishment” opinion—in refusing to negotiate “peace” terms with an apparently invincible Hitler. Amid these dire circumstances, Churchill's greatest hope was realized in December 1941, when the United States entered World War II, bringing the New World to the rescue of the Old. Against the backdrop of declining British power, Churchill joined U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) and Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) as one of the victorious “Big Three” Allied commanders.

BIRTH AND EARLY YEARS

Winston Churchill was born on 30 November 1874 at Blenheim Palace, the hereditary seat of one of Britain's great families, the Marlboroughs. His father, Randolph Churchill, the younger brother of the Duke of Marlborough, was a rising politician. His mother, Jennie Jerome Churchill, was a celebrated, spirited beauty from America, whose father was a well-known financier.



Mural with Winston Churchill and Martin Luther King Jr., two of the most influential leaders of the twentieth century, in Battery Park, New York, in August 2001.

Source: Stephen G. Donaldson; used with permission.

Though Winston's birth was reported "premature"—in retrospect a portent of his titanic energy—his promise was not unmistakably evident in his early years. Of little apparent interest to his parents, young Winston was sickly, physically awkward, and an indifferent student. Sent to Harrow, he was, as historian and educator John Keegan reports, "consistently incompetent" in the core subjects—though he did excel in English composition and history, and showed formidable mnemonic powers, winning a prize for reciting Macaulay's *Laws of Ancient Rome*.

Seeking a military career, Winston required three tries before passing the tests for entry to military academy at Sandhurst. Surpassing his father's declared expectations, Winston excelled, building both his physical and mental capacities. He was accepted into the prestigious 4th Hussars cavalry regiment.

Churchill's entry into the professional military was fateful. On his twenty-first birthday he found himself, for the first time, in the line of fire and was exhilarated. He strove to use his military experience to launch a career as a writer and politician. As he overcame a slight speech impediment, so too he would educate himself, in compensation for his not possessing the university education customary

among political leaders of the time. As he later wrote in *My Early Life*, he pored over books relating to "history, philosophy, economics, and things like that" (Churchill 1958, 111). In languorous, sun-drenched encampment at Bangalore, India, he devoured Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, the historian Macaulay, and other contemporary and classical authors. Though he wrote, "[A] man's life must be nailed to a cross either of Thought or Action," Churchill sought to fuse action and thought in his preparation for, and

pursuit of, leadership (Churchill 1958, 113).

Churchill's ongoing learning benefited from the entrée provided by his aristocratic lineage, as well as his mother's use of her wide connections on his behalf, reflecting her belated interest and appreciation of her son's increasingly evident gifts. His mother's assisting hand can be seen in several key military assignments, as well as his introduction to major figures. Among the most notable was Bourke Cockran (1854–1923), an American politician recognized as one of the great public speakers of the day—who, in turn, made yet additional introductions possible, such as a meeting with the young governor of New York, Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919).

Churchill's military service would take him to vital parts of the British Empire, which encompassed fully one-quarter of the earth's land mass and population. He thereby gathered a first-hand sense of war, other nations and cultures, and other social classes from his own nation. He presumed to publicly evaluate and criticize his military superiors in books about his wartime exploits—the first of which was published when he was twenty-three. This accentuated critics' sense—and there were many, including Lord Kitchener, perhaps the best-known military com-

mander of the time—that Churchill was an “adventurer,” excessively ambitious and self-promoting. In this he resembled his father, who died in 1895 following the humiliating, poignant, public ravaging of his physical and mental capabilities by syphilis. Randolph’s truncated political career had been marked by spectacular failure, borne of insufficient judgment to govern his energy, capacity, and ambition—a decidedly mixed legacy for his rising son. Still, there was no question of his son’s courage. At Omdurman, near Khartoum, he participated in one of the last great cavalry charges of history, in 1898. Churchill put himself at considerable risk, leading his troops from the front, killing several dervishes while evading close-range fire.

Returning to England, Churchill made his first bid for Parliament in July 1899, as a Conservative, but did not prevail.

METEORIC RISE IN EARLY POLITICAL CAREER

Reckoning that an entrepreneurial career as a writer would yield opportunities for advancement far greater than possible in the bureaucratic lockstep of the military, Churchill became a journalist. In October 1899 the Boers (Afrikaners) of South Africa commenced hostilities against their British colonial masters. Churchill, credentialed as a war correspondent, was captured. He soon escaped, garnering publicity that made his name famous. He was elected to the House of Commons in the October 1900 “Khaki Election” won nationally by the Conservatives. He served in the House for fifty-two of the next fifty-four years.

Churchill’s maiden parliamentary address was well received, though he was soon at odds with his party. His magnanimity toward the Boers, his suspicion of military expenditure, his sympathy with working-class political aspirations, and, most importantly, his support for free trade, led to his crossing over to the Liberals in 1904.

His most enduring Liberal tie was established in 1908 when he married Clementine Hozier, with whom he had five children (one daughter died tragically from sudden illness prior to her third birthday).

The straitened circumstances of Hozier’s youth made her much more attuned to household economies than her extravagant husband. She possessed more reliable instincts about the character of Churchill’s sometimes disappointing companions and colleagues, tempering his susceptibility to flattery, flash, and mountebanks.

As a Liberal, he was selected as under-secretary of state for the colonies (1906), moving up rapidly to become president of the Board of Trade (1908), and, at the age of thirty-five, Home Secretary (1910–1911). In the latter two posts, Churchill played a critical role in advocating and securing reforms limiting the power of the House of Lords vis-à-vis the Commons, and expanding employment and health protections to workers.

THE GREAT WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH

In 1911, Churchill became the First Lord of the Admiralty, responsible for the world’s greatest navy at a time when navies were generally viewed as the key to military power. The advent of World War I in August 1914 found the navy—as well as Churchill—well prepared. Characteristically, he supported the development and application of new technologies, including the tank and the airplane. Recoiling from the senseless slaughter of thousands in the deadlocked trench warfare in France, he sought a strategic breakthrough. His conception, an invasion of Turkey at Gallipoli, was a blood-drenched debacle, occasioning hundreds of thousands of casualties—and his humiliating departure from the admiralty in May 1915.

Politically adrift, Churchill chose to go to France as a soldier at the front, serving from November 1915 until May 1916. Throughout he lobbied for a return to office, aided by the determined assistance of his wife Clementine. Finally, in the aftermath of the armistice, in early 1919, Churchill was appointed secretary for war and air. Recognizing the novel threat posed by the communist regime established under the leadership of V. I. Lenin (1870–1924) in October 1917, Churchill unsuccessfully sought to strangle it in its cradle, through aid to opposing armies in the ongoing Russian civil war. In 1921 he

became colonial secretary, where his negotiations included the partition of Ireland, the creation of Jordan and Iraq, and the implementation of the Balfour Doctrine, guaranteeing an international homeland for the Jews in Palestine.

The Liberals' position deteriorated as the Labour Party emerged as the primary party of the left. Churchill, never a conventional or sentimental party politician, changed parties, successfully standing for Parliament as a Conservative in 1924. His newly adopted party was victorious nationally, and, to widespread surprise Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin (1867–1947) tapped him to be chancellor of the exchequer, the position held by his father Randolph at the apogee of his career. Although Churchill's budget presentations were highly praised, his policy of returning Britain to the gold standard was highly criticized, most notably in the economist John Maynard Keynes's (1883–1946) critique, "The Economic Consequences of Mr. Churchill."

WILDERNESS YEARS

Churchill lost his cabinet position in 1929 with the general election defeat of the Conservatives. Thus began an extraordinarily challenging period for Churchill, including financial losses in the stock market crash of 1929, various health problems, and increasing isolation and irrelevance on the political scene (though he continued to serve as a member of Parliament at a nominal salary, he was merely a "backbencher," distant from direct participation in the course of events). Unencumbered by the management responsibilities of office, Churchill distinguished himself in other realms—as an historian, journalist, lecturer, sportsman, painter, and raconteur. He was dismissed by many as a relic of Victorian England, outdated in expressing verities destroyed in war, oblivious to the political implications of increasingly well-articulated class consciousness, and stylistically self-dramatizing. His judgment was brought into further question by his unwavering support for the monarchy (most notably supporting King Edward VIII before his abdication in favor of American divorcee Wallis Warfield Simpson in 1937), and his vociferous opposition to colo-

nial India's bid for "dominion" status as a way station en route to inevitable independence.

Churchill's isolation was reflected and accentuated by his visceral opposition to Hitler's Nazi regime, which achieved power in January 1933. He was unrelenting and uncompromising in his criticisms of the rearmament of Germany, from its development of air power and its reintroduction of conscription to the annexation and conquest that were its ultimate aim. Churchill sensed the ominous forebodings of future war. Many more, traumatized by the horror of the World War I, and perhaps guilty at draconian terms imposed at Versailles in 1919, sought to avoid renewed conflict by granting Hitler concessions.

Backed by no institution, beginning with almost no support among Parliamentary colleagues or the public, Churchill unremittently warned of the German menace—expressing contempt for Hitler and his "grisly gang." His experience gave life to an unpublished, aspirational essay he wrote in 1897: "Of all the talents bestowed upon men, none is so precious as the gift of oratory. He who enjoys it wields a power more durable than that of a great king. He is an independent force in the world. Abandoned by party, betrayed by friends, stripped of his offices, whoever can command this power is still formidable."

Hitler's lust for conquest finally triggered British and French resistance after the German invasion of Poland on 1 September 1939. Having reluctantly entered the war he had so long fought to avoid, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain (1869–1940) tapped Churchill to return to his former post as First Lord of the Admiralty. On 10 May 1940, with Nazi troops streaming west, Churchill acceded to the premiership, leading an inevitably unconventional and unstable all-party coalition.

HIS FINEST HOUR

Churchill in power remained almost alone within his own government in refusing to enter negotiations with "That Man." As historian John Lukacs argues, it was Churchill who held his government intact against coming to terms with Nazi Germany—and it



Excerpts from Churchill's "This is Their Finest Hour" Speech to the House of Commons, 18 June 1940

During the first four years of the last war the Allies experienced nothing but disaster and disappointment. That was our constant fear: one blow after another, terrible losses, frightful dangers. Everything miscarried. And yet at the end of those four years the morale of the Allies was higher than that of the Germans, who had moved from one aggressive triumph to another, and who stood everywhere triumphant invaders of the lands into which they had broken. During that war we repeatedly asked ourselves the question: "How are we going to win?" and no one was able ever to answer it with much precision, until at the end, quite suddenly, quite unexpectedly, our terrible foe collapsed before us, and we were so glutted with victory that in our folly we threw it away.

We do not yet know what will happen in France or whether the French resistance will be prolonged, both in France and in the French Empire overseas. The French Government will be throwing away great opportunities and casting adrift their future if they do not continue the war in accordance with their Treaty obligations, from which we have not felt able to release them. The House will have read the historic declaration in which, at the desire of many Frenchmen—and of our own hearts—we have proclaimed our willingness at the darkest hour in French history to conclude a union of common citizenship in this struggle. However matters may go in France or with the French Government, or other French Governments, we

in this Island and in the British Empire will never lose our sense of comradeship with the French people. If we are now called upon to endure what they have been suffering, we shall emulate their courage, and if final victory rewards our toils they shall share the gains, aye, and freedom shall be restored to all. We abate nothing of our just demands; not one jot or title do we recede. Czechs, Poles, Norwegians, Dutch, Belgians have joined their causes to our own. All these shall be restored.

What General Weygand called the Battle of France is over. I expect that the Battle of Britain is about to begin. Upon this battle depends the survival of Christian civilization. Upon it depends our own British life, and the long continuity of our institutions and our Empire. The whole fury and might of the enemy must very soon be turned on us. Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this Island or lose the war. If we can stand up to him, all Europe may be free and the life of the world may move forward into broad, sunlit uplands. But if we fail, then the whole world, including the United States, including all that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of a new Dark Age made more sinister, and perhaps more protracted, by the lights of perverted science. Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves that, if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say, "This was their finest hour."

Source: *Complete Speeches of Winston Churchill*. Retrieved September 11, 2003, from <http://www.winstonchurchill.org/finestc.htm>

was Britain's holding out that proved to be the crucial factor in winning the war.

In his first speech as prime minister, he declared: "I have nothing to offer but blood, tears, toil and sweat." His war aim was unambiguous: "Victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror, victory however long and hard the road may be; for without victory there is no survival." As Hitler's total war made every Briton a soldier, Churchill evoked the spirit of "olden times," maintaining morale in the face of terror, bombing, and an anticipated German invasion. CBS News correspondent Edward R. Murrow marveled, "Churchill mobilized the English language and sent it into battle."

Finally, in December 1941, the United States

declared war on Japan in response to the surprise attack on its fleet at Pearl Harbor. Within days, Hitler's mercurial judgment impelled him to declare war on the United States as well, eliciting an immediate reciprocal response. With America's entry, and with agreement that defeating Hitler be given top priority, Churchill's greatest hope for national deliverance was realized.

If the victory was now conceivable, it remained far from inevitable. The year 1942 began with a string of Japanese conquests across the Pacific (including the vivid humiliations of the Bataan Death March and the fall of Singapore), and German progress into the Russian interior and across North Africa. As 1942 moved into 1943, the Allies—from

I am certainly not one of those who need to be prodded. In fact, if anything, I am the prod.

—Sir Winston Churchill

Russia in the East to the United States and Britain in the West—began to turn the tide. On D-Day, 6 June 1944, the Allies began the liberation of Europe, culminating in the joining of the Americans, British, and associated troops with the Russians in Germany, where the Nazi regime surrendered unconditionally in May 1945.

FAITHFUL BUT UNFORTUNATE

Unresponsive to the widespread demand for social reform that was muffled in the wartime “national government,” the Conservative Party was swept from office in the national election of July 1945. Churchill was thereby removed as prime minister, making apt the motto of his family’s coat of arms: Faithful but Unfortunate. When all citizens considered themselves soldiers, Churchill’s temperament, character, and experience uniquely suited him for leadership; in peacetime, the same qualities combined to make him distant from the daily needs of the mass of people. He never seemed to grasp that ordinary Britons, having performed heroically in defense of the nation at its moment of maximum peril, demanded increased economic and social power as their due—not on sufferance from the aristocracy whose stewardship resulted in Britain’s catastrophic decline from global power in the course of two world wars.

He retreated to write history. His landmark, six-volume *The Second World War*, begun in 1946, earned him the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1953. Looking to the future, he deployed words to help set the course of world events, as in his “Iron Curtain” address to Westminster College in 1946, warning of Soviet expansionism.

In 1951 Churchill led the Conservatives to victory, becoming prime minister until his retirement in 1955. His health was in visible decline, his government correspondingly less consequential. He attempted, without result, to craft a broker role for

Britain in the Cold War between the United States and the former U.S.S.R., his wartime allies in the “Big Three.”

Churchill died, following a stroke, on the seventieth anniversary of his father’s death, 24 January 1965.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Sir Isaiah Berlin’s words stand the test of time: Churchill was “a man larger than life, composed of bigger and simpler elements than ordinary men, a gigantic historical figure during his own lifetime, superhumanly bold, strong, and imaginative . . . an orator of prodigious powers, the savior of his country, a legendary hero who belongs to myth as much as to reality, the largest human being of our time.”

—James M. Strock

See also D-Day; Hitler, Adolf; Roosevelt, Franklin D.

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THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

Considered the greatest of all civil rights legislation, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has become the standard by which civil rights policies and legislation are measured. It also served as the beginning of true legal equality for millions of American citizens.

CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION BEFORE 1964

The most prominent provisions of the U.S. Constitution regarding civil rights are the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments passed following the U.S. Civil War. The Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery in the United States, the Fourteenth Amendment guaranteed equal protection under law for all U.S. citizens (including the recently freed slaves), and the Fifteenth Amendment guaranteed universal manhood suffrage. In response to these amendments, many states, mostly Southern, enacted legislation that restricted the mobility of the former slaves, placed restrictions and qualifications on vot-

ing rights, and established creative ways of bypassing rights that were nominally guaranteed in the U.S. Constitution.

In 1866, the Republican-controlled U.S. Congress passed over President Andrew Johnson's veto a civil rights act, which declared all persons born in the United States as citizens, with the full privileges of citizenship, including right to own property, enter into contracts, sue and be sued. In 1875, the Republican controlled Congress passed a sweeping civil rights act, which forbade segregation in public facilities, much like the 1964 law. However, in 1883 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled the 1875 Civil Rights Act unconstitutional (*Civil Rights Cases* 1883) as an overreach of the federal government's power and a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

For nearly eighty years little legislation was passed through the Congress with regard to civil rights. In 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court rendered *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), which made segregation constitutional as long as such was separate but equal. And with the disfranchisement and control of African-Americans in the South all but complete, little political pressure existed to dictate otherwise. Significant action by the federal government with regard to civil rights did not occur until 1943 when President Franklin D. Roosevelt, facing pressure from civil rights groups, established by executive order a Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) to guarantee that minorities received equal opportunity for wartime jobs. In 1948 President Harry S. Truman desegregated the U.S. military for the first time in U.S. history. But little was done legislatively until 1957. That year, Democratic Senate majority leader Lyndon Baines Johnson spearheaded a movement whereby congress enacted the Civil Rights Act of 1957. Yet this law offered little more than a sign that the government recognized that millions of African-American voters were disfranchised. It authorized the Department of Justice to study the problem of African-American voting rights and empowered the Justice Department to obtain court injunctions against those individuals denying the right to vote.

As the civil rights movement gained momentum following the landmark Supreme Court ruling, *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), public pressure



Selection from Lyndon B. Johnson's Remarks upon Signing the Civil Rights Bill, 2 July 1964

My fellow Americans:

I am about to sign into law the Civil Rights Act of 1964. I want to take this occasion to talk to you about what that law means to every American.

One hundred and eighty-eight years ago this week a small band of valiant men began a long struggle for freedom. They pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor not only to found a nation, but to forge an ideal of freedom—not only for political independence, but for personal liberty—not only to eliminate foreign rule, but to establish the rule of justice in the affairs of men.

That struggle was a turning point in our history. Today in far corners of distant continents, the ideals of those American patriots still shape the struggles of men who hunger for freedom.

This is a proud triumph. Yet those who founded our country knew that freedom would be secure only if each generation fought to renew and enlarge its meaning. From the minutemen at Concord to the soldiers in Viet-Nam, each generation has been equal to that trust.

Americans of every race and color have died in battle to protect our freedom. Americans of every race and color have worked to build a nation of widening opportunities. Now our generation of Americans has been called on to continue the unending search for justice within our own borders.

We believe that all men are created equal. Yet many are denied equal treatment.

We believe that all men have certain unalienable rights. Yet many Americans do not enjoy those rights.

We believe that all men are entitled to the blessings of liberty. Yet millions are being deprived of those blessings—not because of their own failures, but because of the color of their skin.

The reasons are deeply imbedded in history and tradition and the nature of man. We can understand—without rancor or hatred—how this all happened.

But it cannot continue. Our Constitution, the foundation of our Republic, forbids it. The principles of our free-

dom forbid it. Morality forbids it. And the law I will sign tonight forbids it.

That law is the product of months of the most careful debate and discussion. It was proposed more than one year ago by our late and beloved President John F. Kennedy. It received the bipartisan support of more than two-thirds of the Members of both the House and the Senate. An overwhelming majority of Republicans as well as Democrats voted for it.

It has received the thoughtful support of tens of thousands of civic and religious leaders in all parts of this Nation. And it is supported by the great majority of the American people.

The purpose of the law is simple.

It does not restrict the freedom of any American, so long as he respects the rights of others.

It does not give special treatment to any citizen.

It does say the only limit to a man's hope for happiness, and for the future of his children, shall be his own ability.

It does say that there are those who are equal before God shall now also be equal in the polling booths, in the classrooms, in the factories, and in hotels, restaurants, movie theaters, and other places that provide service to the public.

[. . .]

So tonight I urge every public official, every religious leader, every business and professional man, every workingman, every housewife—I urge every American—to join in this effort to bring justice and hope to all our people—and to bring peace to our land.

My fellow citizens, we have come now to a time of testing. We must not fail.

Let us close the springs of racial poison. Let us pray for wise and understanding hearts. Let us lay aside irrelevant differences and make our Nation whole. Let us hasten that day when our unmeasured strength and our unbounded spirit will be free to do the great works ordained for this Nation by the just and wise God who is the Father of us all.

Thank you and good night.

Source: *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson, 1963–64*. (1965). Volume II, entry 446, pp. 842–844. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.

increased for the government to enact meaningful civil rights legislation. In campaigning for the presidency in 1960, John F. Kennedy made civil rights a major campaign issue, but he failed to act on such

promises until 1963. Then, facing pressure from the civil rights movement, especially the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Kennedy submitted a civil rights bill to Congress, where it became mired in commit-

tee when Kennedy died at the hands of an assassin in November 1963.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY

Determined to make the civil rights bill a tribute to the late president (and to use national sympathy for Kennedy to ensure its passage), President Lyndon Baines Johnson put the full power of the White House behind the bill. In fact, much of the force that moved the bill out of committee in the House of Representatives was driven by public opinion that at once mourned the death of Kennedy and called for the government to ensure civil rights. Most polls showed that a growing majority of Americans supported the bill.

Modified in committee in the House of Representatives, the civil rights bill, then known as H.R. 7152, was passed out of committee on 20 November 1963. Howard W. Smith (Democrat from Virginia), an opponent of civil rights and chairman of the House Rules Committee, attempted to sabotage the bill by amending it to expand the bill's provisions to prevent discrimination toward women. Before his amendment, the bill prohibited discrimination on the grounds of race, color, creed, religion or national origin. Smith added the word *sex*, intending to make the bill unpassable. Because of Smith's efforts, the government granted women equal rights with men for jobs and protected them from discrimination in public accommodations. Other modifications strengthened the bill by extending the power of the Justice Department to enforce the bill's provisions, prohibiting discrimination in federal programs, and establishing an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Cleared for debate on the House floor on 30 January 1964, H.R. 7152 was debated for almost two weeks and withstood repeated attempts by opponents to add almost one hundred unfriendly amendments to the bill. On 10 February 1964, the House approved the bill by a vote of 290 to 130. Republicans voted 138 to 34 for the bill, and Democrats supported the bill by a vote of 152 to 96. The vote fell along regional lines as virtually all the Southern members of Congress voted against the bill.

Leadership should be born out of the understanding of the needs of those who would be affected by it.

—Marian Anderson

The bill's supporters knew that the House of Representatives battle paled in comparison to the hurdles the bill faced in the U.S. Senate, where individual senators enjoyed more authority to delay or kill bills outright and where the so-called Southern bloc of senators held a larger share of power and influence. No single senatorial privilege is greater than the power of the filibuster, whereby an individual senator can hold up the business of the Senate gain the senate floor and not relinquish it for as long as a senator, or group of senators, can hold the floor by talking unceasingly. To end filibusters, the Senate in 1964 requires a two-thirds vote to invoke cloture, ending debate and scheduling a vote. Although supporters of the civil rights bill held a majority in the U.S. Senate in 1964, they lacked the votes necessary to invoke cloture. The battle for cloture was the most important battle the Civil Rights Act of 1964 faced. To prevent further attempts to kill the bill or delay its debate, bill supporters voted to bypass committee placement and place the bill directly on the senate calendar for a vote—leaving only the cloture battle.

Appointed by President Lyndon B. Johnson to marshal the bill through the Senate, Senate Majority Whip Hubert H. Humphrey (Democrat from Minnesota) directed strategy development for passage of the bill. A liberal with a deep desire to become Johnson's 1964 vice presidential running mate, Humphrey saw successful leadership of the bill as the means of gaining Johnson's trust and establishing himself as a national political leader. Not only did the civil rights bill mean a potential watershed for the rights of African-Americans and for race relations in the United States, it also would go along way in determining the fate of Humphrey's national political aspirations. In short, Humphrey's leadership of the civil rights bill would determine his political legacy.

If Humphrey, in his role as majority whip and floor leader, needed to keep Democratic supporters



Provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (U.S. Statutes at Large 78 1964: 241)

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 comprises several sections, each addressing a specific area. Title I addressed the unequal application of voting registration procedures and requirements. It mandated that no person could be prevented from voting because of omissions or errors on voter registration forms. It also standardized the application of literacy requirement procedures by requiring that such instruments be administered in writing with a copy of the examination returned to the applicant within twenty-five days. Southern states had, using a strict interpretation of the Fifteenth Amendment, used such literacy tests and registration forms to disfranchise blacks and poor whites from voting. The 1964 law ended that practice.

Title II struck at the heart of Jim Crow segregation laws in the South by barring discrimination in public accommodations such as theaters, restaurants, clubs, hotels and motels that engaged in interstate commerce. Tying the application of this law to interstate commerce provided the government with the authority and reach needed to overcome segregation. Since virtually all businesses engaged in some form of interstate commerce, such as travel, trade, traffic, transportation or communication, few if any areas were left uncovered by the law.

Title III encouraged public school and college desegregation and gave the Justice Department authority to file suits on behalf of those unable to do so in order to force school desegregation, still incomplete ten years after the landmark Supreme Court decision *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). Title II did not, however, prescribe the means to achieve school desegregation. In the end that task was left to federal judges to order specific school systems to desegregate and to prescribe the methods with which to meet those orders, including the use of busing.

Title IV provided the government with the authority to enforce public school desegregation. The law gave the government the power to withhold federal funds from any public school or institution of higher learning that practiced discrimination in admissions or in the provision of benefits. This remains perhaps the most powerful element of the Civil Rights Act relative to education because of the importance of federal funds to education.

Title V established a Commission on Civil Rights to carry out a host of duties including investigation of claims of discrimination, deprivation of voting rights, appraisal of federal laws and policy with respect to civil rights. The commission was also designed to serve as a clearinghouse regarding equal protection under law.

Title VI forbade discrimination by or within any program or organization that received federal funds, including

any organization that received from the federal government funds in the form of grants, loans, financial aid, contract or any other sort of activity from the federal government. Recipients of such funds could not on the basis of race, creed, color, sex, national origin, or religion exclude individuals from participation, discriminate in enrollment or hiring, or deny benefits.

Title VII prohibited employment discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. No one could be denied an interview or a job on the basis of discriminatory considerations. Nor could businesses or organizations (labor unions were expressly included in the legislation) segregate employees on such considerations. Title VII also created an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which began operating on 2 July 1965. The commission monitors employment discrimination claims, federal hiring practices with regard to discrimination, and aids state agencies in preventing employment discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, creed, national origin, or religion.

Title VIII instructed the Department of Commerce to survey and accumulate statistics on registration and voting in geographic areas recommended by the Commission on Civil Rights. Such statistics included the number of people of voting age by race, color, and national origin, and the extent to which those persons had registered to vote, or had voted in any statewide election in which members of the United States House of Representatives were nominated or elected since 1 January 1960.

Title IX authorized the United States Attorney General to intervene in any case before U.S. court that sought relief from a discriminatory situation if the Attorney General believed that the case was one of general public interest. If the Attorney General intervened in such a case the remedy prescribed by the court would also be applicable to the rest of the nation.

Title X established as part of the Department of Commerce a Community Relations Service to assist those persons seeking relief from a discriminatory situation. The service also was instructed to form relationships with and seek cooperation from the states involved in such actions.

Title XI was a miscellaneous clause that ensured a jury of peers, due process of law and other constitutional guarantees to those individuals brought before the courts accused of violating any of the above Titles. Title XI also authorized Congress to appropriate whatever funds were necessary to carry out the provisions of the law.

—Gordon E. Harvey

organized and on task, he also had to cultivate and court Republican votes. For without Republican votes, the bill would fail to get past a filibuster. Humphrey also had to coordinate a national lobbying program by religious and civic groups to pressure Senators to approve the measure. Key to gaining Republican support for the measure was the support of Senate Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen (Republican from Illinois). Aiding in this effort was the fact that Republicans were more unified for civil rights than were Democrats in the Senate, and passage of the bill required widespread Republican senatorial support. After more than a hundred votes on the Senate floor on opposition amendments, on 10 June 1964 the Senate voted 71 to 29 to invoke cloture and schedule a final vote for the bill. Among Republicans, twenty-seven voted to support cloture; forty-four Democrats voted in the affirmative. Nay votes were led by twenty-three Southern Democrats and six Republicans, including Arizona Senator George McGovern. This marked the first instance in American history where the Senate had invoked cloture on a civil rights bill. On 19 June 1964, the Senate adopted Civil Rights Bill 73–27. Lyndon Johnson signed the bill into law on 2 July 1964 in a White House ceremony.

AFTERMATH

Following the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 there was marked decline in discrimination, but the nation also witnessed the rise of resistance to the act and its provisions. Many public facilities transformed themselves to private clubs, since the law exempted from coverage such closed institutions. The backlash to the act carried over into national politics as conservatives and segregationists derided the bill while others challenged the bill's constitutionality in federal court. On 14 December 1964 the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the bill's public accommodations provisions as constitutional (*Atlanta Motel v. United States* 1964). The following year, to further address the need for increased voter registration and protection, Lyndon Johnson supported and signed into law the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

—Gordon E. Harvey

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CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Although most frequently discussed in terms of the years 1954–1964, the civil rights movement for African-Americans in the United States arguably could have begun during the abolition movement to end slavery. Certainly the struggle for civil rights for African-American citizens began following the emancipation from slavery in 1863. Many people were influential in their attempt to gain educational equality, voting rights, and full integration into society.

EARLY LEADERS

African-Americans did not voluntarily immigrate to the United States but rather were forced through slavery to come there. As slaves they were not accorded civil rights as citizens of the country, and in most cases they were not even accorded basic human rights. Abolitionists such as Sojourner Truth and Frederick Douglass fought for an end to slavery and for the establishment of citizenship rights for African-Americans. Civil war ensued (1861–1865) between the North and South over the issue of slavery. During the Civil War, President Abraham Lin-

coln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing all slaves in 1863. As much as this freedom was a step toward progress for African-Americans, it was also a military strategy that supplied the Union Army with soldiers, ensuring the North's victory.

After the war, Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner, leaders of a group in Congress and a larger political group known as the Radical Republicans, pushed Congress to pass civil rights legislation for freed slaves, including the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which granted full citizenship to those born in the United States and thereby allowed for entering into contracts, the ability to sue and be sued, provide evidence in court, and private property rights. The follow-up Civil Rights Act of 1875 guaranteed equal accommodation for blacks and whites in public facilities other than schools; the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution (1868) provided for equal protection under the law; and the fifteenth amendment (1870) guaranteed the right to vote regardless of race. Under their Reconstruction Act, despite southern retaliation and violence, some political and civil rights progress occurred. Blacks began to participate in the political process, to hold political offices, serve on juries, and work in federal positions. The Radical Republican leadership was marked by their uncompromising belief in full and immediate civil rights for freed slaves, which often brought them into intense opposition with presidential authority. The Compromise of 1877 formally ended Reconstruction (1865–1877) and any federal protection of the civil rights of African-Americans. In 1883, the Supreme Court overturned the Civil Rights Act of 1875, claiming it was unconstitutional.

Black leaders carried on the struggle for civil rights despite the absence of federal assistance. Booker T. Washington (1856–1915) founded the Tuskegee Institute in 1881, a training school for blacks in Alabama that became internationally known. Washington favored accommodating southern ideas about blacks and therefore placed an emphasis on industrious behavior to achieve progress rather than full civil rights. He came to wield much power, seen as an acceptable spokesperson for the needs of African-Americans and only pri-

vately supporting civil rights causes. Despite the popularity of Washington and his non-threatening approach, however, blacks were still subject to extreme violence, murders, and especially lynching by whites. Jim Crow laws brought an increase in disenfranchisement, the repeal of civil rights, and increasing segregation. By 1896, in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, segregation became law under the “separate but equal” doctrine.

Not all black leaders chose to accept the accommodating philosophy of Booker T. Washington. Ida B. Wells (1862–1931) became a writer for several newspapers, attacking the policies of segregation and disenfranchisement, and then in 1889 became editor and co-owner of the *Free Speech and Headlight*. She launched an influential national and eventually an international campaign against lynching and helped found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963), author of *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), was openly critical of Booker T. Washington for accepting less than full equality. Du Bois was influential as an intellectual of his time and held a teaching position at Atlanta University. He was also one of the founders of the Niagara Movement in 1904, the first black civil rights organization. The Niagara Movement was a precursor to the NAACP, founded in 1909 by Du Bois, Wells, Mary White Ovington, and others. Du Bois resigned from Atlanta University to become editor of *The Crisis*, the NAACP’s newspaper.

The early years of the NAACP focused on an anti-lynching campaign. Walter White (1893–1955) became chief investigator of lynchings, traveling throughout the South, passing for white and speaking with locals to gather information on these murders. White became president of the NAACP in 1929. Under his leadership, not only lynching but also the issue of segregation was addressed. By the 1900s segregation had moved into almost every segment of life throughout the country, including President Woodrow Wilson’s segregation of federal institutions. After Franklin Roosevelt became president in 1933, First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962) worked closely with White and others on civil rights issues. Eleanor Roosevelt became a lifelong cham-



Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. waves to the crowd at the March on Washington, held in Washington, D.C., in August 1963.

Source: Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis; used with permission.

pion for civil rights and in 1945 served on the NAACP Board of Directors.

Eleanor Roosevelt was greatly influenced by her friendship with Mary McLeod Bethune (1875–1955), who founded the Daytona Institute for black girls in 1904. In 1924 Bethune was president of the National Association of Colored Women and in 1935 founded the National Council of Negro Women. Women’s associations were instrumental in civil rights struggles. Bethune’s civil rights work through women’s clubs led her to other prominent positions. She became the first black woman to run a federal agency when she was appointed to the National Youth Administration, and in 1940 she served as vice president of the NAACP.

FIGHTING THE LEGAL BATTLES

Walter White appointed Charles Houston (1895–1950), dean of Howard University Law School, as chief legal counsel for the NAACP in 1935 for the purpose of addressing the legacy of the earlier doctrine of “separate but equal” institutions for blacks. Houston realized that one way toward ending segregation would be to force the issue of separate institutions where there were none. Houston had already documented the conditions of separate schools in



W. E. B. Du Bois's Criticism of Booker T. Washington

Mr. Washington represents in Negro thought the old attitude of adjustment and submission; but adjustment at such a peculiar time as to make his programme unique. This is an age of unusual economic development, and Mr. Washington's programme naturally takes an economic cast, becoming a gospel of Work and Money to such an extent as apparently almost completely to overshadow the higher aims of life. Moreover, this is an age when the more advanced races are coming in closer contact with the less developed races, and the race-feeling is therefore intensified; and Mr. Washington's programme practically accepts the alleged inferiority of the Negro races. Again, in our own land, the reaction from the sentiment of war time has given impetus to race-prejudice against Negroes, and Mr. Washington withdraws many of the high demands of Negroes as men and American citizens. In other periods of intensified prejudice all the Negro's tendency to self-assertion has been called forth; at this period a policy of submission is advocated. In the history of nearly all other races and peoples the doctrine preached at such crises has been that manly self-respect is worth more than lands and houses, and that a people who voluntarily surrender such respect, or cease striving for it, are not worth civilizing.

Source: Du Bois, W. E. Burghardt. *The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches*. Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., p. 36.

1935, and he knew that they were not equal. He also knew that most states did not have separate graduate or professional schools for blacks and so decided to proceed with higher education cases.

In the first case, Donald Gaines Murray won the right to attend the University of Maryland in 1935. Houston's student Thurgood Marshall (1908–1993) helped argue this case, and the two worked together in future cases, Marshall eventually replacing Houston as chief legal counsel for the NAACP. Houston and Marshall's next case was especially significant, as it was argued in front of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1938. Lloyd L. Gaines had been denied admission to the University of Missouri Law School. The Supreme Court ruled in favor of Gaines's admission, a victory for educational integration.

One of the most significant cases to end educational segregation in secondary schools began with the actions of a young student. In 1951, sixteen-year-old Barbara Johns (1935–1991) organized a strike protesting the inadequate conditions in her school in Virginia. She arranged for an assembly without the principal or teachers present and convinced 450 other students to strike. They maintained the protest for two weeks. Johns addressed the Board of Education and contacted the NAACP for assistance. The NAACP presented the case in federal court in 1953 (*Davis v. The County School Board of Prince Edward County*). Although experiencing defeat at the federal level, the NAACP then combined this case with similar cases and appealed to the Supreme Court. This in turn became the landmark decision of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), which effectively struck down the separate but equal doctrine.

Even though school desegregation became law in 1954, there was still resistance to carrying this out on a local level. In 1957, courage and leadership challenged the Little Rock, Arkansas, school system's noncompliance. A group of students, who came to be known as the Little Rock Nine, integrated Central High School. Federal intervention became necessary because of violence by local whites and the Arkansas governor's fierce rejection of the integration plan, including his use of the Arkansas National Guard to prevent the black students from entering the school. Daisy Bates became an organizer and guardian of the students, gathering them at her house so they could be escorted to school by federal troops. Bates had been involved in civil rights as president of the Arkansas NAACP in 1952 and, with her husband, owned the *Arkansas State Press*, which addressed civil rights issues.

LEADERS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE 1950s AND 1960s

Many of the events of the civil rights movement were organized and influenced by women and local leaders. The literature on leadership has begun to recognize the contributions of previously overlooked leaders. Women have played an important role throughout the civil rights struggles, as evidenced by

the work of specific individuals, women's clubs, and political organizations. Local leaders have initiated and sustained movement activities, including negotiation with or resistance to the local power structure, placing them at risk without media attention or federal intervention.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955–1956, the first significant protest of the later civil rights years, illustrates the involvement of women and local leaders. This boycott was developed by Jo Ann Robinson (1912–1992). Many women had been thrown off Montgomery, Alabama, buses when they defied segregation, including Robinson herself. When Robinson was president of the Woman's Political Council she formulated plans for a boycott to coincide with a solid legal case to be taken to court. Rosa Parks was chosen by local NAACP leader E. D. Nixon as a woman whom he felt would make a strong legal case against transportation segregation. In December 1955, Parks, a secretary for the NAACP, made a conscious decision to resist being moved from the front of the bus, which was set aside as a “whites only” area. As soon as Parks was arrested, Robinson made handbills to publicize the boycott and Nixon contacted the Reverend Ralph Abernathy, as well as other local ministers and the press, for more publicity. After the success of the one-day boycott, the local ministers called a meeting to decide whether to continue the strike. From that meeting the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) was created, and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was elected president. In his new role as head of this organization King spoke to a large crowd gathered to vote on the continuation of the strike. The Montgomery Bus Boycott was successful after a thirteen-month boycott. The Supreme Court ruled against transportation segregation in 1956.

The Charismatic Leadership of Martin Luther King Jr.

Coming into the movement at the time of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (1929–1968) went on to become one of the most prominent national leaders of the civil rights movement. King fits the definition of the charismatic leader much discussed in the literature on leadership qualities. He was most known for his powerful

I glory in conflict that I may hereafter exult in victory.

—Frederick Douglass

speeches, including the famous “I Have a Dream” speech given at the March on Washington in 1963. King became a focus for the media, thereby increasing visibility for the struggle every time he led a march, was arrested, or spoke out on civil rights.

King's philosophy of nonviolence became a crucial strategy and hallmark of the civil rights movement. He had been guided to accept this philosophy through his contact with Reverend Glenn Smiley, Bayard Rustin, and James Lawson of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) and their application of the teachings of Indian leader Mohandas Gandhi. King's adoption of nonviolent principles infused the quality of his leadership, and he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964. As president of one of the major civil rights organizations, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), King exerted much influence on the direction of the movement. Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated on 4 April 1968, becoming a martyred hero of the civil rights movement.

RELIGION AND LEADERSHIP IN THE MODERN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

The civil rights years of the 1950s and 1960s appear to be interwoven with religion through its leaders and their ability to shape philosophies and tactics. Scholars and activists have acknowledged the significance to the movement of black churches in creating spaces to meet and providing an organizational network. The Reverend T. J. Jemison, one of the founders of the SCLC, noted that the organization was created to highlight the leadership of the Baptist church, which set the SCLC apart from the NAACP. The SCLC was influenced by Christian ideals and brought in a moral imperative for change in the status of black citizens. That the most well known leader, Martin Luther King Jr., was a minister certainly had an impact on bringing a feeling of religiosity to the movement. His speeches and writings evoked spiritual images.



Selection from *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954)

We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other “tangible” factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does.

In *Sweatt v. Painter*, supra, in finding that a segregated law school for Negroes could not provide them equal educational opportunities, this Court relied in large part on “those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school.” In *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, supra, the Court, in requiring that a Negro admitted to a white graduate school be treated like all other students, again resorted to intangible considerations: “. . . his ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students, and, in general, to learn his profession.” Such considerations apply with added force to children in grade and high schools. To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. The effect of this separation on their educational opportunities was well stated by a finding in the Kansas case by a court which nevertheless felt compelled to rule against the Negro plaintiffs:

Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law, for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational and mental development of negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they

would receive in a racial[ly] integrated school system.

Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, this finding is amply supported by modern authority. Any language in *Plessy v. Ferguson* contrary to this finding is rejected.

We conclude that, in the field of public education, the doctrine of “separate but equal” has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. This disposition makes unnecessary any discussion whether such segregation also violates the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Because these are class actions, because of the wide applicability of this decision, and because of the great variety of local conditions, the formulation of decrees in these cases presents problems of considerable complexity. On reargument, the consideration of appropriate relief was necessarily subordinated to the primary question—the constitutionality of segregation in public education. We have now announced that such segregation is a denial of the equal protection of the laws. In order that we may have the full assistance of the parties in formulating decrees, the cases will be restored to the docket, and the parties are requested to present further argument on Questions 4 and 5 previously propounded by the Court for the reargument this Term. The Attorney General of the United States is again invited to participate. The Attorneys General of the states requiring or permitting segregation in public education will also be permitted to appear as amici curiae upon request to do so by September 15, 1954, and submission of briefs by October 1, 1954.

It is so ordered.

Although nonviolence was adopted from the teachings of Gandhi, the theory and practice was embraced as an approach compatible with the religious perspective of leading civil rights leaders in the United States. Besides the Baptist leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, many leaders from other denominations eventually became involved in the civil rights struggle. Leaders sometimes utilized religion in their movement tactics, such as staging pray-ins and adapting spirituals to express movement messages. Certainly not all organizations within the movement were religious in

nature, nor did they all engender religious principles. The moral appeal of the civil rights movement, however, and the use of nonviolence in the face of brutality were strong spiritual aspects of the movement that had an impact on society and eventually on the success of some movement goals.

1963 MARCH ON WASHINGTON . . . AND MILES TO GO

In the early 1960s, civil rights leaders began to believe that a large event was needed that would

provide organizing on a mass scale and visibility and articulation of the movement's agenda on a national stage. A. Philip Randolph (1889–1979) had previously proposed a march on Washington in 1941 during the Roosevelt administration. Roosevelt gave in to the movement's wartime employment demands thereby circumventing the need for the march. But in 1963 a march was held, despite the initial reservations of President John F. Kennedy. Randolph organized the march and Bayard Rustin (1912–1987) served as deputy director. Both Randolph and Rustin had been active in other organizations and civil rights actions and were top advisors to King. The March on Washington was a success and drew 250,000 people, with leadership coalitions that were interdenominational, interracial, and included powerful interest groups such as labor. Some believe that pressure from the march resulted in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Although the march was a success on a national level, on the local level violence and resistance remained intense, at times culminating in tragic deaths. Medger Evers, a field secretary for the NAACP in Mississippi who had organized boycotts and voter registration drives, was shot in 1963. Weeks after the march, a church bombing by Ku Klux Klan members in Birmingham, Alabama, killed four girls. The dead bodies of missing civil rights workers Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner, and James Chaney became a symbol of the reign of terror that still existed in the Deep South. Many others were killed and injured as well. There was still a need for activist leaders to secure voter rights and enforce desegregation, especially in parts of the South. Students and local leaders were instrumental in this aspect of the civil rights movement.

STUDENT LEADERS

Student leaders were influential through their engagement in direct action tactics, providing gains that otherwise may not have occurred. Beginning in 1961, students staged sit-ins and initiated the integration of lunch counters. Many students became involved in the civil rights movement through their involvement with sit-ins, and the Student Nonviolent

Coordinating Committee (SNCC) emerged out of the popularity and effectiveness of sit-ins.

Although she was not a student herself, it is fitting to mention civil rights leader Ella Baker (1903–1986) in conjunction with the student movement. Her philosophy of participatory democracy and development of local grassroots leadership found its greatest expression in her advisory role with SNCC. She played an integral part in SNCC's formation. She also had significant organizational involvement in the NAACP and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which she had helped found. In 1943, as director of branches for the NAACP, she developed leadership training and pushed for more local involvement.

Members of SNCC and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) coordinated the Freedom Ride in 1961, which challenged transportation segregation. James Peck, Diane Nash, and James Farmer, executive director of CORE, organized bus rides through the South, gathering together an interracial group. They brought national attention and federal action to the issue due to the violent opposition they encountered. The Freedom Riders succeeded in integrating buses and bus stations throughout the South.

John Lewis, the chair of SNCC, and James Forman, its executive director, and others decided to attempt civil rights work in the state of Mississippi in 1964. SNCC organized the Freedom Summer Project, with some collaboration from CORE and student volunteers from the North. The objectives of the project were voter registration, establishment of freedom schools, and the creation of the Mississippi Democratic Freedom Party (MDFP), an alternative to the all-white Democratic Party in Mississippi. Bob Moses and local leader Amzie Moore organized the voter registration drive. Student volunteers and SNCC workers staffed the freedom schools. Delegates for the MDFP came from local leadership, such as Aaron Henry, NAACP president in Mississippi and the outspoken Fannie Lou Hamer. Student leaders faced extreme danger in Mississippi, yet they accomplished the goals of Freedom Summer by registering voters, establishing schools, and bringing awareness to the need for political representation through the creation of the MDFP.

A CHANGE IN LEADERSHIP AND GOALS

The civil rights movement came to an end partly because of changes in leadership philosophies. Malcolm X, although assassinated in 1965, had planted the seeds of a black separatist movement before his death. Some civil rights leaders, such as Stokely Carmichael, member and later chair of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, began to advocate militant goals and tactics, creating a new group called the Black Panther Party. The movement ceased also when it had accomplished some of its goals with the signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Yet, despite many gains stemming from civil rights leaders and the existence of civil rights laws, African-Americans still face discrimination. Organizations such as the NAACP continue to fight for the enforcement of hard-won civil rights.

—Diane Rodgers

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964; Women's Movement; Johnson, Lyndon; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Malcolm X; Robinson, Jackie

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COACHING

The phrase “greatness in coaching” conjures many images. There is Vince Lombardi stalking the sidelines, extolling his players; the reserved John Wooden quietly watching his team dismantle opponents; the boastful and vociferous Percy Cerutti, who preached the value of a Spartan lifestyle; James E. “Doc” Counsilman, whose athletic facilities were as much a laboratory as a place to train; Pat Summit, who has demonstrated that great coaching is not gender-specific; and Brutus Hamilton, whose selection as head coach of the United States Track and Field Team at the 1952 Olympics had as much to do with his dig-

nity and poise as with his ability to bring out the best in each athlete. In spite of the diverse personalities and styles of great coaches, a closer look reveals that they share certain common leadership qualities. By examining these qualities more closely in the light of coaching and leadership theories, this entry creates an integrated model for effective coaching leadership.

Under the umbrella of social psychology, cognitively based leadership models appeared in the mid 1970s, and in the mid 1980s the theory of transformational leadership, which now dominates leadership research, was developed by political scientists. Not surprisingly, discussions of leadership in sports followed a similar path. In 1994, W. J. Weese reported that “leadership has become the most ‘popular’ subject in the field of Sports Management.” However, to date, no one has attempted to develop a comprehensive model of leadership in coaching.

THE COACHING LEADERSHIP MODEL

The ultimate goal of all coaches is to generate positive transformations in an athlete or group of athletes. The foundation of these transformations lies in the coach/athlete relationship, and both participants have to work together in order to achieve the desired changes. The defining feature that separates great coaches from others is the ability to achieve these positive transformations consistently. In spite of inconsistencies such as personnel changes, assistant coach changes, support staff and management changes, rule changes, equipment changes, and league changes, great coaches manage to influence their athletes in positive ways.

In this model, a coach must first inspire an athlete to “buy in” to a particular concept, vision, or organizational goal. This can be done in either a personal manner or by using the format and characteristics of the team. The athlete then becomes enthusiastic about the sport and the challenges of training and competition. This enthusiasm provides the energy which, in turn, allows for the work required to make the necessary changes. However, hard work is not enough. This work must be well directed and imaginatively taught by the coach in order for positive results to occur. In this model, the coach has two pri-

mary responsibilities. The first is to inspire the athlete to “buy in.” The second is to imaginatively guide and teach athletes once they have fully committed to the goal. Coaches will vary their approaches based on personal strengths and the unique circumstances of their particular challenge. However, a firm understanding of leadership theory and research can help coaches achieve success in these two areas of responsibility.

Inspiring Athletes

Great coaches are extremely successful at mobilizing their athletes. They possess great capacity to inspire. This capacity is perhaps one of the most overlooked or misunderstood qualities possessed by all great coaches. In sports the term *inspiration* is often used to describe fiery half-time speeches, such as the “Win one for the Gipper” offered to Knute Rockne’s Fighting Irish football team, or a singular physical effort put forth by one particular athlete or team, like the U.S. Men’s Olympic Hockey team when it defeated the Russians in 1980. However, the inspiration required for greatness in athletics must be omnipresent, constantly fueling the athletes’ enthusiasm. It must be deeply imbedded in the athletes and motivate them every day, at every practice, in every play.

In some instances, coaches have proven themselves to be personally inspiring. Their manner and personal characteristics impact their teams in such a way that the team begins to reflect and amplify that coach’s personality. One of the most notable charismatic coaches was Vince Lombardi. A man of dignity and passion, Lombardi would preach to his men, “The quality of a man’s life is in direct proportion to his commitment to excellence, regardless of his chosen field of endeavor.” Lombardi’s teams reflected this attitude in every practice and in each play of every game. As well, many of Lombardi’s players reported that their coach’s words and his credo dramatically impacted the way they lived their entire lives, on and off the football field.

In contrast to Lombardi’s personally charismatic style of leadership, John Wooden used his “pyramid of success” as a system for inspiring athletes. It has been noted that Wooden, “a soft-spoken man of Mid-

western heritage, ingrained with old-fashioned salt of the earth ideals and values” (Walton 1992, 45) often had difficulty relating to some of his players personally in the 1960s and 1970s, particularly to some minority players. In fact, Wooden appeared to be so disconnected from the values of southern California in the mid 1960s that Jim Murray, a *Los Angeles Times* correspondent, was inspired to write, “He’s so square, he’s divisible by four” (Chapin & Prugh 1973, 320). Yet every athlete was inspired to play for UCLA and trusted the system that Wooden had created. Regardless of their personal feelings about their coach, every athlete respected the system, believed in the system, and was inspired to achieve athletic greatness. The result was an unprecedented string of ten NCAA Basketball Championships in a twelve-year period.

Wooden’s tactics differed greatly from Lombardi’s. Both coaches utilized their personal strengths. These strengths were unique to the man, but the results were the same. The athletes on both teams were inspired to work hard and pursue excellence. Woody Hayes may have said it best when he said, “The will to win is not nearly as important as the will to prepare to win.” On game day, everyone is motivated, everyone is inspired. Great coaches are those who inspire during the essential periods of preparation, away from the thrill of crowds and competition. The coaches that motivate their athletes to work hard during these periods are the ones who consistently meet with success.

Transforming Athletes

Early leadership theory looked at the traits of great leaders, including physical stature and vocal force, for “leaderlike qualities.” Contingency theories attempted to develop functionally applicable models to help leaders understand how to behave given a certain set of circumstances. Cognitive theories later attempted to study how follower perceptions and biases affected leadership efficacy. However, something seemed to be lacking in all these theories. They were unable to explain how one leader could transcend extremely difficult circumstances and mobilize an organization or team to greatness while another

leader failed. In 1977, R. J. House published a theoretical analysis of charismatic leaders, analyzing how men such as Gandhi and Martin Luther King had managed to elicit such extraordinary levels of devotion and commitment from followers. The following year, James MacGregor Burns wrote a book in which he differentiated between transactional leaders, whose relationship to followers was based on mutually beneficial transactions, from *transformational* leaders, “who influenced followers to transcend personal interests and transform themselves into agents of collective achievement” (Chemers 2000, 35). B. M. Bass expanded upon Burns’s theory of transformational leadership, developing the multi-multifactor leadership questionnaire, which yielded seven leadership factors. Of these seven factors, three transactional factors were associated with low levels of follower motivation and poor leadership effects, and the following four transformational factors were associated with high levels of subordinate motivation and organizational success:

1. idealized influence (charisma)—reflects extremely high levels of leader competency, trustworthiness, or both;
2. inspirational motivation—involves the articulation of group goals in emotional, moral, or visionary terms;
3. intellectual stimulation—encourages followers to think independently and creatively, continually challenging the status quo; and
4. individualized consideration—possess a comprehensive understanding of each follower’s situation and desires.

In his 1992 book *Beyond Winning, The Timeless Wisdom of Great Philosopher Coaches*, economic history scholar Gary Walton included the following characteristics in his description of great philosophical coaches:

1. Committed to individual integrity and personal growth.
2. See themselves as educators.
3. Well-educated (formally or informally).
4. Have a long-run commitment to their athletes and institutions.

5. Willing to experiment with new ideas.
6. Value the coach-player relationship, winning aside.
7. Understand and appreciate human nature.
8. Love their sport and their work.
9. Honest and strong in character.
10. Human and therefore imperfect.

These characteristics, embodied by great coaches like Vince Lombardi and Woody Hayes and Brutus Hamilton, would also comfortably describe John F. Kennedy, Earnest Shackleton, or Joan of Arc. In Burns's words, great teams are the ones that transcend personal interests and transform themselves into agents of collective achievement. Great coaches are those who inspire athletes to do just that. An understanding of transformational leadership can help coaches be more successful in achieving this goal.

THE ROLE OF TRUST

As the volume of transformational leadership research continues to grow, certain aspects of leadership behavior are starting to distinguish themselves as essential to leadership success. Several studies (Hogan, Curphy, & Hogan 1994; Yukl 1998; Dirks 2000; & Judge and Bono 2000) indicate that trust in one's leader mediates the effects of transformational leadership and leader efficacy. Kurt T. Dirks (2000) reports that "trust in leadership allows team members to suspend their questions, doubts and personal motives and instead throw themselves into working towards team goals" (p. 1011). Judge and Bono note that "agreeableness," which consists of tendencies to be kind, gentle, trusting, and trustworthy, elicits the strongest relationship between transformational leadership and the five-factor model of personality.

Agreeableness is also the trait most strongly associated with charisma. Hogan et al. (1994) define leadership as persuasion, not domination, and state that "a leader's credibility or trustworthiness may be the single most important factor in subordinates' judgment of his or her effectiveness" (p. 497). It should also be noted that the first of Bass's four fac-

tors, idealized influence, cites high levels of leader competency and trustworthiness as essential aspects of transformational leadership. Thus, while some leaders will have "position power" based on their title and the official capacity to reward and punish followers, this power lacks the strength to inspire followers to transcend personal concerns and become agents of collective achievement. Because the trust of followers is the key to legitimizing a leader's power, coaches should do everything within their power to foster the trust of their athletes. Only when a coach obtains an athlete's complete trust will the athlete truly "buy in" and be inspired to work selflessly toward team goals.

THE ROLE OF ENTHUSIASM AND INDUSTRIOUSNESS

John Wooden listed enthusiasm and industriousness as the foundational cornerstones of his "pyramid of success." Enthusiasm provides the energy that fuels the work, which, when well directed, results in positive transformations. Without athletes who are enthusiastic about their sport and the challenges before them, it is unlikely that any coach will succeed. Wooden spoke of enthusiasm as a window to the heart of each athlete. He stated, "On the other side of the Pyramid foundation is my second powerful cornerstone: enthusiasm. By that I mean simply that you have to like what you're doing; your heart must be in it. Without enthusiasm you can't work up to your fullest ability" (Walton 1992, 47). In Wooden's mind, it is the love of hard work, of the sport itself, and of the challenges that one's sport presents which fuels the consistent efforts necessary for success in athletics. Just as inspiration is an essential component of successful leadership, enthusiasm is a crucial characteristic of successful athletes. It is the spiritual fuel that drives the work necessary for positive transformations. Yet Wooden and other notable coaches differentiate between hard work and "industriousness."

Wooden was quick to point out, "You can work without being industrious, but you cannot be industrious without work." To Wooden, the term "industrious" described the most conscientious, assiduous, and inspired type of work. It is interesting to note



Brutus Hamilton on Coaching

Brutus Hamilton coached the 1952 U.S. Olympic men's track team, which garnered an amazing fourteen gold medals. Below he explains his formula for successful coaching.

I wish I could point out some easy road, some primrose path up the road to athletic success. But after more than thirty years of coaching young men, I'm afraid that I have nothing more romantic to suggest than creating within the athletes an interest and enthusiasm for the events...then directing that interest and enthusiasm along the lines of sound fundamentals, taught imaginatively, intelligently, purposefully and inspirationally. It sounds rather easy and simple, but it isn't.

Source: Walton, Gary. (1992). *Beyond Winning: The Timeless Wisdom of Great Philosopher Coaches*. Champaign, IL: Leisure Press.

that Wooden himself used the term “inspired work” to describe the first foundational cornerstone of his pyramid.

Brutus Hamilton also referred to directing work inspirationally. Hamilton remarked that success in coaching is a result of imbuing one's athletes with enthusiasm and “then directing that interest and enthusiasm along the lines of sound fundamental, taught imaginatively, intelligently, purposefully and inspirationally” (Walton 1992, 121). It is here that the second primary function of our coaching model—to imaginatively guide and teach athletes once they have fully committed to the goal—asserts itself. Once the athletes have committed to applying themselves to a goal, it is up to the coach to guide the athlete's work in a manner that will ensure industriousness.

APPLYING CONTINGENCY AND COGNITIVE LEADERSHIP THEORIES

People who possess the capacity to truly inspire others are unique. They own a rare set of skills that allows them to generate a vision, to communicate that vision, and to interact with others in a manner that engenders trust and encourages people to “buy in” to that vision. If a coach can do this, he or she

will be rewarded with a group of highly motivated athletes. However, inspiring others is only the first step in coaching leadership. Athletes who are enthusiastic about working hard are essential to athletic success, but do not ensure it. To achieve success, coaches must guide that work towards the accomplishment of team goals.

To be effective, coaches must possess another specific set of skills. They must be extremely knowledgeable (well-educated either formally or informally in all aspects of their sport); well-organized (so they can develop an effective plan of action to achieve their vision); excellent communicators (so they can convey that plan and effectively manage people); and persistent (in possession of the will and energy to overcome any obstacle and respond to any challenge undaunted).

One researcher points out that “once a leader has established credibility and mobilized follower motivation, the resultant energies, knowledge, skill and material resources must be harnessed and directed to achieve success in the group's mission” (Chemers 2000, 39). He cites two components as essential aspects in the achievement of this goal: follower empowerment and an effective match of resources with situational demands. Both aspects are heavily influenced by contingency and cognitive leadership theories.

Empowerment: Helping People Achieve Their Potential

The third factor associated with effective leadership in Bass's theory, intellectual stimulation, indicates that encouraging followers to think independently and creatively and to move away from past ideas and limitations leads to greater success. Creativity is essential if coaches are to advance a sport. James E. Counsilman, head coach of the Indiana University swimming team and author of *The New Science of Swimming* (1994) was one of the most prolific innovators in any sport. Counsilman made advances in every area possible. In training he revolutionized the sport by introducing “intervals” as a means of increasing the quality of the swim workouts without overtaxing the swimmers' energy systems. In technique he altered certain stroke patterns of for greater efficiency. He developed sport-

specific weight-training devices for both his swimmers and Bobby Knight's basketball players. In short, Doc, as he was called, was a tireless innovator, always thinking of a better way to do things. He may have put it best when he said, "There are people who advance our sport. Other people, less inspired and creative, adopt their techniques" (Walton 1992, 79). It is clear that empowering independent and creative thinking is good for a team or organization. The question then becomes, "How do you do it?" Research on both contingency and cognitive leadership theories offers some concrete suggestions about how to empower others.

Leader self-confidence encourages creativity. Cognitive theory indicates that leaders who are self-confident are more receptive to suggestions from subordinates. Coaches lacking in self-confidence tend to see suggestions as challenges to their authority. When suggestions are perceived this way, reactions tend to be defensive and nonproductive. Coaches who possess confidence in their ability to lead tend to welcome suggestions, which empowers their assistant coaches and athletes to be creative. For example, Phil Jackson is credited with bringing the "triangle offense" to the NBA. Running this offense in both Chicago and Los Angeles resulted in seven World Championships. However, the triangle offense is not Jackson's creation. Assistant coach Tex Winter developed this offense and was the primary teacher during Jackson's tenure in Chicago. The concept of this offense had been in existence for years and it had been utilized in leagues other than the NBA. It took a man of both vision and self-confidence to allow an assistant coach to design and teach the offense. Coaches who eagerly accept suggestions from assistants and athletes are likely to double, even quadruple, the creative output of the organization.

Perceived motivational climate is another cognitive factor that leads to athlete empowerment. Recent research has shown that compared to a "performance climate," which emphasizes competitive outcomes, a "mastery climate," which focuses on achieving excellence, significantly reduces that amount of negative athlete stress—a primary cause of athlete burnout. Many will argue that the current national obsession with performance and victory at all levels of competitive sports would prevent coaches from

adopting this type of motivational climate. However, when reviewing the histories of great coaches it is clear that winning was not their ultimate focus. Lombardi once said, "The quality of a man's life is in direct proportion to his commitment to excellence, regardless of his chosen feel of endeavor" (Walton 1992, 15). Famous Packer quarterback Bart Starr reflected on this statement:

I consider this to be the finest statement he ever made to the Packer squad. It is typical of the man: direct, sharp, inspirational, encompassing. Notice that the word "football" is not mentioned. He never treated football as an end result, but rather a means to an end. He was concerned with the full, total life. It emphasized his commitment and flaming desire to excel. . . . He was also compassionate and understanding. For he recognized that absolute perfection is never obtainable. . . . as he put it "The will to excel and the will to win, they endure. They are more important than the events that occasion them. (Walton 1992, 16)

Lombardi's statements clearly indicate that he favored a mastery climate over a performance climate, and Starr's reaction to his words demonstrates the profound effect this philosophy had on him and the entire Packers team.

Deployment: Matching Resources with Situational Demands

In recent years the NFL Draft has become a widely publicized event. The draft order is determined by the teams' records from the prior year; the worst teams are given first choice. Teams are given five minutes to select an athlete. A team that fails to select in the allotted period forfeits its selection. Teams are also permitted to alter their selection ranking by trading with other teams. From a contingency perspective, the draft is very interesting. Teams have two basic choices. They can opt to select the player that best suits their needs in a given position, or they can select the "best player on the board," regardless of the player's position. Those who opt to fill positions are attempting to meet the needs of a predetermined vision for their team. Those who choose to select the best athlete must be willing to alter their team concept based on the par-

ticular skills and talents of the players they select. Those are the choices that all leaders must make. They can either select people who are well suited to the required tasks and leadership style of an organization, or they can alter their organization and leadership style in a manner that best suits the skills and talents of the followers. Effective leadership typically involves a well-balanced combination of both.

It has been documented that leadership style can have a strong effect on the productivity of a team. Contingency theories argue that certain styles of leadership result in greater success in certain specific contexts. The life-cycle model suggests that a leader will alter his or her style based on the maturity of the followers. In this model the followers are said to move through four stages of leadership readiness: unready, ready, mature, and professional. Supporters of this model argue that as maturity levels increase, leaders should shift their style from more autocratic to more democratic. It is also suggested that as follower maturity increases, leader behavior should become less task-oriented and more relationship-oriented. Placing this in sport-specific terms, it makes sense that a coach for a high school baseball team would approach his duties differently than a manager at the professional level.

Research comparing team-sport athletes to individual-sport athletes indicates that athletes in independent sports (like running, swimming, and skiing) preferred more democratic behavior and less autocratic behavior than athletes in interdependent sports (like hockey, soccer, and basketball). Cognitive theories have also contributed in this area. P. C. Terry suggested that female athletes preferred more democratic behavior and relation-oriented leadership, while males preferred autocratic behavior and training-related leadership. It seems clear that an understanding of contingency and cognitive leadership theories can improve coaching effectiveness.

CHOOSING A PERSONAL LEADERSHIP STYLE

Coaches need to realize that there is not just one successful leadership style. Coaching styles will vary depending on the makeup of the coach and the circumstances of the particular coaching challenge.

What remains constant is that the foundation of successful coaching lies in the coach-athlete relationship, the conduit through which every facet of effective coaching behavior flows. Our model suggests that there are two main factors associated with effective coaching: inspiring athletes to set aside personal interests in favor of becoming agents of collective achievement, and effectively guiding the energy of enthusiastic athletes toward the achievement of the desired goal. A thorough understanding of leadership theory can help coaches meet these challenges. Coaches can only inspire if they are acutely aware of each individual athlete's circumstances and needs. As well, they will only be able to effectively match athletes and training to the needs of the team if they have a complete understanding of the strengths, weaknesses, and desires of each athlete. The most recent school of leadership thought, transformational theory, lights the way to athlete inspiration and offers suggestions about how to empower athletes. Contingency and cognitive theories offer practical suggestions about which leadership styles are best suited for a coach's particular situation. The coaches who understand these leadership principles will possess another tool that will help them in their pursuit of excellence.

—Justin Moore

See also Lombardi, Vince; Russell, Bill; Sports

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COALITIONS

In the world of political leadership, bigger is almost always better. For democratic processes, successful leaders must engage public will, community voices, and individual votes. In more autocratic environments, top-down leaders demonstrate their power through mobilizing large numbers of followers who represent many different interest groups. Similarly, leaders who resist the powers that be (whether they are loyal opposition or insurgents) know they must demonstrate broad support to be taken seriously. These leaders build power bases and enhance their effectiveness by creating coalitions made up of individuals and organizations with similar goals and interests. The word *coalition* comes from the Latin word *coalescere*, meaning “to grow together.” Over time, the concept of “growing together” has been applied to the combined action of multiple parties with diverse interests seeking to combine resources to work toward a common goal. Coalitions occur at every level of society, uniting constituencies on a global scale or on a neighborhood scale, addressing issues as large as achieving world peace and as intimate as welcoming a newborn into the world. Whatever the purpose, the process is the same: A successful coalition creates synergy (combined action) due to the combined power of its members. The power of numbers, economies of scale that lower costs or increase efficiency, and the joy of affinity make building coalitions a reliable strategy for dealing

with what the eminent political scientist John W. Gardner calls “those vexing circumstances in which equally worthy groups want mutually incompatible things” (Gardner 1990, 42).

A coalition is one of many possible forms of collaboration. Imagine a continuum that ranges from communication on one extreme to merger on the other extreme, and coalitions fall in the middle (see Figure 1, below). Although organizational boundaries remain firm, coalition members frequently find that their operations and culture are influenced by the experience of participating in the coalition’s work.

Coalitions typically begin when a leader or potential partners identify opportunities to enhance their power or influence through collaboration. Initial meetings may occur in a variety of activities, such as conferences, faith settings (conventions for the purpose of worship or missionary work), round tables, and communities of practice (an informally structured group convened around shared interests; Wenger 1998, 55). Although these activities may lead to the creation of true coalitions—and some may be sponsored by existing coalitions—they are not in themselves coalitions. The border between conversation and coalition is a voluntary commitment among the members regarding the exchanges that will characterize their relationship. Members seek sustainable commitments, that is, they expect to get more than they give. Coalition leaders seek loyal constituents, ready to advance common goals.

After common goals are set, members of a coalition expect to review and coordinate coalition activities with their home organizations. As a result, a coalition with a broad-based agenda or a commitment to diversity will move to action more slowly than will a coalition with a narrow-based agenda because of the time needed for members to engage their own constituents. A coalition with a narrow-

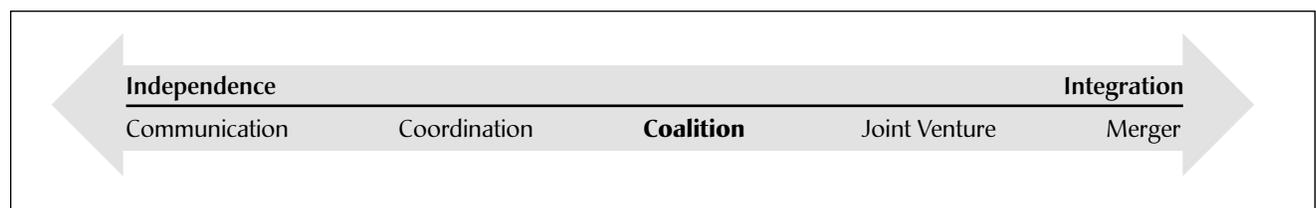


Figure 1.

based agenda may involve fewer members but will also be more nimble and responsive in its strategy and decision making.

EXAMPLES OF COALITIONS

The media are replete with reports of geopolitical coalitions such as the United Nations, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), European Common Market, and Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries (OPEC), each formed to advance a purpose shared by the nation-signatories of a formal agreement. Similarly, the United States has its origin in a coalition—a federation of independent states forming, as the Pledge of Allegiance states, “one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.” The example of the United States illustrates how a coalition may transform itself over time.

Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and large nonprofit organizations as diverse as the American Cancer Society, Arthritis Foundation, American Association of Retired Persons (AARP), American Society of Association Executives, YWCA of the USA, Rotary International, and Association of Fundraising Professionals depend on coalitions of state and local chapters to do their work. These organizations may also convene coalitions of their members and other interested parties in an advocacy coalition to advance the interests of their constituents. For example, the AARP has engaged its state and local chapters as well as organizational partners and individuals in advocating Medicare coverage for prescription medications.

On a smaller scale social change or community coalitions are alliances of related community organizations seeking to address issues such as homelessness, drug and alcohol addiction, economic development, and the environment. In business, coalitions frequently form to create economies of scale through joint purchasing of insurance, supplies, or management services. Relationship marketing strategists propose to build coalitions of suppliers and customers, and occasionally competitors, to strengthen relationships, increase customer satisfaction, and manage business risks for all parties.

In some cases leaders may use coalition tactics without actually forming a durable organization. Seeking to persuade others of her point of view, the leader may enlist help in the form of testimonials, endorsements, or general appeals. Coalition tactics create the impression of broad-ranging support, which may in turn persuade others to join forces in addressing the matter at hand.

ELEMENTS OF A COALITION

A coalition has five basic elements. First, its members are individuals who combine forces and who are typically represented by their elected or appointed leaders or people designated by those leaders. Second, the coalition should have a clearly defined purpose, delineating the outcome that the members hope to achieve by their combined effort. Third, members should agree upon operating principles and use these as ground rules to frame how they will work with each other and how the coalition as a whole will do its work. Fourth, exchanges define what each member expects to give to other members and to the coalition and what each member expects in return for participation in the coalition. Exchanges are expressed in contributions of resources, ideological support, and power sharing by members of the coalition. Fifth, the coalition has leadership made up of skillful individuals who organize the different voices within the coalition and represent the coalition to the outside world. Each of these elements is a negotiating point for leaders as they recruit members and align expectations of individual members with the expectations of the group as a whole.

SUCCESS FACTORS

Conditions, commitment, and competence are critical success factors for coalitions.

Conditions are the political and economic realities that underlie the coalition’s formation. These can include resource concerns, community climate, experience, the urgency of the goal, and environmental factors. The more urgent the conditions, the more impetus there will be to coalesce around a clearly defined goal.

Commitment directly reflects the balance between self-interest and shared interests for the members in the coalition. A strong coalition will have compelling benefits for its members and a compelling strategy for achieving its goal. In coalitions that champion unpopular goals or have few resources, the incentives to stay must outweigh the temptation to leave.

Competence is a trait of leaders who must move the coalition toward its goals, create and maintain internal relationships among the members, and develop trust with, accountability to, and contributions from the coalitions members. Coalitions measure the success of their leaders by their ability to achieve goals and establish lasting networks.

INTERACTIONS WITHIN A COALITION

An effective coalition depends on collaborative capacity. Leaders foster collaborative capacity within individual members, among relationships that members undertake on behalf of a coalition, within the organizational structure of the coalition itself, and across the coalition's programs. A coalition demands a lot from members. Where possible, a coalition should reciprocate by creating resources that strengthen member programs and organizations.

Building collaborative capacity in a dynamic environment may require the assistance of a facilitator (an expert in group development and dynamics, usually a consultant or staff expert). Facilitation can be most helpful in the early stages of the development of a coalition. If members do not find productive ways to work with each other and with outsiders, the coalition is not likely to develop sufficiently to address structural and program and service delivery issues. The challenge for leaders is to decide when to make the transition from doing facilitated work to doing the work themselves and taking full ownership of the project and the process.

The metaphor of a starfish is helpful in visualizing the role of the facilitator in coalition building. In nature, the starfish can have up to twenty arms, or rays, which act as sensors as the creature moves in its undersea world. The activities of these rays are integrated and coordinated by a neural ring in the center

of the starfish's body. While that ring is intact, the starfish acts as an integral being. If the ring is severed, the starfish cannot communicate between its rays, increasing its risk of harm or even death. Using the image provided by internationally renowned psychologist and former professor at the University of Michigan Norman R. F. Maier, facilitation (whether by the leader or by a professional facilitator) helps a coalition develop a central neural ring that can integrate and coordinate the interests and activities of the members. If the coalition is unable to achieve such integration and coordination, like a starfish with a severed neural ring, the coalition has few prospects for long-term survival.

The notions of indirect and direct participation are helpful in determining how best to organize and manage coalitions. Indirect participation occurs when people who are not members of a group speak for those who are members of the group—for example, a physician who has never had cancer speaking for cancer patients and survivors. Direct participation occurs when people act for themselves or represent an organized group to whom they are accountable. For example, residents of a senior center represent themselves at a zoning hearing. Research suggests that coalitions experience higher participation when there is direct representation and lower participation when there is indirect representation of members.

LIFE CYCLE OF COALITIONS

Like any other social organizations, coalitions develop over time, with fairly predictable life-cycle stages, with different leadership requirements at each stage. Coalition leaders should frame their approach depending on the stage of life of their coalition.

Start-up coalitions require high-energy leaders with strong visions and the necessary influence, negotiating skills, and persuasiveness to inspire and engage members in common pursuit. These leaders are frequently the staff of the coalitions, as well, providing hands-on support for day-to-day work.

Growing coalitions require leaders who can think strategically, engage others and build consensus, and help members balance divergent interests without losing sight of the overall goal.

Established coalitions require leaders with expertise in the issue at hand as well as operational skills in management, resource development, and public relations. The established coalition may be an institution in its own right. One would hardly call the United States a coalition, yet, more than two hundred years ago that is exactly what it was. Similarly, major non-profit organizations such as the American Cancer Society, Arthritis Foundation, and United Way of America have their institutional roots in coalitions of state and/or local organizations that joined forces to fight for a cause. In many cases one observes the emergence of coalitions seeking institutional change within organizations such as these as members embrace a return to democratic participation as a strategy for institutional reform.

Declining coalitions may be on the wane because they have achieved their goals or alienated their members or because changes in the environment have obviated the need for their existence. At this stage in the life cycle leaders should find strategies for organizational renewal and/or strategic exits in order to preserve the assets that the coalition has created during its lifetime.

OUT OF MANY, MANY

The seal of the United States has the words “*E Pluribus Unum*” (out of many, one). Such is the coalition ideal. A search of the Internet turns up nearly 4 million entries for the word *coalition*. Such a search suggests that the reality is more like *E Pluribus Pluribus* (out of many, many). This proliferation of coalitions may reduce their effectiveness as a leadership strategy as current and potential members become overcommitted and underengaged. Coalition leaders should be realistic about this high level of competition for member time and resources. They should make sure there are valuable incentives such as networking, learning, access to information, economies of scale, and political advantage. They should provide appropriate boundaries and structural support, including shared goals, ground rules and norms, and staffing as needed. Finally, they should further define boundaries by celebrating group milestones and by initiating external relationships that advance the goals of the

group and clarify the distinction between those who are coalition members and those who are not. In those ways, leaders can ensure that the coalition lives up to its definition, helping members “grow together” as they work for common goals.

—Janet Rechtman

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COERCION

Coercion is the use or threatened use of physical or psychological force (especially punishment) to get one's way and to affect the behavior and/or emotions of others. In everyday language, coercion is “naked power.” The targets of coercive power “respect it solely because it is power, and not for any other reason” (Russell, 1938, 66). Coercion is most vividly expressed by a statement in Thucydides's “Melian Dialogue” (in *A History of the Peloponnesian Wars*) that “the strong do what they have the power to do, and the weak accept what they have to accept.”

At the political and social level, coercive power typically occurs in two social-political situations, often closely related: (1) Military conquest and the resulting social transformations; for example, the careers of Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar, the capture and enslavement of Africans in the New World, the world

empires of the European countries, and the U.S. treatment of Native Americans in the nineteenth century; and (2) the decay or collapse of traditional, organized, and restrained forms of power, as in the case of the regimes of Hitler, Stalin, or the Cambodian Khmer Rouge in the early 1970s, and Iraq immediately after the U.S. invasion in 2003. Under such conditions, illegal or extralegal entities employing coercive tactics (gangsters, extortionists, paramilitary forces, and those who plot military coups) often become prominent. The political philosophies of fascism, authoritarianism, and communism are often characterized by their use of coercion and even their attraction to it. At the opposite ideological pole, anarchism and libertarianism by definition disavow any necessity for coercion in theory and oppose it in practice.

Many forms of coercion also occur at lower levels of society. For example, people thought to be “deviant” are coerced through incarceration and enforced psychiatric commitment. Religious “heretics” are persecuted, and “different” minorities are subject to prejudice and “ethnic cleansing.” In small face-to-face groups, coercion takes the forms of bullying, rape, sexual coercion and sexual harassment, domestic violence, and child abuse. Many milder (even socially acceptable) forms of coercion take place in everyday settings such as families (especially with respect to childrearing), schools and other institutions, and workplaces. Other forms of power, such as economic power, can easily become coercive when they involve asymmetrical or one-sided distribution of resources. (Karl Marx pointed out the fundamental asymmetry of capitalist production: The owners have the factories and the machines, while the workers have only their work to “sell.”)

Perhaps it is even possible to speak of a “coercion of the weak”—for example a crying baby, a beggar, or even a leader such as Mahatma Gandhi. In these cases, however, there is usually an explicit or implicit appeal to the conscience, sense of responsibility or morality, or simply prudence of the stronger party.

COERCION AS A BASE OF POWER

Coercion was identified by French and Raven in “The Bases of Social Power” (1959) as one of the six

“bases” of social power—that is, a relationship between power holder and target that constitutes the source of power. Coercion involves using punishment or the threat of punishment to get someone to do something. It requires access to the means of punishment, that is, to force. (Of course there are more subtle forms of coercion, as in brainwashing and mind control.) The other bases, or methods of obtaining power, are as follows: rewarding others, legitimacy, “referent power” (that is, charisma, prestige, or glamour), expert knowledge, and information.

The use of coercion often implies that the power holder lacks (or is unwilling to use) more “positive” resources such as charismatic persuasion, reward, or expert knowledge. It also implies some active or passive resistance on the part of the target of power. Thus coercion can be seen as a relatively crude or “primitive” form of power and leadership. Alternatively, leadership may be thought of as a series of skills, techniques, and processes that make coercion unnecessary. Coercion often connotes illegitimate or immoral power; nevertheless, the *possibility* of coercion usually exists in the background of legitimate and positive forms of leadership. For example, many people’s experience of the police and military is confined to traffic jams and parades. However, they—and only they—can also legitimately use coercive force, if necessary and within certain guidelines. Yet even when it is legitimate, coercion is viewed as a “last resort,” resorted to only when other bases of power are lacking or have failed. Power and leadership can be understood as largely social constructions, analogous to the elaborate financial systems of “paper assets” and credit. Coercion would then be analogous to the “flight to gold” that often occurs in a crisis, or when a financial system collapses.

Psychologically, our mental images or “prototypes” of power may involve fantasies of coercion, even if we go on use that power in more refined and positive ways. That is, exercising *any* kind of power over someone else may arouse inner feelings (perhaps unconscious or only partly conscious) of coercion—that we are controlling their actions and feelings, thereby figuratively reducing them to nonliving substance that totally obeys our will. Such

images of coercion may “lurk” in the deep recesses of our minds, unconscious and unnoticed, even as we try to channel the exercise of power in positive directions. These images may be ever ready to subvert more positive forms of power and leadership, turning them into dominance, coercion, cruelty, and abuse. Thus Lord Acton’s famous dictum about power applies especially to coercive power: “Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely.” This process of corruption was vividly expressed by the nineteenth-century Russian novelist Dostoevsky in his novel *House of the Dead*: “Anyone who has once experienced this power, this unlimited mastery of the body, blood and soul of a fellow man made of the same clay as himself . . . will unconsciously lose the mastery of his own sensations . . . till at last they come to relish them” (Dostoevsky, 1961).

David Kipnis in *The Powerholders* (1976) studied these metamorphic effects of power—that is, how power changes people for the worse by altering their attributions, attitudes, judgments, and moral thinking. However, he came to believe that these metamorphic effects are mostly characteristic of “strong” power tactics (i.e., those that involve coercion), rather than “weaker” power tactics such as reasoning, expertness, or information.

ANTECEDENTS OF COERCION

What factors determine whether someone will resort to coercion in the attempt to gain power? Under what circumstances do what kinds of leaders tend to be or become coercive? If coercion is the prototypical psychological “image” of power, then it follows that people especially motivated to get power would be likely to use coercion as a power tactic, especially if they lack more refined power skills, power resources, or a sense of responsibility and self-control (see Winter and Barenbaum, 1985). As an example, psychologist Eileen Zurbruggen in “Social Motives and Cognitive Power-Sex Associations” (2000) found that men scoring high in power motivation, especially if they also had a cognitive link between power and sexuality, were relatively more likely to report having sexually coerced women.

However, other motives can also lead to coercion. For example, achievement motivation (or the desire to meet or exceed standards of excellence) usually is associated with cooperative bargaining and economic and entrepreneurial success. Among political leaders who must deal with the uncertainties, compromises, and “quagmires” of the political process (where different people have different ideas about what is “best”), however, achievement motivation sometimes leads to frustration, impatience, and a resort to coercive and authoritarian means.

There is some evidence that a disposition to use coercion—in everyday language, to be a “bully”—grows out of early attachment difficulties and related insecurities, as well as early experience of coercion at the hands of parents and others. On the other hand, the principles of learning theory would suggest that a coercive disposition can (also) grow out of early reinforcement and indulgence. In either case, coercion is viewed by developmental psychologists as an early (i.e., “childish”) way of settling conflicts and disagreements (see Laursen, Finkelstein, and Townsend Betts, 2001).

People’s general beliefs about how power ought to be exercised and with what constitutional (consent of the governed) or moral constraints, as well as their perceptions of the specific situation (issues, distribution of power, availability of different kinds of resources) affect their use of coercion. Thus people scoring high in measures of authoritarianism and social dominance orientation, who are prejudiced toward other groups perceived to be “different” or “deviant,” are especially predisposed to coerce them in the service of enforcing obedience to conventional behaviors and styles of life. They become “willing executioners,” in Daniel Goldhagen’s (1996) vivid phrase from his book *Hitler’s Willing Executioners*. Coercion, then, tends to follow lines of established “difference,” although Catherine MacKinnon in “Difference and Dominance” (1984) has argued the reverse: that coercion *creates* differences, in order to justify itself.

In *The Use and Abuse of Power*, edited by Lee-Chai and Bargh (2001), the authors suggest several other individual-level factors that can predispose power holders toward coercive, strong, or “hard”



The Coercion of Native Americans

Throughout history and across cultures coercion has been commonly used by more powerful peoples to subjugate less powerful ones. The following account is an example of a recurrent theme for at least 500 years—European peoples coercing non-Europeans into subjugation. The example concerns the Jesuit missionary activity among the Guarani-speaking peoples of Paraguay, Argentina, and Brazil from the 1500s into the 1800s.

The Jesuits used corporal punishment to influence and control the natives' behavior in the reducciones. The Jesuits' use of corporal punishment does not appear to be as harsh as the methods employed on the Indians in Franciscan missions in California during the late eighteenth century. In the California missions, the Franciscans used a combination of whippings and confinement, as well as shackles and stocks on the Indians. The Jesuits never used shackles or stocks on the Guarani. The Guarani usually voluntarily entered the missions, unlike the Californian Indians. The Jesuits did not treat the Guarani as slaves but more like a strict father would treat his own children or in the same manner in which a schoolmaster would use corporal punishment to correct the behavior of schoolchildren. Nevertheless, these methods must have been demeaning to the adult Indians, especially since these were exemplary punishments administered in front of their peers in the public plazas of the missions. Because this indigenous culture had lived freely in the jungle and greatly valued a spirit of independence, the use of confinement, above all, was a brutal punishment for the Guarani. Imprisonment of the Indians, whether it be in the mission jail for men or in the coto guazú for women, most likely destroyed their sense of freedom and independent spirit. However, life for the Guarani mission Indians was never as brutal as it was for Negro slaves on a plantation in the southern United States or in Latin America because the mission Indians were never bought and sold, their family members were not usually separated, and the Jesuits were never known to take native women as their mistresses.

[. . .]

The Jesuit missionaries justified their actions by writing that after being whipped, the Indians would kiss the priests' hands and tell him: *aguiyebete che Ruba, chemboaraqua a haquera rehe*: "God will repay you, my Father, because you have given me understanding." The missionaries claimed that the Indians understood that they received beatings "for their own good," not out of any hatred for them or a sense of boredom. The number of lashes the Guarani received for minor offenses, such as missing mass, is unclear. According to the Law of the

Indies, however, which was in effect in the missions, an Indian *alcalde* could punish an Indian with one day of confinement and six or seven lashes for missing mass, and in case of intoxication, the Indians could be punished even more severely. The Jesuits' need to use force to compel some of the mission Indians to participate in the ceremonies of the church indicates that not all the mission Indians embraced the new Catholic beliefs and practices.

[. . .]

"[H]ippings, "like the kind of whippings they give to children," on their buttocks, was the primary punishment for correcting Indian misbehavior in the missions. Indian *alcaldes* administered the corporal punishments, not the priests. These Indian policemen also patrolled the streets ready to take anyone to the mission jail who was wandering around at night. The evenings were almost always quiet in the missions, since the Jesuits prohibited the Indians from going out at night and visiting other Indians. Indian *alcaldes* also frequently visited the Indians' lands, both their individual family plots and the communal lands, to see if the Indians had planted their fields. They would inform the Jesuits in the event they were neglected. If the mission Indians refused to work in the fields, then they faced corporal punishment administered by these policemen. According to a missionary's account, "they punished them with lashes as they would a boy."

[. . .]

Perhaps more important than coercion, the missionaries altered the natives' behavior through incentives and a system of rewards. Following the morning mass, the Indians who attended received their daily rations of *caámini* (finely ground yerba maté), salt, and tobacco from the priests at the door of the church before returning home for breakfast. The Indians drank their yerba maté tea right before leaving for work in the fields or at one of the artisan workshops. The ration was sufficient enough to last the Indians until the afternoon rosary, when the priests again distributed new rations of *caámini* to the Indians. [. . .] By distributing rations, the Guarani became dependent upon the missionaries, who could then induce the Indians to give up more aspects of their native culture.

power tactics. People whose specific power goals are selfish or personalized (rather than prosocial or socialized), people with a sense of self as an independent, skin-bounded body (rather than as part of a larger group), and people who relate to others as a form of exchange (rather than having a genuine communal concern with their welfare) tend toward coercion. People who process information in “effortless” (rather than “effortful”) ways—either because they are cognitively lazy or because they enjoy the luxuries of privilege and position—are relatively more likely to turn to coercion and other hard power tactics. Nevertheless such conclusions must be drawn with caution. Many communal relationships conceal subtle forms of “parentalistic” exploitation—especially if there is an imbalance of power resources between the parties to begin with (see Pratto and Walker, 2001). Thus coercive dominance can easily be clothed in the garments of “nurturance” or “chivalry.” And a strongly communal, group-based sense of self may only deflect coercion and aggression onto those outside the group in the form of intercommunal wars.

Situational factors exert considerable influence on whether power is expressed through coercive means. Expectations—both the expectations of power holders and those of the targets of power—are often critical. Thus highly structured situations can easily generate self-fulfilling expectations and stereotypes that lead ordinary people to become coercive. For example, in the famous Stanford Prison Experiment (see Haney, Banks, and Zimbardo, 1973; Zimbardo, Haney, Banks, and Jaffe, 1973), students randomly assigned to the role of “prison guard” became so coercive and abusive toward other students randomly assigned to be “prison inmates” that the experiment itself had to be terminated prematurely. The famous Milgram obedience experiments (see Milgram, 1974) are another example. Once people—ordinary everyday people—take on a role that may involve either demands or permission for using coercion, they often go along and enact their role with surprisingly little resistance. (In her analysis of the Holocaust Hannah Arendt [1963], characterizes such effects as the “banality of evil.”) Stanley Milgram’s studies focused on situational factors that increased

coercive aggression (such as distance between power holder and target, or prestige of the higher person giving orders to the power holder) and factors (such as the support of other power holders to resist commands from above) that reduced it.

Cultural and religious teachings can affect people’s readiness to use coercion. For example, the Confucian concept of *jen* holds that power should be exercised for the collective good. Sometimes Christian beliefs are viewed as moderating coercive power. Perhaps this derives from the biblical story of the devil’s offer to Jesus: “All this power will I give thee.” To which Jesus replied, “Get thee behind me, Satan” (Luke 4:5–8).

Nevertheless, considerable caution about the restraining effect of religious and moral constraints on coercive power is in order. The brutally coercive Inquisition, the advance of Islam through forced coercion, the Crusades, the Catholic-Protestant religious wars of the seventeenth century, and the continuing Hindu-Muslim violence were all the result of religiously based moral teachings directed (or seduced) into the service of coercive power. The insidious way in which religion can be subverted by coercive power is illustrated by the Bishop of London’s description of World War I as “a great crusade—we cannot deny it—to kill Germans . . . to kill the good as well as the bad, to kill the young men as well as the old, to kill those who have shown kindness to our wounded” (Mews, 1971). Such re-emergences of coercive power from the controls of religion illustrate Freud’s concept of the “return of the repressed,” whereby a repressed wish or act gains expression by taking over the very mechanisms (such as religion) that were established to defend against and repress it.

EFFECTS OF COERCION ON THE TARGET

The effects of coercion on targets of power can vary widely (see the discussion by Schmookler, 1984). Sometimes targets of coercion try to imitate those at higher levels of power who coerce them, as in the case of “kapos” in concentration camps (as documented in Bruno Bettelheim’s 1943 study, “Individual and Mass Behavior in Extreme Situations”), prefects in boarding schools, people who stay with

coercive and abusive partners, and some forepersons of work crews. Such examples illustrate the defense mechanism of identification with the aggressor (see Anna Freud, 1937/1946), which may be activated by several factors: sheer drive for survival on the part of the target, coercion judiciously laced with consideration by the power holder (the “good cop/bad cop” routine), and the target’s simple envy of the coercer’s control of resources. Generally, identification with the aggressor is more likely to occur when the target is unassertive or has low self-esteem.

Most often, however, coercion decreases the attractiveness of the power holder in the eyes of the target. As a result, coercion produces obedience—but only with respect to the limited range of actions under surveillance, and only as long as the coercer maintains that surveillance (as discussed at length in Michel Foucault’s 1980 analysis of power). In Herbert Kelman’s (1961) terms, coercion usually produces compliance, rather than identification (targets obey because of they have regard for or attachment to the person of the power holder) or genuine internalization (targets obey because they believe in the legitimacy of the command and/or the power holder). Furthermore, coercers, to the extent that they realize that targets are obeying only because they must, may develop paranoid anticipations about incipient rebellion: that somewhere, somehow, surveillance (hence obedience) is breaking down, or perhaps the targets escape. In *Crowds of Power* (1962), Elias Canetti called this the “fear of recoil” of coercive power. For all these reasons, coercive power systems must devote considerable resources to policing compliance, as well as preventing sabotage during gaps in surveillance. To keep down the cost, coercive leaders may actually carry out only a few selected—but highly visible and impressive—acts of violence: for example, public executions of a few ringleaders, or a spectacular “shock and awe” bombing of an enemy’s capital city. These measures, however, require a loyal staff of devoted followers who are not themselves coerced. Thus in the long run coercion often becomes inefficient and vulnerable.

Frequently targets of coercion resist, rebel, or fight back. (A more specific related psychological term is *reactance*, the motivational counterforce

He who cannot agree with his enemies is controlled by them.

—Chinese proverb

aroused by loss of freedom due to coercion.) In social and political situations, the tendency toward reactance and fighting back is enhanced by increased solidarity within the target group—the so-called rally effect observed in many instances of attempted military coercion (see Horowitz and Reiter, 2001). That is, when the target is a group, the shared social identities of members enhance the tendency to rebel against (or at least endure) coercion. Where reactance is strong and the resource differential between coercer and target small, therefore, coercion and punishment may precipitate a power struggle. For all these reasons, some psychologists (for example, B. F. Skinner and his followers) dispute the effectiveness of coercion and punishment.

Some targets are able to rise above coercion. Leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr., and Nelson Mandela responded to coercive, brutal power not with identification with the aggressor, flight, or retaliation, but rather with a transcendence that was often born of a religious commitment to nonviolence (see Erikson, 1969).

EFFECTS OF COERCION ON THE POWER HOLDER

As suggested in the quotation from Dostoevsky above, compared to other bases of power, coercion is more likely to bring about psychological transformations in the power holder (see Kipnis, 1976)—what Lord Acton called the “corruptions” of power. For if power holders are able to coerce every action (or inaction) of the target, they are in effect learning the sequence “I command and others obey.” As a result, they may readily develop an inflated sense of their importance and power, while coming to view the target as less than human, an object to be manipulated by force. This can easily lead to a degradation of the moral sense (see Fodor and Smith, 1982, for a research example).

Boredom and a loss of the capacity for pleasure is another effect of power that may be especially likely in the case of coercion. In the words of the novelist J. M. Coetzee in his work *Dusklands* (1982), having unlimited coercive power can make the world seem like a “desolate infinity”: “Here and everywhere else on this continent there would be no resistance to my power and no limit to its projection. My despair was despair at the undifferentiated plenum, which is after all nothing but the void dressed up as being” (pp. 101–102).

As the ultimate expression of power, coercion throws some of the contrasts and paradoxes of power into the sharpest relief. Like power in general, coercion can be effective—that is, it *can* change other people’s behavior. (Not always, however: a study of aerial bombing—surely one of the most massive and spectacular forms of coercion—suggests that it is only “successful” about a third of the time; see Horowitz and Reiter, 2001.) Yet at the same time, coercion also embodies many of the limits and dangers of power, both to the power holder and the target. Thus while coercion is part of the repertoire of leadership, for leadership to be effective in the long run coercion must be used with care and caution.

—David G. Winter

See also Obedience; Power, Six Bases of

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COGNITIVE STRUCTURES

How is knowledge of the external world mentally represented by the human mind? One theory, widely endorsed by psychologists, is that human knowledge is organized around symbolic, cognitive structures that form interconnected sets, which together represent what is referred to as a “schema.” For example, each person likely possesses separate symbolic, mental representations for the symbolic knowledge structures teacher, lecture, textbook, desk, pen, paper, classroom, and chalkboard. In combination these symbolic knowledge structures form a single coherent schema, which represents people’s knowledge of a class. Thus, a schema is a “cognitive structure that represents knowledge about a concept or type of stimulus, including its attributes and the relations among those attributes” (Fiske 1995, 161). Conveniently, schema can be subdivided on the basis of the type of cognitive structure under consideration. In this regard, researchers have investigated scripts (i.e., representation of a sequence of events), person schemas (i.e., representation of a person), relational schemas (i.e., representation of an individual’s behavior toward another), self-schemas (i.e., representation of one’s self), and prototypes (i.e., representation of a category).

Regardless of their form, functionally schemas perform a similar set of operations for people. Schemas allow people to direct their attention to relevant aspects of their surroundings, assist them in forming judgments about stimuli in their environment, and assist them in generating adaptive responses to their current circumstances. For instance, without the prerequisite schema for the symbolic knowledge structures teacher, lecture, and blackboard, a student may not know where to direct his or her attention during a lecture (e.g., information written on the blackboard), nor may he or she understand what behavior is appropriate and inappropriate

within this setting (e.g., raising one’s hand to ask a question). As a result, schemas are critical when attempting to understand how humans regulate their interactions with the external world.

Under the general rules of information-processing theories, investigators have applied current knowledge regarding schemas to help understand leadership phenomena. Unlike the focus of other leadership approaches, the focus of information-processing work has been to discern how the acquisition, storage, and use of particular schemas influence relevant leadership processes (e.g., a leader’s behavior or a follower’s perceptions).

IMPLICATIONS OF COGNITIVE STRUCTURES FOR UNDERSTANDING LEADERS

What dictates the behavior that a leader will exhibit toward his or her followers? According to information-processing researchers, a leader’s behavior is dictated both by the form and content of the schemas possessed. For example, J. C. Wofford and Vicki Goodwin (1994) have argued that the distinction between different leadership styles stems from the schemas that each type of leader possesses for behavior (i.e., script), followers (i.e., person schema), and himself or herself (i.e., self-schema). For example, the script of a leader with a transformational style (i.e., inspirational, charismatic) would be to motivate followers to perform at a higher level, whereas the script for a leader with a transactional style (task-oriented, focused on mistakes) would be to correct followers when they make mistakes. Operationally, these different schemas cause leaders to perceive their current circumstances differently, which in turn results in behavioral displays that are distinctively transformational or transactional. Coinciding with this logic, leadership development and training scholars have argued that the success of leadership interventions is contingent upon the creation of new schemas.

Beyond establishing linkages between schemas and leader behaviors, researchers have also investigated both the structural features of a leader’s schema and the factors that influence schema acquisition. Coinciding with contemporary findings in the

literature about the nature of expertise, leadership researchers have concluded that individuals with better and more broadly developed schemas perform more effectively in leadership positions relative to those who have poorly developed leadership schemas. Such differences can be credited to the fact that expert leaders have developed richer, more sophisticated mental representations of their current environment, which enable them to encode a larger quantity of information, understand problems at a conceptual level, and retrieve solutions from memory that match the current context. In addition to the demonstrated relationship between the structure of a leader's schema and leadership performance, research has shown that expert knowledge structures develop with experience in leadership positions, a finding that concurs with research on expertise in other domains.

As with their examination of the nature of leaders' schemas, researchers have examined the factors that cause leaders to apply a particular schema. Perhaps most representative of this examination has been the literature outlining the conditions under which a leader will attribute a given follower's ineffective performance to either external or internal factors. For example, suppose that an employee's performance on a task is substandard. How does his or her leader determine the cause of this performance? Drawing upon attribution theory, which deals with how individuals draw causal inferences about behavior, work in this realm has shown that leaders consider whether the behavior exhibited by the employee in this circumstance is also exhibited by the employee in similar circumstances (i.e., consistency), whether other employees behave similarly (i.e., consensus), and whether the employee behaves similarly in different circumstances (i.e., distinctiveness). Depending on the combination of these factors (e.g., high consistency, low consensus, low distinctiveness), the leader may apply two schemas for the employee's poor performance (i.e., behavior was caused by the employee or behavior was out of the employee's control). As a result, attributional information can lead to two highly discrepant behavioral responses (e.g., punish the employee because he or she is responsible or ignore the

episode because the behavior was due to circumstances out of his or her control).

IMPLICATIONS OF COGNITIVE STRUCTURES FOR UNDERSTANDING FOLLOWERS

What causes one individual to follow the lead of a second individual? One explanation posited by scholars who study follower information processing is that followership is dependent upon the schemas that observers apply to an individual. According to this explanation, each person possesses a large and well-elaborated list of traits that people consider to define a leader (i.e., their leadership schema). The decision to follow in any given situation depends upon the degree to which people perceive that an individual possesses the traits that comprise their leadership schema.

Research indicates that the schemas that people tend to hold of a leader, typically called "leader prototypes," are large, well-elaborated cognitive structures. In fact, research suggests that people's leader prototypes contain upward of fifty-seven distinct traits that themselves are organized into eight broad dimensions: sensitivity, dedication, tyranny, charisma, attractiveness, masculinity, intelligence, and strength. Typically, a leader prototype is deemed to be fuzzy and ill-defined such that although each of the traits comprising the leader prototype may be typical for category members (i.e., most leaders possess this trait), no single trait defines membership in this category (i.e., someone who is sensitive is not necessarily a leader). Similarly, the absence of any single trait does not eliminate a person from the leader category; instead, it simply implies that the person is less prototypical of what people consider a leader.

Developmentally, the leader prototype appears to form throughout childhood. Initially, children base their leadership judgments on specific actions, outcomes, and exemplars (e.g., parents). As they age, however, children begin to base their judgments on a highly elaborated leader prototype. Through repeated exposure to leader exemplars, children extract the underlying leader prototype, which then comes to serve as the standard against which leadership judgments are made.

Research examining the nature of people's leader prototypes indicates that the content of these prototypes may shift across different contexts. Work has shown that people possess different prototypes in contexts such as finance, education, religion, sports, national politics, world politics, labor, media, and military. More recently, scholars interested in cross-cultural leadership have shown that although the nature of the leader prototype remains largely consistent across cultures, certain aspects may change as one moves from one nation to another. The variability of prototypes across cultures indicates that leaders may experience some degree of difficulty if they attempt to transition into an unfamiliar domain because the traits they exhibit may be prototypical of a leader in their native country but not in the new country in which they work.

Beyond documenting the nature and development of the leader prototype, researchers have investigated two processes that lead perceivers to apply the leader prototype to an individual. In the first process the extent to which one person (perceiver) might label another (target) as a leader is contingent upon the degree to which the target's features overlap with the features that are contained in the perceiver's leadership schema (referred to as "recognition processes"). The greater the overlap that is perceived to exist, the more strongly the leader category will be applied to the target. In the second process, which reflects what are referred to as "inferential processes," people's beliefs about leadership are strongly intertwined with their beliefs about the success of the groups that leaders lead. People assume that leaders have the capacity to control the fate of the groups that they lead, and as a result, when a group succeeds people automatically infer that the group's leader must be effective (i.e., he or she fits the leader prototype). Although the literature suggests that group performance has a dramatic impact on people's perceptions of leadership, the extent to which observers rely upon inferential versus recognition processes depends partially on the observers' position relative to a leader target. For example, if the leader in question is the CEO of an organization, an observer may have little direct contact with him or her, thus having to rely on inferential processes to form leadership

judgments. On the other hand, if the leader target is an employee's direct supervisor, the employee can form leadership judgments based on recognition processes.

Researchers have also begun to examine what effect a leader's actions can have on followers' self-schemas (i.e., the schemas that describe the self). Some researchers have noted that the effect that a leader has on group outcomes is dependent upon whether or not a leader can actually transform the manner in which followers conceptualize themselves. For example, a hard-working, conscientious leader can inspire his or her followers to behave more conscientiously, and this happens because the leader actually changes the schemas of followers so that they include conscientiousness as a self-descriptive trait (i.e., followers view themselves as more conscientious). Conscientiousness has been shown to predict employee performance; therefore, the more conscientious the followers, the higher their performance will be, which should then translate into increased organizational performance. Because schemas serve to guide behavior, perceptions, and judgments, by shifting the self-schemas of followers, leaders can exert a powerful effect over group events.

THE FUTURE

The study of leadership has benefited from the investigation of leader and follower cognitive structures. Research has documented how cognitive structures serve as the source of a leader's behaviors and the standard against which followers judge a leader's behavior. Research also has highlighted that both leaders and followers possess multidimensional schemas that are acquired through experience. This literature has documented the instrumental role that context plays in schema usage. Despite these advances, changing conditions suggest that several avenues of research warrant future consideration. For example, technology is dramatically transforming the manner in which people communicate. Advances have lessened the need for face-to-face interactions between leaders and followers, creating a need to better understand how follower perceptions are formed in a virtual environment. Similarly, the

demographic composition of the workforce continues to shift, creating greater numbers of demographically dissimilar leader-follower dyads (pairs). The manner in which leadership perceptions form in such dyads has not been considered but should become increasingly important as the workplace diversifies.

—*Douglas J. Brown and
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See also Schemata, Scripts, and Mental Processes

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COLLECTIVE ACTION

Collective action occurs through the decision of individuals, who are regarded as rational actors seeking to maximize self-interest, to participate in an activity with the purpose of achieving common or group interests. The study of collective action therefore provides valuable insight for understanding the dynamics of activities or movements generated and sustained by a group of cooperating individuals.

THE PROBLEM OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

Collective action may be a one-time incident, such as the payment of contributions by members of a community to renovate their town hall, or a long-term process, such as participation in a decade-long struggle for the improvement of civil rights. Regardless of the duration of the action and the degree of commitment required for its sustenance, the main feature of collective action is that it rarely occurs in natural conditions. This problem is commonly explained through the logic of what is known as the Prisoners' Dilemma.

The Prisoners' Dilemma is based on the fundamental assumption that individuals are self-inter-

ested in the sense that they maximize utility. The following scenario provides an illustration of the concept:

Tanya and Cinque have been arrested for robbing the Hibernia Savings Bank and placed in separate isolation cells. Both care much more about their personal freedom than about the welfare of their accomplice. A clever prosecutor makes the following offer to each. “You may choose to confess or remain silent. If you confess and your accomplice remains silent I will drop all charges against you and use your testimony to ensure that your accomplice does serious time. Likewise, if your accomplice confesses while you remain silent, they will go free while you do the time. If you both confess I get two convictions, but I’ll see to it that you both get early parole. If you both remain silent, I’ll have to settle for token sentences on firearms possession charges. If you wish to confess, you must leave a note with the jailer before my return tomorrow morning.” (Kuhn 2003)

To summarize, if Tanya and Cinque both choose to remain silent, they will both achieve the most positive outcomes. If both confess, they will face somewhat more negative results. But if one chooses to confess while the other remains silent, the one who remains silent will suffer the most negative consequences while the one who confesses will enjoy the most positive outcome. Although remaining silent seems to be the best choice for both players, the individuals are likely to end up choosing confession for two reasons. First, confession is the strategy that offers a better outcome regardless of the other player’s choice. Second, due to the lack of trust, individuals choose confession in order to avoid potential exploitation by the other player. In other words, confession will be the desirable strategy for the rational, self-interested individual. The important discovery here is that what is in the best interest of the group differs from that which is in the best interest of the individual.

When the Prisoners’ Dilemma is applied to a group setting (this is called the N-Person Prisoners’ Dilemma), individuals will be reluctant to cooperate for similar reasons. Each individual will have the choice to either contribute or not contribute for a collective (or public) good. The best outcome for the

group as a whole will be produced when all members of the group decide to contribute. Everyone will have paid the same cost and will receive equal shares of the collective good in return. But the best outcome for the individual, on the other hand, will be to not contribute and exploit the contributions made by other members instead, since through this choice the individual will be able to reap benefits without paying the cost. This phenomenon is called the “free-rider problem,” and it would be logical for self-interested individuals to become free-riders since their goal is to secure maximum gain. Consequently, individuals will be reluctant to engage in collective action for two reasons. First, the strategy of non-contribution offers a better outcome than the strategy of contribution. Second, individuals attempt to avoid possible exploitation by other players in the group.

THE NATURE OF PUBLIC GOODS

It is necessary to look into the nature of public goods to better understand the reason why individuals find it difficult to participate in collective action. Public goods are beneficial resources that are shared by members of a group or community. Public goods have two characteristics: jointness of supply and the impossibility of exclusion. This means that public goods are made available through collective contribution, but noncontributing members cannot be excluded from enjoying the public good: contributors and non-contributors alike will become beneficiaries of the public good. Using the example of the town hall above, we can imagine a situation in which half of the members of the community have contributed for renovation but the other half have not. The town hall will have been renovated through the collective contribution of the cooperating members of the community only, but because the town hall is public property (a public good), even noncontributing members of the society will be able to enjoy and freely access the renovated facility. Some other examples of public goods are natural resources such as air and water, and different kinds of public property such as parks, playgrounds, and stadiums. The nonexclusive nature of these public goods has the effect of encouraging free riders, since individuals

*It is better to have one person working with you,
than three working for you.*

—Unknown

are able to harvest the fruits of the public good without having to sow any seeds.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF NON-COOPERATION

As demonstrated above, the problem of collective action is that it is unlikely to occur because individuals have the incentive to act selfishly rather than serve the common interest. Yet, the more serious problem is that when individuals decide to pursue their self-interest, the collective outcome turns out to be disastrous. Non-cooperation and non-participation in collective action will result in either the absence of public goods (the problem of creation), or the exhaustion of already-existing public resources (the problem of depletion). Without active participation in a civil rights movement, there will be no equal and fair rights for the minority people to enjoy. Without contributions for renovation, the town hall will remain shabby, defunct, and may even end up collapsing over the night. Phenomena such as pollution, environmental degradation, and energy shortages also are examples of the negative consequences of non-cooperation.

In other words, without cooperation, every member will be worse off than he or she would have been if each had contributed a fair share and the public good been provided.

MOVING FROM INDIVIDUAL INACTION TO COLLECTIVE ACTION

The unfavorable consequences of non-cooperation and inaction transform collective action from a choice into a necessity. The question then is how to induce self-interested individuals to participate in collective action, going against their natural inclinations.

Olson, in *The Logic of Collective Action*, named two catalysts for collective action: selective incen-

tives and entrepreneurship. Collective action may occur when the payoff attached to choices made by the individual are altered through external intervention. An example would be the provision of selective incentives such as material rewards, monetary compensation, and the enhancement of one's social reputation. Real-world examples include health insurance benefits exclusively offered for the members of a labor union, consumer guidebooks for the members of consumer organizations, and the like. If one has a selective incentive to gain through his or her participation in collective action, he or she would be more willing to cooperate.

Olson also noted the importance of entrepreneurs in the production of public goods. Entrepreneurs play a facilitating role as the means of pursuing a personal ambition, such as running for office. This might explain how collective action occurs in the first place, but it fails to give an appropriate account of how groups are maintained and collective goods are sustained.

Negative measures such as threats, punishment, fines, and sanctions also enforce collective action by significantly reducing the well-being of those who decide to not cooperate. These measures, however, are not welcome in democratic society, since they incur enormous sanctioning costs.

The most idealistic way of generating collective action is for members of a community or group to reach a voluntary agreement for sustaining or producing public goods, and utilizing the function of peer pressure to inhibit free-riders. This will work only in small and tightly knit groups where peer pressure has visible influence over other members, and large groups will find it difficult to overcome the free-rider problem.

THE ROLE OF LEADERSHIP

The most effective driving force behind collective action may come from within, not outside of, a group. Historical examples of effective and long-running public-spirited movements—such as the Indian Independence Movement of the early 1920s, the American civil rights movement of the 1960s, and the antiapartheid struggle in South Africa, which

lasted for three decades—shed light on the significant role of leadership in the mobilization of collective action. In most cases, leaders will initiate and involve themselves in collective action for a different reason. Unlike other members of the group who painstakingly calculate the pros and cons of each available option by conditioning their choices upon the possible response of the other, leaders will have an independent interest, one that lies in the achievement of the common good pursued by the movement he or she has authored or sponsored. Leaders will thus act autonomously when committing themselves to the collective action.

Such visionary and transformational leadership (“leading by example”) becomes a contagious force over the other members of the group. Effective and committed leadership not only creates momentum in favor of a movement, but also sets forth a greater possibility of its success, to which followers will respond by jumping on the bandwagon. This, of course, increases the possibility for ultimate success (meaning the achievement of the common purpose). There is no doubt that the inspirational influence of leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi, the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., and Nelson Mandela was crucial to the mobilization and success of the social movements mentioned above. In the American civil rights movement, for instance, Martin Luther King Jr.’s moral values stemming from his Christian faith and a firm commitment to nonviolence as a strategy for creating social change had the impact of encouraging numerous followers to participate voluntarily in important historical events such as the Montgomery bus boycott (1955–1956) and the March on Washington (1963). The fact that he held fast to the movement facing constant harassments and attempts at assassination targeted not only toward himself but also toward his family members and his most trusted colleagues, which ultimately resulted in his death, provides a fine illustration of “leading by example.”

THE ROLE OF FOLLOWERSHIP

Leadership plays a powerful role in stimulating collective action, but it would not be complete without an active followership. On the outset, followers may

not seem to be of much significance since they are belittled under the towering presence of leadership. But without the collaboration of followers no movement or action would be possible, even with the most committed and passionate leadership.

The Montgomery bus boycott could not have been successful had the whole African-American population in Montgomery failed to follow and wholeheartedly support the decisions made by the leadership. The leadership had expected about 60 percent of the black population to participate in the boycott, but were surprised to find that there was nearly a 100-percent rate of cooperation: this was an undeniable blow to the bus company, which relied on the African-American population, who accounted for 60 percent of the riders, for profit.

Such cases reveal that followers are not doomed to remain captives of self-interest, but are just as capable of realizing and pursuing the common interest as leaders are. Education and promotion of the purposes of the collective action by the leadership will encourage active followership. Experience may also teach lessons worth remembering: if a community continuously suffers the negative consequences of inaction, there will be a rising awareness among its members of the necessity of cooperation. Followership that goes hand-in-hand with leadership is essential for successful collective action.

LEADERSHIP, FOLLOWERSHIP, AND COLLECTIVE ACTION

Rational and self-interested individuals do not spontaneously engage in actions that aim to achieve a common interest. If interests are shared, individuals would prefer to become free-riders and leave it to other members of the group to pay the cost for the provision of public goods that would benefit all. This tendency of rational actors to act selfishly results in a worsened collective outcome, and in order to prevent such situations other measures should be employed to gear the desire of individuals toward cooperation. Incentives and disincentives prove to be useful in suiting this purpose, but academic research and social experience draw attention to the transformational power of leadership and the important sup-

porting role of followership as the keys to effective and sustainable collective action.

—*Kisuk Cho*

See also Activism; Coalitions; Community Development; Teamwork

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COMMUNICATION

The capacity to communicate—usually denoted by people's ability to make sense of things and articulate about them, share ideas, manage meaning and symbols, and persuade or influence others—is probably one of the few common themes across the multitude of definitions of leadership that have been generated

during the centuries. In other words, because “leadership is enacted through communication” (Barge, 1994a, 21), and communication is often considered to be “the central function of leadership” (Fairhurst and Sarr, 1996, xiv), only with difficulty can we discuss leadership processes or outcomes without considering issues associated with communication.

Central to most contemporary perspectives in the study of leadership and communication is the notion that leadership is symbolically or socially constructed. In other words, leadership is viewed as an ongoing “conversation” between leaders and followers in which “talk” or communication can be conceived of as doing the work of leadership, that is, reducing uncertainty and ambiguity and facilitating a group toward accomplishing shared goals and objectives. Thus, whether in communicating his or her vision of the future to a large group of followers or in conducting his or her everyday and routine interactions with others, the leader is inescapably involved in the communicative processes of managing meaning and “framing” reality.

COMPONENTS OF COMMUNICATION

Most communication theories and models typically incorporate a number of basic elements, including message (verbal and nonverbal cues being conveyed), channel (medium of message transmission), sender/receiver, transmission (sending/receiving of a message via a channel), encoding/decoding (message creation, transformation, and deciphering), meaning (message interpretation), feedback (message response), and communication effects (results/outcomes of message exchange) (Krone, Jablin, and Putnam, 1987). Specific definitions of these elements usually vary depending on the particular perspective to communication and leadership that one assumes.

COMMUNICATION PERSPECTIVES

Major theoretical perspectives in the study of communication include the mechanistic, psychological, interpretive-symbolic, systems-interaction, and critical perspectives (Fisher, 1978; Krone, Jablin, and

Putnam, 1987; Littlejohn, 1992). Although these perspectives can be presented as distinct from one another, when appropriate they are often combined in studies of communication and leadership (for instance, the mechanistic and psychological perspectives and the symbolic-interpretive and critical perspectives).

Mechanistic Perspective

The mechanistic perspective focuses on the channel and transmission of messages and tends to view communication as a “conduit” (Axley, 1984) in which messages flow in a linear fashion, and various factors such as noise, breakdowns, gatekeepers, and barriers affect the fidelity or accuracy of sent and received messages. Research examining the effectiveness of the media and channels that leaders use in communicating information to followers often assumes a mechanistic perspective (e.g., oral versus written, locating specific linkages in networks in which communication breaks down). From this perspective the messages a leader sends have an objective quality to them, and thus a leader who communicates effectively is one who is “transferring” his or her ideas to followers in the manner that he or she intended (misunderstandings are viewed as communication breakdowns in the transfer of information); followers are conceived of as fairly passive, reactive receivers of messages.

In sum, to a large extent the mechanistic perspective casts leadership as “monologue” and communication as a tool for a leader to use to accomplish goals. Leaders are viewed as the central authors or organizers of meaning through the messages they generate, such as vision and missions statements (Bennis and Nanus, 1985). The meanings (for example, visions) created by leaders “remain largely uncontested by constituents” (Fairhurst, 2001, 387) as they are “transferred” with varying levels of fidelity among them.

Psychological Perspective

The psychological perspective draws attention to the “conceptual filters” or “lenses” (Putnam, Phillips,

and Chapman, 1996) that affect what individuals attend to and convey in communicating with others, as well as how they interpret or process information. Communication is receiver oriented (versus sender and transmission focused, as in the mechanistic perspective) and is located in individuals’ attitudes, perceptions, schemata, attributions, cognitions, and all other unobservable states that “significantly affect not only what information is attended to, conveyed, and interpreted but also how this information is processed” (Krone, Jablin, and Putnam, 1987, 25). “The emphasis is always on subjective reactions to so-called objective messages” (Fairhurst, 2001, 384). For example, misunderstandings in communication are considered in terms of psychological processes associated with interpretation versus fidelity issues in the message exchange process between leaders and followers. Thus, whereas in the mechanistic perspective obstacles to effective communication such as “noise” and gatekeeping arise from message transmission processes, from the psychological perspective these obstacles stem from the conceptual filters that individuals consciously or unconsciously apply in attending to, conveying, and processing message stimuli in their information environments.

Studies examining differences in how leaders and followers perceive messages that they exchange with another, how followers’ perceptions of their leaders’ communication affect their upward communication, and how leaders scan and interpret their information environments are usually associated with the psychological perspective to communication (Jablin, 1979). From the psychological perspective, effective leadership communication occurs when leaders and constituents share relatively congruent perceptions or interpretations of their information environments and the messages they exchange with one another.

Interpretive-Symbolic Perspective

“The interpretive-symbolic perspective posits that by virtue of their ability to communicate individuals are capable of creating and shaping their own social reality” (Krone, Jablin, and Putnam 1987, 27). This perspective is heavily influenced by the symbolic-inter-



Leadership Communication in Shakespeare

This famous speech, delivered by Marc Antony in Shakespeare's Julius Caesar, is a classic example of communication about leadership and infamous leaders.

Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears;
 I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him.
 The evil that men do lives after them;
 The good is oft interred with their bones;
 So let it be with Caesar. The noble Brutus
 Hath told you Caesar was ambitious:
 If it were so, it was a grievous fault,
 And grievously hath Caesar answer'd it.
 Here, under leave of Brutus and the rest—
 For Brutus is an honourable man;
 So are they all, all honourable men—
 Come I to speak in Caesar's funeral.
 He was my friend, faithful and just to me:
 But Brutus says he was ambitious;
 And Brutus is an honourable man.
 He hath brought many captives home to Rome
 Whose ransoms did the general coffers fill:
 Did this in Caesar seem ambitious?
 When that the poor have cried, Caesar hath wept:
 Ambition should be made of sterner stuff:
 Yet Brutus says he was ambitious;
 And Brutus is an honourable man.
 You all did see that on the Lupercal
 I thrice presented him a kingly crown,
 Which he did thrice refuse: was this ambition?
 Yet Brutus says he was ambitious;
 And, sure, he is an honourable man.
 I speak not to disprove what Brutus spoke,
 But here I am to speak what I do know.
 You all did love him once, not without cause:
 What cause withholds you then, to mourn for him?
 O judgment! thou art fled to brutish beasts,
 And men have lost their reason. Bear with me;
 My heart is in the coffin there with Caesar,
 And I must pause till it come back to me.

Source: Shakespeare, William. *Julius Caesar*. Act 3, Scene 2.

actionist tradition (Blumer, 1969; Mead, 1934) and focuses on how role taking and shared meaning allow leaders and followers to coordinate their activities. The ways in which cultural factors affect interpretive processes are emphasized, as are processes

by which individuals construct meanings by negotiating consensual interpretations of reality. In other words, individuals “take an active role in creating knowledge through language and communication . . . [and] are neither passive nor reactive, but intentional and reflexively self-aware” (Fairhurst, 2001, 385). Communication is “both behavioral and symbolic, with a simultaneous emphasis on action and sense-making” (Putnam, Phillips, and Chapmani, 1996, 384).

Leadership communication is cast as more dialogic than monologic (as in the mechanistic perspective); through interaction, feedback, and sharing, leaders and constituents co-construct, contest, and co-author meanings associated with their relationships and the current status and future possibilities of the collectives in which they are embedded. Thus, from the interpretive-symbolic perspective, “shared” visions are not simply created by leaders and “shared” with constituents, but rather are a product of the ongoing conversation or dialogue among leaders and followers about each other's dreams for the collective. Similarly, from this perspective, when a leader tells a story to constituents to highlight a “shared” value, storytelling is not cast as a monologue but rather as a dialogic discourse process in which leader and constituents are simultaneously co-constructing the story and the leader-constituent relationship. Thus, effective leaders do not necessarily orchestrate visions and stories but rather act more as leaders of jazz bands in which members are actively engaged in improvising and meshing the sounds of their competing instruments into coherent music.

Systems-Interaction Perspective

In the systems-interaction perspective, the locus of communication is patterned sequential message behaviors of individuals as part of an interactional system. In other words, communication is understood in terms of recurring categories and forms of contiguous messages exchanged among individuals and not in terms of particular messages or the specific messages of an individual at any point in time. From this perspective “an individual doesn't ‘do’

communication, he becomes part of communication” (Birdwhistell 1959, 104).

In brief, the perspective draws heavily from information theory (especially with respect to relationships between redundancy and uncertainty reduction) and general systems theory (especially with respect to the properties of interdependence and wholeness) and is distinguished by its emphasis on

- (1) time, namely that communication acts recur in meaningful ways and change gradually over time;
- (2) communicative acts, interacts and double interacts, that is, a recurring sequence of three contiguous messages exchanged by communicators;
- (3) the probabilities with which sequences of interacts and double interacts occur in social interaction (a measure of the structure and function of the communication system) and
- (4) phases or patterns of interaction and recurring cycles. (Krone, Jablin, and Putnam, 1987, 31)

Accordingly, from this perspective the “locus of leadership is not the individual but in the patterned sequential communication of leaders and constituents who form an interactional system” (Fairhurst, 2001, 383). Along these lines, for instance, researchers have explored how leaders and followers define and direct their relationships through “control moves” that are often evidenced in symmetrical or complementary interaction patterns that evolve during time (Watson, 1982; Fairhurst, Rogers, and Sarr, 1987; Fairhurst, Green, and Courtright, 1995). In turn, other researchers have employed operant models of supervision to explore leader-follower interactional processes (Komaki, 1998). In brief, from the systems-interaction perspective, barriers to effective leadership communication arise from recurring interactional properties and structures that evolve as leaders and constituents exchange messages with one another.

Critical Perspectives

Critical perspectives apply values to make judgments about communication behavior, structures, and processes. Two streams of critical perspectives are (1) rhetorical criticism, which is perhaps the oldest approach to understanding the quality of persuasive discourse, language, reasoning, and argumentation in

society, and (2) a number of loosely related theories concerned with conflicts “of interests in society and the ways in which communication perpetuates domination” (Littlejohn, 1992, 16). Both streams recognize that communication is central to defining culture and that language and discourse play major roles in affecting experience.

Rhetorical criticism focuses on analyzing the means of persuasion that individuals employ in communicating with others and understanding the “art of using language to help people narrow their choices among specifiable, if not specified, policy options” (Hart, 1990, 4). By studying written and oral texts, researchers “infer meanings through subtexts of discourse” rooted in the circumstances and contexts (rhetorical situations and audiences) associated with messages (Putnam and Fairhurst, 2001, 109). Critics use a variety of standards in evaluating persuasive discourse, including moral, historical, political, and artistic criteria. General forms of rhetorical criticism include the analysis of speech acts (the functions of language such as promising, asserting, and requesting), *topoi* (topics/themes from which ideas are derived), semiotics (the study of signs and symbols), narratives (stories, myths, and legends), logic (reasoning and evidence), persuasive forms and structures, syntax and imagery, rhetorical roles, motives, and dramatic and ideological features of rhetoric (Hart, 1990).

In the study of leadership, rhetorical criticism has frequently been applied to political leaders (for instance, presidents) and their public communication (Hart, 1987). Leadership studies have also employed various forms of language and rhetorical analysis in exploring charisma and visionary leadership in organizations (Den Hartog and Verburg, 1997; Fiol, Harris, and House, 1999).

Critical social theories provide critiques of society generally; with respect to communication in particular, they focus on the expression and suppression of “voices” in society. These theories (e.g., neo-Marxist and feminist) draw attention to interconnections among power, meaning, and communication and how ideology, hegemony, unobtrusive control, and the like affect the ability of individuals to be heard and understood in society.

Generally speaking, critical perspectives consider communication and language as constitutive of power relations in collectives; power is “conceptualized primarily as a struggle over meaning,” with the group “that is best able to ‘fix’ meaning and articulate it to its own interests” as the group that will be best able to maintain and reproduce power (Mumby, 2001, 601). When one group “fixes” its meanings or ideology over another, hegemony arises, “a process of domination, in which one set of ideas subverts or co-opts another” (Littlejohn, 1992, 247), resulting in the distortion and/or suppression of alternative voices and the institutionalization of discursive practices that echo the voice of the dominant group. Along these lines Mumby (1987) demonstrates how organizational stories about leader-follower relationships can function to reproduce power relationships in work organizations.

Among other things, feminist criticism considers the ways in which male language domination affects relationships and constrains communication for women and how women resist and accommodate male language patterns and speech (Littlejohn, 1992). For example, analyses of communication in organizations have shown how leader storytelling and conversational practices often produce and reproduce gender inequality (Bullis, 1993; Martin, 1990).

COMMUNICATION, LEADERSHIP, AND THE PERSPECTIVES

Each of these perspectives offers a different lens for viewing communication and leadership. Accordingly, the perspective that one assumes will affect the extent to which leadership in any particular situation is judged “effective.” This is illustrated next by two studies in which similar incidents were examined but in which, because of the different communication perspectives employed in the analysis of the incidents, distinctive conclusions about leadership effectiveness were drawn. Both of the examples involve analyses of cases of self-led/self-managed teams in organizations in which the teams/team leaders discipline a member.

The first example is drawn from the work of

Manz and Sims (1990) and represents an interaction that the researchers suggest reflects effective discipline in a self-led/self-managed team. In the incident they describe a situation in which a worker had been absent because of his wife’s illness. Manz and Sims describe the group meeting as follows:

The team leader addressed one of the members: “Jerry, we want to talk to you now about your absenteeism.” He then went on to recount Jerry’s record of absenteeism. . . . He asked Jerry if he had anything to say about the absenteeism. Jerry briefly talked about his wife’s illness. The team leader then went on to talk about the effect of absenteeism on the other team members—how others had to work harder because of Jerry’s absences and how the absences were hurting team performance. He stated unambiguously that Jerry’s absences were “unacceptable. We won’t allow it to continue.” He said that if he were absent one more time, Jerry would face a formal disciplinary charge that would be entered into the record. The team leader concluded by asking Jerry about his intentions. Jerry replied, “I guess I’ve been absent about as much as I can get away with. I guess I better come to work.” (Manz and Sims, 1990, 191)

Although not explicitly stated by the researchers, their assessment that the preceding interaction reflects an effective display of team leadership appears to reflect a mechanistic perspective of communication. The message exchange process is generally linear in nature, the message recipient, Jerry, is framed as a fairly passive, reactive receiver of the group’s perspective, and there is little practical opportunity for Jerry to contest the “meanings” that are being communicated to him. Based on Jerry’s response, however, it appears that he “got the message” and thus was effectively disciplined by the group.

In the second example, Mumby and Stohl (1992) also examine an interaction in a self-led/self-managed team in which the team disciplines a member for absenteeism due to a non-work-related problem. The particular interaction they analyze involves a meeting in which the team is discussing its productivity levels. The meeting has gone on for about thirty minutes already when members consider the problem of Lindsay’s absenteeism. The

team leader, Fraser, initiates the interaction, as indicated in this transcript:

Fraser: Lindsay, where are the numbers on the steels?

Sal: He can't get it, he's been out for the last three . . .

Fraser: Yeah, that's right, we need to discuss this today, why we need that . . .

Lindsay: I couldn't make it.

Les: The regulations say—we only have to miss meetings if the production line will be stopped—surely Libby's (the plant manager) not pulling that.

Fraser: Yeah, we promised we'd come if they paid, you didn't.

Lindsay: No . . . that's not it, none of it. I wasn't at work at all, it's other stuff . . .

Sal: (interrupting) Come on, there isn't other stuff—we can't fix this up if we don't have you doing the Pareto—they just won't buy the answer otherwise. . . . Nobody cares, nobody may worry, but sooner or later the machine is gonna stop completely—we need info about the steels. If you're not here to do it, I say we get another joker. Two more misses and we go somewhere else. Everyone agree?

After a few seconds of awkward silence the group nods in agreement, and they move on to the next topic. (Mumby and Stohl 1992, 321)

In considering the discourse of the team meeting, Mumby and Stohl framed the incident from a critical perspective and offered an analysis in which they questioned the monolithic nature of team member identity promoted by the self-led team design—"team member first and foremost." Among other issues, they suggested that the team design, under the guise of neutrality, had constructed a definition of absence associated with the dominant interests of the organization; as a consequence, what were once legitimate accounts of absence (such as an ill wife) were no longer accepted as legitimate and meaningful. In sum, the Mumby and Stohl analysis suggests that within the group alternative voices are muted and marginalized and that the group and its leader may be unwittingly producing and reproducing "meanings" that systematically privilege certain articulations of

reality over others. From a critical perspective this is not an example of effective leadership.

In sum, the preceding examples, although depicting relatively similar incidents, reflect different assessments of effective leadership as a consequence of the underlying perspectives to communication that were assumed in evaluating the incidents. One analysis is not right and the other wrong; rather, they illustrate the importance of articulating assumptions about communication when studying leadership processes.

To conclude, researchers often apply distinctive perspectives in their efforts to unpack the characteristics of leader-constituent communication associated with particular leadership theories and models. Thus, for example, some studies of charismatic leadership have employed rhetorical criticism to analyze the manner in which leaders communicate vision in public settings, whereas others have employed the mechanistic and psychological perspectives in examining the message delivery styles of leaders and the influence tactics they use in communicating with constituents (Fairhurst, 2001). These perspectives vary with respect to their philosophical assumptions and their focus on the "ostensively displayed" versus "internally experienced" characteristics and dimensions of messages and interaction (Stohl and Redding, 1987) and on "surface" versus "deep-structured" systems of meaning (Czarniawska-Joerges and Joerges, 1988; Putnam and Fairhurst, 2001). Exploring leadership communication from one perspective is not more valuable than from another; rather, studies from each perspective are necessary to obtain a rich understanding of the complexities associated with leader-constituent communication.

—Fredric M. Jablin

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COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP

See Bay of Pigs; Castro, Fidel; Cuban Missile Crisis; Guevara, Ernesto Che; Lenin, Valdimir; Long March; Mao Zedong; Marx, Karl; Stalin, Josef; Tiananmen Square; Xian Incident



COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Community development is the process by which groups of people define themselves as belonging to each other, create a set of shared, formal commitments, and, through an informal, emotional sense of belonging, work to enhance their collective lives.

The empowerment that people need to enhance their collective lives is brought about by leadership that creates and transfers knowledge between the sectors of society most able to assist the community. In reality “no more than one percent of the population is involved in community decision making in most American cities” (Nix 1983, 238). Community development activities are typically carried out by a small group of people who are interested in and dedicated to providing community-based leadership.

People most commonly study leadership by examining the individual person as leader and the leader’s authority, influence, and capacity to direct actions of followers. The study of the psychology of the leader and the leader’s resulting psycho-social-political ability to create, control, and maintain power were the chief avenues of inquiry for those who used traditional leadership methods often called “top down” approaches because the authority and direction of the initiative originate in official actors and not in the people and their community life. However, to meet the growing demand of urban and immigrant communities that are expanding in the United States, new emphases on bottom-up leadership required interdisciplinary conversations between the philosophy, sociology, anthropology, and pedagogy of community leadership. In addition, there is new interest in the “community as leader,” sometimes called “indigenous,” or “collaborative” leadership. In what is referred to as “bottom up” leadership, the authority and direction of the initiative originates in the people and their community life. The challenge that people face is that their understanding of the individual leader is oriented in schools of thought called “theoretical orientations,” whereas the new focus on community leadership is oriented in a people’s commonsense understanding of the world around them and is still lacking a theoretical orientation.

Leadership is enhanced by the articulation of its philosophy. Philosopher Christopher Hodgkin argues that “Philosophically speaking, the formal leader has a specialist function in that he is expected to gain a position of value perspective which affords him a degree of detachment, non attachment and affective disinterest different from and greater than that to be



A sign along a road in Puerto Princesa, Palawan, the Philippines, promoting civic pride and safety.

Source: Stephen G. Donaldson; used with permission.

expected in other organizational roles” (Hodgkin 1983, 209). If people do not understand leadership, they may see this function as crude or unpolished when in fact the leader has developed a rather sophisticated, clear-eyed, and imperturbable leadership style. The leader’s obligation to protect the people, from wandering away from or losing their focus on community development goals, keeps the leader alert, aware, and oriented toward what Buddhists have called “mindfulness.”

In a context of power the relationship between leaders and the people is one of exchange: The people elect their leaders, who are empowered to speak and act in their name. In a context of domination the

people's leadership is suppressed, and the people are oppressed by others who are not elected but who have seized the ability to control the people's lives. True leadership is found in a democracy. In a democracy a "surplus" of benefits—not the least of which are emotional surpluses such as "devotion" to one another (Rich 1980, 574–575)—is exchanged between leaders and the people.

CONCEPTS, MODELS, AND THEORIES

Successful community development leadership is characterized by the leader's commitment to developing the people's self-determination and by improving. Leadership entails honor. Preserving honor in leadership often "costs us our lives" (Villegas 1999, 63). Why, then, do individuals and collectives offer themselves as leaders? When one looks at individuals as leaders, the rewards of leadership are often thought to be the primary reason why leaders emerge: Leaders have devoted followings, and leaders acquire a sense of personal satisfaction with a progress that pleases the people. The costs of leadership may be just as significant and may contribute to the decline of leadership: The long and often voluntary hours, the high risks of political life, and the fickleness of politics may not provide the benefits sought by leaders.

Collaborative leadership faces similar challenges because collectives are made up of individuals. To balance the rewards and the costs in both collectives and individuals, leadership develops strategies for understanding occasions when people gather and methods for using these occasions to shape the attitudes that produce the change or the vision that the community seeks.

Leaders name the problem that is being addressed while articulating the people's vision. Under good leadership the strength of the people's vision is amplified to the right "immensity" (Bolling 1996, 1), which challenges the people's capacity to accomplish the vision in accountable ways. Good leaders also work to prevent fear and negativity from destroying the vision and the good solutions that bring it about. They do this by keeping the river of truthful communication flowing among the people,

sometimes using "the grapevine." The grapevine, however, is not always the best form of communication, so the standards and indicators for community success must be available in many formats—the most effective standards and indicators tend to be community media sources such as newspapers. Community journalists are leaders who report on events and remind people of their goals.

A critical component of leadership strategies is the use of community-wide, high profile, well-attended activities often called "trigger events" (Japp 1989, 213) to bring about the changes that are sought. After a community development goal is accomplished, leaders make a prompt announcement followed by immediate articulation of what the community has to do to adjust to the changes it sought.

Community development leadership depends on finding leaders in the community. However, if the community has been depleted of its natural leadership—its intellectual, creative, and visionary people—then leadership skills and the capacity to dream must be taught to a willing but secondary group. This dire context of a "society without dreams" often produces a sense "that leaders can't lead" (Bennis 1989, xiv). This hero-less context is ripe for picking by outside villains.

Models

Collaborative leadership strategies for community development are indebted to the international redrawing of the power map by grassroots women's organizations. A collaborative leadership that clearly articulates tasks, timetables, and expectations and then evaluates its work, letting everyone participate, has been widely successful in struggling communities. For example, the Country Women's Association of Nigeria (COWAN) has become a global model for communities empowered by bottom-up planning in a context where young people are continually attracted away from villages. Because leaders are socially produced in context, the COWAN example argues that social development is a critical component of economic development: "Social development consists of interventions aimed at providing the conditions whereby human

beings change existing social relations by using resources to express their creativity as they grow to their full potential” (Lucas 2001, 186). COWAN as a nongovernmental organization is successful because it is not dependent on the uncertainty of government but rather on women’s popular participation that grows into an indigenous leadership that understands the macroeconomic (large-scale) realities that are faced by communities and against which communities raise young leadership.

Scotland provides yet another kind of collaborative model that is linked to public administration and the public’s desire to see an efficient provision of fragmented services. Some Scots see their urban environment as “devolving” (Lloyd 2002, 147) and have established regional planning partnerships to produce leaders and modernization in underdeveloped communities. One might see this more balanced model as existing halfway between the top-down and bottom-up models. In the Scottish example the boundaries between state directives and the local economic markets are diminished by regional “reference to social justice milestones” (Lloyd 2002, 149). These accomplishments are products of a supportive and balanced partnership between local communities and official representatives who are committed to advancing the community, region, and state.

China’s entrepreneurial rural community development strategies produced the Wenzhou development model is like that of Scotland (creating regional associations) and that of Nigeria in that it realized the connection between social development and economic development: “Wenzhou was named as a national ‘model’ [when] the total product of society (the sum of the gross output value . . .) increased from 3 billion yuan in 1980 to 13 billion yuan in 1988” (Liu 1992, 698). These models became a success after scholars, journalists, and local activists teamed up to promote them.

The developing U.S. model of federal support for grassroots empowerment through a collaboration with faith groups is based on the success of the African-American church in producing leadership from the most abandoned and estranged neighborhoods. Sociologist James Cavendish finds that the

“racial composition of the parish significantly influences its probability for engaging in social service . . . leadership training has a stronger more positive effect in black churches than in white churches” (Cavendish 2000, 382). Worldwide, direct collaboration with the poor has become “both an ideology and a prescriptive tool” producing effective ways to conserve resources while developing sustainable advancements in economic and political life (Selin, Schuett, & Carr 2000, 735).

Theories

Theories attempt to explain social behavior. Social scientists have long understood leadership as a kind of authority that is produced through interactions that evaluate a person’s integrity. Yet, there are many ways to understand this authority, how it is acquired, and put into practice. The German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920) theorized that society legitimates social order through three types of authority: (1) rational authority that is established by a group’s laws, (2) traditional authority that comes from historical beliefs and obligations such as to a chief, a rabbi, or a grandparent, and (3) charismatic authority that comes from within the particular person. In all three types, people must believe in the authority of the leader whose actions find approval in the collective value system. The degree of power that the leader is given is directly related to the leader’s integrity.

Weber’s view is one view; it is important to understand that there are many theories that originate out of our worldviews. Weber is often seen as a moderate, middle, or liberal theorist who competed for community attention with the radical and conservative voices of his time. It is impossible to name all the operating theories that exist in community development work, but it is critical for communities to articulate an understanding of how social life is produced.

CONTROVERSIES

Community development is highly charged emotionally because few people are involved in community



Cathedral Building as a Model for Social Change

(ANS)—Social entrepreneur Bill Shore believes the time is right for building a new type of cathedral, not out of bricks and mortar but out of leadership, innovation and community wealth put to creative use for lasting social change.

"The great cathedrals did not grow skyward because their builders discovered new materials or suddenly found the necessary financial resources," he writes in his book *The Cathedral Within*. "Rather, they had a unique understanding of the human spirit that enabled them to use those materials in an entirely new way."

Shore's design for a "new architecture" for how society uses its resources to strengthen communities, and especially help children, revolves around five principles he discovered through research on the builders of the great European cathedrals. These are long-term commitments, collaborations among many segments of society, building on the foundations laid by others, generating new community wealth and telling stories that illustrate shared values.

Shore is the founder and executive director of Share Our Strength, a national organization that mobilizes industries and individuals to contribute their talents to fighting hunger and poverty. He is also chair of Community Wealth Ventures, a for-profit subsidiary that provides consulting services to corporations, foundations and nonprofit organizations interested in developing profitable enterprises to promote social change.

His book is part memoir, part social commentary, part biography of other social change visionaries and part how-to guide.

Shore profiles several individuals in cities around the

country who are leveraging the market economy to improve community life and the future for children.

The meat of the book, however, is his argument that nonprofit organizations need to move from reliance on redistributed wealth, in the form of grants and donations, to creating their own wealth. He describes this shift as putting the marketplace to use for community purposes instead of for personal enrichment.

"Creating new wealth is the only answer for nonprofits and community-based organizations struggling to meet social needs," Shore writes. Creating such wealth frees up these organizations to make monumental progress and to run their programs as they feel is right, even if it is not popular, he argues.

Shore explains how an organization can take stock of assets that can be transformed into a money-making enterprise and develop partnerships with businesses for licensing and cause-related marketing.

He cites a program that provides housing, health care and other services for individuals with HIV and AIDS in New York City through revenue generated by thrift stores and a used bookstore-cafe. He cites a soup kitchen that developed a catering business, and an organization for the mentally ill and homeless that operates a gourmet bakery as well as landscaping and janitorial services.

Dozens of organizations that Shore writes in some way "exemplify the principles of cathedral building" are listed in a resource directory at the back of the book. This directory includes addresses, web sites (where available) and a short description of each group.

—Marianne Comfort

Source: "Author Sees Cathedral Building as Model for Social Change." American News Service, December 2, 1999.

leadership, making them well known to each other. Such familiarity often creates intense positive and negative interactions as these leaders often anticipate each other's actions with remarkable predictability. Often community dissatisfaction is rightly attributed to the leadership's racism, sexism, homophobia, or classism. However, the community often complains unfairly about leadership when the community is itself the problem. For example, urbanist William Sites examines New York City regimes under mayors Koch, Dinkins, and Giuliani. All three favored community collaboration, but all three stopped community-based programs from operationalization

when they discovered that the programs did not have the economic base to support a weak community leadership base. Sites writes, "Community groups have not created a powerful political alliance capable to generating a sustained challenge to neo-liberal growth priorities at the citywide level, and it is not clear under what conditions they might do so" (Sites 1997, 552). Without strong social movements supporting community-based housing initiatives, for example, these mayors would not invest public monies. The problem for New York City community leaders is that after three regimes, community collaborators begin to disappear as their programs go

unfunded. Community indifference to community need grows with unmet expectations.

THE REAL WORLD FUTURE OF GLOBAL LEADERSHIP

Community development networks are fragile because they are impacted by day-to-day events that restructure the leadership network, its authority, and its ability to act. The societal disruption in China caused by its 1966–1976 Cultural Revolution hampered knowledge transfers between Chinese community and university leaders as China's scientific community deteriorated. China's ensuing knowledge gap cannot be narrowed by China alone. China needs international help to stabilize its young scholarly leadership, which has not received the mantle from a previous generation but which must have experience and authority to pass on to its own students. Without legitimized authority, the young scholarly leadership cannot create the attitudes, values, and culture that make for a collective professional life and hence a "normative consensus . . . for a more self-governing community" (Cao & Suttmeier 2001, 960). Without a sense of self, young scientists cannot be leaders in their country.

The international scientific community can more easily help China narrow its knowledge gap than the international scientific and professional communities can help the many local settings that are struggling with modernization problems. Universities share an international language that does not exist on the local level.

Rebuilding in communities where leadership has been devastated by political revolutions, HIV/AIDS, or migration of the young to urban areas requires science to have more knowledge about leadership knowledge transfers and community collaborative development. It is important for scholars not to assume that communities have had the experience of intentionally reflecting on their actions, thereby arriving at an articulated understanding of why they do what they do. The David Gegeo and Karen Watson Gegeo anthropological study argues that the Kwara'ae people of the Solomon Islands make a distinction between knowledge that comes from the out-

side and is made indigenous and traditional knowledge that is passed down through history from ancient times. The Kwara'ae are well aware of their work of re-creating, reformulating, retheorizing, and restructuring knowledge in order to raise a new generation and its leadership.

In the Gegeo framework, for scientists not to engage the indigenous process of community development raises moral questions. The morality of intervention by, and the spirituality of, academic and community-based development leaders are cutting-edge issues for community development studies of leaders who tend to fight for others instead of themselves.

—Victoria Lee Erickson

See also Activism; Collective Action

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COMPETITION

Competition where individuals and groups try to outperform each other is an everyday occurrence in most people's lives. Excellence is often defined in terms of a person's performance relative to others. The language of business, politics, and even education is filled with "win–lose" terms. A person "wins" a promotion, "beats" the other sales clerks, "outsmarts" a teacher, becomes a "superstar," "defeats" enemies, and is the "best" student. Organizations must develop their "competitive" advantages if they are going to prosper in the "competitive" marketplace.

Competition and its value have very much influenced Western thinking. Darwin proposed that survival of the fittest was the key dynamic in the natural world. Freud argued that psychology could be understood as contests between an individual's impulses, rationality, and morality. Marx theorized that class warfare over irreconcilable interests drove the development of societies.

The value of competition, especially compared to cooperation, has stimulated many debates (Kohn 1992). Theorists have proposed that leaders must themselves be highly competitive if their organizations are going to succeed in the competitive marketplace. The demanding marketplace requires leaders to be competitive and tough. Others though have argued that leaders must model the way as they build the cooperative relationships between people and units that promote success. Indeed, teamwork within and between organizations has been considered a very valuable competitive advantage that allows organizations to earn better than average returns.

Diffused, diverse understandings of the nature of competition and cooperation have fueled these debates. Theorists have considered competition as the motivation to succeed, the desire to outperform others, the clash of diverse ideas, and the underlying dynamic of the free market system. On the other hand, cooperation has referred to conflict avoidance, a desire to get along with others, interacting with others, having the same goal, and a socialist economy. Discussions on competition have relied on ideology. Debaters have used "first principles," "human nature," and "common sense" in making their arguments.

Fortunately, we can draw upon considerable research conducted by a wide range of social scientists. They have conducted hundreds of studies in psychology laboratories, educational classrooms, work organizations, and community settings. They have used the quantitative methods of laboratory and field experiments and large-scale surveys as well as qualitative methods of interviews and observations. Late twentieth-century meta-analyses have shown that the findings, while not uniform, are consistent and can directly inform discussions about competition and practice (Johnson and Johnson 1989; Johnson, Maruyama, Johnson, Nelson, and Skon 1981).

This entry addresses four related areas where competition can be applied to leadership. The first has to do with the personal motive and drive of leaders themselves. To what extent should leaders be competitive and in what situations? The second level involves the extent to which they should relate to their own employees competitively. Should they try to develop a competitive relationship with their followers? The third level is the extent to which leaders should foster competition among their followers so that they are productive. Should they work to have employees compete against each other? The fourth level involves how leaders should structure their groups vis-à-vis other groups. When and to what extent should leaders have their groups and organizations compete with other units?

Leaders are assumed to operate on a contingent basis in that they decide how to proceed based on the specific situation's demands and opportunities. Sometimes they want to compete; at other times, to cooperate. In some situations, they should foster

competition and in others cooperation. Ideally, research would reliably identify the conditions when leaders should be competitive and cooperative. But research has not developed sufficiently to support this contingency approach, though it can provide very useful general guidance. Studies taken together suggest that the value of competition for leaders is much more restricted than is commonly supposed. Often, but not always, competition is a critical obstacle for leaders as they try to develop a strong, high performance team.

DEFINING COMPETITION

Developing consensus definitions of competition and cooperation with their strong connotations has proved difficult. But it is critical to define competition explicitly. In their study of leadership, Robert Helmreich and his colleagues discovered that their idea of the competitive desire to achieve was not just one thing but had three distinct parts: Competitiveness as the desire to win in interpersonal situations in which others must lose, mastery as the desire to take on challenging tasks, and work as positive attitudes toward working hard. Contrary to their original expectations, successful leaders were not high on three parts of a competitive desire (Helmreich, Beane, Lucker, and Spence 1978; Helmreich, Sawin, and Carsrud 1986; Helmreich, Spence, Beane, Lucker, and Matthews 1980).

Beginning in the 1940s, Morton Deutsch (1949, 1962) theorized that competition and cooperation could be understood in terms of how people believed their goals were related and that these understandings very much affect how they interact and the effects of their interaction. People self-interestedly pursue their goals, but their understanding of how their goal achievements are related to the goal achievements of others influences their expectations and relationships. Results of over 575 experimental and 100 correlational studies conducted mostly in North American when taken together in meta-analyses support the utility of defining competition in terms of goal interdependence and the theorizing on the effects of goal interdependence on interaction and outcomes (Johnson and Johnson 1989).

In competition, people believe their goals are negatively related. As one moves toward goal accomplishment, others are less likely to reach their goals. Goal achievements are negatively correlated: each person perceives that when one achieves his or her goal, others fail to achieve their goals. As one runner wins the race, the other runners cannot attain their goal of winning the race and they lose. Their understanding of competitive goals leads people to be negatively oriented toward the other's effective actions. One runner does not want another runner to sprint fast to the finish line. In competition, people work against each other to achieve a goal that only one or a few can attain. Thus, they are tempted to frustrate and obstruct others from performing well and reaching their goals.

In contrast, people in cooperation perceive that they can reach their goals only if the others also reach their goals—they have a vested interest in the others performing effectively. One runner's completing a part of the relay directly helps other relay team members reach their goal of winning the race. As people in cooperation succeed to the extent that others succeed, they encourage and support each other's efforts.

People may also have independent goals. Here there is no correlation among goal attainments. Each person perceives that he or she can reach his or her goal regardless of whether other individuals attain their goals. They seek an outcome that is personally beneficial without concern for the outcomes of others.

It is understood that most situations are mixes of these goal interdependencies and that perceptions of goal interdependence change over time. However, whether goals are primarily considered competitively, cooperatively, or independently related is expected to affect expectations and interactions.

Competition has often been confused with conflict. Deutsch (1973) defined conflict as incompatible activities, where one person's actions are interfering, obstructing, or in other ways making the behavior of another less effective. Conflict can occur in both competitive and cooperative situations. Competitors often frustrate each other's actions to make them less effective. Cooperators conflict over the

best means to reach their goals, the division of the costs and benefits of their common effort, and many other issues.

Considerable research has demonstrated that whether conflict is handled in ways that emphasize competitive or cooperative goals very much affects whether conflicts have constructive or destructive outcomes (Tjosvold 1998). Recognizing that the success of one promotes the success of the other, protagonists who emphasize cooperative goals tend to view a conflict as a mutual problem that needs common consideration and solution. The emphasis on cooperative goals leads to mutual exchange and an open-minded discussion that in turn help develop useful, mutually beneficial resolutions that reaffirm the relationship. With this mutual affirmation and success, protagonists are confident that they can handle their conflicts and continue to deal with conflicts successfully. Repeated effective conflict resolutions lead to high-quality, implemented solutions that result in team productivity. Emphasizing competitive goals results in conflict avoidance and, if conflict surfaces, in strong attempts to impose one's solution on others.

THE LEADER AS COMPETITOR

Leaders themselves are often thought to be competitive. After all, they have successfully become leaders. Organizations select people for management positions based on comparison of candidates and selection of the one best suited to be a leader. Many managers believe that they must outperform other managers if they are going to reach their goals of promotions and becoming an executive. It is common to conclude that leaders are successful competitors who are able to demonstrate their superiority.

Although being compared to others is common throughout organizational and social life, are people who are oriented toward competition effective leaders? Robert Helmreich and his colleagues originally theorized that the competitive desire to achieve characterized successful leaders (Helmreich et al. 1978; Helmreich et al. 1986; Helmreich et al. 1980). As they conducted studies, they realized that mastery as the desire to take on challenging tasks and work as

positive attitudes toward working hard operated independently of the desire to win in interpersonal situations. They were not surprised to find that male Ph.D. scientists who were most successful as measured by citations of their work were high on mastery and work. However, they were surprised that successful scientists scored not high but low on interpersonal competitiveness. Competitive scientists apparently get distracted by attempts to outshine others and produce research that is more superficial and less sustained than less competitive scientists.

Subsequent studies confirmed the basic findings. Successful (as measured by salaries) business leaders in large corporations did have higher mastery and work scores than less-successful ones. However, they had lower competitive desires to outdo others. Similarly, less-competitive airline pilots, airline reservation agents, supertanker crews, and students were all more effective than highly competitive ones. The researchers were unable to identify any profession in which more competitive persons were more successful. Indeed, it is when competitiveness is low that the desires for challenges and hard work result in success.

David McClelland and his colleagues wanted to document the motivations that lie behind successful leaders, specifically, whether they had high or low achievement, power, and affiliation needs. Achievement is the desire to complete challenging but attainable tasks at a standard of excellence that helps them feel an internal sense of accomplishment. Affiliation involves the desire to associate and feel recognized and accepted by others. Social power involves the satisfaction of having an impact on others and to influence them; personal power is the desire to control others.

It is tempting to conclude that effective leaders are high on achievement, affiliation, and power motives. They develop relationships so that they can have an impact so that their group achieves. However, results indicated that many effective leaders are high on social power, but low on personal power, achievement, and affiliation (McClelland 1975, 1970; McClelland and Boyatzis 1982). Effective leaders are interested in influencing other people; they do not try to do it all themselves or hide in their

office. They are not overly concerned about being liked; they are able to confront conflict and make tough decisions and insist on the same high standards for everyone. At the same time they avoid expressing their power needs for personal control but channel them into mutual goal accomplishment.

High social power needs managers find leading personally valuable and help employees become committed. They relish the give-and-take of managerial life and enjoy the self-control that working in organizations demands. They also want employees to develop self-discipline and at the same time show concern for their employees. These results further substantiate that effective leaders are motivated to work with and through others, not to outdo them.

THE LEADERSHIP RELATIONSHIP

Researchers have emphasized that managers develop distinct relationships with employees and whether that relationship is inclusive and high quality has been considered key to successful leadership (Gerstner and Day 1997; Graen, and Uhl-Bien 1995). Developing quality relationships with employees has been found to be an important antecedent to employee performance and citizenship behavior (Hui, Law, and Chen 1999).

Studies in the 1990s have complemented this research by documenting that whereas competitive goals undermine this leadership relationship, cooperative goals is a key ingredient. These studies also show that these effects occur in Asia as well as in the West. For example, in a survey study in southern China (Tjosvold, Law, and Hui 1996), structural equation analysis suggest that strong cooperative goals as measured by the employees, but not competitive or independent ones, promote a high quality relationship between leader and employee, which in turn leads to high levels of job performance and citizenship behavior as described by their manager. In an experiment, managers with cooperative, compared to competitive, goals with their employees used their valued resources to assist and support employees, especially employee who demonstrated high needs by being unable to complete the task themselves (Tjosvold, Coleman, and Sun, 2003).



When Competition and Rivalry Are Dysfunctional

Conflict, rivalry, and competition among individuals and groups exist, of course, everywhere. [Anthropologist] Max Gluckman has postulated that certain kinds of institutionalized conflict have an integrative effect for society as a whole, and Americans take for granted the proposition that competition is a constructive force resulting in increased production and progress. It seems clear that the expression of hostility and conflict is culturally determined, at least in part, and that each society imposes certain limits on behavior aimed at maximizing the wealth and power of one individual or group at the expense of others.

Nevertheless, in Korea, endemic pervasive factionalism often has been blamed for most of the country's ills, past and present, while almost no systematic study has been made of its basic sociological elements and how they operate. Until very recently leaders of large political units or organizations seem to have been unable to find appropriate symbols or methods that would stimulate a sense of identity and common purpose capable of unifying the loyalties of diverse groups of people. The limits of solidary association have remained the small face-to-face community, the kinship organization (or segment thereof), and the unstable political faction, whereas the common interests of members of a community, an association, a class, a region, or the country as a whole often have been obscured or forgotten in the intensity of the struggle between competing groups. Frequently a contest for political and economic spoils has been waged in terms of moral issues that introduced an aura of religious fanaticism, providing additional emotional bonds among members of the warring factions.

Source: Brandt, Vincent S. R. (1971). *A Korean Village Between Farm and Sea*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, pp. 239-240.

Cooperative compared to competitive goals have helped leaders open-mindedly consider the ideas of employees (Tjosvold 1982).

Hong Kong senior accounting managers were found to be able to lead employees working in the mainland of China when they had cooperative goals, but not when their goals were competitive or independent (Tjosvold and Moy 1998). Managers in the Hong Kong parent company and new product spe-

cialists in Canada who developed cooperative links and engaged in constructive controversy were able to develop productive, trusting relationships despite their cultural differences and geographic separation (Tjosvold 1999). Chinese employees with cooperative goals with their American or Japanese manager open mindedly discussed their views that led to productive collaborative work and strengthened relationships (Su, Chen, and Tjosvold, 2003).

LEADER'S USE OF COMPETITION

Competition has long been considered a highly effective motivational device. Having employees compete against one another should encourage them to work hard and smart as they try to outdo others and demonstrate their superiority. Although some studies support this view (Brown, Crown, and Slocum 1998; Miller and Hamblin, 1963), meta-analyses of hundreds of studies has failed to document the conditions under which having people compete against each other reliably improves performance (Johnson and Johnson 1989; Johnson et al. 1981). Indeed, cooperative goals were found much more promotive of achievement, especially on complex tasks, as well as relationships, social support, and self-confidence. Competition appears to undermine the exchange of information, the discussion of ideas, and support for continued effort needed to complete many tasks.

Encouraging their group to compete against other groups is a popular leadership strategy. Leaders of nations as well as departments have sought to build group cohesion and effectiveness by viewing another group as the enemy that their followers must work hard together to defeat. Despite the strong beliefs that fostering this kind of competition can be successful, results of meta-analyses reveal that intergroup competition generally is less effective than intergroup cooperation for promoting team productivity (Johnson and Johnson 1989; Johnson et al. 1981).

The studies included in these meta-analyses are typically conducted within an organization rather than between multiple organizations. The groups then often depend upon each other for information and assistance; rather than provide them in a timely

manner, groups in competition are tempted to use their information and assistance to obstruct each other's goals as they try to win. It may be that when groups are highly independent of each other, intergroup competition is more viable leadership strategy (Crombag 1966; Raven and Eachus 1963).

DEVELOPING A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE FOR COMPETITION

Despite the ongoing controversy about the value of interpersonal competition in organizations, little research has explored the conditions under which competition can be constructive. The search for benefits of competition, defined as negative goal interdependence, has not been very fruitful whereas cooperative goals have been found to promote achievement and relationships across a wide range of situations, tasks, and people. But, especially given its obliquity and popularity, competition must surely be useful under certain conditions. There are tasks, such as athletics and motor performance, where competition is not only useful but also more promotive than cooperation.

Previous theorizing and research have suggested conditions under which competition is constructive (Stanne, Johnson, and Johnson 1999). Competition has been thought particularly useful for fostering motivation; conditions have been proposed to realize this potential. Wanting to win the competition, an internal commitment to winning, and acceptance of the competition would appear to make competition productive. Competition should also be more motivating when all the participants believe they have a reasonable chance to win; striving to win without any clear prospect of doing so can be demotivating.

More generally, the competition should be fair with known rules and procedures. Competitors who believe that standards are biased against them are likely to be alienated and withdraw. Why should they strive hard when their victory will be arbitrarily made more difficult or even eventually denied?

Studies have shown that competition can be useful for the performance of motor tasks (Miller and Hamblin 1963). Completing these tasks should

depend a great deal upon motivation and the desire to win should strengthen incentives to perform well. Competition should be promotive of tasks whose completion does not require the assistance of others; means independence should be a condition that favors competition. On the other hand, more complex and intellectual tasks benefit more from the joint consideration and application of several perspectives in cooperation.

Typically, people compete with those with whom they already have a relationship. However, it is not clear how the prior relationship might affect competition. Competitors may feel more able to obstruct the goals of others and find winning more motivating and less ambiguous when competing against those toward whom they have few positive feelings and attitudes. However, it might be that competition is more involving and motivating with friends. The esteem of friends because one has won may be very much valued. In addition, people may expect competition with friends to be contained and managed whereas with out-group members the competition could escalate dangerously. Competing as a team against other groups may be more motivating than individual competition because people feel they will have the support of their team members, can celebrate winning together, and are more prepared to handle any escalation.

Empirical support for documenting these conditions has proved elusive. Indeed, a late-twentieth-century meta-analysis failed to confirm the superiority of competition for motor tasks; even on these tasks, cooperative goals have been found more promotive of performance (Stanne et al., 1999). It may be that it is necessary to move away from the dominant research approach of comparing competition with cooperation. As the benefits of cooperation are quite robust, documenting constructive competition has proved difficult. A more viable research strategy for understanding the constructive role of competition may be to compare different types of competition.

In an initial study, sixty-three managers and twenty-six employees from mainland China organizations described specific competition incidents and then rated these experiences (Tjosvold, Johnson, Johnson, and Sun, 2003). Fairness in knowing the rules and knowing that they will be applied in an

unbiased manner was found to be quite useful for making competition productive. Motivation issues were also important. Having a motivation to win and indeed believing that one had an advantage were found to contribute to constructive competition. Findings also reveal that a strong prior relationship where the competitors respected each other also helped them make good use of competition.

Competition is appealing and useful in some situations. Our research methods though are not subtle and sophisticated enough to have made much progress in documenting these conditions. Research comparing aspects of competition rather than competition with cooperation may help identify the nature and conditions of constructive competition.

IMPLICATIONS FOR LEADERS

Research has developed a useful way to define competition. Findings have been cumulative and have consistently challenged the theorizing that competition has powerful, general benefits for leaders. Leaders' desire to win in interpersonal situations, their development of competitive relationships with employees, their structuring of competition among employees and against other groups do not appear to be viable strategies across a variety of situations. Research is much more supportive of the implication that leaders should develop cooperative relationships with and among employees and with other groups.

But it should not be concluded that this implication makes leadership easy. Developing the understanding, attitudes, skills, and procedures of a cooperative leader who is able to develop a strong team organization is an enduring challenge (Tjosvold, 1991; Tjosvold and Tjosvold, 1995, 1993, 1991). Developing a productive cooperative relationship with one employee is not the same as with another employee. Cooperative goals so that team members feel that they are in this together must be continually strengthened. For example, developing common tasks, recognizing the necessity for joint effort, and shared rewards for success can convince managers and employees that they have cooperative goals so that they feel that they are "on the same side" and are "in this together." Cooperators must also be able to

resolve many issues if they are going to maintain their belief that they are positively interdependent. They can develop skills and procedures to voice and integrate their different views but these ways should be acceptable to leaders and their followers. Although open, effective conflict management is required if leaders are to foster a cooperative team, managing in this way has proved quite difficult (Argyris and Schon 1996). However, developing these cooperative skills and avoiding the deceptive allure that competition is a generally viable strategy should prove highly valuable for leaders and their followers.

—Dean Tjosvold

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CONFLICT

Because people have different personalities, goals, and values, conflicts often occur between individuals as well as between groups. Leaders of organizations can use a variety of strategies to manage conflict. The best approach for any particular conflict depends on a number of factors, including the importance of winning.

CONFLICT-MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES

Conflicts can be divided into two broad types: *task* and *relational*. Task conflict occurs when organizational members express or experience disagreements about work responsibilities, problems, and procedures. This type of conflict may help individuals and groups define responsibilities, determine the most effective ways to accomplish work, and find the best solutions to organizational problems.

Moderate amounts of task conflict are desirable because they indicate that individuals are willing to discuss their differences openly and to find solutions that have broad acceptance. Indeed, a moderate amount of task conflict has been called *constructive controversy* because it often produces competing

solutions along with critical assessments of those solutions, which can lead to a preferred solution. In other words, moderate conflict contributes to constructive problem solving.

In contrast, both low and high amounts of task conflict can be counterproductive. Low levels of task conflict may indicate that individuals are keeping issues to themselves. One dysfunctional result is that important problems may not be solved. High levels of task conflict may also be dysfunctional, as individuals or groups may spend more time arguing than producing constructive outcomes. High levels of task conflict often indicate that individuals or groups have not found a way to manage conflict. Indeed, high levels of task conflict may actuate relational conflict, adversely affecting relationships between groups and among individuals.

Relational conflict arises from differences in personalities, personal dislikes, and disagreements over roles or boundaries. This type of conflict tends to be negative, personal, and destructive. Relational conflicts often escalate and hinder individuals and groups from managing task conflicts and solving problems. Unless individuals can find ways to resolve relational conflicts, they are unlikely to experience productive task conflict.

When leaders have goal or value differences with other leaders inside and outside their organization, they should develop a strategy to achieve *desired outcomes*. The outcome might be a desired *relationship* with another leader, it might be a *substantive goal*, or it might be both. A leader's approach to a conflict will depend on whether a leader desires a substantive or relationship outcome.

Collaborate

When both the substantive and relationship outcomes are important, a leader should collaborate. Collaboration means that the leader cooperates with others in attempting to find a satisfactory solution. Some refer to this approach as “win/win” problem solving. A popular book called *Getting to Yes* (Fisher, Ury, & Patton 1991) describes the collaboration process in depth.

The primary idea in collaboration is that a leader understands the underlying goals of all parties

involved and then uses creative problem solving to find solutions that achieve each party's goals. Collaboration requires openness and trust, and it creates mutual understanding. This approach to conflict also tends to build positive relationships. In addition, of all the approaches to handling conflict, collaboration most readily obtains substantive goals.

Competition

When substantive outcomes are important and relationship outcomes are not, a leader should consider competing. Competition may be the preferred strategy in a one-time transaction in which the substantive outcome is very important. It may also be preferred when a leader distrusts, dislikes, or does not desire a long-term relationship with another person. Competitive tactics include very high demands of, or very minimal concessions to, the other party, as well as bluffing, intimidating, or threatening the other party. These tactics are often employed to disguise a leader's actual goals and needs. Competition is most effective when practiced by a leader or an organization that has the most power in a relationship.

Contrary to popular belief, competition is not as effective in achieving substantive goals as collaboration. The limitation of competition is that it tends to stimulate similar strategies in others. When all the parties in a conflict compete, levels of both task and relational conflict tend to escalate, often increasing animosity and stalemates. For example, management-labor union negotiations have traditionally used competitive tactics.

Compromise

Leaders might adopt a compromise strategy when both substantive and relationship outcomes are important but they cannot find a true "win/win" solution. Compromise means that each party in a negotiation achieves a portion of its goals. Like collaboration, compromise demonstrates a willingness to cooperate and to meet the needs of both parties. However, because compromise does not completely fulfill the needs of involved parties, it is not as effective as collaboration in obtaining satisfactory sub-

stantive or relationship outcomes. While compromise can be used either cooperatively or competitively, it is most often associated with a competitive strategy. For example, leaders may use competition and take an extreme position even though they anticipate that the subsequent use of compromise will achieve the desired substantive outcomes.

Accommodation

When establishing a good relationship is more important than obtaining a substantive outcome, a leader should consider accommodation. An accommodating leader helps others obtain desired substantive outcomes in order to build good will and sustain or build a positive relationship. By engendering positive feelings in others, this strategy helps develop interdependent relationships and a desire in others to sustain the relationship. When a leader accommodates others, especially when the leader is very effective in helping, over time the accommodation can make others feel dependent upon the leader to achieve their goals. When others become dependent, the accommodating leader develops a level of power in the relationship. Thus, accommodation is one way to build a relationship with another powerful individual, group, or organization.

Avoidance

Avoidance is the best strategy for leaders who desire neither substantive nor relationship outcomes. The leader simply refuses to negotiate or discuss the conflict. This strategy can be used when a leader does not want to become embroiled in a conflict or when there is nothing to be gained. However, refusing interaction may be off-putting to others, resulting in a poor relationship. Thus, before electing to use this strategy a leader must be certain that the likely outcomes are desirable.

MANAGING CONFLICTS BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS

As leaders think about strategies, they also need to consider the strategies others might use. Two condi-

tions are likely to influence another party's choice of strategy—self-interest and the nature of the existing power relationship. If the other party in a conflict is dependent upon the leader, as would be the case with an employee, the other party is likely to accommodate the leader's wishes. If the nature of the relationship is interdependent, the other party is likely to collaborate or compromise. If the leader is dependent upon the other party, the other party is likely to use a competitive strategy. In cases where a leader is dependent on the other party and desires to collaborate, the leader may need to develop coalitions with others or find other ways to equalize power relationships in order to build the climate for a cooperative strategy.

Another condition that influences the choice of a conflict strategy is emotion. Generally, individuals are more likely to use the cooperative strategies of collaboration or compromise when they feel positive emotions. They are more likely to compete when they feel negative emotions. Thus, leaders hoping to cooperate with another party need to assess the emotional state of the other party, and when necessary, to attempt to engender positive and trusting feelings. Leaders often have the responsibility of resolving or managing conflicts between two individuals. In these instances, leaders might apply the strategies outlined above. However, when managing others' conflicts, the leader must not only choose but also implement strategies. The following guidelines summarize the leader's role in implementing strategies to facilitate dyadic conflicts.

Collaboration/Compromise

When individuals must interact to fulfill their roles in a group but find themselves in conflict, leaders must help them resolve the conflict so that task conflicts are constructively addressed and relational conflicts do not escalate. Ideally, the conflict-management strategy should actually improve relationships so that the involved individuals can work together more effectively. Leaders might use the following guidelines to resolve a conflict.

If necessary, separate the parties to allow anger to subside. Individuals will have difficulty finding a collaborative solution when they are angry. Separating the

parties to allow them to get control of their emotions will improve the likelihood of cooperating to find a solution.

Bring the conflicting parties together in the leader's presence. Getting the parties together in the presence of a neutral third party encourages them to avoid escalating relational conflict and to focus on task conflict. Thus, having a neutral third party present is an important element in promoting collaboration. If either of the conflicting parties believes the leader is not neutral, the leader should find another neutral party to be present.

Facilitate the discussion to identify the goals or interests. When the intent of the discussion is to collaborate, the leader should encourage both parties to be open and attentive to each other's comments. In addition, the leader should help participants avoid promoting a specific solution. Instead, the two parties should discuss goals, needs, and interests. Once these are understood, they can more easily find solutions.

Find a solution both parties can accept. When the conflicting parties understand one another's interests and goals, they are in a position to find a collaborative solution that satisfies both parties. The leader should ensure that the solution selected is satisfactory to both parties.

Competition

Leaders and their subordinates commonly encounter conflicts when contracts and agreement are being negotiated. These negotiations are frequently competitive because the importance of the substantive outcomes outweighs the relational outcomes. In such situations, leaders should prepare those involved in negotiations to use effective bargaining strategies. The following are general guidelines for effective bargaining.

Identify and rank issues. Because numerous issues are often involved, competitive negotiators should enter discussions knowing which issues are most important. Listing all the issues that will be on the table during a negotiation and ranking their importance will help negotiators determine when to hold firm and when to make concessions.



Young People from the Middle East Come Together

(ANS)—Roy Cohen believes for real harmony to prevail in the Middle East, it will take peace between people, not just between governments. “It was a bureaucratic peace with Egypt,” said the Israeli Jew. “I hope peace would be something between people, not just governments. Not just ‘We give them Gaza, and now we don’t have to look at them anymore.’”

At age 16, Cohen may not have the diplomatic experience of his country’s leaders as they seek to hash out a lasting peace between Jews and Arabs. But he has other experience they probably don’t.

Cohen is spending his third summer at Seeds of Peace International Camp in Otisfield, ME, where he lives, eats, plays and sometimes argues not only with other Israeli teenagers, but with Palestinians, Jordanians, Egyptians, Moroccans, Tunisians and Qataris. He knows about face-to-face peace among individuals.

They don’t necessarily come to agree with each other or change the others’ points of view, he said, but they learn to see each other as people nonetheless, even to become friends.

Since 1993, more than 1,000 young people such as Cohen, chosen by their governments for their academic achievement and leadership potential, have come together for about three and a half weeks. They enjoy traditional camp activities at the same time they coexist with peers they would never meet in their daily lives.

Founded by author and journalist John Wallach, the camp aims to serve as a means for breaking the age-old cycle of fear and hatred, said Adam Shapiro, director of development.

The camp is privately funded by individuals and foundations and does not take money from government sources.

“The camp brings young people together and gives them a chance to get to know each other on neutral, common ground,” Shapiro said, adding that the groups include young people from every strata of society. “Some come from refugee camps and others from the wealthiest families in Tel

Aviv. They represent the demographics of the region.”

In addition to play, the groups engage in daily issue-oriented discussions, dubbed “coexistence,” which are led by professional facilitators. Here they discuss issues of daily life and often find themselves at odds with their new friends.

“There’s a pattern to camp that seems pretty consistent,” Shapiro said. “Initially, they are very interested in meeting new people, and they’re on their best behavior. No one wants to start a disagreement; they seem to be getting along right away.”

After a few days, however, the facilitated sessions become more political and personal. “They get more honest with themselves and take stronger positions. But because of the relationships they’ve formed, they can still play, eat and share cabins together. They put differences aside when it’s time to play games.”

While some tense moments can develop during the coexistence sessions, Shapiro said, most campers leave with the positive feeling that they have been heard, even if they didn’t change another’s perspective. “That’s a big accomplishment.”

Dina Jaber, 16, of Palestine Nablus on the West Bank, said she experienced her share of tense moments last summer, her first year at Seeds of Peace camp. “Last year it was hard to meet Israeli teen-agers, talk to them, coexist with them. We yelled at each other a lot at first.”

But over time she was able to consider the perspectives of her new friends. She understood, she said, many issues from the Palestinian perspective but now can see them from the Israeli side. For example, she didn’t know much about the Holocaust before her camp experience but learned a great deal about it from her Israeli friends.

After a summer of arguing, listening, contemplating and playing, Jaber said she counts many Israelis she met in Maine among her closest friends. And because the Seeds of Peace mission extends beyond the summer camp experience, she has been able to visit her friends’ homes and host them

Source: “Young People From Middle East Play, Eat and Argue Together.” The American News Service, July 29, 1999.

Gather information about the other party. Before entering into negotiations, a leader should understand the other party’s issues, positions, and arguments. This type of information gives a negotiator an advantage in bargaining to maximize the likelihood of obtaining a desired substantive outcome.

Frame arguments. Researchers at Northwestern University found that the way arguments are presented

influences how persuasive they are. For example, asking for a concession of \$200 in a contract worth over \$10,000 is quite different from asking for a concession of the same amount in a contract worth \$400. Although the amount of the concession is the same, the concession seems less when compared to \$10,000 and is therefore more acceptable. Thinking through how arguments are presented will help negotiators be persuasive.

at her own.

"When I first told friends that I had an Israeli friend that slept over, they couldn't believe it," she said. "It's not something normal. Without Seeds of Peace, I could never imagine having an Israeli friend, even knowing an Israeli teen-ager."

Although some of her Palestinian friends have been skeptical about Jaber's relationships, most view coexistence and exchange of opinions in a positive light. Family members—her father in particular—were extremely interested in her Israeli friend and spent hours talking to her about her life in the camp, Jaber said.

Because of travel restrictions, Jaber could not make some of these visits without Seeds of Peace intervention. Camp administrators consider such efforts a critical and natural extension of the summer program.

Shapiro said the organization recently obtained a building in Jerusalem where they can set up offices. From there, two staff members help camp alumni keep in touch by arranging visits, publishing a newsletter and maintaining an e-mail network as well as holding workshops and seminars.

"When an Israeli kid visits a friend in Gaza," Shapiro added, "all the family and friends have the opportunity to meet someone they never would have known. So we're affecting thousands of communities." He added that campers' leadership training makes them particularly effective representatives of their respective groups.

Staff members helped Cohen arrange a visit to his school and a presentation by a Palestinian friend from camp. Though he received some negative reaction from some students, he said, this was to be expected. "Most people were really enthusiastic about the idea." He said he feels compelled to carry out the work of Seeds of Peace throughout the year, to expose others to the humanity of those they consider enemies. He added, "The major thing is really what you do when you get home."

—Karen Pirozzi

Actively listen to understand the other party's interests and positions. Most novice negotiators mistakenly approach competitive situations by immediately attempting to take control and argue their positions. Alternately, experienced negotiators devote much more time to actively listening and gathering information about the other party's interests and positions. They ask more questions and make fewer arguments. These experienced negotiators have found that when

they truly understand the other party's arguments and positions, they build understanding and gain knowledge that promotes effective bargaining.

Identify solutions that achieve the interests of both parties. Negotiations are likely to become contentious and to break down when either party feels that their goals or interests are ignored. Negotiations get on track and are productive when the parties involved have a good sense of one another's interests and work toward achieving them. Thus, negotiators should see that the interests of both parties are addressed during negotiations.

MANAGING GROUP OR TEAM CONFLICTS

Often leaders may find that conflict exists within or between the groups they lead. A moderate amount of task conflict is healthy. Leaders may actually want to be a devil's advocate and promote controversy when not enough open discussion exists. However, when either relational conflict or task conflict becomes pronounced, the leader should step in and attempt to manage the conflict. In these cases, the leader should act as an outside party to promote resolution. Depending on the situation, the leader could play one of the roles described below.

Facilitator

A facilitator brings the conflicting parties together, helps to promote discussion, and encourages collaboration and compromise. To avoid creating defensiveness and to be successful, leaders should be neutral and objective. They should not allow the expression of relational conflict but should stay focused on task-related issues. Ground rules may need to be established, such as one person speaking at a time. A facilitator does not actively participate in offering solutions, but promotes discussion so that participants come to a mutually satisfactory decision themselves.

Mediator

Mediation may be the best approach when conflicting parties have hostile feelings and find it difficult to

communicate face-to-face—that is, the relational conflict is very high. A mediator may have the parties in dispute talk directly to one another at the beginning or end of the negotiation. However, a mediator typically separates the parties in a dispute and talks with each party alternately. Separating the parties takes the negative emotional edge off the negotiations so that the mediator can promote collaboration and compromise to enable the disputants to make progress toward finding a solution that is satisfactory to everyone. This approach enables a leader to control how information is presented. A mediator does not misrepresent either party, but frames arguments and presents information in a manner that moves negotiations forward. For example, a mediator gives each party a sense of how the other party is reacting and whether proposed solutions will be accepted. When negotiations are stalled, a mediator may offer solutions that the parties may not have considered. A mediator may also promote resolution by pointing out the consequences of not reaching a solution.

Arbitrator

Arbitration is a competitive approach to resolving conflict. Involved parties present their cases, including arguments and proposed solutions. The leader reviews the information and chooses a solution. Because a solution is chosen from those presented, involved parties do not communicate directly, blocking any opportunity to create a collaborative or compromise solution. However, the pressure of putting the decision into a third party's hands influences the involved parties to present the most objective information, highly persuasive arguments, and reasonable solutions.

Director

Leaders of groups that experience consistently high levels of task or relational conflict should consider creating a set of norms to guide behavior. They may consider reviewing roles and responsibilities to clarify both the group's structure and the relationships among team members. They should also consider

creating policies, procedures, and rules. These structuring mechanisms can prevent conflicts and provide guidance for resolving differences when they occur. Clarified structures and procedures help prevent or avoid conflict. Thus, a directive approach includes an element of avoidance. Note, however, that when procedure, precedent, and rules are applied to resolve conflicts, the approach is competitive in that conflicting parties either win or lose. There is not an opportunity for collaborating and creating unique solutions.

CHOOSING THE BEST STRATEGY

Whether faced with task or relational conflict, all leaders must manage conflict with others sooner or later. Leaders have several strategic choices when managing conflicts between individuals or groups of individuals, and these choices may be associated with whether a leader desires to achieve substantive or relational outcomes. A collaborative win/win strategy is most likely to achieve both substantive and relational outcomes, but requires both openness and trust. In contrast, a competitive strategy focuses on achieving a substantive outcome, typically at the expense of a positive relational outcome and with the likelihood that it may result in a stalemate. Perhaps because of this potential outcome, competition is often accompanied by compromise, whereby both parties make concessions. The accommodative strategy is the opposite of a competitive strategy, focusing on substantive concessions in order to achieve positive relational outcomes. Finally, the avoidance strategy places little weight on either substantive or relational outcomes and distances the leader from the conflict. However, it may actually result in a negative relational outcome.

When making these strategic choices in conflict management, leaders are well advised to take into account their relative power and the intensity of the conflict situation. Reducing negative emotions is important if cooperative strategies such as collaboration and compromise are favored. At the same time, if a leader has less power than the other party, it is more likely that he or she will face competitive strategies from the other party.

In addition to one-on-one conflict situations, leaders must often intervene when two or more individuals are in conflict. As facilitators, leaders can help resolve these conflicts using either cooperative or competitive approaches. The latter approach is most appropriate when individuals are most concerned with substantive outcomes—that is, when they are entering into a short-term or temporary agreement. While leaders may also facilitate group or team conflicts cooperatively, they sometimes have to intervene more prominently as either mediators or arbitrators. As mediators, leaders can exert more influence to shape potential solutions than they would as facilitators. In contrast, as arbitrators, leaders act as judges, choosing solutions for resolving conflicts that emerge through the competitive process of each party making a case for its preferred solution. Finally, leaders can sometimes avoid personal intervention through directive means—that is, by establishing policies, procedures, and rules for handling conflicts.

Making the conflict management choices we have reviewed can represent some of the hardest decisions that leaders will make. Choosing wisely among the array of strategies and tactics for managing conflict requires immense interpersonal and persuasive skills. In many ways, how a leader handles conflict situations is a true reflection of the leader's values and expertise.

—Ritch L. Sorenson and Grant T. Savage

See also Coercion; Obedience

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CONFORMITY

A central goal of leadership theory and research is to understand the factors that dispose others to follow the vision or ideals, suggestions (explicit or implied), expectations, or demands of a leader. In other words, leadership theory attempts to identify the factors that affect someone's capacity to attract and influence followers. The psychologist Martin Chemers defined leadership as "a process of social influence in which one person is able to enlist the aid and support of others in the accomplishment of a common task" (2000, 27). Chemers's emphasis on social influence opens the study of leadership to the theories and rich empirical storehouse of experimental social psychology, which for decades has focused on the variables that advance or retard the process of social influence.

CONFORMITY WITHOUT PRESSURE

Research on social influence, or conformity, has been a part of the social psychological landscape since 1936, when Muzafer Sherif, one of the central figures of twentieth-century social psychology, made use of the autokinetic effect, an illusion that relies on a pervasive human perceptual shortcoming, to study the process of norm formation and, ultimately, the processes underlying conformity. The autokinetic effect requires a perceiver to fixate on a small pin-

point of light in an otherwise completely dark room. After focusing on the light for a short time, it appears to move. The movement, however, is completely illusory. Making use of this illusion, William Hood, a student of Sherif, provided an example of social influence that is not based on threats or interpersonal pressure and reconnaissance. Their study paired a naïve participant with a confederate. Their task was to estimate the length of light movement over a series of trials. In the initial phase of the study, the confederate made a series of judgments of the extent to which the light moved, while the naïve participant simply observed. These confederate-based judgments were either consistently high or consistently low (relative to a control group's). Then the confederate was dismissed and the naïve participant was asked to make an independent series of judgments. It turned out that the judgments of participants who were paired with confederates who made high estimates were significantly higher than those of participants paired with low-responding accomplices.

Participants followed the lead of the confederates even though the confederates were not present. Noteworthy leaders who similarly induced others to follow their vision and ideals without threat or surveillance include Mother Teresa, Mohandas Gandhi, and Martin Luther King Jr.

COMPLIANCE UNDER PRESSURE

Of course, successful leadership often relies on a real or implied threat. Solomon Asch, another giant of 20th century social psychology, provided a classic example of the effects of social pressure on simple judgments. In his 1955 research, participants viewed a stimulus line and a set of three comparison lines. Their job was to judge which of the three comparison lines matched the stimulus. The judgments were exceptionally easy. However, when participants were paired with three or more experimental accomplices who gave obviously incorrect answers on six (of twelve) judgment trials, more than 75 percent of them agreed with an erroneous judgment *at least once*. Analyzed another way, about one-third of all influence attempts were successful, even though the correct answer was transparently obvious and in

spite of the fact that the errant judgments did not represent the participants' true perceptions. In postexperimental interviews, many participants admitted that they merely had gone along with the confederates to avoid conflict or in order not to appear stupid to their (supposed) peers.

This form of influence is quite different from the sort exemplified in Hood and Sherif's study, and as actualized by Mother Teresa. As his films of the experiment show, Asch's participants perceived enormous social pressure to adopt responses compatible with those of their peers. In response to this pressure, they reported judgments at variance with both reality and their own perceptions.

In some ways, the process Asch studied does not seem to involve true leadership. Yet the influence process at work in his research did result in people following the implicit directions of others (or at least, agreeing with their apparent perceptions). Examples of people under threat following leaders even when they do not agree with them are commonplace. Adolf Hitler, Joseph Stalin, and Saddam Hussein—the unhappy list could be extended almost indefinitely—commanded allegiance, even from people who did not accept their goals or visions.

FOLLOWERSHIP

To understand how these two different processes operate, we will adopt a bottom-up approach. Rather than focus on the features of leaders that induce willing or begrudging allegiance, we will instead consider the factors that appear to call forth one or the other kind of allegiance in followers. Using the related concepts of conformity and compliance, drawn from social psychology, we will reflect on the ways in which individuals have actualized these factors in their leadership styles.

The degree of conformity a person exhibits in a particular context is dependent on the extent to which socially supplied information is integrated with direct sensory inputs and prior experience in coming to a judgment or action (Crano 1970, 2000). Conformity is thus a dynamic process that depends on a person's judgment of the relative reliability of

his or her own perceptions versus the reliability of data supplied by others, and the costs and rewards entailed in placing greater or lesser weight on one or the other information source. By definition, the greater the weight accorded to data supplied by others, the greater the conformity. In some circumstances (for example, those that involve little prior experience, high stakes, and high levels of ambiguity), some degree of conformity makes sense—two (or more) heads are better than one, especially if the individual supplying the information has had prior experience in the setting or in some other ways appears more expert than we are.

In other circumstances, overweighting socially supplied cues represents an attempt to ingratiate the self with attractive or powerful others, to avoid sanction, or to maintain a favored position in a group. In these cases, which involve compliance rather than conformity, the underlying cognitive dynamics are quite different.

COMPLIANCE VERSUS CONFORMITY

Although best known for his work on the theory of cognitive dissonance, the social psychologist Leon Festinger also studied processes of compliance and conformity (Festinger, 1957). He defined public compliance as behavior involving acquiescence to the demands of an influence source without acceptance of the source's position. Public compliance occurs because an influence source has power or control over the fate or resources of another person and can monitor actions to ascertain whether or not the desired behavior is enacted. People are motivated to be consistent with the influence source (be it an individual or a group) because of the source's power to reward and punish. Public compliance, in short, involves people bringing their public behavior (but not their beliefs) in line with the demands of an influence source.

Conformity, or private acceptance, involves the internalization of an influence source's position. It occurs when characteristics of the influence source suggest that its information is valid and can be believed. This information is then accepted, or internalized, and becomes a part of the individual's reper-



Personality Tests to Ensure Conformity

In his examination of individuality and conformity in American society, sociologist William H. Whyte Jr. identified personality tests as a tool businesses use to select employees who will conform.

If personality tests are the voice of the organization it is not that testers mean them to be. A few are lackeys, but the great majority cherish the professional's neutrality; they try hard to be objective, and "value judgments" they shun. And this is the trouble. Not in failing to make the tests scientific enough is the effort; it is, rather, in the central idea that the tests can be scientific.

They cannot be, and I am going into quite some detail in this chapter to document the assertion. I do so because the tests are the best illustration of the underlying fallacies of scientism—and the underlying bias. As in all applications of scientism, it is society's values that are enshrined. The tests, essentially, are loyalty tests, or rather, tests of potential loyalty. Neither in the questions nor in the evaluation of them are the tests neutral; they are loaded with values, organization values, and the result is a set of yardsticks that reward the conformist, the pedestrian, the unimaginative—at the expense of the exceptional individual without whom no society, organization or otherwise, can flourish.

What I am examining is not the use of tests as guides in clinical work with disturbed people, or their use in counseling when the individual himself seeks the counseling. Neither is it the problems of professional conduct raised by the work of some practitioners in the field, interesting as this bypath is. What I am addressing myself to is the standard use of the tests by organizations as a gauge of the "normal" individual, and the major assumptions upon which the whole mathematical edifice rests.

Source: Whyte, William H., Jr. (1956). *The Organization Man*. New York: Simon and Schuster, p. 182.

toire of beliefs. In the absence of forces to the contrary, this internalized information will continue to guide actions even in the absence of the source that provided it. Conformity behavior is persistent because it represents an individual's perception of appropriate behavior; hence, unlike compliance, con-

If you obey all the rules, you miss all the fun.

—Katharine Hepburn

formity behavior will persist even in the absence of surveillance by the influence source.

The distinction between public compliance and private acceptance is important in predicting the persistence of induced behaviors. As the Harvard social psychologist Herbert Kelman showed in a 1958 study on conformity and compliance, a person who advocates a position solely in response to social pressure, or solely because of the attractiveness of a source, will cease to do so when the pressure is removed or when the influence source is unable to monitor his or her behavior. However, those who advocate a position because they have been persuaded of its validity will continue to advocate it even when the agent of influence is no longer present and has no reconnaissance capacity. Leaders who possess skills relevant to the task at hand, who understand how to make a system operate, in short, who can persuade others of the correctness of their position, are likely to be followed even in their absence. This model of leadership suggests that even if conditions change, the leader will still hold sway. On the other hand, leaders who use force to obtain acquiescence can succeed if they possess sufficient power to punish resistance and can monitor the behavior of their followers. However, if these leaders lose the power to punish or to monitor adherence, their desires will no longer be able to affect the behavior of their followers. Leaders who are followed because of their expertise, because of their knowledge of how things work, will be followed even when they cannot monitor adherence, because their followers believe that their vision is correct. However, if conditions change in such a way that a leader's expertise is rendered obsolete, he or she may be replaced. There are many examples of this form of transformation. In the ill-fated dot-com revolution, many entrepreneurs were wonderfully effective in developing companies from scratch. Once the companies had been established, however, these leaders often did not have the skills to cope with the

trials of day-to-day management. Many were replaced, or their companies failed. Fidel Castro provides a good example of a leader whose expertise became obsolete. A fine revolutionary leader, he proved to be a relatively ineffective leader, of a mature society. Reflections on the standard of living in Cuba suggest that Castro did not possess the necessary expertise to guide his country through the dangerous political waters that surround his island. His power now appears to be based more on threat than on a widely held acceptance of his revolutionary dreams.

Is leadership then almost completely situation- or context-dependent? Are there no traits or characteristics that spell certain success or failure for a would-be leader? Trait- or character-based approaches dominated early theories of leadership, but research has not provided strong confirmation for these models. Although successful leaders may be more likely to display characteristics like extraversion, openness, and low neuroticism, it seems obvious that simply possessing these traits will not make someone a leader. Some researchers have attempted to integrate personality-based models with context-dependent models—the transactional leadership approach, for example, attempts to relate the quality of a leader-follower relationship to the success of the leader. Such attempts, if they are to succeed, require understanding the personal qualities of the leader, the leader's particular expertise, the relevance of these skills and abilities to the task at hand, and the fit of these skills and abilities with the needs of the followers. This is a tall order, but to understand a leader's capacity to induce conformity, it may be necessary to understand the needs of the followers as well.

—William D. Crano

See also Dominance and Submission; Group Norms; Groupthink; Obedience

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CONFUCIANISM

Confucianism, as viewed by Max Weber, is a doctrine similar to Hinduism, Christianity, and Islam, which laid down the fundamental principles for establishing a social and political system, as well as

for pursuing the values of life; it thus inevitably is not only concerned with leadership, but also elaborates on it deliberately. Although scholars have different opinions on the religiousness of Confucianism, they commonly recognize its humanistic aspect. As one of the most ancient mainstream ideologies in the history of human civilization, Confucianism's impact on the modern or postmodern ages has increasingly been demonstrated. In the study of leadership, therefore, Confucianism can be a resource for development as well as a body of basic knowledge. To understand Confucianism on leadership, it is necessary not only to study the canons of Confucian thought, but also to examine the evolution of Confucian theories, and the implementation and institutionalization of Confucian ideas in social and political life.

THE ORIGINS OF CONFUCIANISM

The Western term *Confucianism* stems from the name of Confucius (551–479 BCE). This term is misleading because Confucius is not, at any rate, the founder of the doctrine. The correspondent Chinese term is *Ru Xue*, meaning the doctrine of scholars, and the origins of the doctrine go further back than Confucius's lifetime. The earliest classic work of Confucianism is *I Ching* (The Book of Change), a book with sixty-four diagrams of divination supposedly drawn by Fu Xi, a legendary figure living about five thousand years ago. Philosophical and political explanations of these diagrams were given by Wen Wang, the founding father of the Zhou Dynasty (eleventh century–256 BCE), his son Zhou Gong, and later by Confucius. The essence of Confucianism is already clearly there in *I Ching*: the significance of every human life, as well as the goal of society, can be achieved only in the harmonic unity between self and others, and between human beings and nature. All Confucian opinions on leadership are based on this belief. Confucius once said about himself that “I am fond of ancient culture and faithful to it; I transmit out yet never innovate randomly.” (*Analects*, 7:1). The two figures often taken by Confucius as the best examples of leaders were Yao and Shun, both of whom lived in the twenty-first century BCE,



“On Government by Moral Force” from *The Analects of Confucius*

I, 5 The Master said, “A country of a thousand war-chariots cannot be administered unless the ruler attends strictly to business, punctually observes his promises, is economical in expenditure, shows affection towards his subjects in general, and uses the labour of the peasantry only at the proper times of year.”

II, 3 The Master said, “Govern the people by regulations, keep order among them by chastisements, and they will flee from you, and lose all self-respect. Govern them by moral force, keep order among them by ritual and they will keep their self-respect and come to you of their own accord.”

III, 19 Duke Ting asked for a precept concerning a ruler’s use of his ministers and a minister’s service to his ruler. Master K’ung replied saying, “A ruler in employing his ministers should be guided solely by the prescriptions of ritual. Ministers in serving their ruler, solely by devotion to his cause.”

XII, 11 Duke Ching of Ch’i asked Master K’ung about government. Master K’ung replied saying, “Let the prince be a prince, the minister a minister, the father a father and the son a son.” The Duke said, “How true! For indeed when the prince is not a prince, the minister not a minister, the father not a father, the son not a son, one may have a dish of millet in front of one and yet not know if one will live to eat it.”

XII, 19 Chi K’ang-tzu asked Master K’ung about government, saying, “Suppose I were to slay those who have not the Way in order to help on those who have the Way, what would you think of it?” Master K’ung replied saying, “You are there to rule, not to slay. If you desire what is

good, the people will at once be good. The essence of the gentleman is that of wind; the essence of small people is that of grass. And when a wind passes over the grass, it cannot choose but bend.”

XIII, 2 Jan Yung, having become steward of the Chi Family, asked about government. The Master said, “Get as much as possible done first by your subordinates. Pardon small offences. Promote men of superior capacity.” Jan Yung said, “How does one know a man of superior capacity, in order to promote him?” The Master said, “Promote those you know, and those whom you do not know other people will certainly not neglect.”

XIII, 6 The Master said, “If the ruler himself is upright, all will go well even though he does not give orders. But if he himself is not upright, even though he gives orders, they will not be obeyed.”

XIII, 10 The Master said, “If only someone were to make use of me, even for a single year, I could do a great deal; and in three years I could finish off the whole work.”

XIII, 11 The Master said, “‘Only if the right sort of people had charge of a country for a hundred years would it become really possible to stop cruelty and do away with slaughter.’ How true the saying is!”

XIII, 13 The Master said, “Once a man has contrived to put himself aright, he will find no difficulty at all in filling any government post. But if he cannot put himself aright, how can he hope to succeed in putting others right?”

XV, 14 The Master said, “To demand much from oneself and little from others is the way (for a ruler) to banish discontent.”

Source: Waley, Arthur. (Trans.). (1958). *The Analects of Confucius*. London: George Allen & Unwin. Reprinted in McNeill, William H., & Sedlar, Jean W. (Eds.). (1970). *Classical China*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 55–57.

and Confucius’s hero was Zhou Gong, who established the *Zhou Li*, namely, the ritual system of the Zhou Dynasty.

There were hundreds of feudal states under the central court of Zhou Dynasty, organized by the feudal ritual system. Central and local leadership was maintained, and social solidarity was achieved neither by military force nor by legal constraint but by ritual observance. When it came to Confucius’s time, the ritual system had been shaken. The rulers of powerful feudal states no longer respected or obeyed the authority of the central court, and they

fought against each other in wars and plots to expand their own power and territory. Some dominant ministers in these feudal states, in turn, had overthrown their masters and taken over or divided the states. This is why Confucius considered reestablishing the ritual system *li* of the first priority in restoring social order and leadership, and he made great efforts, although unsuccessfully, to achieve it.

In his thoughts of *li*, however, Confucius fundamentally developed the doctrine of *Ru Xue*, and in doing so, constructed his theory of leadership. For Confucius, *li*, as the regulation of people’s behavior

and the foundation of social order, could only be achieved and maintained by awaking people's consciousness of *ren*, that is, kindness, benevolence, and care for others. A person acquiring the quality of *ren* and observing *li* is a *junzi*, namely, a nobleman. Whereas anyone can become a *junzi* by self-cultivation, only a *junzi* should be in position of leadership. An ideal leader in the Confucian tradition is the so-called inner sage and outer king who, first of all, is a moral model for his people because conviction and admiration, rather than coercion and discipline, are the solid basis for obedience.

In his analysis of human relationships, Confucius stressed the function of family, and applied it to community, society, and government. According to Confucius, an established man should first begin his family, and a leader should treat his people as a parent treats his children. He should not only be benevolent to them, but also inspire them with the family spirit to motivate their interest in public affairs. Rooted in Confucius's thoughts, the word *country* in Chinese is literally "the family of nation"; *we* is often used to mean a "big family"; and a magistrate or a governor in China is called *fu-mu-guan*, meaning "father-mother official."

Confucius's doctrine was not the prevalent one among the many extant during his lifetime and this situation remained for more than three centuries. Four years after Confucius's death, the Warring States Period (475–221 BCE) began in Chinese history, when the seven remaining feudal states fought in endless wars. Eventually, the state Qin exterminated the other six states and established the first empire in China. Confucius's doctrine was banned by the Qin Dynasty, and the court once buried four hundred Confucian scholars alive. Yet Confucianism survived, and some Confucian scholars became outstanding figures in this part of history, among whom were Mencius (371–289 BCE) and Xun-Zi (300–230 BCE), with the former regarded in the Confucian tradition as the "Second Sage" only next to Confucius himself. Focusing his thoughts on political philosophy, Mencius preached explicitly that the people are more important than the state and the state more important than the ruler. The ruler who does not act accordingly, Mencius argued, is unfit to rule, and

should be criticized, rehabilitated, or even deposed. Although rarely successful in persuading the rulers of the powerful states to follow his teachings, Mencius kept moral optimism by persisting in his belief that human nature is good. Xun-Zi, a versatile and maybe the most prominent scholar of his time, sharply disagreed with Mencius. He believed that human nature is evil, thus society must be governed by strict laws that punish bad behavior. Based on Xun-Zi's opinions, two of his pupils, Han Fei-Zi and Li Si, developed the school of Legalism which was the guiding philosophy for the state Qin in unifying the whole of China. Since then, Legalism has constituted a component of the traditional Chinese political philosophy—"externally Legalist and internally Confucian," that is, using laws to rule people's behavior while upholding morals to rule their mind.

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CONFUCIANISM

The Qin Dynasty (221–205 BCE) existed for only less than two decades, but the Chinese empire it established lasted for more than two thousand years. Through such a long history, Confucianism became the core of Chinese culture and the official doctrine of all the dynasties to follow. Meanwhile, this doctrine kept evolving both in theory and in practice.

It was in the early Han Dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) that the Confucianization of government and society was realized. Wu Di (141–87 BCE), one of the most influential emperors in Chinese history, accepted the suggestion of his prime minister Gongsun Hong (d. 121 BCE) and formally announced Confucianism to be the unique official doctrine. Ever since then, Confucius has been honored by all Chinese emperors as the paradigmatic sage. Wu Di's court scholar Dong Zhongshu (179–104 BCE) made his contribution to Confucianism similar to that which St. Augustine (354–430) made to Christianity. By combining Confucius's moral principle with the five elements theory and the categories *yin* and *yang* in Taoism, he established a Confucian ontology and epistemology and made Confucianism a complex theoretical system.

While scholastic study of Confucianism never ceased, the most important later development of

Confucian theory emerged in the Song (960–1279) and Ming (1368–1644) dynasties. This is the movement of Song Ming Rationalism, known as Neo-Confucianism in the West. There were two schools in this long lasting movement, namely, the school of Xin and the school of Li. *Xin* refers to the learning of the mind, and *Li* refers to the learning of the principles of the universe. The former emphasized the function of the mind in exploring life and the world, and the latter stressed the importance of the principles underlying the existence and change of everything. Together the scholars in both schools developed a comprehensive Confucian vision in which the cultivation of self and the understanding of the world were integrated. The rationalism of their theories characterized a pro-scientific style of the Neo-Confucianism, which coincided with the great achievements in science and technology in the Song and Ming dynasties. The most important figure in this historical phenomenon was Zhu Xi (1130–1200), who systematically synthesized all the scholastic works in his time, and selected four books from the Confucian classics and gave them his own conscientious interpretations, which were later used as the basic texts for primary education in China until the twentieth century.

The magnitude of the scholastic work of Confucianism can be viewed by looking at one set of books published by the court of Qing Dynasty (1644–1911) in the late nineteenth century—*Si Ku Quan Shu* (The Complete Library of the Four Treasures), which has more than 36,000 volumes of the selected important works of the four fields in Confucian culture—classics, history, philosophy, and literature.

More significant than the philosophical development, in terms of the study of leadership, is the practice of the Confucian theory of leadership, and its institutionalization. Since Confucianism was taken as the official doctrine in the Han Dynasty, a recommendation system based on Confucius's principles was established. Those who were outstanding in moral behavior or in scholarship would be recommended by local authorities to the court to be appointed as government officials. In the Sui Dynasty (581–618), while recommendation was still part of the system, examination became the major

means of selection, with the contents of the examination primarily related to Confucian classics and policy issues. Such a system was further improved during the Tang Dynasty (618–907) and developed into a standard format: Most government officials were, from that time, selected from the nationwide examinations of different levels, which were open to all people. Although it underwent changes in time, the examination system was carried on by all dynasties to come. As some research has shown, European countries borrowed the traditional Chinese examination system in establishing their own modern civil bureaucratic systems.

What coexisted with the examination system was the social class of “*shi-da-fu*,” that is, the intelligentsia. Most Chinese intellectuals were not aristocrats or necessarily wealthy. But they were well educated since the examinations they had to go through to be selected were rigorous. Whether serving in government or not, these intelligentsia, following Confucius's teaching, were supposed to have high moral principles, and broad interests and knowledge, and were thus usually taken as role models by the people in their communities. Regarded as the pillars of the traditional Chinese society, the intelligentsia formed the foundation of leadership not only in government, but also in almost every corner of social life.

There were more than thirty dynasties in China's long history, some of which were established by foreign invaders. During the periods of dynasty change, the position of Confucianism was often weakened. Yet whenever a new dynasty was established, Confucianism was always restored, even by the foreign rulers, as the official doctrine. Hence there is a saying: Whoever conquered China would be conquered by Chinese culture, or more precisely, by Confucianism. History may have shown that the Confucian philosophy of leadership is not for the conquerors who believe that force can only be overcome by force, but for the social constructors who conceive that people's minds are the bases for stable order.

Since the Han Dynasty, Confucianism has been introduced to Japan, Korea, and Vietnam, and was adapted by many of the rulers in these countries as

the official doctrine. With the impact of Confucianism, the social and political systems in East Asian countries had many similarities, while each nation maintained its own culture.

CONFUCIANISM IN MODERN TIMES

The “Opium War” (1839–1842) marked the beginning of modern Chinese history, and led to a century of humiliation and disasters in the nation. When China, which literally means in Chinese “The Center of the World,” lost a series of wars against the invading Western powers and Japan, it also lost faith in its culture. Confucianism became the target of a new generation of Chinese intellectuals who blamed it for China’s backwardness in the world. “Down with Confucianism” was the slogan in the “New Culture Movement” paralleling the patriotic “May Fourth Movement” in 1919. There were, nonetheless, a few individuals who defended Confucianism. Sun Yat-Sen, the leader of the “Republic Revolution” in 1911, considered his own revolutionary philosophies to be “a development and a continuation of the ancient Chinese doctrines of Confucius” (Gregor 1981, 51). His opinions were in agreement with those of the scholars who advocated reformation rather than abandonment of Confucianism.

When “The People’s Republic of China” was established in mainland China in 1949, it took Marxism as its official doctrine, and kept a critical attitude towards Confucianism, while still recognizing certain of its values. During the “Cultural Revolution” (1966–1976), however, things went to the extreme. Confucianism was regarded as the source of all reactionary forces; books were burned, and intellectuals were considered a type of “class enemy.” After the death of Mao Zedong (1893–1976), who claimed himself a rebel against Confucianism, mainland China underwent tremendous changes with its “Reforming and Opening” policy. Confucius has been restored as the symbol of the great Chinese culture that the nation is now proud of; Confucius’s teaching is again taught in schools, and the research of Confucianism has become an important academic field with an increasing number of institutions and scholars.

The traditional examination system ended in 1906, and a new examination system in modern education was soon established (i.e., the entrance examinations for middle school and high school, which are provincial, and for college and graduate schools, which are nationwide). These examinations are very strict and highly competitive, and the new system has the same function as the traditional one, that is, to select the best educated to be leaders in government, academia, industry, and in all areas in society. The system exists today in both mainland China and Taiwan, and also in Japan, Korea, Vietnam, and Singapore.

The economic achievements in Japan in the 1960s and 1970s, in the “Four Little Dragons” (i.e., Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and South Korea) in the 1980s, and in mainland China in the last two decades of the twentieth century have drawn much attention from the world. This is the so-called Confucian Cultural Region. As researchers have pointed out, Confucianism played a positive role in the region’s economic development, with its tradition of community and working for mutual benefit, and its expansion of family solidarity into management and administration. The experiences in this region may be worth examining in the study of leadership.

In Europe, there is a tradition of admiration for Chinese culture and Confucius, as seen in the works of Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677), Gottfried W. Leibniz (1646–1716), Voltaire (1694–1778), among others, and Confucianism has been credited by historians with triggering the Enlightenment movement in the eighteenth-century Europe. In the United States, Confucius was admired by thinkers such as, Ralph W. Emerson (1803–1882), Henry D. Thoreau (1817–1862), and Louisa M. Alcott (1832–1888). Although the image of China as an oriental paradise as described by Marco Polo (c. 1254–1324), who lived in the capital of the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368) for years, diminished in modern times, the study of Sinology never ceased in the West. In the late twentieth century, rediscovering the values of Confucianism in the postmodern times became a focus in different academic fields, and a group of scholars, many of whom are in the West, today advocate “The Third Epoch” of Confucianism.

In an age when the world is becoming a “global village,” all cultures should be respected as the treasures of human civilization. Confucianism, with its emphasis on family and community, unity and collaboration, may provide ideas and experiences different from that in the mainstream of today’s Western culture which, to a large extent, is based on individualism. The differences can only enrich the diversity of human cultures, and so does the Confucian theory enrich the study of leadership.

—Yuelin Zhu

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CONFUCIUS (551–470 BCE)

Chinese philosopher

Confucius is more important than any other single person in China’s five-thousand-year history. Similar to Christ for Christianity, Buddha for Buddhism, and Muhammad for Islam, Confucius is the symbol of a great cultural tradition—Confucianism—that still exerts great influence on the lives and the social ethics of a large population, mainly in East Asia. As a scholar, philosopher, teacher, academic leader, and government minister, Confucius was naturally concerned with leadership and deliberated about it deeply. His thoughts on leadership constitute an important part of his doctrine; they laid a theoretical foundation for the establishment and development of China’s political system and the management of social life for more than two thousand years. The significance of Confucius’s thoughts has not diminished with time, and a close reading of them has much to offer today’s study of leadership.

THE LIFE OF CONFUCIUS

The word *Confucius* is the Latin rendering of the Chinese term *Kong Fuzi*, meaning Master Kong. Confucius’s name in Chinese is Kong Qiu; following the style of Chinese names, *Kong* is the family name and *Qiu* is the personal name. Confucius lived during an era of Chinese history called the Spring and Autumn Period (770–476 BCE). During this time,

although China was in name ruled by the court of the Eastern Zhou dynasty (770–256 BCE), the power of government had actually fallen into the hands of the hundred or so feudal lords, each of whom controlled his own state. Confucius was born in the state of Lu which is in Shandong Province in today's China; while his ancestors supposedly had aristocratic roots in the state of Song, when Confucius was born, his family had lost much of its fortune as well as its social status. His father died when Confucius was only three, and Confucius started his learning with his mother. (There was no formal schooling at that time; youngsters were usually taught by private tutors if their families could afford it.) From childhood, Confucius had an insatiable desire to learn everything, a desire that lasted throughout his life, whether in his early years, when he had to make a living playing musical instruments in a band and working as the manager of a warehouse, or in his later years when he was commonly recognized as an academic authority. Mostly through self-education, though he always sought good teachers, Confucius mastered the six arts that were required for a fully educated person—ritual, music, archery, charioteering, calligraphy, and arithmetic.

All these skills and his special interests and knowledge in poetry and history made him a well-known scholar at a young age, and he started teaching in his thirties. He set up a school that was open to all people regardless of their social class; historians consider it to be the first school in Chinese history. With a style similar to that of Socrates, Confucius taught his students through storytelling and conversation, often debating with them. It is said that he had three thousand students, some of whom later were also regarded as sages in the established Confucian tradition.

Confucius was not only a scholar and teacher, however; he was determined to participate in politics and to put his ideas into action. He dreamed of seeing a world in which a justified social order was established and people's consciences were awakened and fully cultivated. Such a social order would mean the realization of *li* (righteous social order) and *ren* (love for humanity), the two most essential values in Confucius's doctrine.

In his forties and fifties, Confucius held several government posts in his home state of Lu, including magistrate and minister of justice. Unfortunately, his service in the Lu government did not provide him with the opportunity to carry out the political ideas he advocated; although the King of Lu admired Confucius's scholarship, he was not really interested in his political advocacies. Confucius then left Lu and, accompanied by a group of loyal students, started a twelve-year journey, attempting to find a feudal state where his ideas would be not only heard but also practiced. But there was no place in China, then mired in wars and conspiracies, for Confucius to fulfill his visions. After experiencing many disappointments, frustrations, and even great dangers, Confucius returned to his hometown of Qufu in his late sixties and died there several years later. In the last years of his life, Confucius concentrated on writing and editing books on history, philosophy, ritual, poetry, and music. Some of his works have been lost, but most have remained as classics of Chinese culture.

CONFUCIUS'S THOUGHTS ON LEADERSHIP

While it is a complex system, Confucius's doctrine can be understood basically as a philosophy of life and a social ethic, both based in *ren*. Confucius believed that human nature endowed human beings with *ren*, but that each individual needs to cultivate it. *Ren* is the essence of humanity and thus the foundation for any individual's self-development, and for any just social order, or *li*. *Li*, a key principle for Confucius, literally means "ritual" but also refers in a more general sense to order and justice. "The realization of *ren* is to conquer oneself and reestablish *li*" (*Analects* 12:1): This fundamental relationship between individuals and society is profoundly reflected in Confucius's thoughts on leadership.

Becoming a Junzi

Confucius tried in many different ways to get involved in local and state leadership; he also encouraged his students to do so, and some did become



A highly idealized portrait of Confucius, dating to about 1650.
Source: Historical Picture Archive/Corbis; used with permission.

leaders on different levels. One of his purposes in running his school was to train potential leaders to carry out his political ideas. Whether one was destined to be a leader or not, Confucius emphasized that one should cultivate oneself to be a *junzi*, or noble man. Like Plato's philosopher-king, only a *junzi* can be a leader in an ideal society. Yet, whereas a *philosopher* can only be decided, according to Plato, by a "divine dispensation," any human being can become a *junzi*. This difference characterizes the humanistic nature of Confucius's doctrine.

According to Confucius, being a *junzi* required

certain virtues. First was *ren*, the love for mankind. That love is specific and practical for Confucius. Since the people one loves most dearly are one's parents, *xiao*, or filial piety, is the core of *ren*. Next to *xiao* is *ti*, one's care and feelings for siblings; then *yi*, friendship. Thus, *ren* is presented in ever wider circles from family to community, state, and eventually the whole world. To strengthen the belief in *ren* and enhance its practice in life, a *junzi* should also have the virtues of *cheng*, honesty to oneself and to others; of *zhong*, loyalty to community and society; of *zhi*, intelligence and rationality; of *xin*, credibility and reliability; of *lian*, cleanness in service; and of *chi*, the sense of shame. These qualities having been acquired, a *junzi* is "one whom riches and honors cannot taint, poverty and lowly station cannot shift, majesty and power cannot bend" (*Menzi* 3B2). So said Mencius (372–289 BCE), the second-most prominent figure in the Confucian tradition.

Further Requirements for Leadership

Confucius believed that a leader, in addition to needing to be a *junzi*, needed to fulfill other requirements as well. Above all, leadership requires commitment to and responsibility for others and in a broader sense for the world. A leader must have the persistence to maintain that commitment no matter how difficult. As Zeng Shen, one of Confucius's favorite students, put it, "A leader must be resolute and steadfast, for his burden is heavy and his road is long. To practice the virtue of benevolence in the world is his burden, is that not heavy? Only with death does his journey come to an end, is that not long?" (*Analects* 8:7). Leadership also requires comprehensive education, since Confucius implied that only the learned are to rule. On the other hand, a leader "does not have to be an expert of specific skills" (*Analects* 2:12) but must acquire fundamental knowledge. A leader should be a diligent person. Confucius took himself as an example: "Wherever people live, there are honest and trustworthy people like me; yet they may not be as diligent as I am in learning" (*Analects* 5:28). Hence, a leader would "never feel bored in study, and never get tired of teaching others" (*Analects* 7:2). Another basic qual-

ity is modesty, for a good leader should always try to learn from others. “Wherever there are three people,” said Confucius, “there must be one who can be my teacher” (*Analects* 7:22). A good leader can also “work with people who have different ideas” (*Analects* 13:23); a leader “does not recommend a man on account of what he says, neither does he dismiss what is said on account of the speaker” (*Analects* 15:23). Along with modesty comes self-criticism: “When you meet a man of virtue, turn your thoughts to becoming his equal; when you meet a man without virtue, look within and examine your own self” (*Analects* 4:17). Zeng Shen was put forward as a good example for engaging in introspection three times a day.

All these requirements for a leader illustrate Confucius’s axiomatic belief that although law and rules, rewards and punishment are necessary for order and formality in any community and society, government and leadership can be built only upon *ren*, love for humankind, because the underlying function of any society and organization is to promote it. To govern is not only to regulate people’s behavior, but more importantly, to guide their minds. The art of leadership, accordingly, requires first a virtuous leader. To lead others, one must be morally a good example for others. “To govern is to be upright. Who dares not to be upright if the leader is upright?” (*Analects* 12:17). To urge people to work hard, “the leader should work hard first” (*Analects* 13:1). “If the leader acts in an upright way, the people will obey him without being ordered to; if the leader does not act uprightly, the people will not obey him even after repeated injunctions” (*Analects* 13:6). “Why should a leader have any difficulty in administering if he himself is upright? How could a leader correct others if he himself is not upright?” (*Analects* 3:13). When a state minister asked Confucius how he could make people respect and be loyal to their superiors and inspire each other in service, Confucius replied, “Be upright in their presence, and they will hold you in respect; be filial and benevolent, and they will be loyal to you; use the righteous and instruct the unqualified, and they will inspire each other in service” (*Analects* 2:20).

THE CONFUCIAN GOLDEN RULE

The art of leadership requires respecting and understanding people. “You do not have to worry that others do not know you well; you may worry that you do not know others well” (*Analects* 1:16). And respecting and understanding lead to forgiving and encouraging. When Zeng Shen was asked by his fellow students what was the real key that he had learned from Confucius, he answered, “Nothing but honesty and forbearance!” (*Analects* 4:15). Understanding and forgiving, nevertheless, are not the means in leadership, but the display of *ren*. The golden rule of Confucius is “Do not do unto others what you would not want others to do unto you!” (*Analects* 15:23). Logically, the other side of the rule also holds: “A man of humanity, wishing to establish himself, also establishes others, and wishing to enlarge himself, also enlarges others” (*Analects* 16:28).

A poetic passage in *Analects*, the most revered work of Confucius, expounds vividly Confucius’s general view on leadership and serves as fitting concluding words here (*Analects*, 2:1): “A leader who rules society on a moral basis would be supported by the people, just as the Polar Star is encircled by all the other stars.”

—Baoyan Cheng

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CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP

Congressional leadership takes place within an institution that serves two primary functions: making laws and representing citizens. Leaders play essential roles organizing the United States House of Representatives and the United States Senate—they set the schedule for debating bills and resolutions; formulate proposals to address public problems; represent their party’s priorities through the media and in relations with leaders of the opposing party; support or oppose the president’s initiatives in the legislative process; and build coalitions to pass legislation. The main challenge of congressional leadership is to advance the collective interests of the nation or of the leader’s political party, while enabling individual members of Congress to represent their constituents. This entry describes the roles and responsibilities of congressional leaders, reviews the relevant theories for explaining congressional leadership, identifies notable congressional leaders in various historical situations, and raises key issues for further study.

LEADERSHIP POSITIONS: ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

There are two types of formal leadership positions in the United States Congress: party leaders and committee chairs. These types of leaders can be distinguished by their roles and responsibilities, which have varied over time, and by institutional differences between the House and Senate.

Party Leaders in the House of Representatives

Party leaders hold the most widely recognized positions, and chief among these is Speaker of the House of Representatives. The Speaker is elected by the House of Representatives and is the only House leadership position mentioned in Article I, Section 1 of the Constitution. Though formally recognized as the presiding officer of the House, the Speaker has always been a political figure. After the Civil War, with the solidification of the two-party system, the Speaker’s role was geared

more toward serving the interests of the House majority party. In fact, from 1890 to 1910, beginning with Thomas B. Reed (R-ME) and ending with Joe Cannon (R-IL), the Speaker of the House developed into perhaps the most powerful leadership position in government. During that period, the Speaker had various formal means of leading the House, including making committee appointments, controlling the legislative schedule, recognizing members who wished to make motions or address the House during floor debate, and overruling delay tactics by the minority party. Over time those powers eroded, but the House witnessed a resurgence of the Speaker’s office beginning with the speakership of Thomas P. “Tip” O’Neill (1977–1986). Today the Speaker plays a major role in appointing members of the majority party to committees, controlling the legislative agenda through the House Rules Committee, articulating the priorities of the majority party through the media, raising money for the party and its candidates, and negotiating the terms of major legislation with Senate leaders and the President.

The majority party selects a floor leader, whip, and conference chair, each of whom performs various roles and, combined with the Speaker, constitute a leadership team. These leadership positions emerged after 1910, when the House voted to restrict the power of the Speaker after a majority of members agreed that Speaker Joe Cannon (R-IL) had abused the powers of the office. The majority leader, sometimes referred to as the Speaker’s main lieutenant, is primarily responsible for scheduling legislation and managing business on the House floor. Next in line is the majority whip, who takes “whip counts” (polls of party members to determine support for major bills) and persuades wayward members to support the leadership’s position. The majority whip appoints a chief deputy whip to assist the whip in managing a large network of deputy and regional whips, selected members of the party who help to conduct whip counts. While Congress is in session, the majority whip holds weekly meetings where members voice their support for, or raise concerns about, bills about to come to the House floor. Finally, the party’s conference, or caucus, chair

(Republicans refer to their party organization as a “conference,” while Democrats call theirs a “caucus”) is mainly responsible for formulating and disseminating the party’s message.

Taken together, the majority party leadership team seeks to advance the majority party’s policy agenda and political goals, especially maintaining majority control of the House. Toward these ends, party leaders decide which legislation goes from committee to the House floor, organize meetings of key members, communicate frequently with members, mediate differences between members or between committees, raise money for the party, solve problems with pending legislation that may endanger a member’s chances for reelection or unduly compromise the members’ position on policy issues, and speak on behalf of the party to reporters and interested organizations.

Notwithstanding the Speaker who, by default, is the leader of the majority party, the House minority party’s leadership structure mirrors that of the majority party. The minority party elects a minority leader, minority whip, and a conference (or caucus) chair. The roles of the minority whip and conference (or caucus) chair are similar to their counterparts in the majority. Like the majority leader, the minority leader manages the floor for the minority party, but unlike the majority leader, the minority leader has virtually no role in scheduling legislation. The minority leader is the *de facto* “opposition party leader,” the primary spokesperson and representative for the House minority party. Since minority leaders have almost no formal authority to influence the policy agenda, they must choose from among three general strategies of leadership: (1) cooperate with the majority party leadership and seek compromises consistent with the policy goals of the minority party; (2) split the majority party on specific issues in order to build a coalition of the minority party and a faction of the majority party; or (3) combat the majority leadership and attempt to obstruct the majority party’s agenda. At the outset of the 108th Congress (2003–2004), the Democrats elected Nancy Pelosi of California to be minority leader, making her the first woman in history to serve as a floor leader for either party in Congress.



Sam Rayburn, Speaker of the House of Representatives and one of the most powerful men in the United States, speaks with President John F. Kennedy in Austin, Texas in November 1960.

Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

Committee Leaders in the House of Representatives

Much of the legislative work of Congress is done in committees and subcommittees. After a bill is introduced, it is assigned to a standing committee where, in most cases, its fate is decided. The bill can be ignored, but if it’s given a hearing, it may be debated, marked up, and amended in committee prior to being scheduled for action by the whole House. Thus, committee and subcommittee chairs in the House of Representatives, who are always members of the majority party, also perform important leadership roles. The main responsibilities of a committee chair is to organize the committee’s legislative agenda, formulate policy proposals, build coalitions among committee members, advocate for the committee’s bills when they go to the House floor, negotiate policy details with Senate leaders and executive branch officials, and represent the House position in conferences with the Senate. The House committee system offers a plentiful number of committee leadership positions; in the 108th Congress (2003–2004), there are nineteen standing committees and ninety-two subcommittees, each led by a chair.

Senate Leadership

The Constitution (Article I, Section 3) gives the Vice President a formal role as “President of the Senate,” and identifies a “President pro tempore” to preside in the absence of the Vice President. But neither of these two positions has been conducive to strong institutional or party leadership. Unlike the House, which has always had a Speaker, the Senate did not develop a structure for party leadership until the end of the nineteenth century. Prior to that time, individual senators occasionally performed leadership roles by taking strong positions on major issues or fashioning compromises in order to pass legislation. Floor leaders for the parties emerged in the 1880s from the party caucuses and policy committees that developed after the Civil War. Yet neither party formally elected floor leaders until 1913, when the Democrats elected John Kern of Indiana as the first majority leader.

Today the Senate is led by various party leaders (floor leaders, whips, and conference chairs) and standing committee and subcommittee chairs, who perform some of the same roles as those in the House. The parties have developed somewhat different structures. Writing in the 1950s, political scientist Donald R. Matthews observed that the Democrats have more “personalized, informal, centralized” leadership, whereas Republican leadership is more “formalized, institutionalized and decentralized” (1960, 123–124). Thus, the Democratic floor leader also chaired the party conference and the steering and policy committee, whereas Republicans divided responsibilities for these positions among several senators. This distinction has blurred since that time, though Republicans still offer a broader range of leadership opportunities than Democrats. The key party leaders in the Senate, the majority and minority leaders, organize their respective parties, negotiate the legislative schedule, and serve as the chief spokespersons for their parties. Committee chairs carry out tasks similar to those of their counterparts in the House. As in the House, Senate committee and subcommittee chairs are members of the majority party, and thus the majority party leaders and committee chairs have influence over the legislative agenda.

Yet the legislative process in the Senate is very different from the House process, and the differences affect the roles and responsibilities of party leaders. The Senate has nothing comparable to a Speaker of the House; it has no Rules Committee to determine the length of debate and number of amendments to bills that go to the floor; it has no rules that require amendments to be germane to the legislation before it; and it grants rights to individual members and to the minority. Whereas the majority party leadership in the House can virtually dictate the floor schedule through the Rules Committee, the Senate operates on the basis of unanimous consent agreements. Thus, the majority party dominates House procedures, but a single senator can block progress by putting a hold on a bill, and a single senator can offer amendments that are not germane to bills under consideration on the Senate floor. A minority of senators can conduct a filibuster (an endless debate on a bill or a resolution), and it takes sixty votes, more than half of the hundred senators, to end a debate and enable the Senate to vote on the final passage of a bill or a resolution. Though the Senate majority leader enjoys the right of first recognition on the floor, he is rarely in a position to control the agenda. The major role of the Senate majority leader is to negotiate with the minority leader to develop daily floor schedules and accommodate the wishes of individual senators.

Whereas the size and rules of the Senate limit the roles of party leaders, they create leadership opportunities for virtually every senator. In the 108th Congress, there are twenty committees and sixty-eight subcommittees in the Senate, enough positions for all senators of the majority party to chair at least one committee or subcommittee. Moreover, rules that grant individual senators leverage in the legislative process enable *all* senators, even those in the minority party, to pursue informal leadership roles. Personal motivations to achieve policy goals, regular opportunities to appear on television, large staffs that can conduct policy analysis, an expansive number of interest groups seeking elected officials to advance their causes, and the regular chance to offer floor amendments give senators incentives to exercise leadership on multiple issues. In a notable recent

example of informal leadership, John McCain (R-AZ) and Russ Feingold (D-WI) successfully championed campaign finance reform.

THEORIES OF LEADERSHIP

In addition to describing the leadership roles, political scientists have sought to explain leadership styles, strategies, and strengths. Some theories of leadership are based on political concepts, institutional features of Congress, and situational forces that affect the legislature and the legislative agenda. Other political scientists have applied theories developed in economics to explain leadership. The various theories explain leadership selection; limitations on strong leadership in a representative body; the relationship between leaders and members; the conditions that are most conducive to centralized party leadership and which are most likely to favor decentralized, committee leadership; and the role of individual qualities in explaining leadership style. Most theories are based on House leadership, though there are several important studies of Senate leadership.

Contextual Theory

Political scientists have stressed the importance of “contextual” factors, referring to the key conditions or the situations that affect leadership behavior. Among the most significant contextual factors are the importance individual members put on representation, the degree of party unity, the policy agenda, and the formal powers of the leader’s office. One of the most influential studies of House leadership, which was done by political scientist Charles O. Jones in 1969, illustrates the limits of centralized leadership in a representative body by describing how a majority of members revolted against Speaker Joe Cannon (R-IL) in 1910. Accusing Cannon of autocracy, a coalition of progressive Republicans and minority party Democrats voted to remove the Speaker from the Rules Committee, expand the size of the Committee, and require that Committee members be elected by the House rather than appointed by the Speaker. Jones argues that leaders must be responsive to the expectations of the elected mem-



Four Rules of Leadership in a Free Legislative Body

First, no matter how hard-fought the issue, never get personal.

Second, do your homework. You can’t lead without knowing what you are talking about.

Third, the American Legislative process is one of give and take. Use your power as a leader to persuade, not intimidate.

Fourth, be considerate of the needs of your colleagues, even if they are at the bottom of the totem pole.

—George H. W. Bush

bers or they will ultimately be sanctioned by the members.

Scholars who apply “principal-agent” theories, derived from organizational economics, to study leadership have adopted the premise that leaders must respond to member expectations. Using the principal-agent model, leaders (agents) have incentives to accommodate the policy preferences and expectations of their followers (principals). Some argue that followers will repudiate and/or sanction leaders who repeatedly ignore their wishes, whereas others suggest that leaders have some leverage to take risks or even pursue strategies to coerce the followers without fear of being removed or rebuked.

Whereas Jones sought to explain the limits on power, others seek to explain why Speakers might be granted extensive powers at certain times and how that affects leadership style. One of the key conditions defining leadership style and strength is the degree of party unity among party members, measured in terms of their agreement on policy preferences. In 1981 political scientists Joseph Cooper and David W. Brady argued that when party unity is high, members are more likely to encourage and tolerate strong party leadership; when party unity is low, members seek to distribute power away from a central leadership position. Thus, the centralized, hierarchical leadership style of Thomas B. Reed (R-ME), who served two times as Speaker (from 1889–1891

(text continued on p. 266)

Speakers of the U.S. House of Representatives

<i>Congress</i>	<i>Speaker</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Date Elected</i>
1st	Frederick A.C. Muhlenberg	Pennsylvania	Apr. 1, 1789
2nd	Jonathan Trumbull	Connecticut	Oct. 24, 1791
3rd	Frederick A.C. Muhlenberg	Pennsylvania	Dec. 2, 1793
4th	Jonathan Dayton	New Jersey	Dec. 7, 1795
5th	Jonathan Dayton	New Jersey	May 15, 1797
6th	Theodore Sedgwick	Massachusetts	Dec. 2, 1799
7th	Nathaniel Macon	North Carolina	Dec. 7, 1801
8th	Nathaniel Macon	North Carolina	Oct. 17, 1803
9th	Nathaniel Macon	North Carolina	Dec. 2, 1805
10th	Joseph B. Varnum	Massachusetts	Oct. 26, 1807
11th	Joseph B. Varnum	Massachusetts	May 22, 1809
12th	Henry Clay	Kentucky	Nov. 4, 1811
13th	Henry Clay	Kentucky	Jan. 19, 1814
14th	Henry Clay	Kentucky	Dec. 4, 1815
15th	Henry Clay	Kentucky	Dec. 1, 1817
16th	Henry Clay	Kentucky	Dec. 6, 1819
16th	John W. Taylor	New York	Nov. 15, 1820
17th	Philip P. Barbour	Virginia	Dec. 4, 1821
18th	Henry Clay	Kentucky	Dec. 1, 1823
19th	John W. Taylor	New York	Dec. 5, 1825
20th	Andrew Stevenson	Virginia	Dec. 3, 1827
21st	Andrew Stevenson	Virginia	Dec. 7, 1829
22nd	Andrew Stevenson	Virginia	Dec. 5, 1831
23rd	John Bell	Tennessee	June 2, 1834
24th	James K. Polk	Tennessee	Dec. 7, 1835
25th	James K. Polk	Tennessee	Sept. 4, 1837
26th	Robert M.T. Hunter	Virginia	Dec. 16, 1839
27th	John White	Kentucky	May 31, 1841
28th	John W. Jones	Virginia	Dec. 4, 1843
29th	John W. Davis	Indiana	Dec. 1, 1845
30th	Robert C. Winthrop	Massachusetts	Dec. 6, 1847
31st	Howell Cobb	Georgia	Dec. 22, 1849
32nd	Linn Boyd	Kentucky	Dec. 1, 1851
33rd	Linn Boyd	Kentucky	Dec. 5, 1853
34th	Nathaniel P. Banks	Massachusetts	Feb. 2, 1856
35th	James L. Orr	South Carolina	Dec. 7, 1857
36th	William Pennington	New Jersey	Feb. 1, 1860
37th	Galusha A. Grow	Pennsylvania	July 4, 1861
38th	Schuyler Colfax	Indiana	Dec. 7, 1863
39th	Schuyler Colfax	Indiana	Dec. 4, 1865
40th	Schuyler Colfax	Indiana	Mar. 3, 1867
40th	Theodore M. Pomeroy	New York	Mar. 4, 1869
41st	James G. Blaine	Maine	Mar. 4, 1869
42nd	James G. Blaine	Maine	Mar. 4, 1871
43rd	James G. Blaine	Maine	Dec. 1, 1873
44th	Michael C. Kerr	Indiana	Dec. 6, 1875
44th	Samuel J. Randall	Pennsylvania	Dec. 4, 1876
45th	Samuel J. Randall	Pennsylvania	Dec. 4, 1876
46th	Samuel J. Randall	Pennsylvania	Mar. 18, 1879
47th	J. Warren Keifer	Ohio	Dec. 5, 1881
48th	John G. Carlisle	Kentucky	Dec. 3, 1883
49th	John G. Carlisle	Kentucky	Dec. 7, 1885
50th	John G. Carlisle	Kentucky	Dec. 5, 1887
51st	Thomas B. Reed	Maine	Dec. 2, 1889
52nd	Charles F. Crisp	Georgia	Dec. 8, 1891
53rd	Charles F. Crisp	Georgia	Aug. 7, 1893
54th	Thomas B. Reed	Maine	Dec. 2, 1895
55th	Thomas B. Reed	Maine	Mar. 15, 1897

Speakers of the U.S. House of Representatives (continued)

<i>Congress</i>	<i>Speaker</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Date Elected</i>
56th	David B. Henderson	Iowa	Dec. 4, 1899
57th	David B. Henderson	Iowa	Dec. 2, 1901
58th	Joseph G. Cannon	Illinois	Nov. 9, 1903
59th	Joseph G. Cannon	Illinois	Dec. 4, 1905
60th	Joseph G. Cannon	Illinois	Dec. 2, 1907
61st	Joseph G. Cannon	Illinois	Mar. 15, 1909
62nd	James Beauchamp Clark	Missouri	Apr. 4, 1911
63rd	James Beauchamp Clark	Missouri	Apr. 7, 1913
64th	James Beauchamp Clark	Missouri	Dec. 6, 1915
65th	James Beauchamp Clark	Missouri	Apr. 2, 1917
66th	Frederick H. Gillett	Massachusetts	May 19, 1919
67th	Frederick H. Gillett	Massachusetts	Apr. 11, 1921
68th	Frederick H. Gillett	Massachusetts	Dec. 3, 1923
69th	Nicholas Longworth	Ohio	Dec. 7, 1925
70th	Nicholas Longworth	Ohio	Dec. 5, 1927
71st	Nicholas Longworth	Ohio	Apr. 15, 1929
72nd	John N. Garner	Texas	Dec. 7, 1931
73rd	Henry T. Rainey	Illinois	Mar. 9, 1933
74th	Joseph W. Byrns	Tennessee	Jan. 3, 1935
74th	William B. Bankhead	Alabama	Jun. 4, 1936
75th	William B. Bankhead	Alabama	Jan. 5, 1937
76th	William B. Bankhead	Alabama	Jan. 3, 1939
76th	Sam Rayburn	Texas	Sept. 16, 1940
77th	Sam Rayburn	Texas	Jan. 3, 1941
78th	Sam Rayburn	Texas	Jan. 6, 1943
79th	Sam Rayburn	Texas	Jan. 3, 1945
80th	Joseph W. Martin, Jr.	Massachusetts	Jan. 3, 1947
81st	Sam Rayburn	Texas	Jan. 3, 1949
82nd	Sam Rayburn	Texas	Jan. 3, 1951
83rd	Joseph W. Martin, Jr.	Massachusetts	Jan. 3, 1953
84th	Sam Rayburn	Texas	Jan. 5, 1955
85th	Sam Rayburn	Texas	Jan. 3, 1957
86th	Sam Rayburn	Texas	Jan. 7, 1959
87th	Sam Rayburn	Texas	Jan. 3, 1961
87th	John W. McCormack	Massachusetts	Jan. 10, 1962
88th	John W. McCormack	Massachusetts	Jan. 9, 1963
89th	John W. McCormack	Massachusetts	Jan. 4, 1965
90th	John W. McCormack	Massachusetts	Jan. 10, 1967
91st	John W. McCormack	Massachusetts	Jan. 3, 1969
92nd	Carl B. Albert	Oklahoma	Jan. 21, 1971
93rd	Carl B. Albert	Oklahoma	Jan. 3, 1973
94th	Carl B. Albert	Oklahoma	Jan. 14, 1975
95th	Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.	Massachusetts	Jan. 4, 1977
96th	Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.	Massachusetts	Jan. 15, 1979
97th	Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.	Massachusetts	Jan. 5, 1981
98th	Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.	Massachusetts	Jan. 3, 1983
99th	Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.	Massachusetts	Jan. 3, 1985
100th	James C. Wright, Jr.	Texas	Jan. 6, 1987
101st	James C. Wright, Jr.	Texas	Jan. 3, 1989
101st	Thomas S. Foley	Washington	Jun. 6, 1989
102nd	Thomas S. Foley	Washington	Jan. 3, 1991
103rd	Thomas S. Foley	Washington	Jan. 5, 1993
104th	Newt Gingrich	Georgia	Jan. 4, 1995
105th	Newt Gingrich	Georgia	Jan. 7, 1997
106th	J. Dennis Hastert	Illinois	Jan. 6, 1999
107th	J. Dennis Hastert	Illinois	Jan. 3, 2001
108th	J. Dennis Hastert	Illinois	Jan. 7, 2003

and 1895–1899) during the period of “czar speakers” (from 1890–1910), was based on the high levels of agreement on policy goals among party members. The Speaker chaired a Rules Committee with only five members; appointed members to committees; had the power to recognize members from the floor; and blocked attempts by the minority party to obstruct legislative business. The so-called “Reed rules” allowed the Speaker to count all present members as part of quorum, limit quorums to one hundred members, and ignore motions from members designed to delay the process. Republican members viewed a powerful Speaker as the way to advance the party’s national agenda of economic expansion, a goal they all shared, rather than a hindrance on their ability to represent their particular constituencies.

Cooper and Brady observed that a high degree of party unity among the members is derived from the policy preferences of the members’ voting constituencies. In simple terms, if voters in different congressional districts share similar views and elect members from the same party to represent those views, then the elected representatives of those parties will also hold similar policy preferences. Thus, when individual members agree on the direction of the party, they are more willing to cede power to a central leader who can use that power to advance the individual and collective goals of party members. On the other hand, when members of the party represent diverse constituencies and hold different policy preferences, they are less likely to vest power in the hands of a central leader, and power is decentralized among committee chairs or individual members. In this situation, the speakers must be skilled at bargaining with the factions within the party and among committee chairs who have considerable power in their own right. As Cooper and Brady illustrate, Speaker Sam Rayburn (D-TX), who served as Speaker on three different occasions (1941–1947, 1949–1952, and 1955–1961), mastered this style of leadership.

Scholars have noted that increases in internal party unity and interparty conflict over key issues, as well as other institutional and policy conditions, explain a resurgence in the speakership since the

1980s. In 1995 political scientists Barbara Sinclair argued that in addition to the degree of party unity, reforms passed in the 1970s that strengthened the Speaker’s role in making committee appointments and referring legislation, divided government, and budget deficits created renewed expectations for strong party leadership. Those conditions encouraged members to give leaders the resources to solve problems and capitalize on opportunities.

Context and Individual Leadership Styles

Several theories of House party leadership have argued that leadership is a function of both the context within which leaders are operating and the individual qualities of the leaders. One concept of “conditional party leadership” refines contextual theories by arguing that the strength of party leadership depends on both the context and the style of individual leaders. When the majority party is internally unified and its positions are strongly opposed by the minority party, the conditions favor strong party leadership. But the strength of party leadership also depends on an individual leader’s qualities; aggressive leaders are more likely to use the powers granted to them by the members. Theories that explain committee leadership also tend to rely on a combination of contextual and individual factors.

Senate Leadership

Theories of Senate leadership also focus on institutional and political conditions, though scholars agree that personal factors are very important. In 1969 political scientist Randall Ripley developed three types of power distribution that affect Senate leadership: centralized, decentralized, and individualism. Conditions that centralize power give party leaders critical roles in managing the legislative agenda; decentralized power structures distribute leadership opportunities among committee chairs; and individualism further weakens party leadership and extends leadership opportunities to subcommittees and individual senators.

Though all three models have been at work at different times in history, given the norms and rules of the Senate, the center of gravity is toward individualism.

This was certainly true during most of the nineteenth century. As Senator Daniel Webster of Massachusetts remarked: “This is a Senate, a Senate of equals, of men of individual honor and personal character, and of absolute independence. We know no masters, we acknowledge no dictators” (Quoted in Peabody, 1981, 64). Thus, in the 1830s and 1840s, talented individuals like Webster, Henry Clay of Kentucky, and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina led Senate debate on major issues related to slavery and state rights.

A form of centralized party leadership emerged in the Senate at the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century during the heyday of the two-party system. The Senate developed party caucuses and policy committees to represent the collective interests of the parties after the Civil War. Yet, as a testament to the importance of personal qualities and informal leadership in the Senate, “centralized party leadership” developed mainly through the will of two men, William Allison (R-IA), Chair of the Appropriations Committee, and Nelson Aldrich (R-RI), Chair of the Finance Committee. Allison (served in the Senate from 1872 to 1908) and Aldrich (served in the Senate from 1881 to 1911), with Aldrich playing the major role, emerged as de facto leaders of the Senate Republican Party from 1890 to 1910. The two men formed a leadership team that included Orville Platt (R-CT) (served in the Senate from 1879 to 1905) and John Spooner (R-WI) (served in the Senate from 1897 to 1907), which directed the legislative business of the Senate. The formal position of majority floor leader was not created until after Aldrich left office in 1910.

Another important period of strong Senate party leadership emerged with Lyndon Johnson, Democratic majority leader from 1955 to 1960. In 1961 political scientist Ralph K. Huitt explained how Johnson used his personal talents, and the few powers available to him as majority leader, to advance legislation through the Senate. Johnson was a pragmatist and an expert at parliamentary procedures, and he was tenacious in seeking votes to pass legislation. He used his position as chair of the steering committee to see to it that every Democratic senator, including freshmen, was appointed to an important committee. He gathered extensive knowledge of each senator’s priorities

U.S. Senate Majority Leaders

<i>Majority Leader</i>	<i>Years</i>	<i>Congress</i>
Henry Cabot Lodge (R-MA)	1920–1925	66–68
Charles Curtis (R-KS)	1925–1929	68–70
James E. Watson (R-IN)	1929–1933	70–72
Joseph T. Robinson (D-AR)	1933–1937	73–75
Alban W. Barkley (D-KY)	1937–1947	75–79
Wallace H. White Jr. (R-ME)	1947–1949	80
Scott W. Lucas (D-IL)	1949–1951	81
Ernest W. McFarland (D-AZ)	1951–1953	82
Robert A. Taft (R-OH)	1953	83
William H. Knowland (R-CA)	1953–1955	83
Lyndon B. Johnson (D-TX)	1955–1961	84–86
Mike Mansfield (D-MT)	1961–1977	87–94
Robert C. Byrd (D-WV)	1977–1981	95–96
Howard H. Baker Jr. (R-TN)	1981–1985	97–98
Robert Dole (R-KS)	1985–1987	99
Robert C. Byrd (D-WV)	1987–1989	100
George J. Mitchell (D-ME)	1989–1995	101–103
Robert Dole (R-KS)	1995–1996	104
Trent Lott (R-MS)	1996–2001	104–107
Thomas A. Daschle (D-SD)	2001–2003	107
Trent Lott (R-MS)	2001–2002	107
Bill Frist (R-TN)	2003–	108

and used that knowledge when it came time to lobby them. Johnson was famous for giving individual members the “treatment,” a one-on-one session where he appealed to them by cajoling, educating, persuading, and, if necessary, threatening them to get their attention and support. Johnson used the position of majority leader like none before or since to move legislation through a highly fragmented and individualized institution.

KEY CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS

Many leaders have played prominent roles in shaping the institutions of the House and Senate, setting the policy agenda and advancing legislation through the Congress. Following is a short list of the most important congressional leaders:

Henry Clay of Kentucky was elected Speaker of the House three times and served a total of ten years (1811–1814, 1815–1820, and 1823–1825). Clay was a popular and effective politician during the formative years of the House of Representatives. He was

the first Speaker to be elected to advance a policy agenda, and he played a key role in the development of the committee system.

Thomas B. Reed, Republican of Maine, was Speaker of the House during a period of strong party government (1889–1891 and 1895–1899) and is regarded as the most powerful Speaker in history.

Sam Rayburn, Democrat of Texas, was the longest-serving Speaker of the House in history (1941–1947, 1949–1952, and 1955–1961). Rayburn developed a system of informal gathering called the “Board of Education” in which he gathered information and discussed House business with powerful committee chairs over whiskey and branch water. As noted above, his bargaining skills were outstanding.

Lyndon Johnson served as minority leader (1953–1955) and majority leader (1955–1961) in the United States Senate. By his forceful personality, Johnson is responsible for turning the majority leader’s office into a powerful position. Johnson instituted the “Johnson rule” whereby freshman senators are given prize committee appointments. He is also famous for the “Johnson treatment”.

Newt Gingrich, Republican of Georgia, Speaker of the House from 1995 to 1998, is principally responsible for returning the Republican Party to the majority after forty years as a minority party. Gingrich used effective organizational skills to raise money and recruit Republican candidates and aggressive tactics to criticize Democratic leaders and liberal policies. His movement to overturn the Democratic majority culminated in the “Contract with America,” a ten-point agenda of policy initiatives that formed the basis of the 1994 congressional elections, when the Republicans won a majority. Gingrich’s effort to transform the role of government through the budget process was ultimately stymied by President William Clinton in 1995 and 1996, and he later resigned from Congress after the Republicans lost seats in the 1998 midterm elections.

FUTURE RESEARCH

Though many areas of congressional leadership are ripe for further research, a few deserve urgent atten-

tion. First, now that the Republicans have held control of the House for at least ten consecutive years, there is sufficient information to study the effects of party on House leadership. Most recent accounts of congressional leadership are derived from observations of Democratic leaders; we may now consider whether and why Republican leaders behave differently and what difference it makes. Second, since we know that conditions affect leadership, we should consider whether and how the increased use of technology affects leadership in the House and Senate. Finally, at a time of intense two-party competition, scholars should explore more carefully how the size of the majority affects leadership, especially in the Senate. These questions and others will continue to occupy scholars interested in congressional leadership.

—Daniel J. Palazzolo

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964; Johnson, Lyndon

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CONNECTIVE LEADERSHIP

The connective leadership model asserts that a new era is emerging. This model, conceptualized by Jean Lipman-Blumen, describes an emerging environment in which traditional approaches to leadership limit a leader’s effectiveness. The connective leadership model outlines a repertoire of nine behavioral strategies called “achieving styles” that can dramatically increase leaders’ effectiveness in this new environment. The major components of this model are the nine “achieving styles” or behavioral strategies leaders use to accomplish their tasks. A thorough discussion of the basis for the model and stories of connective leaders, both past and present, can be found

in paperback in *Connective Leadership: Managing in a Changing World* or hardcover in the *Connective Edge: Leading in an Interdependent World*.

A NEW ERA OF LEADERSHIP

This connective era is governed by two contradictory forces: interdependence and diversity. These two forces demand conflicting behavioral responses and pull leaders in opposite directions. In this connective era, the tension between these two forces renders traditional leadership behaviors, such as authoritarianism, competitiveness, and rugged individualism, far less relevant. Because organizations, groups, and communities work and live interdependently, leadership decisions affect everything and everyone everywhere. At the same time, groups and individuals worldwide are affirming their distinctive identity and embracing diversity. To act effectively, leaders must be able to integrate these contradictory trends. The clash of these two forces creates unprecedented problems to which leaders who rely solely on traditional approaches are unable to respond effectively.

The connective era is further marked by constant shifts in the connections among people, organizations, and ideas, and, in this era, leaders must alter the way they have traditionally made decisions. Leaders whose skills are limited to the more traditional leadership approaches of dominating, competing, or collaborating will not be effective. The connective leadership model offers a more complex range of behavioral strategies by which leaders can integrate these oppositional forces.

ACHIEVING STYLES

As children, we develop a set of strategies for getting what we want—“personal technologies” for accomplishing our tasks and achieving our goals. The connective leadership model terms these personal technologies “achieving styles.” Through trial and error, success and defeat, we develop preferences for particular strategies and then tend to use them predominantly.

Eventually, we learn to call upon those achieving styles that have brought us the most success. Conse-

quently, most individuals develop a relatively limited range of approaches for accomplishing tasks, consistently relying on only two or three strategies, rather than using the entire range of achieving styles. There are, however, nine achieving styles and many combinations of strategies upon which an individual can rely. "Connective leaders" use a broad spectrum of these behavioral strategies to accomplish their goals. They tend to read the situational cues and select the appropriate achieving styles for the task at hand.

The connective leadership model outlines three sets of behavior styles: direct, relational, and instrumental. People who prefer the direct set like to confront their own tasks individually and directly, emphasizing mastery, competition, and power. People who prefer to work on group tasks or help others attain their goals emphasize the relational set. Individuals who use themselves and others as instruments for accomplishing mutual goals prefer the instrumental set.

Within each of these three sets lie three more specific achieving styles behaviors, for a total of nine achieving styles. Figure 1 depicts the nine achieving

styles in a deliberate order that represents their theoretical proximity. In addition, based on statistical analyses, the highest correlations are between contiguous styles, with correlations generally decreasing the farther one moves away from a given style on the diagram. Thus, the diagram represents both the theoretical and statistical adjacency of the nine achieving styles.

Whereas individuals rarely rely entirely on one style to accomplish their tasks, for explanatory purposes, the nine styles will be described as if individuals utilize only a single style. Within the direct set, the three achieving styles are intrinsic, competitive, and power. People who prefer intrinsic behaviors are attracted to challenging and important tasks. The challenge of mastering the task on their own excites them. People with a preference for the intrinsic achieving style evaluate their performance against an internal standard of excellence, that is, their own past attainments. Individuals who prefer competitive behavior use an external standard of judgment and compare themselves to the performance of relevant others. They have a passion to outperform others and structure tasks as competitive encounters. People who prefer the power style like to take charge, coordinate, and organize situations, events, resources, and other people. These individuals may delegate tasks to others, but retain control over how those tasks are accomplished.

Within the relational set, the three achieving styles are collaborative, contributory, and vicarious. People who tend to use the collaborative style enjoy working with others on teams and joint projects, sharing both rewards and responsibility. People who prefer the contributory style derive their satisfaction from helping other people complete their tasks. Finally, people who consistently call upon the vicarious style do not actually participate in others' activities. Instead, they encourage or facilitate others' accomplishments, perhaps by acting as a facilitator or mentor, offering wisdom or advice, or cheering them on.

The third set of achieving styles, the instrumental set, includes the personal, social, and entrusting styles. The personal style involves using every aspect of oneself to draw others into one's cause. For

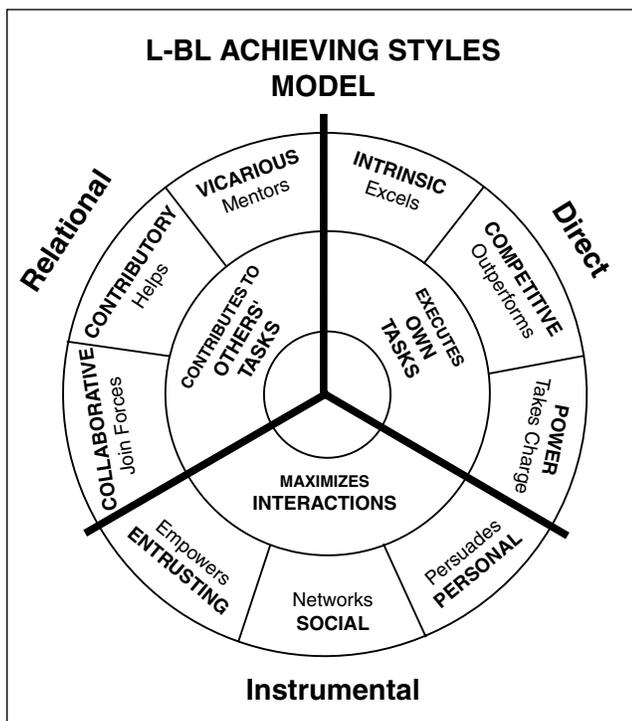


Figure 1. Achieving Styles Model

Source: Lipman-Blumen (1988).

example, individuals who rely on this style may use their wit, charm, attractiveness, family background, or other aspects of themselves to attract supporters to help them accomplish their task. People who prefer the social style often rely on “contacts” or their “networking” skills to engage the appropriate people to help them accomplish their tasks. They call upon others who have the specific skills, experience, or contacts needed for the project. Finally, people who tend to utilize the entrusting style expect everyone to help them accomplish their tasks. They select capable individuals, regardless of whether those people have the relevant skills or experience necessary, to assist in attaining their goal.

CONNECTIVE LEADERS

As noted in the previous section, connective leaders utilize a wide range of achieving styles in accomplishing their tasks. They have developed the capability to utilize all nine achieving styles in a wide range of situations. This behavioral model rests on the assumption that each person learns to use achieving styles successfully through past experiences. Consequently, by extension, individuals can learn through practice to use a broader range of achieving styles.

In particular, through using one of the tools developed in conjunction with this model, the individual achieving styles inventory (which will be discussed in the next section), individuals can identify which of the nine styles they use most often and which they tend to ignore. In that way, an individual can target the underutilized styles for future development. By developing and expanding their profile to include all or most of the achieving styles, individuals can become more effective connective leaders.

AVAILABLE TOOLS BASED ON THE CONNECTIVE LEADERSHIP MODEL

Several inventories currently exist that allow individuals to assess their connective leadership profile. The first tool, the individual Achieving Styles Inventory (ASI), is a forty-five-item Likert-type survey. The respondent answers a series of questions indicating



Assessing Achievement Styles

According to the Achieving Style Institute, “Achieving styles are characteristic behaviors individuals use to achieve their goals and connective leadership emphasizes connecting individuals to their own, as well as others’, tasks and ego drives. The Achieving Styles Model includes three sets of achieving styles (direct, instrumental, and relational), each subsuming three individual styles, resulting in a full compliment of nine distinct achieving styles.” To help individuals and organizations assess their leadership styles, the institute has developed an inventory that can be completed at the institute’s website. Responses on a seven-point continuum range from “Never” to “Always.” Listed below are sample questions from the Achieving Style Individual Inventory:

1. For me, the most gratifying thing is to have solved a tough problem.
2. I get to know important people in order to succeed.
3. I achieve my goals through contributing to the success of others.
4. For me, winning is the most important thing.
5. When I want to achieve something, I look for assistance.

Source: Achieving Styles Institute. <http://www.achievingstyles.com>

how frequently he or she performs stated behaviors and receives a score for each of the nine achieving styles. The scores indicate the frequency with which each style is used. The specific, computer-generated, narrative feedback the respondent receives describes each achieving style, along with the advantages and disadvantages of the degree to which the respondent uses each achieving style.

A second tool, the organizational achieving styles inventory (OASI), is a survey taken by the individual to determine the extent to which various achieving styles are rewarded by a specific organization. Thus, an individual can examine to the fit between his or her approach to accomplishing tasks and the achieving styles (or connective leadership) profile that is rewarded by that organization.

Both instruments have been subjected to reliability and validity testing. In addition, they have been

translated into seventeen languages, including Japanese, Chinese, Spanish, Thai, French, Bulgarian, and Portuguese. The Achieving Styles Institute houses a web-based database containing responses from more than sixteen thousand respondents from a variety of occupations, industries, and countries, collected beginning in 1984.

A third tool, the achieving styles situational evaluation technique (ASSET), is currently being revised for web use. This tool allows an individual to analyze key aspects of a given task or project to determine which achieving styles would be most effective to address the particular task. Comparing the individual Achieving Styles Inventory (ASI) of potential team members and the achieving styles situational evaluation technique (ASSET) provides a useful method for selecting an optimal team for a given task. This method assumes that the cadre from which team members are drawn have the requisite technical background. (The Achieving Styles Institute website at www.achievingstyles.com offers more detailed information on the Model and the instruments.)

RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Approximately 150 papers have been written based on the connective leadership model and achieving styles. Although the majority of these were presented at conference or are unpublished dissertations, reference information for these works can be obtained by contacting the Achieving Styles Institute. The topics studied include cross-cultural leadership, decision making in educational settings, achieving styles of women leaders, students' achieving styles, the relationship between achieving styles and job satisfaction, person-organization fit based on achieving styles, product development teams, and many more.

In the early twenty-first century, a team of researchers at the Achieving Styles Institute is working on publishing a series of articles discussing the relevance of achieving styles to the analysis of various types of leaders. For example, one paper examines the differences in achieving styles profiles for male and female managers, while another paper

examined differences in achieving styles profiles among managers from various countries. In addition, one paper investigates the differences in achieving styles profiles between entrepreneurs and corporate managers, while another paper investigates different approaches taken by public sector and private sector managers.

The connective leadership model presents a framework for viewing the role of leaders in a new, connective environment. Related tools have been developed for leaders to assess their current approach to accomplishing tasks. The connective leadership model also offers conceptual possibilities and a nonjudgmental vocabulary for resolving person to person and person to organization conflicts. Moreover, the model presents developmental possibilities that leaders can use to become more effective in a new era of leadership.

—Michelle D. Jones

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CONSTRUCTIVISM

Constructivist approaches to leadership invert the traditional focus upon the objective “truth” of a leader and/or situation and followers; instead, they suggest that we consider apparent accomplishments as relative achievements, brought off by the actors and “constructed” through alternative accounts that vie for domination. Instead of asking, for example, what unique qualities Napoleon or Gandhi had that explain their leadership successes and failures, constructivism seeks to understand why we attribute causal success to these individuals and how particular accounts come to dominate. In short, constructivism is more concerned with how we recognize the phenomenon we call leadership, why we regard it as important, and why certain models of explanation occur at specific points in time and space, than with “discovering the truth” about leadership.

The roots of constructivism, sometimes called social constructivism, lie generally in postmodernism but particularly in the works of Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, and especially Kenneth J. Gergen. Much of the initial empirical work has been undertaken in the sociology of science and technology but more recently the ideas have spread to many other areas, including leadership. The approach contends that language plays a critical role in our understanding—words both enable us to think and constrain the way we think. In effect, we can never know what counts as “reality” except through our accounts of it. But the words we use, our accounts, do not just describe “reality”—they constitute “reality,” to the point where relativism prevails. For example, if an orthodox account suggests that the world is flat, then

to believers the world is indeed flat. And if that orthodox account changes to the extent that the person believers took to be a god isn’t actually a god, then that becomes the (temporary) truth for the believers.

The same holds for technologies and other allegedly objective phenomena. At its most extreme, what counts as death can be regarded as a social construction rather than an objective fact. For example, we used to define death as not moving, then not breathing, then having no pulse, then having fixed dilated pupils, and then having no brain activity. In every case, the development of technologies to help define death actually made the decision more and not less obscure, to the point where death is now frequently defined by the medical authorities at a hospital after they have given up trying to “revive” an ambiguously defined body and decided, literally, to pull the plug that keeps the body “alive.”

THE CONSTRUCTION OF CHARISMA

Such an approach runs directly counter to a series of traditional—that is, scientific—approaches to leadership. Charisma, for example, is traditionally regarded as an objective characteristic of an individual: Some leaders are charismatic and others are not. Abraham Lincoln, for example, was a charismatic leader and created the greatest speech of the nineteenth century at Gettysburg. But a constructivist approach would remain skeptical of both these “objective” claims. Did all of Lincoln’s contemporaries recognize his charisma? If not, then might his charisma be a product of a retrospective construction designed to suit the needs of the Union after his assassination? It is certainly intriguing that many leaders acknowledged to be charismatic died young and often violently. Could this charisma be part of the explanation and a valuable aspect of the construction of a myth such that the weaknesses of such leaders either do not surface over time or are submerged by the social grief that follows assassinations? If so, then we need to consider to what extent assassinated leaders were as perfect as is often implied and to what extent their lives were reconstructed to fulfill the needs of those left behind.

If some people did not perceive Lincoln as charis-

matic, were they confused or was his charisma in the eye of the beholder? In effect, is charisma a social construct generated by followers, observers, and writers, rather than an objective characteristic possessed by individuals? In the case of Admiral Nelson, it is now well-known that he was very adept at generating positive public images of himself, to the point where he wrote battle accounts in the first person that, naturally, focused on his pivotal bravery, and then got junior officers to edit them, altering the first person to the third person, such that “I” became “Admiral Nelson.” They then sent the altered accounts to the British newspapers as if they rather than Nelson had written them. Similarly, whether the Hawthorne experiments conducted between 1924 and 1933 by sociologist Elton Mayo and his research team were quite as clear-cut as his own summary suggests is now rather dubious—but Mayo certainly led us to certain conclusions about leadership, supervision, and group behavior through his manipulation of the data and the research team.

Another valuable question to ask when discussing charismatic leaders is whether a crisis is a necessary precondition for the emergence of their charisma. “Come the moment come the man (or woman)” is one way of understanding this conjunction because under situations of great danger or stress, people look to great men and women to solve their problems and protect them. We might still retain the idea that a charismatic person is objectively endowed with remarkable powers but that these only mature under certain objective conditions—a crisis, for instance. But the constructivist approach also remains skeptical of such assumptions: What makes a “situation” into a “crisis”? Who says we are in a crisis anyway? Usually it is the very leaders who insist that we exert ourselves or sacrifice our children who also define the situation as a crisis. For example, do we really know whether we are under an extreme terrorist threat, or that the company is in grave danger of collapse?

And when we ask for independent and objective information to confirm the analysis of our leaders that we are in a crisis, all too often that cannot be released without allegedly compromising the source and making matters worse. In other words, the very

people who call upon us to sacrifice ourselves are the ones most likely to benefit. Moreover, our understanding of the situation often changes over time: Subsequent investigative journalism may reveal that the “crisis” was manufactured for political advantage or that the mysterious “misunderstandings” were not just fortuitous but a conspiracy. It is for such reasons that the reputations of leaders are constantly changing over time.

LEADERSHIP, CONSTRUCTIVISM, AND CULTURE

Another feature of constructivist approaches lies in the way they view the importance and relative status of contemporary culture. In other words, these approaches believe that what counts as “good” or “bad” leadership lies less in any alleged objective assessment of the case and more in the way particular leaders replicate conventions. For example, Churchill’s reputation as a leader depends upon not just who you ask but when you ask the question. In the 1930s Churchill was commonly regarded as an out-of-date warmonger, but during the war his leadership was considered a critical symbol of British resilience. Recent analyses suggest that both views are plausible and perhaps we shall never agree on an “objective” assessment of him because our assessment is inevitably colored by our own political preferences and biases.

Beyond personal biases there are significant social and cultural formations that constrain the way we understand leadership. For example, during the 1930s and early 1940s, when Nazism and Soviet Communism dominated the global stage, it seemed evident that the control of an irrational mass by a ruthless charismatic leader was the “best” way to lead—and such modes of behavior were replicated in Western factories as well as Eastern barracks. But after the victory of the Western allies in 1945, it seemed to make more sense to construct leadership patterns around the self-realizing needs of individuals—a reflection of the dominant culture of the victors.

And of course at the time it made sense to talk of leaders as male, indeed, so much so that it did not require writers to talk of “him or her” because to

pontificate about the nature of gendered leadership was equivalent to assuming that women should engage in armed combat during wartime. In the Soviet Union, large numbers of women served as infantry soldiers, tank crews, and fighter pilots and as combat officers and leaders, but there were no equivalents in the ranks of the Allies because such things appeared “unnatural.” In short, radically different appreciations of leadership appear to be just common sense at different points in space and time.

This might also explain how certain managerial systems come to lead at different times. For example, it may not be coincidental that Business Process Reengineering came to the fore at roughly the same time that the Berlin Wall fell and with it Soviet Communism. At that point the idea that the way we had organized factories and offices for the last fifty years should be completely rethought and redesigned from a blank sheet, often in an economically aggressive way. Furthermore, the collapse of the communist bloc released certain forms of language because from that point on managerial gurus—leaders—began to talk of managerial “revolutions”—without fear of appearing politically left-wing.

What should be clear, then, is that constructivism is antithetical to all forms of “essentialism,” or put another way, that the search for the essence of an individual leader, a situation, an organization, or even a technology is misplaced because what counts in a leader, a situation, and so on, lies in the conflicting accounts of the protagonists. Perhaps a useful way to illustrate this is to relate the request for essences to the labeling of terrorists—for this is surely one of the most important issues for political leadership at the beginning of the twenty-first century. British journalist Robert Fisk insists that linguistic gyrations around the word “terrorism” are common and contemptible on the part of all involved in such conflicts. In other words, the problem is not using the word “terrorist” to say what we mean, but that competing leaders try to delineate their followers’ “legitimate” acts in contrast to the “terrorism” imposed by the other side. In most cases both sides seem to be involved in acts of terrorism. For example, in most cases where “terrorists” and “armies” vie with each other, both sides recognize

only their opponents as “terrorists” and see their own actions as legitimate acts of self-defense. Hence, as Fisk (2003) suggests:

. . . when Israeli soldiers were captured by Lebanese guerrillas they were reported to have been “kidnapped,” as if the Israeli presence in Lebanon was in some way legitimate. Suspected resistance men in southern Lebanon, however, were “captured” by Israeli troops. . . . By the mid-1980s, the AP [Associated Press] used “terrorists” about Arabs but rarely about the IRA in Northern Ireland, where the agreed word was “guerrillas,” presumably because AP serves a number of news outlets in the United States with a large Irish-American audience. The BBC, which increasingly referred to Arab “terrorists,” *always* referred to the IRA as “terrorists” but scarcely ever called ANC bombers in South Africa “terrorists.” . . . *Tass* and *Pravda*, of course, referred to Afghan rebels as “terrorists.” . . . In September 1985 a British newspaper reported that a [Soviet] airliner carrying civilian passengers [over Afghanistan] had been “downed by rebels.” “Terrorists” are those who use violence against the side that is using the word. The only terrorists whom Israel acknowledges are those opposed to Israel. The only terrorists the United States acknowledges are those who oppose the United States or their allies. The only terrorists Palestinians acknowledge—for they too use the word—are those opposed to the Palestinians. (Pp. 438–441)

Note here that a constructivist account does not seek to divide the actions between moral and immoral but concentrates on the way the legitimations occur and the role this has in explaining the success or failure of leadership. Of course, this then runs the risk of “sitting on the fence”—in this case, between terrorism and “legitimate” force. Nonetheless, the point is not to maintain any alleged political neutrality but to highlight the role of language in the construction of the world and, for our purposes, leadership.

—Keith Grint

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CONTINGENCY THEORIES

“One, if by land, and two, if by sea . . .” These famous words in Henry Wadsworth Longfellow’s 1860 poem *Paul Revere’s Ride* illustrate that the revolutionary colonial army had a contingency plan for defending against the expected British invasion—one plan of action for a land invasion, another for an incursion from the sea. In leadership theory, contingency theories refer to approaches that posit that the particular leadership style or behavior that will be most effective depends (i.e., is contingent) upon crucial aspects of the task situation or mission environment. However, early research on leadership did not envision such complex determinants.

PRE-CONTINGENCY: FOCUS ON THE INDIVIDUAL

The scientific study of leadership began in the early part of the twentieth century when the development of intelligence and personality trait measures commanded the attention of many psychologists. Early leadership researchers searched for a “leadership trait,” that is, some stable aspect of an individual’s personality that would make them a good leader. Leaders and followers in many types of organizations were compared on many different traits, such as intelligence, dominance, social sensitivity, introversion-extroversion, and originality, among others.

After several decades of trait research, Ralph Stogdill completed a comprehensive review of those

studies. He found very few strong relationships among the traits and measures of leadership emergence or effectiveness and little consistency of findings across studies. In a prescient analysis, Stogdill concluded:

A person does not become a leader by virtue of the possession of some combination of traits, but the pattern of personal characteristics must bear some relevant relationship to the characteristics, activities, and goals of the followers. Thus, leadership must be conceived in terms of the interaction of variables which are in constant flux and change. (1948, 63–64)

Leadership researchers did not abandon the focus on individual aspects of the leader, but shifted their inquiry away from personality toward behavior. Early studies by Kurt Lewin and his colleagues reported findings indicating that “democratic” leadership styles, allowing for more follower input in decisions, were superior to “autocratic” styles in which a leader made all decisions without consultation. However, follow-up studies revealed that the relative effectiveness of autocratic and democratic leadership depended in part upon the degree of independence desired by the followers—again revealing complex interactions between leader and follower characteristics.

Another popular approach was to identify the specific behaviors used by leaders and to determine which behaviors were most effective. A group of Ohio State University investigators led by Carroll Shartle developed the leader behavior description questionnaire (LBDQ) to measure and categorize leader behavior. The two most prominent categories of behavior were called “Consideration,” which referred to a leader’s attention to the feelings, needs, and morale of subordinates, and “Initiation of Structure,” which referred to leader behaviors focused on task accomplishment. Similar categories of behavior were found in studies employing interviews of workers and observations of students working in groups. Unfortunately, the consistency of research in identifying task-focused and interpersonally focused behavioral categories was not matched by consistent findings relating the categories to important leadership outcomes.

PRE-CONTINGENCY: FOCUS ON THE SITUATION

The failure to find individual leader characteristics that predicted leadership effectiveness led to research about situational variables. It was found, for example, that people were more likely to become chosen as leaders of a group if they occupied a central rather than peripheral position in the group's communication structure.

A study of factors influencing the behavior of naval officers found that the leader's role in the organization (i.e., rank and responsibilities) was a more powerful determinant of the leader's behavior than were attitudes, personality, or even previous behavior. Research on group tasks also revealed strong effects of task requirements as determinants of leader behavior.

These and other studies made it clear that the situation was an important contributor to leadership dynamics, but it failed to explain how two different leaders might have dramatically different levels of performance in the same situation. The scientific stage was set for a drastic shift to a much more complex conceptualization of leadership effects.

CONTINGENCY THEORIES

Contingency theories address the relative effectiveness of leader behaviors, style, or orientations in different situations. Situational variables typically include the degree of support and trust between leader and followers, the nature of the task (most often the degree of clarity, structure, and predictability), the leader's formal or informal authority, the ambiguity of organizational roles, and so forth. These situational variables are hypothesized to create an environment in which certain behaviors or strategies will be more effective than others. However, the various contingency theories differ in whether it is the leader or the follower that is the focus of attention and for whom the situational variables are most important.

LEADER-FOCUSED THEORIES

Fred Fiedler's contingency model was the first theory integrating leader, follower, and situational character-

istics, and it is difficult to overstate its profound impact on the field. Fiedler did not set out to construct a contingency model, but was led to it by his data.

The early centerpiece of Fiedler's studies of leadership effectiveness was a leader characteristic measured by the "least-preferred coworker (LPC)" scale. The LPC scale asked the respondent to rate on a series of bipolar adjective scales (e.g., intelligent-unintelligent, friendly-unfriendly, harmonious-quarrelsome) the worst coworker in the rater's work history—specifically the "one co-worker with whom you had the hardest time accomplishing the task assigned to you" (Fiedler 1967, 16)

Although the meaning of the LPC construct has been open to multiple interpretations, the most widely accepted view is that the scale reflects the relative importance the respondent places on task versus interpersonal success. The reasoning behind this interpretation is that because a person with a low score on the scale has given a very negative description of a poor coworker, work (i.e., task success) is very important to the respondent, and they are labeled "task-motivated" or "task-oriented." A person who describes a poor coworker in relatively positive terms is assumed to be less interested in task success than other aspects of the leadership situation, that is, interpersonal success. Such individuals are referred to as relationship motivated or relationship oriented.

Early studies relating a leader's LPC orientation to measures of team or organizational success (e.g., games won by basketball teams, tonnage of steel produced by mill crews, profits earned by farming cooperatives, etc.) resulted in conflicting findings. Sometimes groups led by task-oriented leaders outperformed those led by relationship-oriented leaders, but sometimes the opposite was true. The contingency model resolved this conundrum by positing that each type of leader could be effective, but in different kinds of situations.

In most of the early studies, data on situational variables were collected that reflected (a) the degree to which the leader felt accepted, respected, and supported by subordinates; (b) the clarity, structure, and predictability of the group's task; and (c) the amount of formal authority or power given to the leader.

These three variables were combined into a dimension that came to be known as situational control. Situational control reflected the predictability and controllability of the group situation from the leader's perspective.

The results relating leadership orientation (i.e., LPC) and situational control to group performance followed a complex, but replicable pattern. Task-motivated leaders had the highest performing teams in situations of high control (good support, a clear task, and sufficient authority), but also in situations of very low control (poor relations with subordinates, an ambiguous task, and weak authority). The relationship-motivated leader performed more effectively in moderate control situations (i.e., good support but an ambiguous task, or poor support but a structured task).

The explanation given for these results was that the directive, task-focused style of the task-oriented leader worked best when the situation was very predictable, because member support and task clarity made it easy for the leader to see the correct direction to take and how to structure the work of subordinates. Directive leadership was also relatively effective when the complete lack of predictability or control made it incumbent on the leader to supply some structure through clear and strong direction. In situations of ambiguity (i.e., moderate control), a style that emphasized a concern for followers and greater participation of all group members in decision making had a higher potential for fostering an atmosphere conducive to the creativity and consensus necessary to solve complex problems and take action.

The interpretations of the contingency model have generated considerable controversy and criticism, but the empirical research has generally supported its predictions. The contingency model has also generated other related research approaches. Martin Chemers and his colleagues applied the leader match model to the prediction of job stress. Results indicated that the same principles useful in predicting team success, and were capable of predicting leader stress and stress-related illness. Cognitive resources theory, developed by Fred Fiedler and Joseph Garcia, revealed that the relative effects

of a leader's intelligence or experience on group performance was contingent on the degree of stress experienced by the leader, with intelligence having its most positive effects in low stress situations and experience being most valuable when high stress made thinking more difficult and increased reliance on the lessons of experience.

However, the greatest contribution of the contingency model to leadership and organizational theory was that it freed researchers from "one-best-way" approaches and made them sensitive to the subtle and complex ways in which leaders, followers, and situational variables combined in group and organizational performance. Other contingency theories soon followed the promulgation of Fiedler's breakthrough.

One of the most important functions of leadership is the facilitation of group decisions, and an enduring argument concerns the relative importance and effectiveness of subordinate participation in decision making. Victor Vroom and his associates brought a contingency perspective to the question with the normative decision theory (NDT). NDT identifies three general decision-making strategies used by leaders. Autocratic decision making does not involve seeking advice or consultation from subordinates. Consultative decision making allows subordinates to take part in the process by considering information and offering advice to the leader who retains the final authority to make the decision. The group decision-making paradigm is fully participative with the leader sharing all information with followers and fully sharing decision authority. NDT posits that the relative utility of these paradigms for group and organizational success depends on a number of situational variables.

The most important of these variables (similar to the contingency model discussed earlier) concern relationships between the leader and subordinates and among subordinates as well as the degree of clarity and structure in the group's task or mission. The underlying theoretical principles that inform the theory are that participation of subordinates in decision making increases (1) their commitment to carrying out the chosen solution and (2) the amount of information available to the leader by tapping into the knowledge and advice of the subordinates.

Autocratic leadership patterns, which can be very efficient in time saving, should work best when subordinates are very supportive and cooperative (i.e., their commitment is assured) and when the task is clear and structured (i.e., their advice and counsel is not necessary). However, if the task is not clear, the leader must at the least tap into subordinate information (i.e., use a consultative technique). When cooperation cannot be assured, the more participative approaches increase subordinate commitment and enhance the chances for success. The theory makes a number of other predictions; for example, which style is most effective when conflict among subordinates might lead them not agree on the best course of action. Empirical support for NDT is generally good. When leaders who are asked to rate the utility of the different decision strategies under varying situational conditions, those leaders who follow the predictions of theory are rated highly by supervisors and subordinates. When managers are asked to recall successful decisions and the conditions surrounding the decisions, the strategy used more often conforms to the model than when decisions were unsuccessful. Interestingly, subordinates appear to give high ratings to supervisors who use more participative techniques even when they are not the most effective according to the theory.

A comparison of the contingency model and normative decision theory reveals some similarities and some differences. The situational variables are quite similar, primarily relating to follower support and cooperation and task clarity and structure. The models also make somewhat similar predictions; that is, that more directive approaches will be more effective when support is high and tasks are clear, but less effective when the complexities of interpersonal relations or ambiguous tasks require more input and more consideration of other viewpoints.

One major difference between the two theories is the way in which the leader variable is conceptualized. In the contingency model, the leadership orientation is similar to a personality trait over which the leader has limited control. In normative decision theory, the decision strategy is seen as solely under the control of the leader to be adapted to the situation as necessary.

FOLLOWER-FOCUSED THEORIES

Although a number of follower-oriented contingency theories have been proposed, only path-goal theory (PGT) developed by Robert House and his colleagues has generated much empirical research. PGT argues that a leader's main function is to motivate the follower by clarifying the paths (i.e., behaviors and actions) by which the subordinates can reach their goals. The theory specifies which leader behaviors are most likely to engage a subordinate's motivation and to help them accomplish their tasks.

The theory focuses on the two classes of leader behavior identified in the leader behavior description questionnaire. These are *structuring* behaviors, by which the leader directs the task-related activities of the subordinate, and *consideration* behaviors by which the leader addresses the personal and emotional needs of the follower. Implicit in the theory's predictions is the notion that the most effective leader behaviors supply what is missing from the situation to enable the subordinate to function effectively.

Structuring behaviors like direction and feedback will be most effective and welcomed when the subordinate does not know how to accomplish the task, because the task is new, difficult, or ambiguous. However, when tasks are well understood, structuring behavior will be interpreted by a subordinate as overly close monitoring or pushing for production and will have negative effects. Consideration behaviors will have their most positive effects when the subordinate's task is aversive by virtue of it being boring or uncomfortable. Consideration behavior directed toward an engaged and interested subordinate is unnecessary and distracting.

The empirical support for PGT is mixed. Many studies support some or all of the predictions, but validation evidence is not consistent. One reason for mixed results may be explained by a study that included the role of subordinate personality as a moderator of the effects of leader behavior and situation. Specifically, subordinates had a strong need to grow and develop on the job and liked challenges—they actually welcomed complex and difficult tasks and did not appreciate leader attempts at structuring under those conditions. On the other hand, subordi-

nates who were low on the need for growth did not seem to mind an unchallenging task and did not require leader consideration under those conditions. These findings remind us that the contingencies surrounding effective leadership are many and varied and that follower characteristics may be just as important to the leadership equation as are leader characteristics.

IMPLICATIONS

The contingency theories awakened leadership researchers to the complexity of the leadership phenomenon. Leader personality and behavioral style, follower needs and values, and situational parameters of task, hierarchy, and organizational environment must all be included in our understanding. Although the contingency theories each have their own particular perspective, measure, and predictions, they are more complementary than contradictory. They help to place leadership in a social context.

It is tempting to see leadership in simple terms—to see organizational effectiveness as the result of a leader's decisive decision-making style for example, but simple explanations are not helpful in complex situations. In response to criticism that his theory was too complicated, Fred Fiedler often said, "One needs a pretzel-shaped theory to explain a pretzel-shaped universe."

—Martin M. Chemers

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CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

Many of the world's largest businesses rival nation-states, religions, and even nature itself as agents of change. Multinational corporations have become the primary force shaping human material well-being. They determine our collective values and shape our shared experience; they create our future. Fifty-one of the world's hundred largest economies are businesses. For example, Wal-Mart Stores, number one on *Fortune* magazine's list of the five hundred largest U.S. corporations in 2002, had sales just short of \$220 billion. The combined gross national products of New Zealand, Greece, Costa Rica, and Cuba was \$212 billion that same year. To put it another way, "One hundred and sixty-one countries have smaller annual revenues than Wal-Mart does" (Derber 1998, 3). Since there are approximately 190 nation-states in the world at present, that means Wal-Mart has greater revenues than all but some 29 nations. The spread of globalization and the daily influence of business on the lives of billions of people make businesses a social as well as an economic force.

Until the late 1980s the prevailing model of modern corporate behavior was to maximize profits for stockholders. Milton Friedman (b. 1912) the Nobel Prize-winning economist and author of *Capitalism and Freedom* (1962) legitimized the stockholder-centered view of business. According to Friedman, "Few trends could so thoroughly undermine the very foundations of our free society as the acceptance by corporate officials of a social responsibility other than to make as much money for their stockholders as possible" (Friedman 1962, 133). The book still serves as the theoretical defense of the unregulated free market system.

Opponents of that view claim that in the absence of a regulatory environment, it is dangerous for the stockholder to be the sole interest of the corporation



Former Enron CEO Jeffrey Skilling (with current President and COO Jeffrey McMahon in the rear) testifies before the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation on 26 February 2002.

Source: AFP/Corbis; used with permission.

as it leads to unethical and even illegal behavior in the pursuit of profit. They claim that a stakeholder view is more realistic and accounts for the expanded role of business and its enormous influence on the lives of people. Stakeholders are defined as virtually anyone who has an interest in the organization or is affected by the organization. They include not only stockholders, but also employees, members of the communities in which the corporation is located, suppliers, customers, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that look out for environmental and social abuses.

CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY: AN ETHOS

Corporate social responsibility (CSR) is an ethos for business articulated by people who want the huge and growing influence of business on the world to be a positive one. Supporters of CSR wish to broaden business's responsibility and role in society and ask that it move from exploiting resources for the sole purpose of maximizing profit for shareholders to husbanding resources for the benefit of employees, society, and the future well-being of the planet. They demand that business be held accountable for a triple bottom line: In addition to its concern for profits, business must also be measured on

its environmental impact and on its performance on matters of social justice.

CSR ON THE PUBLIC AGENDA

The idea of corporate social responsibility was, accordingly, a fundamental assumption about expected corporate behavior. Failure to serve the public would result in cancellation of the corporate charter—its license to operate. Later in the 19th century, as corporations won self-serving privileges and drifted beyond practical oversight by legislatures and the public, critics of increasingly abusive corporate behavior during the robber-baron era sought regulation as the answer. Thus, in turn, populists, progressives, and liberals sought to reign in corporate privilege and by the 1960s began using the term *corporate social responsibility* to indicate that corporations, whether or not chartered to serve the public, have a public (social) impact and therefore a duty to behave in a manner consistent with societal norms.

The recent impetus to demand CSR arose with the first Earth Day held on 22 April, 1970. Millions of people throughout the United States demonstrated for the environment and held consciousness-raising activities highlighting deteriorating air, water, and soil quality largely as a result of indiscriminant corporate pollution. The creation of NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) in 1994 stimulated the current concern because as jobs moved to Mexico, labor standards deteriorated. Low wages and the proliferation of sweatshop conditions in the textile industry in Mexico and elsewhere producing garments for high-profile, high-cost apparel companies such as Nike gave rise to consumer boycotts and the call for CSR by major companies producing many kinds of goods overseas for the American market.

In the United States, CSR received increased attention in the first few years of the twenty-first century as large corporations such as Enron declared bankruptcy after years of dubious financial practices. Other major U.S. corporations whose business practices came under scrutiny included the media giant AOL Time Warner, the pharmaceutical company Bristol-Myers Squibb, the financial-products company Citigroup, and the telecommunications com-

pany WorldCom, among many others. The major charges were fraud, misleading financial reports, actions to artificially raise the price of company stock, excessive executive compensation unrelated to performance, unauthorized loans to top executives, unpaid taxes and shady trading practices. In the wake of those scandals, the cry for CSR has grown increasingly strong.

After U.S. companies came under intense scrutiny, so too did companies in Europe, Asia, and elsewhere. Many NGOs such as Amnesty International, World Wildlife Fund, Oxfam, and Accountability brought the ideas of CSR to virtually all nations of the world. In 1999 Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the United Nations, proposed a Global Compact on Human Rights, Labor, and the Environment, which asks that businesses everywhere agree to support the nine principles of the compact. The principles include respecting and protecting human rights, eliminating child labor, and establishing initiatives to promote greater environmental responsibility by corporations.

LEADERSHIP IN A STAKEHOLDER ENVIRONMENT

As the world's industrial democracies struggle with deregulation and shrinking governments, stakeholders must now provide the checks on businesses that were once provided by government regulations. To be effective in this dynamic environment, business leaders should develop a stakeholder engagement strategy: They should think through the issues, the key relationships, and the various stakeholders' interests while not losing sight of the company's goals and priorities.

The challenge is to anticipate the competing and conflicting interests of the various parties and chart a strategic course through this veritable minefield of demands. Employees want higher wages and a safe and satisfying working environment; stockholders want bigger dividends and reduced costs; consumers want better service and higher quality; communities want civic donations of time and money to support local needs; suppliers want predictable demand and timely payment; professional groups want adherence

to ethical standards and codes of practice; investors want full disclosure and responsive management; government wants compliance with the intent of the law as well as the letter of the law. And all the stakeholders want transparency: They want accountability in the form of annual audits of the triple bottom line and public reporting of the results.

THIRD-PARTY AUDITING AND REPORTING

NGOs have filled the vacuum left by retreating governments that, having accepted the principles of unfettered market forces, have privatized public services and the development of natural resources. The NGOs are pressuring multinational corporations to apply the highest home-country standards to their overseas operations; they want corporations to support environmental sustainability and end the various workplace abuses of their subcontractors, suppliers, and business partners.

NGOs are filling the regulatory void by organizing consumer campaigns that put pressure on corporations to sign internationally recognized agreements concerning environmental responsibility, fair treatment of labor in overseas plants (whether the plants are their own or their suppliers'), and behavior on a number of social indicators. However, while the NGOs are effective at applying pressure on corporations globally by organizing media campaigns, boycotts, and legal action, most are not in a position to provide an unbiased assessment of an individual company's performance or to help them come into compliance with international standards.

A growing number of organizations now fill that demand. Neither corporations nor advocacy groups, these third-party organizations provide disinterested, fair, and reliable assessment for companies wanting to know (or needing to verify) where they stand on internationally accepted standards of behavior.

Among the first to articulate a set of principles to guide corporate behavior was CERES (Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies), a coalition of environmental groups, investors, and advocacy groups that had its start in 1988, when a group of socially responsible investment firms and public pension funds joined with a number of environmen-



Corporate Social Responsibility

By endorsing the CERES Principles, companies not only formalize their dedication to environmental awareness and accountability, but also actively commit to an ongoing process of continuous improvement, dialogue and comprehensive, systematic public reporting. Endorsing companies have access to the diverse array of experts in our network, from investors to policy analysts, energy experts, scientists, and others.

Principles

Protection of the Biosphere

We will reduce and make continual progress toward eliminating the release of any substance that may cause environmental damage to the air, water, or the earth or its inhabitants. We will safeguard all habitats affected by our operations and will protect open spaces and wilderness, while preserving biodiversity.

Sustainable Use of Natural Resources

We will make sustainable use of renewable natural resources, such as water, soils and forests. We will conserve non-renewable natural resources through efficient use and careful planning.

Reduction and Disposal of Wastes

We will reduce and where possible eliminate waste through source reduction and recycling. All waste will be handled and disposed of through safe and responsible methods.

Energy Conservation

We will conserve energy and improve the energy efficiency of our internal operations and of the goods and services we sell. We will make every effort to use environmentally safe and sustainable energy sources.

Risk Reduction

We will strive to minimize the environmental, health and safety risks to our employees and the communities in which

we operate through safe technologies, facilities and operating procedures, and by being prepared for emergencies.

Safe Products and Services

We will reduce and where possible eliminate the use, manufacture or sale of products and services that cause environmental damage or health or safety hazards. We will inform our customers of the environmental impacts of our products or services and try to correct unsafe use.

Environmental Restoration

We will promptly and responsibly correct conditions we have caused that endanger health, safety or the environment. To the extent feasible, we will redress injuries we have caused to persons or damage we have caused to the environment and will restore the environment.

Informing the Public

We will inform in a timely manner everyone who may be affected by conditions caused by our company that might endanger health, safety or the environment. We will regularly seek advice and counsel through dialogue with persons in communities near our facilities. We will not take any action against employees for reporting dangerous incidents or conditions to management or to appropriate authorities.

Management Commitment

We will implement these Principles and sustain a process that ensures that the Board of Directors and Chief Executive Officer are fully informed about pertinent environmental issues and are fully responsible for environmental policy. In selecting our Board of Directors, we will consider demonstrated environmental commitment as a factor.

Audits and Reports

We will conduct an annual self-evaluation of our progress in implementing these Principles. We will support the timely creation of generally accepted environmental audit procedures. We will annually complete the CERES Report, which will be made available to the public.

Source: Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies. Retrieved September 11, 2003, from http://www.ceres.org/our_work/principles.htm

tal groups to channel investment dollars to environmentally responsible companies. They took the name CERES in 1989, and that year created the CERES principles, a ten-point environmental code, in response to the oil spill from the *Exxon Valdez* off the coast of Alaska. At present more than fifty companies, including thirteen Fortune 500 companies, have endorsed the CERES principles. In 1991, the

International Chamber of Commerce formally launched the Business Charter for Sustainable Development, which contains sixteen principles for environmental management. The charter aims to help businesses adhere to national and international environmental standards so that they can be responsible stewards of the environment.

Additional charters and reporting initiatives in the

areas of human rights, labor, and work processes are represented by organizations such as Social Accountability International and the International Organization for Standardization; they now offer a way for stakeholders to assess an organization's performance on the triple bottom line.

CSR REPORTING IN PRACTICE

AccountAbility, a British professional institute, is "dedicated to the promotion of social, ethical and overall organizational accountability" (AccountAbility n.d.). It outlines processes organizations should follow to account for their performance, but it does not establish recommended performance levels. Standards such as SA8000 establish performance targets, and many organizations voluntarily report their social and environmental performance to the public.

Novo Nordisk, a pharmaceutical company that manufactures insulin for diabetes patients, was ranked by *Fortune* magazine as the best company to work for in Europe in 2002. That same year the company was the second-place winner in a competition for corporate reporting, according to the *Financial Times*. Their report was a sixty-eight-page statement of what they had achieved and where they fell short regarding social and environmental issues. It also included the company's plans for improvement. The report raised such difficult questions as how it could improve access to health care and make its products affordable while continuing to operate profitably, and how it could respect animals' welfare while testing its products on animals in order to be sure the products met safety requirements.

Chiquita Brands, famous for its bananas, is a company that has tried to become more socially responsible in recent years. As the successor to United Brands and United Fruit Company, it had to undo more than a hundred years of strong-arm policies in Central America. In May 2000, the company began a conscious program of increased responsiveness to stakeholders and began to forge a new reputation to reflect the shared values and concerns of its employees. Chiquita stated in its code of conduct that it intended to "incorporate integrity, respect, opportu-

nity to grow, and responsibility" into its daily operations. In 2001, Chiquita Brands issued its first corporate responsibility report and credited the Rainforest Alliance's Better Banana Project with helping it make its business more environmentally sustainable. The report also mentioned the company's commitment to achieving Social Accountability International's SA8000 labor standard. That standard accommodates all international labor agreements on the conditions of work and the treatment of workers.

THE FUTURE OF CSR

The rise of the many activist organizations calling for corporate compliance with internationally recognized standards is a very real effort to make corporations accept the principles of social responsibility. The obligations that these organizations want companies to fulfill are voluntary, not mandated by government regulations—at least for now. But thanks to the power of moral suasion, more and more corporate leaders are choosing to work with the company's stakeholders rather than risk diminishing the reputation, financial prospects, and goodwill that the company earns through compliance.

—John Nirenberg

See also Ben & Jerry's Ice Cream; Body Shop, The; Carnegie, Andrew; Economic Justice; Enron Scandal; Environmental Justice; Farm Worker Movement; Ford, Henry; Labor Movement; Rockefeller, John D.; Trust Busting

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CREATIVITY

What makes human beings different from the primate species with whom they share 95 percent or more of their genetic makeup is the fact that humans are able to come up with new ways of thinking and acting that can then be passed on to the next generation as a new baseline on which to build. This process, which we ordinarily call “creativity,” has accelerated exponentially over the last few thousand years.

Understanding and managing creativity has become one of the most important survival requirements for the human species, and one of the most important sources of competitive advantage for firms and institutions. Therefore an acquaintance with creativity is now a necessary condition of leadership.

LEADERS AS GATEKEEPERS TO CREATIVITY

According to the “system model,” the term *creative* may be used to describe a new idea, process, or product that is socially valued and pursued to completion. For creativity to occur, three elements must be present. The first is a cultural *domain*—that is, a set of

procedures for thinking and acting. Domains are likely to consist of a symbolic system with its own notation and codified rules. Music, mathematics, religion, and engineering are a few of the many thousands of domains that make up a culture.

The second element necessary for creativity is a *person* who, after learning the rules of a particular domain—for example, religion—decides to introduce some novelty into it. Most persons are content to reproduce the information they learn from a domain without changing it. But there are always a few individuals who feel that the domain needs improvement, and who are willing to put out the effort necessary to implement the desired change. For instance, Martin Luther, who was ordained as a Catholic monk, was unable to accept the religious rules laid down by Rome and after many struggles developed his own version of Christianity.

The third element is a social *field*. Fields are made up by the gatekeepers of specific domains. The function of a field is to evaluate the novelties proposed for introduction into a domain, to reject those that it believes are not an improvement on what already exists, and to select for inclusion into the domain those changes that are better than what existed before. In the case of Martin Luther, the field that evaluated his ideas was the Papal curia and its various offices, including the Inquisition. Rejected by them, Luther was forced to recruit a new set of gatekeepers from dissatisfied clergymen and nobility who were seeking autonomy from Rome. This resulted in the Protestant church, which soon developed into a domain and a field with its own dogmatic and procedural rules. The system model thus implies that creativity cannot occur even in very creative people unless their ideas are accepted and implemented by the relevant gatekeepers.

As this example shows, the choices a field has to make in deciding whether a new idea is heretical or creative often reflect political, ideological, and financial conflicts. This is true even in domains that are more abstract than religion. In mathematics or physics, for example, it may take a few years to ascertain whether a scientist’s claim is fraudulent, mistaken, or truly new and valid and thus worthy of recognition. Only then will it be included in the

domain—the journals, the textbooks, and the growing knowledge base that future mathematicians or physicists will learn.

According to the system model, a leader can play two different roles. A leader may be directly involved in introducing novelty into a system. More frequently, however, he or she will act as the gatekeeper who stimulates creativity in others and then selects the best new ideas for implementation. Thus a leader contributes to creativity by supporting individuals who are likely to change existing ways of doing things, by providing conditions for the generation of novelty and by recognizing and supporting the best that is produced. Some of the most creative leaders are innovators in their own right and also contribute to creativity as gatekeepers. Most military leaders, from Alexander the Great to Generals Montgomery, Rommel, and Patton, were successful because of their unexpected tactics which confounded the enemy. General George C. Marshall was not himself an original field commander, but as a visionary gatekeeper of the armed forces he contributed to creative solutions in World War II and later in the economic reconstruction of Europe. It bears remembering that the role of the gatekeeper is just as important as that of the innovator because without a competent field, the chances of implementing creativity would be almost as dim as they would be without original thinkers.

LEADERS AS CREATIVE INNOVATORS

Much has been written about leaders who were themselves innovative, especially in the areas of warfare and business. Some authors list the main traits that such leaders are said to possess, such as imagination, inspiration, sagacity, and foresight. Others discount personal characteristics and stress the procedural steps taken by leaders that led to successful innovation, such as monitoring sources of innovative opportunity.

Leaders have to be fluent in at least two domains. One is the domain of their specific expertise—for example, religion, business, engineering, or the military. A certain amount of domain-specific knowledge is necessary to anticipate new trends and to rec-

ognize possible opportunities. The second domain is the domain of leadership itself. A leader by definition can channel the energy and motivation of a group of people towards his or her own goals. Whether the followers are soldiers, monks, or engineers, the task of motivating them is essentially similar.

For a leader to be creative in the domain of leadership, it helps to understand what motivates people (both as relatively unchanging biological organisms and as constantly changing beings conditioned by culture). It helps to realize what ideas will move people to action, to understand their fears and hopes. A creative leader is, in part, someone who can tell new stories that will help people make sense of their lives under changing conditions. As institutions become increasingly horizontal rather than hierarchical, leaders must learn to motivate collaboration rather compliance.

LEADERS AS CREATIVE GATEKEEPERS

Quite often leaders achieve creative results not by being innovative themselves, but by recognizing and encouraging the innovations of others, thus acting as gatekeepers to innovation. Leaders who contribute to the creative process as gatekeepers must fulfill three major tasks. The first is to hire, nurture, and promote potentially creative members of their staff. The second is to stimulate novelty in the organization and recognize potentially valuable ideas. The third is to back the best ideas with resources until they become part of what the organization does. If any of these tasks is not fulfilled, an organization is unlikely to be creative, no matter how many original thinkers it employs.

Selecting and Retaining Creative People

People who are likely to be creative have the following traits: They know their domain very well; they are curious, passionate, and more interested in doing their job well than in career advancement or in pleasing the boss; and they have a record of originality in at least one domain. In addition to these positive traits, they also have some less desirable ones: Because of their single-minded drive they may

appear arrogant, self-centered, and stubborn. Combined with their tendency to take unorthodox perspectives, these traits make it difficult for a leader to recognize the value of such individuals and to utilize their skills. A leader needs patience and a delicate hand on the reins if he or she wants to attract and keep potentially creative employees.

Most organizations cannot use more than a few such people at any given time. Potentially creative individuals are eager for change and in routine positions will become easily bored or disruptive. On the other hand, if they are segregated into a separate think tank or research and development division, they may become irrelevant to the rest of the organization. It is not easy to recognize and hire original people; it is even more difficult to integrate them productively once they are onboard.

Recognizing and Rewarding the Most Useful Ideas

If a leader is able to attract original thinkers, they are likely to start producing novel ideas. It would be a mistake to expect, however, that the amount of creativity in an organization will be a direct function of the amount of novel ideas it produces. Generating new ideas is relatively easy; the difficult part is recognizing the good ones. This is where a leader's judgment becomes an integral part of the creative process. Many business firms have started training their employees to "think outside the box" with the hope of enhancing creativity; almost none have tackled the more difficult problem of how to select the most useful ideas among those proposed. After all, few organizations can adopt more than a few new ideas per year. If they are suddenly confronted with hundreds of suggestions, they need sound strategies for vetting the ideas in order not to waste brainpower or demoralize the staff.

Individuals who tend to generate new ideas are usually as interested in the solution of problems as they are in material rewards like pay and promotion. Allowing them to range freely and to contribute to communal projects is essential. At the same time, they are quick to detect when others use their work for their own aggrandizement. Therefore a leader who fails to give proper credit to innovative staff members is sure to lose them.

Adopting New Ideas

Recognizing and rewarding promising new ideas is useless unless a leader can bring the ideas to a productive conclusion. And a great deal of uncreative work is usually required to translate valuable new ideas into useful products and practices. Thomas A. Edison's aphorism that creativity consists in "one percent inspiration and 99 percent perspiration" reflects the fact that without a great deal of political preparation, benchwork, and trial-and-error, few good new ideas survive long enough to be remembered.

To make organizations more responsive to the requirements for creativity, new forms of leadership may be required. For instance, the thousands of hackers who contribute to Open System Software are able to produce new codes, evaluate the proposed changes, and adopt the best solutions into the operating system without reliance on formal management and leadership. Perhaps this example foreshadows the emergence of new organizational forms better adapted to an increasingly knowledge-based society.

—Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi

See also Entrepreneurship

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CRISIS

Crisis situations present leaders with an unusually difficult collection of challenges. Leaders must simultaneously try to help maintain the positive outlook of those around them; assist people (often both workers and the public) in dealing with the emotional shock and trauma associated with the situation; maintain a high level of excellence in the cognitive processes of developing and maintaining an understanding of the situation, reasoning through and choosing among alternative courses of action, planning responses, and improvising based on available resources and routines; and direct the implementation of the chosen responses. Crises are by their nature highly stressful and demanding, both emotionally and physically, so such leadership challenges must be undertaken by people who are themselves under stress, and who are trying to organize, mobilize, and direct others who are under stress.

Part of the essence of a true crisis is that there can be no fully planned, practiced, and prepared response available—for if there is, the situation is not truly a crisis. Though a situation may be a severe and challenging emergency, the availability of a pre-planned response that can produce acceptable outcomes significantly changes the nature of the leadership challenge. Leadership in a true crisis requires an unusual degree of creative and improvisational cognitive work as well as the coordination of existing capabilities and the execution of available operational routines. Thus, leaders in true crises must help organize and direct a combination of intellectual, physical, and emotional work.

HIGH-STAKES SITUATIONS THAT ARE NOT CRISES

The word *crisis* is used in ordinary discussions to cover a very wide range of situations. In general, it is associated with urgent, high-stakes challenges in which the outcomes can vary widely (and are very negative at one end of the spectrum) and will depend on the actions taken by those involved. But in some high-stakes circumstances—a fire department dealing with a modest single-family house fire, for exam-

ple—there are available organizational routines and resources, plans, training, and accumulated experience that permit a reasonably orderly and structured response to the situation. While the fire may constitute a crisis for the family involved, it should not ordinarily be a crisis from the perspective of the fire department.

The leadership challenges of dealing with *routine high-stakes circumstances* and *routine emergencies* differ from those of dealing with *true crises*. Since the term *crisis* is often applied to both types of situations, we will describe the main leadership challenges associated with each type.

Routine High-Stakes Circumstances

Many organizations routinely deal with high-stakes situations and activities that, in spite of their importance and urgency, are *not* properly described as “crises.” Aircraft carrier flight decks, nuclear power plant control rooms, and airport control towers present circumstances where (a) stakes are high (“high stakes”); (b) the range of possible outcomes is wide (and at least one possible outcome is viewed as very negative) (“high variability”); and (c) outcomes are markedly affected by the quality of decision making and the execution of tasks and activities (“high contingency”). Leadership in such settings focuses on mobilizing and inspiring effort, coordination (often of quite complex routines and activities), command and control, the issuance of instructions, and the monitoring of performance. Generally the problem or challenge is well-defined and the approach has been carefully engineered (sometimes over a long period and guided by substantial empirical experience). Situations of this kind are often termed “technical” challenges.

Routine Emergencies

When in addition to high stakes, high variability, and high contingency, the circumstances also include a substantial unplanned or accidental element and a high degree of urgency, the situation is commonly termed an *emergency*. Many organizations deal routinely with emergency situations. Firefighters, police

officers, hospital emergency room employees, and rescue workers are all frequently called upon to address urgent, high-stakes challenges the general character of which can be foreseen, but the details of which are inherently unknowable in advance.

When a serviceable approach to a definable class of emergencies has evolved and organizations have been designed and adequately staffed, trained, and supplied to implement the general routine (customizing it to the specific incident in question), we can describe the situations thereby covered as “routine emergencies.” Part of the purpose of designing organizations with these capabilities is precisely to convert what might otherwise be more serious emergencies into routinely manageable situations.

The leadership challenge in organizations dealing with routine emergencies is similar to that in organizations dealing with planned high-stakes, high-variability, and high-contingency operations and circumstances. The additional features of urgency and of unplanned or accidental characteristics imply that the organization and its people and its leaders must have the capacity for rapid adaptation, combination, and customization of the existing routines. But this process of adaptation itself becomes a routine—one of the first things that the command team at a fire does is to conduct an assessment of the situation and then develop, from an available repertoire of existing approaches and routines, a plan (composed of a combination of known and practiced routines) that is specific to this particular fire. Thus, a well-practiced organization will be able to face its routine emergencies and manage them as technical challenges, requiring only modest specific adaptations to a given particular situation.

Effective leadership *prior to* such events requires the development of (or adoption of) well-designed routines, training for their operational deployment, and the provision and stockpiling of necessary resources. Effective leadership *during* such circumstances emphasizes mobilizing workers, operating an efficient detailed planning and adaptation process, issuing clear instructions and coordinating assigned activities, monitoring ongoing performance and progress, and reassessing the situation and adapting the approach as conditions change or if

expected progress is not being made (Carroll, Rudolph, and Hatakenaka 2002, 92).

The decision-making and response actions undertaken in routine emergency situations can be thought of as mainly of a form that has been described as “recognitional.” Decision making in recognitional responses is dominated by participants seeing patterns in the situation that are consistent with situations and events they have previously trained for, witnessed, and/or experienced. The identification of these patterns then calls forth patterned responses—actions that have been taught, trained, practiced, and/or utilized before and that have worked in similar situations. Leadership in routine emergency situations is thus largely the leadership of recognitional work.

The urgency and accidental or unplanned nature of the situation—together with the potential for a very bad outcome—will also generally imply that both the leadership and the activities will be conducted in an atmosphere of heightened stress. While planned high-stakes activities (like air traffic control) can involve high levels of chronic stress, routine emergencies often produce sudden increases in stress levels. Understanding how people will respond to stress—in particular, how high stress and/or sudden stress will affect their performance—is an important part of leadership in routine emergencies.

CHARACTERISTICS OF TRUE CRISES

True crisis situations lie beyond the boundaries of routine emergencies. Crises involve high stakes, high variability, high contingency, urgency, and unplanned or accidental or unforeseeable elements, in such a form or combination that the routine application of existing routines will not be adequate to produce effective or acceptable performances or outcomes. The essence of a crisis is thus that it requires a substantially greater degree of adaptation and improvisation to deal with an essentially new situation and, therefore, constitutes a significantly different challenge of leadership. True crisis situations invalidate the approach of simply activating existing routines or common and practiced combinations of routines.

Crises can transcend routine emergencies in a variety of ways. They can be of an unprecedented scale, to which existing routines cannot simply be adapted or scaled-up, but instead require major innovations in organizational structure or operations. In a well-prepared city in an earthquake zone, a modest earthquake should be a routine emergency; existing organizational routines, adapted to the specific location and nature of the damage sustained, should suffice as a response. But an unexpectedly massive earthquake, causing widespread damage on an unprecedented scale, might require the rapid integration and coordination of responses by a variety of different jurisdictions—including federal, state, county, and municipal agencies—and organizations of many different types, including law enforcement, public health, emergency services, and search and rescue from all sectors (government, nonprofit, and private). If such a response had not been extensively planned and practiced in advance, it would not constitute a routine that could simply be activated and deployed.

Alternatively, a crisis situation might arise because some aspect of the situation invalidates or interferes with the application of a previously developed and practiced routine, and therefore requires broader adaptation, redesign, and innovation. For example, if an earthquake destroyed a city's emergency operations center, the routine coordination and command and control that had been planned, developed, and practiced would not be available, and an improvised command and communications structure might have to be constructed on short notice and with little prior design.

Finally, a situation would be a crisis if it were a wholly novel circumstance—for instance, damage or the prospect of damage from a previously unknown source, significantly outside the reasonable expectations or past experience of those called upon to respond to it. A crisis of confidence in the government, economy, and currency of a country in transition from an authoritarian system to a democratic system might present so many features outside the experience of the participants that it would constitute a true crisis. The appearance of a new, damaging, and poorly understood biological agent, or the discovery

of widespread environmental damage from an industrial chemical previously thought to be benign might also constitute true crises.

Significant Novelty as the Central Challenge

Since crises lie beyond routinely manageable emergencies in one or several dimensions, a key feature of crisis situations is that they involve significant novelty for those involved in them—in scale, form of damage, source, or some other major element. People involved in crises are intrinsically operating outside their usual experience, preparation, and expectations. They cannot simply deploy existing routines; if those routines fit or were adequate to the situation, it would not be a crisis. Thus, the essence of crisis leadership is that—in addition to all of the aspects of leadership required in other high-stakes settings—it requires innovation and improvisation, often urgently. New approaches need to be formulated. Often elements of existing routines must be rapidly adapted and combined in new forms.

Novelty as a Cognitive Demand

In a routine emergency, the existence of deployable routines requires that leaders be able to recognize the situation, identify the relevant routines, and activate and execute them. By contrast, the cognitive challenge of crisis situations—recognizing the elements of novelty, creatively engaging them and improvising new approaches suited to them, and drawing on existing routines as appropriate—demands powers of abstraction, analogy, and imagination (Klein 1996, 50; Beach and Mitchell 1978).

The cognitive challenge of leadership in a true crisis goes beyond that of routine emergencies in at least six important ways: (1) recognizing the elements of novelty in the situation and assessing their significance; (2) reasoning about the implications of the situation and of the ways in which it departs from situations for which routines exist; (3) creating and examining new options; (4) improvising new responses and/or new combinations of existing responses; (5) foreseeing (to the extent possible) the likely results of implementing these newly conceived



The Recurrent Crisis

*In the extract below from his book *The Effective Executive*, Peter Drucker instructs managers in solving the problem of recurrent crises in an organization.*

The first task here is to identify the time-wasters which follow from lack of system or foresight. The symptom to look for is the recurrent "crisis," the crisis that comes back year after year. A crisis that recurs a second time is a crisis that must not occur again.

The annual inventory crisis belongs here. That with the computer we now can meet it even more "heroically" and at greater expense than we could in the past is hardly a great improvement.

A recurrent crisis should always have been foreseen. It can therefore either be prevented or reduced to a routine which clerks can manage. The definition of a "routine" is that it makes unskilled people without judgment capable of doing what it took near-genius to do before; for a routine puts down in systematic, step-by-step form what a very able man learned in surmounting yesterday's crisis.

The recurrent crisis is not confined to the lower levels of an organization. It afflicts everyone. For years, a fairly large company ran into one of these crises annually around the first of December. In a highly seasonal business, with the last quarter usually the year's low, fourth-quarter, sales and profits were not easily predictable. Every year, however, management made an earnings prediction when it issued its interim report at the end of the second quarter. Three months later, in the fourth quarter, there was tremendous scurrying and company wide emergency action to live up to top management's forecast. For three to five weeks, nobody in the management group got any work done. It took only one stroke of the pen to solve this crisis; instead of predicting a definite year-end figure, top management is now predicting results within a range. This fully satisfies directors, stockholders, and the financial community. And what used to be a crisis a few years ago, now is no longer even noticed in the company—yet fourth-quarter results are quite a bit better than they used to be, since executive time is no longer being wasted on making results fit the forecast.

Source: Drucker, Peter F. (1967). *The Effective Executive*. New York: Harper & Row, pp. 41–42.

options and combinations; and (6) choosing among newly created (and, therefore, imperfectly understood) alternatives.

Stress and Leadership Performance

The additional cognitive challenges associated with true crises are important because of an endemic feature of emergency and crisis situations: stress. All high-stakes, high-variability, and high-contingency activities involve elevated stress levels, and stress has

an important impact on the performance of both leaders and followers. But the impact of stress varies with the type of task that is being undertaken. Elevated stress tends in most people to reduce cognitive functions, especially higher-order cognitive functions (like creativity and abstract reasoning). By contrast—at least up to the point of moderate stress—additional stress can *improve* recognitional decision-making and response. (The ability of highly practiced athletes to make a "clutch play"—an especially difficult catch or a particularly powerful kick at a key moment—is an example.) Although at some point, additional stress tends to reduce both cognitive and recognitional performance, if it can be kept within moderate bounds, stress need not reduce the operational capacities of those engaged in recognitional responses and tasks, and may actually improve performance by getting participants to focus and to call forth greater effort, and by activating hormonal responses like the release of adrenaline (Klein 1996; Useem 1998, 60; Rudolph and Repenning 2002).

This difference in the nature of the work that needs to be done in routine emergencies and in true crises—and the different effects of stress on the performance of that work—have profound implications for the challenge of leadership in these two settings. Leaders operating in a routine emergency have a repertoire of available, planned responses and executable routines; they need to ensure that stress levels do not become dysfunctionally high, but they can rely on their trained and experienced personnel to be able to perform reasonably reliably and well in recognizing what needs to be done and being able to do it. By contrast, leaders in a true crisis face novel con-

ditions and circumstances. The crisis will elevate stress, which tends to reduce the cognitive abilities that are central to developing an understanding of the situation and of its novelties, to creating options for responses, and to choosing effectively among them. Precisely at the time when excellent cognitive function is especially crucial, stress makes it less likely that participants will notice the novelties that demand cognitive engagement, less likely that they will be able to accurately assess the situation and to create a range of alternatives, and less likely that they will choose effectively among them.

Stress-Related Cognitive Deficits

Many common deficits in cognitive processing are exacerbated by stress. Behavioral psychologists, organizational theorists, and economists, among others, have studied common errors of reasoning and perception and their prevalence under conditions of stress. Often referred to as “cognitive biases,” many different forms of errors have been identified and labeled. A general finding is that, for most individuals and groups, reasoning under elevated levels of stress leads to a narrowing of cognitive processes—a reduction in the range of possibilities and alternatives imagined or considered, a tendency to focus on a restricted range of elements or symptoms, causes or diagnoses, and options, responses, and actions. Common cognitive biases (frequent in many circumstances, but exacerbated by stress) include a tendency toward overconfidence, a tendency not to observe data or evidence contrary to the currently prevailing understanding of the situation (“ignoring disconfirming evidence”), a tendency to remain committed to the existing approach in the face of evidence that it is not working (“escalation of commitment”), and a tendency to personalize the situation and objectives or to behave as though the objectives had changed (“migration of objectives”). These tendencies can actually be helpful when a situation has been well-diagnosed and the response is well-adapted and the main challenge is to develop enough commitment and energy to execute what may be arduous actions to deal with the situation; these are, of course, the circumstances that tend to prevail in

routine emergencies. But in situations of true crisis these cognitive biases can be disastrous. At precisely the time when a *wider* range of alternatives needs to be imagined, stress acting on individuals and groups is likely to create cognitive *narrowing* instead. Crucial aspects of how this situation is different from those previously encountered may be missed; options that might provide improved responses may be overlooked; creative thought that could help achieve and maintain more comprehensive awareness of the situation and produce adaptive responses to it may be blocked.

Cultural Conflicts within Teams during Crises

Often teams assembled to address crisis situations will include a diverse collection of members with different skills and backgrounds. For example, the team responding to a natural disaster is likely to include high-ranking political officials as well as operational commanders of police, fire, rescue and emergency services, and other operating units (possibly from multiple jurisdictions). The salient novelties of the situation—the significant ways in which the situation at hand does not fit into patterns that have been seen and addressed in the past—are likely to be more apparent to some members of the team than to others. Operational commanders have generally been schooled in the importance of prompt action in situations involving dangerous conditions, and will often (and sometimes rightly) want authority to begin operational deployments immediately; their experience and training tell them that windows of opportunity will be open only briefly.

By contrast, others who are more focused on the important differences between the current situation and past circumstances may have exactly the opposite fear; they may want more time to understand the situation fully and to develop a wider range of options, and they may resist the impulse to deploy capabilities early for fear that doing so will foreclose potentially valuable options that will only come to be available later. Developing and communicating a comprehensive perspective on the situation, from which a coherent and well-designed set of options can be constructed and from which effective actions

can be selected, becomes an essential leadership challenge for effectively addressing a true crisis situation. Mediating conflicts between those with an inclination for immediate action and those who are inclined to more careful and longer consideration of options and consequences before actions are chosen is also commonly a significant leadership challenge in crises.

IMPLICATIONS FOR LEADERSHIP

In routine emergencies, leaders have access to a repertoire of capacities and executable operational routines that, with modest customization and adaptation, can provide an appropriate response to the situation. Both the leader and the other participants will have to operate under stress, but ideally their preparation, planning, training, and experience equip them to recognize their circumstances accurately and to deploy their practiced responses effectively. In true crises, leaders cannot have a previously planned, developed, tested, and deployable routine available to them that will adequately address the situation they face. By definition, they will have to improvise new approaches or combinations of existing routines. Much of this work is conceptual and cognitive in nature, and is therefore especially difficult to do—and to inspire others to do—in circumstances of elevated stress, like those likely to prevail in a crisis situation.

Leadership Challenges of Routine Emergencies

A leader's central challenges in a routine emergency will include the following:

1. assess the situation with accuracy;
2. promote effective customization and adaptation of existing routines to the specific circumstances of the given incident;
3. mobilize and inspire the efforts of the participants;
4. coordinate the potentially quite complex collection of customized, pre-planned responses;
5. organize and ensure support and a flow of requisite resources to those operationally engaged in the response;
6. communicate effectively to those participating and to others involved outside the responding organization(s) about the situation and what they should do.

Leadership Challenges of True Crises

The central leadership challenges of addressing true crises include the following:

1. accurately and quickly assessing the ways in which the current situation is significantly different from past circumstances;
2. resisting more comfortable (but inaccurate) diagnoses and assessments of the situation that ignore the significant elements of novelty;
3. mediating potential cultural conflicts among those with a bias for immediate action and those with an inclination to delay choices and deployments until a deeper understanding of the situation and analysis of the options can be developed;
4. developing and maintaining a “big picture” perspective of all the salient features of the situation (including its significant novelties);
5. communicating, both internally and externally, relevant and comprehensible understandings of the situation that allow others to understand and organize their work and efforts productively;
6. orchestrating creative imagining, design, and development of new approaches and/or new combinations of existing routines;
7. maintaining high quality in reasoning and choosing among new, untested, risky, and relatively poorly understood courses of action;
8. coordinating the rapid development of new plans and details of operational action for the chosen approach;
9. mobilizing and inspiring the required effort from the participants, including their attention to the cognitive work that is essential but that they will find difficult given their elevated stress levels;
10. overseeing the execution of newly designed (and, therefore, probably imperfectly functioning) actions and deployments; and
11. performing all these tasks while the leaders are themselves operating under elevated stress.

The volume and nature of adaptive work that must be rapidly undertaken by the leaders in a setting of high stakes, high uncertainty, and high stress make leadership in true crisis situations both profoundly difficult and profoundly important. Understanding the challenges presented by true crisis situations is the first important step toward being able to address them successfully.

—Herman B. Leonard

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CROMWELL, OLIVER (1599–1658)

British statesman and soldier

Oliver Cromwell is an important figure in the historical development of England and the United Kingdom. As a soldier, politician, and statesman Cromwell played a significant part in changing the constitutional power of the monarchy in the United Kingdom forever. He was born in 1599 into a strict Puritan family living in Huntingdon, England. He was educated at Sidney Sussex College Cambridge and became a member of Parliament for Huntingdon in 1628. As a military and political leader, his rise

from the middle ranks of English society was spectacular. Cromwell was a key person in the English Civil War (1642–1646), significantly influencing the strategic plans of those rebelling against the dictatorial rule of Charles I (1600–1649). Despite his lack of military experience, Cromwell became a captain in 1642 when the civil war began. He then swiftly rose through the military ranks. Early in 1643 he was promoted to colonel.

Throughout his life, Cromwell was driven by a deep-seated religious conviction arising from his Puritan beliefs. In the civil war he instilled in his soldiers a sense of higher purpose, a belief that, under his leadership, they were doing God's work. In 1645, Cromwell was made lieutenant general of the New Model Army and then became lord general of the army for the campaigns in Ireland (1649–1650) and Scotland (1650–1651). He brutally crushed uprisings in Wales (1647), Ireland (1649), and Scotland (1650). By 1653, Cromwell became the first non-royal Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. He died in 1658 having taken a leading role in the trial and subsequent execution of Charles I in 1649. Within two years of his death, however, the Protectorate crumbled and the monarchy was restored in the person of Charles II (1630–1685). In 1661 the new king had Cromwell's corpse exhumed and dangled from a gallows at Tyburn.

CROMWELL THE MILITARY LEADER

Like many English monarchs before him, King Charles I believed that the king's power and authority was "God-given" and thus unassailable (the "Divine Right of Kings"). Charles's concern to crush any challenge to his "divine" authority brought him into conflict with the English Puritans. His persecution of the Puritans (he had their ears cut off and their noses slit) led to a clash with Parliament, culminating in the English Civil War that began in 1642. The Puritans, known as the "Roundheads," led the civil war against the king and his troops, known as the "Cavaliers." Throughout his life Cromwell held radical puritanical views that brought him into direct conflict with the king.

During its early stages, the civil war did not go well for the Roundheads. In the Battle of Edge Hill, in 1642, they were defeated by the Cavalier army. Cromwell was quick to see the weaknesses of the Roundhead army and, although he had not been trained in warfare, he made himself captain of the cavalry and began to organize his troops. Cromwell proved to be an inspirational leader. His leadership skills were clearly demonstrated when, in 1644, his New Model Army routed Cavalier forces at the Battle of Marston Moor and his regiment earned the name "Ironsides." Their reputation as a fighting force grew. Although in many battles they were greatly outnumbered, sometimes three to one, Cromwell's regiment was never beaten. Cromwell took part in five of the ten major battles of the English Civil War. In June 1645, at Naseby in Northampton, his New Model Army crushed the opposing forces. Within a year of this defeat, the Royalist cause was finished and Charles I surrendered to the Scots, who turned the king over to Parliament. By 1646 Parliament ruled England.

A crucial strength in Cromwell's military leadership style was his ability to inspire in his soldiers a deep-seated belief in the righteousness of their cause and to convince them to share in his own conviction that God was with them in battle and guiding their quest for victory. He created the only body of hand-picked Puritan troops. Under Cromwell's leadership, discipline was of paramount importance. In an age when armies usually consisted of soldiers, mercenaries, and lawless men who indulged in every conceivable vice, Cromwell's Ironsides prayed, paid fines for drunkenness and profanity, and went into battle singing hymns. As a leader, Cromwell demonstrated care and respect for his men. In contrast with other commanders, he became personally involved in ensuring that his troops were well fed and regularly paid—a difficult achievement during military campaigns. Cromwell created a civilian support structure and organization designed to ensure the flow of money and supplies to his troops.

Despite his great success as a military leader during the civil war, any discussion of Cromwell's leadership in battle must also acknowledge the controversial conquest of Ireland. His actions in this

campaign have been widely recognized as extremely brutal. From the outset, Cromwell's orders were clear. He was to put Ireland under English control and then, in order to ensure the continuation of this control, he was to supervise the confiscation of lands belonging to all "rebels." In the summer of 1649, he successfully stormed the town of Drogheda. During this battle, approximately twenty-five hundred soldiers were killed. To demonstrate the consequences of resistance, Cromwell had all the surviving officers, all Catholic priests and friars, and every tenth common soldier killed, some clubbed to death. These ruthless tactics went further at Wexford, in Ireland, where Cromwell oversaw what historians have described as a massacre. These actions spread terror throughout Ireland and, as a consequence, most towns surrendered on his approach.

Once again Cromwell's religious belief that he was doing "God's work" provided him with justification for his actions, as this statement after the storming of Drogheda demonstrates: "This is the righteous judgement of God upon these" (Partington 1996). After such a ruthless conquest, Cromwell's actions following the surrender of each town were equally surprising for the times. Upon surrender, Cromwell scrupulously observed all surrender articles and also spared the lives of the civilians and soldiers. This conquest of Ireland resulted in almost 40 percent of Irish land being redistributed from Catholics born in Ireland to Protestants born in Britain. The repercussions of this action for the Irish people can still be seen today.

Cromwell's strength as a military leader was that he could think beyond established structures and cultures within the army. In an age in which the majority of soldiers were viewed as little more than rabble brought together through necessity for fighting, Cromwell handpicked his soldiers, treated them with respect, and turned fighting into a holy mission.

CROMWELL THE MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

From 1640, Cromwell was an active member of Parliament. He was vocal and had a high profile whenever he took his seat, between military campaigns. He served in the Short Parliament (April 1640) and

the Long Parliament (August 1640 through 1660). In the first months of the Long Parliament, he made clear his views on the need for "root and branch" reform of the church and was the first person to call for the outright abolition of bishops. The Triennial Act of 1641, which ensured the summoning of Parliament every three years, was a serious challenge to royal prerogative. Prior to this, only the king had the power to summon Parliament. Later in 1641 another Act of Parliament made the Court of the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission illegal. In 1642 episcopacy was abolished, virtually stripping Charles of the last remnants of royal prerogative. The army and the navy were also placed directly under the control of Parliament. After a thwarted attempt by Charles to regain control by entering Parliament to arrest those whom he saw as the ringleaders, Charles left London and traveled north to recruit an army. Isolated battles escalated into civil war. At this time, Cromwell was one of the members of Parliament sent to the provinces to raise troops to fight the Royalist forces.

By 1644, Cromwell was disillusioned with the leadership of the parliamentary generals. He wanted to see the promotion of "lowborn" men who, like himself, held radical religious views which informed their passion for victory in battle. As he wrote in a letter to Sir William Spring in September 1643, "I had rather have a plain russet-coated captain that knows what he fights for, and loves what he knows, than that which you call a gentleman and is nothing else" (Partington 1996). He viewed the "gentlemen" supported by the generals as more interested in negotiating peace through compromise. In the winter of 1644–1645 he returned to Parliament to challenge the leadership for its half-heartedness and elitism.

When Parliament took power in 1646, various factions emerged within English society. Representatives of these factions in Parliament, which included the remaining Cavaliers and religious and political radicals, argued about the way forward for the country. As a result of this conflict, the army took control by forcibly removing 110 members of Parliament. Another 160 members refused to take their seats as an act of resistance to the action. The remaining mem-



The Triennial Act of 1641

The Triennial Act of 1641, passed while Oliver Cromwell was a leader in Parliament, is significant because it mandated when Parliament would meet, rather than leaving it to royal prerogative. The following is an excerpt from the text of the act.

An act for the preventing of inconveniences happening by the long intermission of parliaments. Whereas by the laws and statutes of this realm the parliament ought to be holden at least once every year for the redress of grievances, but the appointment of the time and place for the holding thereof hath always belonged, as it ought, to his majesty and his royal progenitors; and whereas it is by experience found that the not holding of parliaments accordingly hath produced sundry and great mischiefs and inconveniences to the king's majesty, the church, and commonwealth: for the prevention of the like mischiefs and inconveniences in time to come, be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, with the consent of the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons in this present parliament assembled, that the said laws and statutes be from henceforth duly kept and observed. And your majesty's loyal and obedient subjects, in this present parliament now assembled, do humbly pray that it be enacted, and be it enacted accordingly by the authority of this present parliament, that, in case there be not a parliament summoned by writ under the great seal of England and assembled and held before the 10th day of September which shall be in the third year next after the last day of the last meeting and sitting in this present parliament . . . —and so from time to time and in all times hereafter, if there shall not be a parliament assembled and held before the 10th day of September which shall be in the third year next after the last day of the last meeting and sitting in parliament before that time assembled and held . . . —that then . . . the parliament shall assemble and be held in the usual place at Westminster in such manner and by such means only as is hereafter in this present act declared and enacted, and not otherwise, on the second Monday which shall be in the month of November then next ensuing. And in case this present parliament now assembled and held, or any other parliament which shall at any time hereafter be assembled and held . . . shall be prorogued or adjourned . . . until the 10th day of September which shall be in the third year next after the last day of the last meeting and sitting in parliament . . . , that then . . . every such parliament so prorogued or adjourned . . . shall from the said 10th day of September be

thenceforth clearly and absolutely dissolved, and the lord chancellor of England, the lord keeper of the great seal of England, and every commissioner and commissioners for the keeping of the great seal of England, for the time being, shall within six days after the said 10th day of September, in every such third year as aforesaid, in due form of law and without any further warrant or direction from his majesty, his heirs, or successors, seal, issue forth, and send abroad several and respective writs to the several and respective peers of this realm, commanding every such peer that he personally be at the parliament to be held at Westminster on the second Monday which shall be in November next following the said 10th day of September . . . ; and shall also seal and issue forth . . . several and respective writs to the several and respective sheriffs of the several and respective counties, cities, and boroughs of England and Wales . . . , and to all and every other officers and persons to whom writs have used to be directed, for the electing of the knights, citizens, barons, and burgesses of and for the said counties, cities, Cinque Ports, and boroughs of England and Wales respectively, in the accustomed form, to appear and serve in parliament to be held at Westminster on the said second Monday, which shall be in November aforesaid; which said peers, after the said writs received, and which said knights, citizens, barons, and burgesses chosen by virtue of the said writs, shall then and there appear and serve in parliament accordingly. And the said lord chancellor, lord keeper, commissioner and commissioners aforesaid, shall respectively take a solemn oath upon the Holy Evangelists for the due issuing of writs according to the tenor of this act [. . .]

And it is lastly provided and enacted, that his majesty's royal assent to this bill shall not thereby determine this present session of parliament, and that all statutes and acts of parliament which are to have continuance unto the end of this present session shall be of full force after his majesty's assent, until this present session be fully ended and determined. And if this present session shall determine by dissolution of this present parliament, then all the acts and statutes aforesaid shall be continued until the end of the first session of the next parliament.

bers, known as “the Rump,” set about an agenda of social change. The Rump, however, followed the pattern of previous Parliaments and became rigidly self-interested.

As always, Cromwell's religious convictions directed his actions. In his capacity as lord general, Cromwell concluded that the Rump Parliament had lost credibility and that its members were not fit to

lead the country. In 1653, Cromwell disbanded the Rump Parliament in what he considered the most appropriate way, which was at the point of a sword and with these words: “You have been sat too long here for any good you have been doing. Depart, I say, and let us have done with you. In the name of God, GO!” (Partington 1996).

In the search for a worthy group to sit as members of Parliament, Cromwell chose what he considered to be the 140 “godliest men” and gave them the task of creating a constitution underpinned by the values of the gospel. But again the Parliament could not meet Cromwell’s expectations and power was returned to Cromwell’s hands. On 16 December 1653, Oliver Cromwell formally accepted the title of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland: “Thus was the transition complete of Oliver Cromwell, by birth a gentleman, through the dour ranks of the Army to Lord General and so to Oliver Protector” (Fraser 1993).

CROMWELL’S LEGACY

Cromwell’s legacy was both positive and negative. On the one hand, he established the principle of the accountability of rulers to the people that has informed the democratic principles that shape current practices in many Western societies today. On the other hand, his reign left the English suspicious of religious extremism and with an aversion to soldiers’ involvement in politics. His campaign in Ireland escalated the long-term instability of the country and created a land where the Catholic people were oppressed by an English Protestant elite.

Cromwell’s leadership style, based on strict religious principles, appeared simple, but on closer inspection it was quite complex and contradictory. As a leader of soldiers he established his authority through strict discipline. He created an army of soldiers who subscribed to his own radical Protestant religious beliefs. They were a group with a common cause who would follow his orders, no matter how extreme (as in Ireland), in the belief that they were doing God’s work. As a member of Parliament, however, he did not blindly follow the objectives of the political radicals who wanted to eliminate monarchy

and promote a major redistribution of wealth and social and economic power.

Initially, Cromwell’s intent was not to eliminate monarchy. Indeed, in 1652 and 1653 he discussed with colleagues the possible restoration of the House of Stuart. After defeating Charles I, Cromwell had trusted what he perceived as the king’s willingness to agree to his key proposals, but in 1648 Charles I entered into an alliance with the Scots and called on Royalists and Parliamentarians to rise up against the new regime. Following this betrayal, Cromwell was adamant that the king must be executed.

In contrast to his own rigid Puritan persuasion, Cromwell’s views on the religious life of the country could be considered liberal. Contrary to what might have been expected, his approach to religious preferences was to allow people to practice their beliefs without being disturbed or disturbing others. Although a strict Puritan, Cromwell did not support the Puritan radicals who wanted religious freedoms curtailed. Under his reign as lord protector, Cromwell believed in what he referred to as “liberty of conscience,” which allowed considerable freedom for a range of different religious groups and faiths. Catholics, Quakers, and Jews were allowed to follow their conscience and worship privately. His main objective was to make England a truly Christian nation. Cromwell also championed the expansion of access to education. Previously membership in the state church was a qualification for entry to universities, the professions, and any public office. This qualification was abandoned during the period 1649 to 1660, only to be reinstated following the return of the monarchy.

Clearly Cromwell could be considered a charismatic leader. In appearance he is often described as a very plain man, and much is made of his having warts on his face. Indeed, his death mask, which is on display in Warwick Castle (near Stratford-upon-Avon in England), confirms this. In a time when monarchs and leaders used portraits as a way of disguising flaws and presenting themselves to the people as powerful and glamorous, Cromwell despised this practice. When sitting for portraits, he demanded that his true likeness be painted and that nothing be disguised. To one portrait painter he stated, “Mr. Lely, I desire you would use all your skill to paint

your picture truly like me, and not flatter me at all; but remark all these roughness, pimples, warts, and everything as you see me; otherwise I will never pay a farthing for it” (Partington 1996).

For all his plain appearance and dress, Cromwell earned the respect and loyalty not only of his soldiers but also of intellectuals such as John Milton (his personal secretary, who wrote the epic poem *Paradise Lost*) and John Bunyan (the author of the popular prose allegory *Pilgrim’s Progress*, who served under his command). As was demonstrated after his death, however, character and charisma cannot automatically be transferred to the next generation. After Cromwell’s death in 1658 his son and successor, Richard, found it impossible to halt the disintegration of the coalition of interests which had been held together primarily by his father’s force of conviction and leadership skills. In 1660 the monarchy was restored and Charles II returned from France to take the throne. Yet, although the English monarchy was reinstated, it would never again exercise the kind of power and authority that it had enjoyed before the English Civil War.

—Margaret Collinson

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CROSS-CULTURAL LEADERSHIP

Technological advances in communications and transportation have dramatically increased cross-

cultural interactions in all types of organizations. Scholarly and popular press attention to cross-cultural leadership in organizations has also risen dramatically in recent decades. For example, the discussion of cross-cultural leadership in the three editions of widely acclaimed *Bass and Stogdill’s Handbook of Leadership* rose from one page (1974) to fourteen pages (1981) to a full forty-page chapter (1990). Popular publications such as the *Wall Street Journal*, *Business Week*, *Forbes*, *Fortune*, and the *New York Times*, and their international counterparts regularly recount the increasing need for cross-cultural leadership. Many consulting firms now offer to deliver or develop leader-competency models to help organizations identify, prepare, and develop leaders for cross-cultural interactions and responsibilities.

Collectively, this rush of attention has increased our knowledge of cross-cultural leadership. Yet this same frenetic attention, characterized by different perspectives and approaches, has also introduced considerable confusion in terminology and consequently in understanding. For example, is cross-cultural leadership different from global leadership, international leadership, or transnational leadership? Is an expatriate leader (a leader working in a country other than their home country) a cross-cultural leader? Does a person have to be managing across multiple countries simultaneously to be a cross-cultural leader? How do we know what we know about cross-cultural leadership? Are there leadership behaviors that are effective in all cultures or is effective leadership manifested differently in each culture? By answering these questions we begin to define the parameters of cross-cultural leadership and the current state of theory and practice.

WHAT IS LEADERSHIP? WHAT IS CULTURE?

It has been said that there are as many definitions of leadership as there are individuals studying leadership. Though there is no agreed-on definition of leadership, two themes consistently emerge. First, leaders influence the behavior of others. Second, this influence is intentional and directed toward some desired objective such as developing a new product, achieving a sales goal, building a home for orphans,



Cross-Cultural Confusion and Leadership Failure

One of the major hurdles in any cross-cultural leadership situation is for the members of each cultural group to develop a full understanding of what leadership means to the other group. The following description of British attempts to appoint effective local leaders from the Tiv ethnic group during the period of British colonial rule in Nigeria indicates just how difficult a hurdle this can be.

The white man demanded the election of clan chiefs, or "district heads," as they were called after the pattern of the northern emirates, and chiefs were elected. It was quite in accordance with precedent that the elders should appoint a younger man of no especial standing to carry out the administrative duties required by the white man, and not one of the men who wielded the real authority, that is to say, a senior elder, who was master of the Poor and other great *akombo*, and had all the power of supernatural sanction behind him. This fundamental difference in conception of the nature of chieftainship caused much misunderstanding between the Tiv and the British Administration. The men who were put forward by the elders to be the 'white man's chief' (*tor u Butel*) often were not backed by the consent even of their own group, far less of the clan over which they were supposed to rule. In consequence, they either completely failed to fulfil the function for which they were appointed by the Administration, being mere

puppets in the hands of their seniors, as indeed the latter intended them to be, or else they used the power given them by us for their own ends, and defied the authority of their natural leaders, bringing down much odium upon themselves and the new régime. As Downes says, "We cannot escape our share of the responsibility for the position as it exists now, and it is, to a large extent, our fault that the Tiv authorities have remained in the background. We have seen that many of the real authorities are not capable of carrying out the duties of village head, supervising the census, collecting the taxes in the way we would like to see it done. We have not liked their arrogant claims to supernatural powers and we have ignored them, and they, not understanding, have preferred to be ignored and have elected a man of no importance to be the '*or koghor kpandegh*' (tax collector) and to take the kicks of a District Head who, in many cases, they consider to be inferior to them in position.

Source: Akiga. (1939). *Akiga's Story: The Tiv Tribe as Seen by One of Its Members*. Edited and translated by Rupert East. London: Oxford University Press, pp. 367–368.

or raising student exam scores. Dean Keith Simonton of the University of California at Berkeley, in his seminal work *Greatness: Who Makes History and Why*, defined *leadership in general* as "that group member whose influence on group attitudes, performance, or decision making greatly exceeds that of the average member of the group" (Simonton 1994, 17). The Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness (GLOBE) international research project defined effective *organizational leadership* as "the ability of an individual to influence, motivate, and enable others to contribute toward the effectiveness and success of the organizations of which they are members" (House et al. 1997, 184). Another definition of [global] organizational leadership states that "leadership involves people in business settings whose job or role is to influence the thoughts and actions of others to achieve some finite set of business goals...usually displayed in large,

multicultural contexts; that is, not just from one nation's perspective" (Gessner & Arnold 1999, xv).

As in the case of leadership, there is no agreed-upon definition of culture. At a broad pragmatic level, culture is defined by social scientists as a set of characteristics or descriptors that differentiate groups in a consistently identifiable and meaningful way (e.g., Hispanic, French, Hindu, Republican, Southern, Generation X). Prominent social psychologists Florence Kluckhohn and Fred Strodtbeck described culture as a patterned way of thinking, feeling, and reacting, acquired and transmitted mainly by symbols, and constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts. The prominent organizational scholar Geert Hofstede defined culture as the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes one human group from another. Yet another scholarly definition is offered by anthropologist Clifford Geertz, who

defined culture as a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life. Common to these definitions is the notion that culture involves shared knowledge and meaning systems among its members.

WHAT IS CROSS-CULTURAL LEADERSHIP?

Since there is no consensual agreement on the terms leadership or culture, it would seem impossible to define the term *cross-cultural leadership*. Yet, as discussed earlier, definitions of culture and leadership each share common themes. To the terms *leadership* and *culture*, we now add *cross*. The “cross” in “cross-cultural leadership” refers to the leader’s (the influencer) culture being different from the follower’s (influence target) culture. By combining the thematic definitions of “leadership” and “culture” with the qualifier “cross,” we define cross-cultural leadership as “the ability of an individual (the leader) to intentionally and unequally influence and motivate members of a culturally different group toward the achievement of a valued outcome by appealing to the shared knowledge and meaning systems of that culturally different group.” In reviewing this definition, it becomes clear that what separates cross-cultural leadership from simple leadership are the words “culturally different.” What separates simple leadership from cross-cultural leadership is the need for leaders to consider the implications of the differences in the knowledge and meaning systems of their followers and to incorporate these differences into the influence process.

This definition provides a foundation for answering several of the questions posed in the introduction. Is an expatriate leader always a cross-cultural leader? The answer is yes only if there are significant differences in the knowledge and meaning systems of the leader and the followers. Does a person have to be managing across multiple countries to be a cross-cultural leader? The definition suggests that working across multiple countries is not required. In fact, some countries may be characterized by extensive within-country regional cultural differences. An

example of this would be the substantial ethnic and cultural differences between the states of the former Soviet Union or the significant religious differences across groups in some Middle Eastern countries.

It must be acknowledged that some scholars will object to including within-border leadership as cross-cultural leadership. For example, Hollenbeck (2001) has argued that the key distinction between traditional international managers and the current transnationally competent managers is the cross-border nature of the tasks and skills. Adler and Bartholomew (1992) have defined the “global leader” as an executive who executes global strategies across, rather than within, borders of time and geography, nation, function, and product. Yet another author defines world-class executives as “cosmopolitans” not based on where they go but on their mindsets being attuned to world-class concepts, competencies, and connections. These differences in terminology (cosmopolitan, global leader, international leader, and transnational leader) are characteristic of a relatively new academic area of study such as cross-cultural leadership.

These differences in scholarly opinion may also be traced to differences in the interests of researchers and commentators. Strategists tend to be interested in the tasks to be done, the accountabilities accepted, and the results anticipated. Human resources scholars tend to be interested in determining the knowledge, skills, abilities, and attitudes required to accomplish the tasks, meet the accountabilities, and produce the expected results. The definition of cross-cultural leadership provided here encompasses both perspectives by recognizing that cross-cultural leadership can occur within a single set of borders and that management across multiple borders (i.e., global leadership and transnational leadership) may not be sufficient to classify as cross-cultural leadership. For example, a Korean leader based in New York managing a group of Korean employees in Seoul and a group of Korean employees in Bangkok may not be engaging in cross-cultural leadership because the leader and the led are separated by physical space and not by cognitive space.

The definition of cross-cultural leadership provided here offers an approach to, rather than a definitive rule for, identifying cross-cultural leadership.

For example, someone might argue that a United States Southerner leading a group of from the northern United States would be exercising cross-cultural leadership because of regional differences in attitudes, values, or intra-state regulatory systems. What is missing from such an argument is that the shared meanings and knowledge systems are more common across U.S. regions than different. The situation where meaningful differences exist but are smaller than the shared meaning and knowledge systems is more appropriately referred to as leadership of cultural diversity.

The inability to develop an easily applied and inviolate rule to identify cross-cultural differences may be why so many scholars, especially organizational scholars, have relied on national boundaries as proxies for cultural differences. National boundaries are easily identifiable, have identifiable differences in legislative laws and processes, and are often formed along cultural differences in the citizenry. But as the Soviet example introduced earlier illustrates, these boundaries are often inexact. Imagine someone who was “just a leader” in the former Soviet states awakening to find that he or she is now regarded as a cross-cultural leader simply because the political boundaries have been redrawn such that Bosnia, Serbia, and Croatia are politically separate nations. With no change in the followers (targets of influence), it would be difficult to argue convincingly that the mere redrawing of political boundaries is the dominant factor impacting attempts to exert influence. The more appropriate conclusion is that the person was a cross-cultural leader (managing multiple mindsets) both before and following the redrawing of political boundaries. While the redrawing of national boundaries is consequential to the work group, the change is more appropriately characterized as a change to the task environment (problems and opportunities faced by the group) than it is a new cross-cultural leadership (influencing targets with a different worldview) challenge.

HOW WE KNOW WHAT WE KNOW

Studies of cross-cultural leadership have followed two basic approaches. One approach, called the emic

approach, seeks to investigate one culture at a time to determine those leadership behaviors that appear to be linked to the effective attainment of group goals. For example, a study investigating leadership behavior in Austria might associate follower evaluations of leadership effectiveness with objective group outcomes such as higher profits, higher student examination scores, or the attainment of fund-raising objectives. Conclusions would then be reached about how a leader should behave to be effective in Austria.

The second approach, called the etic approach, seeks to investigate multiple cultures simultaneously to determine those leadership behaviors that appear to be linked to the effective attainment of group goals across most of them. For example, a study might attempt to determine if a leader lavishing praise on followers is positively linked to group outcomes in most cultures or if the public scolding of employees is negatively linked with leader effectiveness in most cultures. Conclusions would then be reached about how leaders should behave to be effective in most cultures. Etic studies often demonstrate differences. For example, it has shown that talking critically about an employee to that employee’s peers when the employee is not present is considered to be undesirable in the United States (because of a value for open communication) and is considered to be desirable in Japan (because the employee “saves face” by not receiving the criticism directly). A series of emic studies can be used to make etic-like comparisons across cultures, but these comparisons are often less reliable than simple etic studies.

The obvious benefits of an emic (single culture often operationalized as single country) perspective are that it is more likely to reveal what leadership behaviors should be exhibited locally. Emic studies often provide very fine details about a culture that could be overlooked when designing a study to measure attributes across a number of cultures. The advantage of the etic approach (multiple cultures) is that it provides leaders who must migrate through multiple cultures, often in rapid succession, with information about which behaviors are likely to be well received in most cultures and which ones will typically have a negative impact. Though scholars disagree on whether the best approach is to deduce

similarities and differences from etic studies or to induct similarities and differences from emic studies, the literature on cross-cultural leadership has been enhanced by both approaches. Greater confidence in what to do may be warranted when the conclusions of emic studies and etic studies agree.

The touchstone for most attempts to conduct cross-cultural leadership research has been the pioneering work of organizational scholar Geert Hofstede. Hofstede proposed the following four dimensions (actually continuums) of culture that can be used to explain similarities and differences in leader behaviors and follower reactions: (1) High Power Distance–Low Power Distance: The degree to which members of a society expect power to be shared equally; (2) High Uncertainty Avoidance–Low Uncertainty Avoidance: The degree to which members of a society feel uncomfortable in unstructured, ambiguous, and uncertain situations, and create beliefs and institutions intended to minimize the occurrence of such situations; (3) Individualism–Collectivism: The degree to which individuals function independently of one another or are integrated into groups; and (4) Masculinity–Femininity: The degree to which cultures look favorably on assertiveness, aggressiveness, and the striving for personal success, or to which they stress supportive behavior, nurturance, and service.

FINDINGS FROM RESEARCH ON CROSS-CULTURAL LEADERSHIP

The final question posed in the introduction was whether some leadership behaviors are effective in all cultures or whether leadership is manifested differently in each culture. The answers to this two-part question are yes and yes. Research has identified several leadership behaviors that are associated positively or negatively with effectiveness across most cultures (universals). Research has also identified some leader behaviors and attributes which are culturally dependent (contingencies). Representative findings of both categories are discussed in brief below, and details and additional findings can be found in comprehensive reviews of the leadership literature.

Bernard M. Bass, author of the *Handbook of Leadership*, provides a number of assertions based on cross-cultural research of the transformational/transactional leadership paradigm. First, transformational leaders are those who provide inspiration in the form of an enticing vision, give individualized consideration to followers, and intellectually stimulate followers to perceive problems in new ways and are more likely to induce followers to transcend their own interests to achieve a higher cause. Second, transactional leaders are those who clarify work expectations, provide rewards contingent on specific outcomes, and closely monitor employee behavior and are more likely to produce followers motivated primarily by self-interest. Bass explains that there is a consistent relationship between leadership style and various outcome measures (effectiveness, subordinate satisfaction, and subordinate effort).

According to Bass, transformational leaders appear to be more effective than leaders who rely on contingent reward, leaders practicing active management by exception, and leaders practicing laissez-faire management. The latter, laissez-faire management, includes frequently avoiding responsibilities and shirking duties. The findings for laissez-faire management are etic in nature, with negative associations to leadership effectiveness across all cultures. Bass also states another etic conclusion, that across cultures transformational leadership augments transactional leadership in predicting important outcomes. He believes that this relationship pattern is consistent across cultures because prototypes (conceptions of model leaders) for leadership across cultures are generally transformational rather than transactional. Such findings are characteristic of the universal view of cross-cultural leadership.

Contingencies

Research has shown that sensitivity to norms was a more critical component of leader behavior in Mexico and Iran than in the United States. Managers who maintained a distance from their employees used rules and procedures more than managers who valued a closer relationship, and managers who placed a high value on interpersonal trust preferred partici-

participative and democratic leadership while leaders in countries low in trust preferred a more authoritarian style. There is substantial evidence for a correlation between a leader's consideration of followers and subordinate satisfaction, although the results of these studies are inconsistent.

Transformational leadership behavior had more dramatic effects in the People's Republic of China and Taiwan than did transactional leadership. Providing an appropriate model and demonstrating high performance expectations significantly influenced the attitudes of Chinese employees, while leader-individualized support and fostering collaboration significantly influenced the job attitudes of Taiwanese employees. Similar differences were found for leader-contingent rewards. While several aspects of leadership were universally endorsed (i.e., charismatic and values-based leadership), researchers have found that collective value orientations are positively related to team-oriented leadership endorsement, and that the distance of a leader from a follower is negatively related to participative leadership endorsement. Such findings are characteristic of the contingent view of cross-cultural leadership.

IMPLICATIONS

Terms such as "global leader," "transnational leader," "international leader," and "expatriate leader" have served as a point of departure for discussing issues related to cross-cultural leadership. This lack of precision in terminology can be traced to the lack of consensus regarding the terms "leadership" and "culture." By laying semantics aside and focusing on cross-cultural leadership thematically, it can be seen that the challenge of cross-cultural leadership for leaders is to motivate members of a culturally different group toward the achievement of a valued outcome by appealing to the shared knowledge and meaning systems used by a culturally different group.

A great deal of progress has been made in recent decades toward understanding cross-cultural leadership. The increasing rate of globalization will undoubtedly continue to accelerate calls for more research on cross-cultural leadership (see Lowe and

Gardner 2000). While a comprehensive understanding of the relationship between leadership and culture is a distant vision, an understanding of the etic or universal findings can be expected to become more multifaceted and pragmatic over time.

—Kevin B. Lowe

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CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

The Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, an intense nuclear face-off between the United States and the Soviet Union concerning the Soviet build-up of medium-range missiles in Cuba, marked the height of the Cold War era and a point when the world was brought to the brink of a nuclear war. The way U.S. President John F. Kennedy and his staff handled the crisis is still controversial. On the one hand, President Kennedy was praised not only for having helped avoid such a war, but also for having provided one of the best models for the exercise of national leadership and decision making in times of crisis. On the other hand, recent scholarship ascribes Kennedy's foreign policy success to good luck. Nevertheless, Kennedy's leadership in this foreign affairs crisis undeniably was successful.

PRELUDE TO THE CRISIS

The Soviet Union installed missiles in Cuba to buttress Soviet political clout in world affairs at a time when the balance of power seemed to tip in favor of the United States. A growing "missile gap" between the two superpower competitors had existed as the United States surpassed the U.S.S.R. in the development and production of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs): The farthest that Soviet missiles could reach was Europe, but U.S. missiles could

reach Soviet territory. Thus, the Soviet Union redressed the imbalance by deciding to deploy medium-range missiles in proximity to U.S. territory. The United States had already based missiles in Turkey against the Soviet Union following this logic, and thus the counterdeployment of missiles seemed justifiable to the Soviet Union. Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev thought that although this counterdeployment would initially cause much commotion, Kennedy, whom Khrushchev viewed as being young and inexperienced as the result of Kennedy's earlier failure in the 1961 Bay of Pigs incident, would eventually get used to the idea of having missiles situated near U.S. territory. The strategic balance would shift, benefiting the Soviets.

Khrushchev developed the idea of deploying missiles in Cuba in May 1962. Subsequently, the Soviet Union began clandestinely shipping missiles to Cuba and installing them. In July 1962 the first Soviet ship, loaded with nuclear missiles and troops, set sail for Cuba. An agreement on military and industrial assistance was signed on 2 September 1962, between Khrushchev and Cuban leader Fidel Castro, who wanted the missiles to strengthen Cuba's posture of defense against the United States. Ever since the Bay of Pigs incident, in which the United States had tried to invade Cuba, Castro had been wary of a second invasion and had been looking for a way to defend Cuba from U.S. forces.

The Soviet Union and Cuba had planned to keep the agreement secret until the nuclear missiles were installed. However, on 4 September 1962, the U.S. government began to receive intelligence information indicating that the Soviet Union was shipping missiles to Cuba and constructing missile sites. President Kennedy sent two public communications to Moscow on 4 and 13 September 1962, warning against any offensive weapons the Soviet Union might introduce. Yet, prior to the discovery of the missiles, Kennedy had rebuffed all claims that the Soviets were bringing missiles into Cuba and had reassured the U.S. public that such missiles did not exist. Moscow, in response to Kennedy, stated that the missiles being shipped to Cuba were defensive in nature and were no threat to the United States.

CONSIDERED COURSES OF ACTION

The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency's (CIA) discovery and confirmation of Soviet missile sites in Cuba on 15 October 1962, escalated the mounting tensions into a full-fledged crisis. Contrary to the Soviet Union's public explanation, U.S. U-2 surveillance photographs had spotted sites for SS-4 medium-range missiles a mere 90 miles from the U.S. mainland. The launch pads at the sites were capable of firing ballistic missiles up to a thousand miles, which meant that the deployment was an offensive one. This information was reported to U.S. National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy and to President Kennedy. The "thirteen days" of the Cuban Missile Crisis had begun.

Kennedy's first reaction to learning of the presence of Soviet missiles in Cuba was his exclamation, "He [Khrushchev] can't do this to me" (Neustadt 1964). Kennedy had asserted that the Soviets would not place offensive weapons in Cuba. Moreover, Khrushchev had assured Kennedy that he would do nothing to worsen the problem because Khrushchev was aware of Kennedy's domestic political problems.

U.S. advisers spend the first week of the crisis canvassing the possible courses of action and weighing the costs and benefits that those courses entailed. Initially, advisers presented two courses of action: the "do nothing" approach and the "diplomatic" approach. U.S. vulnerability to Soviet missiles was not new. U.S. overreaction could aggravate the situation. The "do nothing" approach, however, failed in two respects: First, the Soviet Union would attempt to reverse the strategic imbalance in its favor by installing cheaper, shorter-range missiles rather than more expensive, longer-range missiles. Second, the Soviet Union challenged Kennedy's warning. In case of inaction, the United States would lose its credibility.

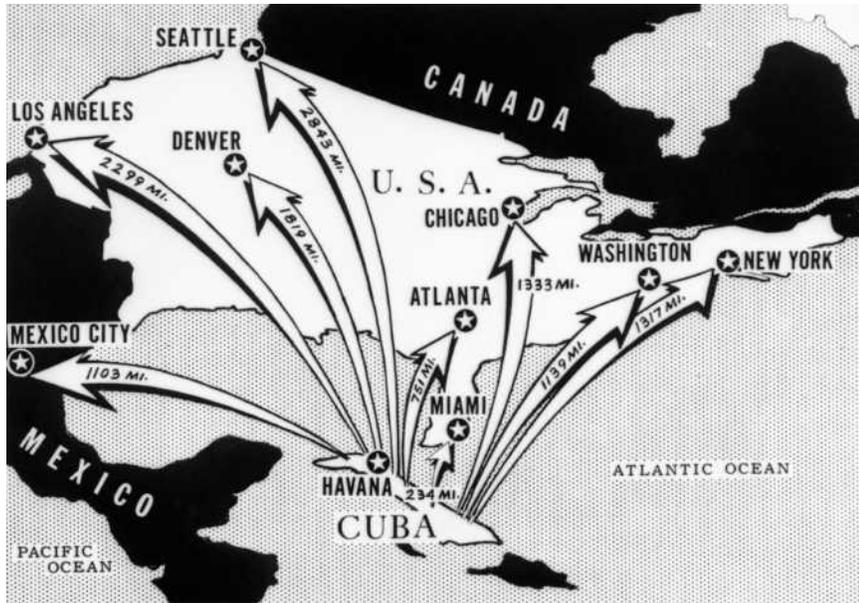
Several forms of diplomatic pressure were considered: "an appeal to the U.N. or the Organization of American States (O.A.S.) for an inspection team, a secret approach to Khrushchev, and a direct approach to Khrushchev, perhaps at a summit meeting" (Allison 1969, 696), including trading U.S. Jupiter missiles in Turkey and Italy for the Soviet missiles in Cuba. Each form of diplomatic pressure

seemed to have its own drawbacks. Additionally, other courses of action were considered, such as a secret approach to Castro, an invasion, a surgical air strike, and a naval blockade.

President Kennedy acted quickly on 16 October 1962 by summoning a handful of senior military, diplomatic, and political advisers, a group who became known as the "Executive Committee of the National Security Council" (ExComm). Members of the committee included Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, McGeorge Bundy, CIA Director John McCone, Presidential Counsel Ted Sorenson, Undersecretary of State George Ball, Deputy Undersecretary of State U. Alexis Johnson, Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Maxwell Taylor, Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America Edward Martin, Adviser on Russian Affairs Llewellyn Thompson, Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell Gilpatric, Assistant Secretary of Defense Paul Nitze, and occasionally Lyndon B. Johnson, U.N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, Special Assistant to the President Ken O'Donnell, and Deputy Director of the U.S. Information Agency Don Wilson. The ExComm was ordered to set aside all other tasks to promptly consider all possible courses of action.

Initially the president and most of his advisers supposedly preferred a clean, surgical air strike on Cuba. On the first day of the crisis, the president mentioned only two alternatives: "I suppose the alternatives are to go in by air and wipe them out, or to take other steps to render them inoperable" (Abel 1966, 49). Through a process of active debate and discussion, a U.S. naval blockade emerged as a way to impede Cuba without an air strike or invasion. After spending the next six days devising strategies to counter the threat posed by the Cuban missile sites, members of ExComm were split into two groups over possible courses of action: a surgical air strike or a naval blockade.

The conservatives and military hardliners (including Gen. Taylor, McCone, and Nitze) pressed for the air strike. They were backed by the Republican members of Congress who were critical of the Kennedy administration for not having taken a hard



This news map prepared during the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 shows the distance from Cuba to various U.S. cities that might be the target for missile attacks.

Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

stance against Cuba prior to the crisis. The members of ExComm in favor of the air strike appealed to President Kennedy by emphasizing his responsibility as the leader of the free world, saying he had the obligation to destroy the missiles, whatever the cost.

At first President Kennedy and a majority of the ExComm members favored an air strike as an option, but soon a coalition of the most influential members in the ExComm (including Attorney General Robert Kennedy, Robert McNamara, Adlai Stevenson, and Ted Sorensen) began to support a naval blockade. They had a number of reasons for preferring a blockade. First, no one was certain that an air strike could be surgical or successful; second, an air strike (the use of force) would not be justified under international law, whereas a blockade would be authorized by international institutions such as the OAS; third, because human lives were at stake, military action would be immoral and damage the image of the United States over the world; fourth, an air strike would excessively provoke the Soviet Union; fifth and most important, an air strike would greatly increase the possibility of the use of nuclear weapons. The arguments for and against an air strike and a naval blockade created tensions that could be

felt within the ExComm and by President Kennedy.

In the meantime, the Soviet Union denied all charges regarding the missile sites. Khrushchev informed the U.S. ambassador in Russia, Foy Kohler, that the Soviet Union had no interests in Cuba and was helping the Cubans only to build a “fishing port.” Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet foreign minister, met with Kennedy on 18 October 1962, to assure him that Soviet military actions in Cuba were purely defensive. Kennedy had decided, at this point, not to tell Gromyko that the United States already knew of the missile sites under construction in Cuba.

Kennedy spent 19 October 1962 preparing two speeches—one on an air strike and the other on a blockade. However, in the end he and ExComm chose to abandon the air strike option because of the moral and legal implications and the awareness that an air strike would surely lead to a nuclear war between the two world powers. Thus, on 20 October 1962, Kennedy decided on a naval blockade and scheduled an address to the U.S. public on 22 October 1962. However, he ordered the U.S. Air Command to be ready to carry out an air strike against Cuban bases any time after the morning of 22 October 1962.

On 22 October 1962, U.S. personnel were evacuated from Cuba’s Guantanamo Naval Base, and U.S. forces in Florida and around the world were put on a DEFCON-3 (defensive condition) alert. At 7 P.M. President Kennedy delivered a seventeen-minute speech on national television, informing the public of the discovery of the nuclear missile sites and announcing a naval blockade (or “quarantine”) to prevent the delivery of offensive weapons to Cuba. Kennedy urged the Soviet Union to dismantle its missile sites immediately and withdraw all missiles from Cuba. Kennedy warned that if the quarantine should fail, further action would be justified. Shortly



Selection from the Cuban Missile Crisis Debate between Adlai Stevenson and V. A. Zorin in the United Nations Security Council, 23 October 1962

Mr. Stevenson (United States of America):

Let me make it absolutely clear what the issue of Cuba is. It is not an issue of revolution. This hemisphere has seen many revolutions, including the one which gave my own nation its independence.

It is not an issue of reform. My nation has lived happily with other countries which have had thorough-going and fundamental social transformations, like Mexico and Bolivia. The whole point of the Alliance for Progress is to bring about an economic and social revolution in the Americas.

It is not an issue of socialism. As Secretary of State Rusk said in February, "our hemisphere has room for a diversity of economic systems."

It is not an issue of dictatorship. The American Republics have lived with dictators before. If this were his only fault, they could live with Mr. Castro.

The foremost objection of the States of the Americas to the Castro regime is not because it is revolutionary, not because it is socialistic, not because it is dictatorial, not even because Mr. Castro perverted a noble revolution in the interests of a squalid totalitarianism. It is because he has aided and abetted an invasion of this hemisphere—an invasion just at the time when the hemisphere is making a new and unprecedented effort for economic progress and social reform.

The crucial fact is that Cuba has given the Soviet Union a bridgehead and staging area in this hemisphere; that it has invited an extra-continental, antidemocratic and expansionist Power into the bosom of the American family; that it has made itself an accomplice in the communist enterprise of world dominion.

The President [Mr. V. A. Zorin] [translated from Russian]:

I should now like to make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. . . .

I must say that even a cursory examination of Mr.

Stevenson's statement reveals the totally untenable nature of the position taken by the United States Government on the question which it has thought necessary to place before the Council, and its complete inability to defend this position in the Council and before world public opinion.

Mr. Stevenson touched on many subjects. . . . He spoke about the history of the Cuban revolution—although it is difficult to understand what the United States has to do with the internal affairs of the sovereign State of Cuba—and he drew an idyllic picture of the history of the Western Hemisphere for the past 150 years, seeming to forget about the policy of the "big stick" followed by the United States President McKinley, the Olney Doctrine, the actions taken by Theodore Roosevelt in connexion with the Panama Canal, the boastful statement made by the American General Butler to the effect that with his marines he could hold elections in any Latin American country.

He made no mention of all this. The United States is even more attempting to apply this policy of the "big stick." But Mr. Stevenson apparently forgot that times have changed. . . .

Yesterday, the United States Government placed the Republic of Cuba under a virtual naval blockade. Insolently flouting the rules of international conduct and the principles of the Charter, the United States has arrogated to itself—and has so stated—the right to attack the ships of other States on the high seas, which is nothing less than undisguised piracy. At the same time, the landing of additional United States troops has begun at the United States Guantanamo base in Cuban territory, and the United States armed forces are being placed in a state of combat readiness.

The present aggressive actions of the United States of America against Cuba represents a logical stage in that aggressive policy, fraught with the most serious international consequences, which the United States began to pursue towards Cuba in the days of the Eisenhower Administration and which has been continued and intensified by the present United States Government, in the era of the "new frontier" that it proclaimed at the outset of its activities.

Source: United Nations. (1962, October 23). Security Council, Official Records, XVIIth year, 1022nd Meeting, pp. 1–39. Retrieved September 11, 2003, from <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1962-cuba-un1.html>

before Kennedy's speech, Cuba had declared a combat alarm and had moved anti-aircraft batteries and artillery along the Havana waterfront.

Kennedy called for other measures, such as con-

vening an OAS meeting and calling an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council to gather support for the United States.

Initially the Soviet Union rejected the U.S.

demand to remove the missiles, saying that the demand violated Cuba's rights to self-determination. In a speech in Cuba, Fidel Castro emphasized Cuba's right to strengthen defenses with any weapon of its choice, without clarifying whether nuclear missiles were present in Cuba. Nonetheless, on 23 October 1962, President Kennedy officially signed Proclamation 3504, declaring the creation of a naval blockade.

SUCCESS OF THE NAVAL BLOCKADE AND THE END OF THE CRISIS

The "quarantine" took effect at 10 A.M. the following day. On 24 October 1962, the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff raised the national alert level to DEFCON-2 for the first time in U.S. history. The next level up would be DEFCON-1, which meant war. On the same day Soviet ships with missiles on board could be seen approaching the U.S.-drawn line, and tensions reached their peak but eventually subsided as the ships stopped in the water at the last moment instead of crossing the line.

Between 26 and 27 October the Soviet Union conveyed its decision, through United Nations Secretary-General U Thant, to order Soviet merchant ships not to violate the U.S. naval blockade. Khrushchev also sent two letters to the White House offering to withdraw missiles from Cuba and pledging that the Soviet Union would not interfere in the internal affairs of Turkey if the United States were to end the naval blockade, pledge not to invade Cuba, and remove U.S. missiles from Turkey. However, on 27 October 1962, a U.S. U-2 spy plane was shot down over Cuba (although who gave orders to shoot down the plane is not clear, Soviet and Cuban officials later identified a Soviet officer as being responsible).

Notwithstanding the U-2 incident, Kennedy sent a letter to Khrushchev proposing that the Soviet Union immediately begin withdrawing its missiles and that the United States would end the naval blockade and pledge not to invade Cuba. This would be the public agreement. Behind the scenes Attorney General Robert Kennedy delivered a private assurance to Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin that the United States would withdraw its missiles from Turkey.

On 28 October 1962, Moscow Radio broadcast Khrushchev's acceptance of Kennedy's proposal. The Soviet Union began dismantling its missile sites and withdrawing missiles without consulting the Cuban government. This ended the thirteen days of crisis.

STRATEGIC VICTORY

The successful containment of the Cuban Missile Crisis can be ascribed to the strategic ingenuity of the naval blockade: It was an effective strategy when both the U.S. and Soviet governments were skating on thin ice. The blockade was advantageous in that it was a middle choice between inaction and aggression and in that it shifted to Khrushchev the burden of making the choice of whether or not force would be used. After the blockade was announced, the Soviet Union had the choice of whether or not to violate the blockade, and if the Soviet Union were to violate the blockade, Khrushchev, not Kennedy, would be recorded as the instigator of armed conflict (and a possible nuclear war). Although this was a heavy challenge to the Soviet Union, the blockade allowed "face saving" in the sense that the Soviet Union was given the choice of making a graceful concession: Removal of the missiles was a voluntary decision on Khrushchev's part and thus less humiliating. The Soviet Union also benefited from the crisis by being assured that the United States would withdraw its missiles from Turkey.

LESSONS FOR LEADERSHIP

Although some scholars criticize Kennedy's handling of the Cuban Missile Crisis because the blockade might have led to a nuclear war, this crisis is often cited as an example of successful leadership in the domain of foreign affairs. The greatest success of Kennedy's leadership in the crisis is that he didn't repeat his mistake of the Bay of Pigs. After he made a mistake in the Bay of Pigs invasion by accepting the advice of a group of experts who were overconfident that the mission would succeed (and failing to put the invasion plans under careful scrutiny), he reshaped his foreign policy decision-making

process. He called on a wide array of advisers to get unfiltered and multifaceted information rather than call on a narrow array of advisers.

Kennedy achieved success by allowing his staff members to freely discuss the options. At the initial stage of the crisis, only two options—inaction or an air strike—appeared to exist. In the process of debating and canvassing all the options, a blockade emerged as another option. Discovering this new option was the key to successful foreign policy in resolving the crisis.

Kennedy also effectively communicated with the American people on the crisis. He did not attempt to cover up the crisis. He genuinely delivered his speech to the public on television. Before and after the crisis, he also skillfully used televised press conferences to express his vision and to excite young people to believe that politics is interesting business and worth pursuing. Largely because of his handling of the Cuban Missile Crisis, Kennedy is still remembered as a charismatic leader by the U.S. public.

—Kisuk Cho

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D



D-DAY

The amphibious assault by the Allies on the beaches of Normandy, France, on 6 June 1944 —D-Day— was the largest military operation of World War II, perhaps the largest in all of modern warfare. Although the cost in money, materiel, and lives was high, the assault was a success, and it spelled the beginning of the end for Germany’s Third Reich.

The assault, code named “Overlord” by the Allies, involved two years of planning and preparation. The basic concept was simple but bold: to defeat Germany in western Europe, where it was strongest, and thus to inflict massive damage on the Nazi war machine and open the way for a thrust into the German heartland. At the same time, a successful invasion would take pressure off the Soviets on the eastern front, allowing the Soviet leader Joseph Stalin to organize an effective counteroffensive against the German invaders there. The Allies had sufficient resources to launch only a single invasion, so Overlord involved the rolling of some large dice. The logistical nightmare aside, invasion planning was complicated by the necessity of integrating a multinational fighting force and command structure, by the problem of overcoming the intricate coastal defenses that the Nazis had constructed everywhere an invasion might be possible, and by the Nazis’ certain knowledge that the Allies were

coming—even if the Nazis did not know exactly when or where.

The success of the Allies and the failure of the Germans at Normandy hinged on a variety of factors. One of the most important of these—on both sides— was leadership.

THE ALLIES

The head of the committee planning Operation Overlord, and also the commander of the invasion itself, was U.S. Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower. Because the United States was providing the largest component of the invasion force (sixty divisions, compared to the twenty provided by Britain and Canada together), U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill had agreed that a U.S. military leader must assume command. Eisenhower, as it turned out, was an inspired choice.

A graduate of West Point, Eisenhower had been unable to secure a combat command during World War I and spent the war training armored units in the United States. During the 1930s he served on the staff of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, and as war loomed in the early 1940s he was assigned to Gen. George C. Marshall, Army chief of staff. As early as March 1942 he wrote a memorandum for Marshall that urged that the primary Allied target be Germany and suggested that the surest road to victory lay through western Europe.



Eisenhower's Order of the Day to the Soldiers, Sailors, and Airmen of the Allied Expeditionary Force

Soldiers, Sailors and Airmen of the Allied Expeditionary Force!

You are about to embark upon the Great Crusade, toward which we have striven these many months. The eyes of the world are upon you. The hopes and prayers of liberty-loving people everywhere march with you. In company with our brave Allies and brothers-in-arms on other Fronts, you will bring about the destruction of the German war machine, the elimination of Nazi tyranny over the oppressed peoples of Europe, and security for ourselves in a free world.

Your task will not be an easy one. Your enemy is well trained, well equipped and battle-hardened. He will fight savagely.

But this is the year 1944! Much has happened since the Nazi triumphs of 1940–41. The United Nations have inflicted upon the Germans great defeats, in open battle, man-to-man. Our air offensive has seriously reduced their strength in the air and their capacity to wage war on the ground. Our Home Fronts have given us an overwhelming superiority in weapons and munitions of war, and placed at our disposal great reserves of trained fighting men. The tide has turned! The free men of the world are marching together to Victory!

I have full confidence in your courage, devotion to duty and skill in battle. We will accept nothing less than full Victory!

Good luck! And let us all beseech the blessing of Almighty God upon this great and noble undertaking.

(Signed)

Dwight David Eisenhower

Source: "General Dwight D. Eisenhower's Order of the Day (1944)." National Archives and Records Administration. Retrieved September 11, 2003, from <http://www.ourdocuments.gov>

Eisenhower commanded "Operation Torch," the British and U.S. assault on North Africa in November 1942. The initial assault was a success, but as Eisenhower's forces moved inland they came up against the German Afrika Corps led by the formidable Gen. Erwin Rommel. In February 1943, Rommel's forces attacked at the Kasserine Pass and inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Allied forces. However, the test of a true leader is not that he makes no mistakes, but rather that he learns from those he does make. Eisenhower was a true leader.

Although military culture fosters authoritarian leadership, Eisenhower understood that planning and carrying out Operation Overlord would require more than simply issuing orders. A task so immense would require cooperation, consensus, and the delegation of a certain amount of responsibility. From the start, Eisenhower's watchword for Overlord was *teamwork*. He was determined that the U.S. and British soldiers work together, despite all the cultural differences and potential rivalries involved. Indeed, Eisenhower's skills as a diplomat were equally as important as his military ability in President Roosevelt's decision to give Eisenhower command of the operation.

Eisenhower had set a system of unified British and U.S. command during Operation Torch, and he employed a similar system (although on a much larger scale) in organizing for Overlord. U.S. and British officers were integrated into a single staff and encouraged to work as a team. He is known to have said, "I don't care if somebody gets called a son of a bitch. That's natural. But I'm damned if he'll be called an *American* son of a bitch, or a *British* son of a bitch" (Ambrose 1994, 62). When some U.S. officers complained about their British superiors (such as the notoriously difficult British Gen. Bernard Montgomery), Eisenhower told them to grin and bear it and to do their jobs.

Eisenhower was a brilliant administrator. He could be patient when required (which was often), but he would allow himself to lose his famous temper if he thought someone needed shaking up. He emphasized the need for consensus among the planners, but he recognized that the ultimate responsibility was his alone. He could be stubborn when he felt the operation was being endangered. When the Royal Air Force balked at being under his command, Eisenhower told Churchill that either the command would be unified or it would have to look for a new commander. Churchill gave in and issued the necessary orders.

By and large, historians agree that Eisenhower's leadership leading up to the D-Day invasion was masterful and that the decisions he made were the right ones: to select Normandy, rather than Pas de Calais, as the invasion site; to put U.S. Gen. Omar

Bradley rather than U.S. Gen. George Patton in charge of the First Army; to insist on bombing the French railway system in the weeks prior to the landing; to postpone the invasion, scheduled for 5 June, because of bad weather; and to decide the next day, as he told his staff, “Okay, we’ll go.” Yet, Eisenhower was not absolutely sure that the invasion would succeed. Prior to D-Day he prepared two brief statements for the press. One, announcing that the invasion had succeeded, was later released; the other, which remained in Eisenhower’s pocket, announced that the invasion had failed, that the surviving troops were being withdrawn, and that the decision to send them had been his and his alone.

One of the greatest challenges to Eisenhower’s concept of teamwork was posed by Gen. Montgomery, who was commander of the land forces deployed on D-Day. As head of the British Eighth Army in North Africa, Montgomery had defeated Rommel’s Afrika Corps at El Alamein and had driven the Nazis out of the theater of operations. His later campaigns in Sicily and Italy were less successful, but Montgomery’s reputation for brilliance remained untarnished. He was a master of the set-piece battle, where he could marshal his forces and plan their disposition with precision. He was less effective in adapting to changing situations and missed more than one opportunity for victory as a result.

Montgomery was a professional soldier who was utterly dedicated to his job and largely indifferent to all other aspects of life. He cultivated a rather folksy image with his berets and baggy sweaters, and this made him popular with the common soldiers. However, Montgomery’s peers and immediate subordinates know him to be cold, brusque, and egotistical to the point of insufferability.

Eisenhower both admired Montgomery’s tactical acumen and resented his imperious manner. Montgomery found fault with every battle plan but his own. He criticized Eisenhower’s suggestions constantly and not always politely. However, Montgomery did make valuable contributions to the planning for Overlord, and his leadership of his troops during the invasion cannot be faulted—even though he did make his share of errors during the subsequent fighting in France and Germany.

THE NAZIS

The Nazi defense of the French coastline against invasion was commanded by Gen. Rommel, with whom both Eisenhower and Montgomery had contended in the past. Rommel had been a highly decorated infantry lieutenant in World War I. Although never a Nazi Party member himself, Rommel was willing to serve the German Nazi leader Adolf Hitler after the former Austrian corporal came into power. Before World War II began Rommel commanded Hitler’s personal bodyguard detachment. Later he rode a tank and held a general’s rank while the blitzkrieg (lightning war) raged across France. From there he went to command the Afrika Corps, having early successes but eventual defeat. In January 1944 he was given the job of preparing the western coast of France against the inevitable Allied invasion.

Rommel inspected the defenses and found them woefully inadequate. He immediately ordered the installation of a network of land and sea mines, steel obstacles designed to stop landing craft, and concrete pillboxes with overlapping fields of fire. He also had to make decisions concerning the disposition of troops at his command.

Rommel believed that the Allies had to be stopped at the water’s edge, if they were to be stopped at all. He wanted to have all his reserve troops stationed close to the coast so that they could be deployed to shore up the defense wherever the Allies attacked. However, on this issue he came into conflict with his immediate superior, Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt.

Von Rundstedt was a legend in the German army, the Wehrmacht. Almost seventy years old in 1944, he had retired twice but each time had been called back to active service by Hitler himself. As commander-in-chief of the western front, von Rundstedt was ultimately responsible for the defense against the forthcoming Allied invasion. Although von Rundstedt liked and respected Rommel, von Rundstedt believed that any coastal defense, no matter how well prepared, would only slow the Allies, not stop them. He wanted to hold most of the German reserves well back from the coast, out of range of the Allied naval guns that would be sending in devastating fire from the sea in

support of the invasion. Then when the Allies headed inland, von Rundstedt planned to launch a massive counterattack that would crush the invaders. Unlike Rommel, von Rundstedt believed that the invasion force would almost surely land at Pas de Calais, the usable site that was closest to the British coast.

The two men took their professional disagreement to Hitler himself—neither wanted the whole responsibility resting on his shoulders alone. As Hitler typically did with his military decisions, Hitler tried to have it both ways.

The Fuhrer (leader) had already made Rommel's job more difficult by mixing the lines of command and authority for those units involved in the defense of the French coast. Although Rommel was nominally in charge of the entire defensive apparatus, Hitler denied him command of the German naval and air forces in the area. Nor did Rommel have the authority to direct the SS (Schutzstaffel, elite guard) Panzer divisions in southern France—they remained under control of Hitler himself. So when presented by his commanders with alternate scenarios of invasion, Hitler decided to cover both possibilities. The result satisfied neither of his commanders. Von Rundstedt was given a reserve to keep inland, but it was half the size that he had requested. Rommel was granted additional troops for the coast, but he considered their numbers and equipment inadequate to the task. Hitler further handicapped his generals on the day of the invasion itself. When the Germans saw that the Allies were landing at Normandy, von Rundstedt urgently requested that Hitler deploy the SS Panzer divisions to that area to support the planned counterattack (Rommel, having been informed that the bad weather meant no invasion was possible, had returned to Germany to celebrate his wife's birthday). However, when von Rundstedt radioed Hitler's headquarters, von Rundstedt was informed that Hitler had taken a sleeping pill and gone to bed, with strict orders that he not be disturbed. By the time Hitler finally released the Panzers, it was too late to make a difference.

Many factors contributed to the Allies' victory and the Germans' defeat on D-Day. The difference in leadership was surely one of them.

—*J. Justin Gustainis*

See also Eisenhower, Dwight David

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DECISION MAKING

Decision making is what most managers do much of their time. Many of the decisions are minor, but some are consequential, such as launching a project or hiring a staff. A few decisions are momentous: blowing a whistle or redirecting a career—or even launching an enterprise or saving a firm.

Made well, decisions are a foundation for managerial advancement. Made poorly, decisions can scuttle an otherwise promising career. However, regardless of personal calculus, effective decisions are also the most tangible foundation of effective leadership. Those people who carry responsibilities for the fate of others—whether a team, an agency, or a company—are constantly confronted with vexing issues that they must resolve, and resolve well, if the organization is to achieve its aims.

Although good decisions are among the most important features of good leadership, they are also among the least visible. Most decisions are made behind closed doors, yet they often define an individual's leadership better than public appearances. U.S. President John F. Kennedy inspired a nation with his inaugural rhetoric, "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country." However, his decisions inside the Oval Office during the thirteen-day Cuban Missile Crisis more profoundly characterized his presidency.

Effective decision making is an essential although often less visible foundation of leadership. How decisions are framed, informed, and executed thus has much to do with the quality of leadership that results. The self-confidence and foresight that a leader brings to the decisions can be essential as well.

FRAMING FOR TRANSCENDENCE

Most personal decisions are framed around private utility: What are the individual gains and losses associated with one outcome or another? Most managerial decisions are similarly framed around a division's purpose: What are the benefits and costs for a team or division if one product is launched rather than another?

Predisposition, anxiety, and naiveté cloud the calculus, and pure utility is rarely maximized in practice, as has been confirmed by a host of academic assessments ranging from Max Bazerman's *Judgment in Managerial Decision Making* and J. Edward Russo and Paul J. H. Schoemaker's *Winning Decisions: Getting It Right the First Time* to Gary Klein's *Intuition at Work* and Kenneth R. Hammond's *Judgments under Stress*. Still, personal and divisional calculations provide a theoretical benchmark for framing decisions.

Leadership decisions, however, necessitate a distinct framing because they are made for the unique purpose of advancing the entire enterprise, regardless of personal concerns or divisional interests. They depend upon a capacity to transcend private agendas and parochial objectives. That capacity must be exercised even though—and especially when—self-interest conflicts with what the enterprise requires.

One pragmatic method for transcending private and parochial bias in leadership decisions at any level of an organization is to draw upon the same criteria in the decision making that ought to be drawn upon by the person at the ultimate level. The criteria must be adapted and made specific to the manager's specific tasks. However, if the midlevel manager thinks as if he or she were the country president or chief executive, the midlevel manager will have a well-defined set of criteria for reaching a leadership decision at his or her lesser post.

By way of illustration, consider the decisions of Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, a Union officer who accepted the ceremonial surrender of the Confederate army of Gen. Robert E. Lee at Appomattox on 12 April 1865. As the U.S. Civil War was coming to an end, Union President Abraham Lincoln had made reconciliation a national priority, and the reintegration of Confederate soldiers was of enormous concern.

Although only a midgrade officer, Chamberlain guided his own decisions by much the same concerns as his president's, even though there had been no direct communication. "Before us in proud humiliation," Chamberlain said of the surrendering soldiers, were those "whom neither toils and sufferings, nor the fact of death, nor disaster, nor hopelessness could bend from their resolve" (Chamberlain 1994, 260). As the bugle sounded, Chamberlain issued an order for his federal troops to strike a respectful pose as the Confederate regiments filed onto the field, a posture that would normally be accorded only a Union general. In doing so, Chamberlain had acted with no order from above, appreciating through his own anticipation what the president would want under the circumstance: "Was not such manhood to be welcomed back into a Union so tested and assured?" (Chamberlain 1994, 260). Chamberlain's grand gesture was instantly recognized by the surrendering troops, and it helped initiate the reintegration that Lincoln sought to achieve.

At times, however, country presidents and chief executives themselves are not thinking as leaders should, instead more concerned with provincial gain than collective agenda. When leadership thinking falls short at the top, the midlevel decision framing can be built upon the criteria that the top should have been using—and against which the leadership shortcomings had become evident.

Consider the moment faced by Enron Corporation vice president Sherron Watkins when she met with CEO Kenneth Lay on 22 August 2001. She warned that his company would "implode in a wave of accounting scandals" ("Enron's Ken Lay" 2002) from the partnerships that the chief financial officer, Andrew Fastow, was using to hide debt and enrich himself. Lay proved unable to challenge the ruinous

practice or to make the other leadership decisions that he should have made to save the company. However, regardless of the CEO's decisions, Watkins had valiantly acted to avert the impending disaster by thinking as if she were responsible for the company's fate even though the chief executive officer was evidently not rising to the challenge.

Leadership decisions, whether made on the front line or in the executive office, are thus distinctively defined by whether they transcend personal and parochial concerns. The criteria for choosing one course over another are those that a country president or chief executive would or should have used. As Jim Collins confirmed from his study of a dozen companies that rose from "good to great," the most successful business leaders are those who make authoritative decisions and always put enterprise interests ahead of their own.

INFORMATION FOR ACTION

The right criteria for decision making open the leader's door; the right information lets the leader walk through it. With timely data, a leader is well positioned to make a decision, but without the essential information, even the best decision criteria are of little value.

The disaster of the U.S. space shuttle *Challenger* on 28 January 1986 illustrates the point about as well as any leadership failure can. The night before *Challenger's* scheduled launch, temperatures in central Florida plummeted to record lows. NASA flight directors called the top managers of Utah-based manufacturer Morton Thiokol to ask if its solid-fuel booster rockets for the space shuttle would function reliably under the freezing conditions. Faced with the need for a fast decision—launch time was just hours away—the Thiokol managers recommended a "go." At 11:38 the next morning, when the space shuttle lifted off with seven astronauts on board, the ground temperature registered just 15 degrees colder than on any prior takeoff. Seventy-three seconds later, an O-ring made brittle by the cold cracked in the booster rocket, causing the main rocket to explode.

Later analysis would reveal that ample data had

existed in the Thiokol files that evening to tell Thiokol senior managers that the O-rings were almost certain to fail in the cold conditions sure to prevail the next morning. However, the managers had not asked for the data because they had not known they were available—the information was buried in a flawed filing system. They had made a timely decision, but in the absence of good information, they had made a flawed one—the most fateful of their careers.

In business markets, quality information in the hands of decision makers can be key as well. In her comparison of fast-moving and slow-moving computer firms in Silicon Valley, Kathleen Eisenhardt found vast disparities in the capacity to reach timely decisions. Although in the same industry, fast firms required half the time to reach decisions on product innovations and joint ventures compared with their slower rivals: two to four months for the fast movers versus six to eighteen months for the slow movers.

A key difference, Eisenhardt found, lay in the use of real-time data. Managers at the fast movers put a premium on having rich and reliable data on their products and customers, far more so than did the slow movers. The fast movers possessed fine-honed measures of their internal operations, and their managers met often to mine the data for fresh insight. They had better intelligence with which to appraise their own performance and to appreciate where the market was moving. The slow movers, by contrast, tended to engage in tedious planning and forecasting exercises that sometimes required months for completion.

As a case in point, the Internet equipment manufacturer Cisco Systems built a system during the late 1990s for compiling and retrieving detailed data on every major aspect of its business operations. In 1995 Cisco required two weeks to consolidate its year-end results, but by the end of the decade it was closing its financial books in a single day.

With 36,000 employees and sales of \$19 billion in 2002, Cisco managers have access to hourly information on revenue, discounts, and margins for all products. They can evaluate backlog order or selling expenses for any operating unit or account manager. The result, observed chief financial officer Larry

Carter, who drove the building of the real-time financial management system, is that “you empower all of your management team to improve decision making” (Mehta 2001, 104). Chief executive John Chambers explained why Cisco decisions improved: “First-line managers can look at margins and products and know exactly what the effect of their decisions will be” (Mehta 2001, 104) The real-time data at their fingertips, for instance, permitted Cisco managers to anticipate an increase in the Japanese economy in time to put people and resources in place to respond to rising demand for Cisco products.

Cisco’s information system did not prevent the company from being blind-sided by an abrupt downturn in demand for its equipment in 2001. Although not a fail-safe management device, the system nonetheless gives company leaders at all levels the wherewithal to make decisions that are as informed as possible.

EXECUTION WITH SPEED

The right information makes for informed decisions; decisiveness makes for timely actions. With good information, a manager is well positioned to make a decision, but with-

out a personal determination to execute the decision, it may come too late. “Shooting from the hip” is an oft-observed leadership mistake because relevant information is ignored, but “analysis paralysis” is equally an error when timely execution is required.

For risky and consequential actions—what leaders are inherently focused upon—preventing paralysis requires that leaders constantly strive to reach their “go” point as soon as possible. After twenty years at the helm of General Electric Co., Jack Welch rarely regretted doing so: “I could scarcely remem-



Decision Making: Too Much Talk May Backfire

ITHACA, N.Y. (ANS)—When small groups of workers meet to make decisions, all of them want the chance to share their opinions, and that’s no bad thing, says Randall Peterson, assistant professor of organizational behavior at Cornell University’s Johnson Graduate School of Management.

But letting group members have unlimited “air time” can backfire, according to Peterson’s new study, “Can You Have Too Much of a Good Thing? The Limits of Voice for Improving Satisfaction with Leaders,” published in the March 1999 issue of the *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*.

The study outlines ways that all groups, from business meetings to family dinner-table conferences, can function more efficiently. Peterson’s research aimed to identify some situations in which small group “free speech” is best reined in by leaders.

“It is always useful to get everyone’s point of view on the table,” Peterson said. But while consensus decision making results in greater satisfaction and acceptance among group members, it doesn’t work when members have fundamental differences. “At some point the leader needs to decide whether to push the group to a consensus or not,” he said. “When people fundamentally disagree, more and more talking doesn’t get you anywhere.”

Therein lies the art of leadership, Peterson said. When trying to decide if a consensus is possible when there is strong disagreement in a group, Peterson suggests looking at some nonverbal cues, such as arm crossing, ignoring the person in disagreement or actually turning away.

This is the point when the leader needs to step in and put an end to the “air time,” he said. This is important because if the group leader does not intervene, he or she will bear the brunt of the group’s displeasure. “People expect the leader to cut that person off and move on,” he said. At this point, consensus may not be possible, and the majority may have to rule.

While it is the responsibility of the group leader to cut the person off who is dominating the discussion, the leader must do this in a tactful way. “People are looking for an acknowledgement that they have a valid point of view,” he said. “The leader must acknowledge the reasonableness of his or her position and then move on.”

Source: The American News Service, June 24, 1999.

ber a time when I said, ‘I wish I’d taken six more months to study something before making a decision’” (Welch 2001). Going too slowly for Welch was almost always worse than going too quickly: “When I asked myself, ‘How many times should I have held off on a decision? versus How many times do I wish I’d made that move faster?’ I inevitably found that the latter won almost every time.” Former IBM chief executive Louis Gerstner offered the same prescription: “Whatever hard or painful things you have to do, do them quickly” (Gerstner 2002, 68). U.S.

President George W. Bush exhibited an analogous capacity for getting to his go point. The “president has got to be the calcium in the backbone” for action, Bush said, and during the war in Afghanistan, he seldom hesitated to decide or doubted a decision afterward.

The U.S. Marine Corps specializes in risky and rapid assaults, and as a result it has long worked to build and reinforce a tempo that fosters fast decision making. It warns its officers that bureaucratic and autocratic leadership styles get in the way of swift action, and it trains its officers to do the following (Freedman 2000):

1. seek a “70 percent” solution rather than one with 100 percent certainty or consensus,
2. distribute decision-making authority among subordinates,
3. explain unambiguous objectives and then let subordinates work out the details,
4. prepare everybody, including the frontline, to lead,
5. tolerate mistakes and even encourage them if learning from errors will result in better decisions next time,
6. view indecisiveness as a fatal flaw, one that is even worse than making a mediocre decision because a suboptimal action, especially if swiftly executed, stands a chance of success, whereas no action stands no chance, and
7. instill pride and confidence in the mission and organization through personal discipline, shared culture, and common values.

The product of Marine Corps training programs is officers who are capable of taking swift leadership actions when the battlefield requires it. Company environments are less forgiving and the stakes less consequential, but these same principles can be found in many organizations whose leaders are known for execution with speed.

SELF-CONFIDENCE WITHOUT OVERCONFIDENCE

Transcendence, information, and velocity are all essential for decision making, but their effective application also depends on the leader’s personal

self-confidence. Much decision making is distressing, even painful, and without self-assurance about oneself and the need to delve into the decision, equivocation or avoidance is the paralyzing result.

Still, preparing to pull the trigger on hard decisions poses a psychological dilemma. Without confidence, self-questioning can delay a necessary action. Overconfidence, though, can result in underanalysis and an equally faulty result. The physicist Albert Einstein had the right idea when he talked about the challenge of physics: “Things should be made as simple as possible, but not any simpler.” Secure, yes; foolhardy, no.

Jack Welch of General Electric illustrated one end of that spectrum: He has said that he never regretted any decisions he made. He confessed that some of his decisions were wrong, even disastrous, but he did not doubt the need to make them in a timely fashion nor his own obligation to do so.

Whereas self-assurance breeds momentum, excess confidence can breed excessive risk. That is what transpired at the investment bank Salomon, where a can-do culture among the leadership team nearly brought the bank to ruin. Salomon bond trader Paul Mozer had made an illegal \$3.2 billion bid for U.S. treasury securities on 21 February 1991. Mozer confessed his act to his boss, John Meriwether, more than two months later, and Meriwether immediately took it up to top management on 28 April. Chief executive John Gutfreund, however, failed to report the act to government authorities for more than three months.

Salomon’s culture had stressed taking financial risks to the limit, placing big bets as near the edge as possible, and its aggressive attitude had helped it become one of Wall Street’s biggest and most successful players of the era. Yet, that same mind-set also encouraged Paul Mozer to cross the line and senior managers to look the other way. John Meriwether and chief executive Gutfreund were so discredited by the delay in reporting the malfeasance that they were forced out within days of its public disclosure.

The Salomon board called upon one of its own members—investor Warren Buffett—to resurrect the company and its shattered credibility. With personal humility and executive resolve, Buffett forced out the

entire management team and completely revamped the company culture. Just three days after taking office, for instance, Buffett told all Salomon officers, “You are each expected to report, instantaneously and directly to me, any legal violation or moral failure on behalf of any employee” (quoted in “Enron’s Ken Lay” 2002). He provided his home telephone number and added that parking tickets were among the few exceptions to his new disclosure requirements.

Although Salomon paid dearly for the hubris of its prior management—customers fled, shares dropped, fines topped \$290 million—the company survived and prospered under a new team who emphasized calculated bets instead of reckless risk taking. A company that had nearly gone bankrupt in 1991 when overconfidence prevailed was sold to Citibank in 1997 for \$9 billion after self-confidence was restored.

CLEAR-MINDEDNESS AND FOREHANDEDNESS

Thinking like the president of a country or a CEO, acquiring the right information, executing with speed, and acting with self-confidence but not overconfidence provide a platform from which leaders can make the decisions that will define their leadership.

When the pressure intensifies, even the most self-effacing, informed, fast-acting, and self-assured leaders can experience acute anxiety or even panic attacks, both of which interfere with effective decisions making. Leaders with responsibilities for others have thus developed a host of remarkably simple but effective devices to assure undistracted focus on solving thorny problems under the most trying of circumstances. Medical surgeons take their own pulse, jet pilots look at the clock, mountain climbers study the rope, and firefighters put a steadying hand on panicked fellow firefighters. These acts are small, but all serve to restore and preserve clear-mindedness.

A leader’s decision making also depends on a capacity to see far ahead for the division, company, or country. What should go right, what can go wrong, and what are the decisions that need to be made now to build for the best and avoid the worst? A commander on a ship’s bridge is thus always obligated to think strategically, to anticipate the most

likely contingencies. “The single most important attribute for boating,” warns one set of naval guidelines, is “forehandedness,” that “quality of insight coupled with experience that enables you to predict what will happen” so that you can “see what you want to do, and see the ways things are going, and accomplish your task while visualizing and avoiding danger” (U.S. Navy 2001). Effective decision making is only one component of leadership. Other critical components include persuasive communication and personal integrity. However, without good and timely decisions premised on clear-mindedness and forehandedness, a manager’s ability to marshal others will not long survive.

—Michael Useem

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DECISION MAKING: THE VROOM–YETTON–JAGO MODELS

Leadership and decision making are typically treated as different processes in management textbooks. Leadership is linked with topics such as teams, influence, and motivation—issues of great relevance to social and organizational psychology. Decision making is linked with topics such as risk, uncertainty, information processing, and heuristics (learning)—issues integral to management science and cognitive psychology.

Leadership and decision making merge when one begins to focus on a particular aspect of leadership style: participation in decision making. Participation refers to the opportunity that a leader affords team members to influence decision. Autocratic leadership provides no opportunity for such influence. Democratic or participative leadership provide high levels of team influence. Empirical work on autocratic and participative leadership styles has an interesting beginning. After escaping from Nazi Germany just prior to World War II, the German psychologist Kurt Lewin sought to study the effects of autocratic and democratic leadership styles in the laboratory. Largely due to Lewin's influence, participation in decision making became an important explanatory variable not just among Lewin's many

disciples but also among social scientists interested in the management of large-scale organizations (e.g., Maier, Likert, Hersey, and Blanchard; Tannenbaum and Schmidt).

Most of these management theorists were strong advocates of participative decision making, based largely on its superior motivational properties. However, reviews of the evidence concerning its effects on performance were mixed, casting doubt on the generality of these effects. In 1969, writing in a chapter for the *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Victor Vroom, then professor at Carnegie-Mellon University, concluded that “The critics and proponents of participative management would do well to direct their efforts toward identifying the properties of situations in which different decision-making approaches are effective rather than toward wholesale condemnation or deification of one approach” (Vroom 1969, 40).

1973: THE VROOM–YETTON MODEL

A few years later Vroom picked up his own challenge and, working with a graduate student, Philip Yetton, formulated a normative model of leadership style that sought to specify what degrees of participation were likely to be effective in different conditions. They distinguished five degrees of participation, which they referred to as “AI” (the leader solves the problem or makes the decision using information available at the present time); “AII” (the leader obtains any necessary information from subordinates and then decides on a course of action); “CI” (the leader shares the problem with relevant subordinates individually, getting their ideas, and then makes a decision); “CII” (the leader shares the problem with subordinates in a group meeting, getting their ideas and suggestions, and then makes the decision); and “GII” (the leader chairs a group meeting with subordinates aimed at reaching consensus on a solution). “A” stands for “autocratic,” “C” stands for “consultative,” and “G” stands for “group.”

The situational factors in the Vroom-Yetton model were aspects of a specific problem or decision faced by a leader. There were eight situational factors, including whether the information needed to

solve the problem was possessed by the leader, subordinates, both, or neither, and whether subordinates were to play a key role in the implementation of the decision. These factors were evaluated by the leader as either present or absent in a specific problem, and those decision-making processes deemed a threat to decision effectiveness were eliminated by applying seven rules. For example, the goal congruence rule eliminated GII from the “feasible set” of appropriate behaviors when the subordinates did not share the organizational goals as represented in the problem. Similarly, the leader information rule eliminated AI when the leader lacked needed information.

The Vroom-Yetton model received a great deal of attention and inspired many studies aimed at determining its validity as well as its usefulness in the training of leaders. The validity data have been summarized by Vroom and Jago, professor of management at the University of Missouri. The data show that the incidence of successful decisions was about twice as high when the decision process was consistent with the model as when it was inconsistent. However, the model has been aptly criticized for its frequent failure to make any recommendations about what to do. In a vast majority of decision-making cases, the application of the seven rules did not yield a singular solution. In many cases all five decision processes remained viable, and in others, four, three, or two alternatives remained in the feasible set. How useful would *Consumer Reports* be if it rated all or nearly all alternatives equally? This structural difficulty was conveniently resolved by treating the most autocratic alternative as the model’s choice because it, typically, consumed the least amount of time. Thus, decision trees, an analytic device borrowed from the decision sciences, containing the Vroom-Yetton “time-driven model,” became ubiquitous in management textbooks.

1988: THE VROOM-JAGO MODEL

In the ensuing fifteen years much research was carried out investigating the Vroom-Yetton model, and extensive experience with training managers in its use led to a major revision. The Vroom-Jago model, published in 1988, retained the taxonomy (system of

classification) of decision processes of its predecessor. However, it discarded the system of rules, each containing a prohibitory (thou shalt not . . .) quality, for a new system that sought to maximize a set of three decision-making outcomes (decision quality, commitment to the decision by subordinates, and development of subordinates) while minimizing the time costs incurred in decision making. This fundamental change from the avoidance (prohibitory) orientation of the Vroom-Yetton model to a positive orientation that guided managers to maximize the effectiveness of their decisions and the efficiency of their processes in making them. This distinction has seldom been recognized in management textbooks but was necessary to enable Vroom and Jago to incorporate new factors into their model.

The Vroom-Jago model is different from the Vroom-Yetton model in three ways. (1) The number of situational factors was raised from eight to twelve to accommodate concerns raised by users or researchers. (2) Most factors were allowed to vary not just dichotomously, as in the Vroom-Yetton model, but rather over five levels. (3) The rules were eliminated and were replaced by mathematical functions relating joint effects of participation and specific situational attributes on each of the four decision outcomes: quality of decision, commitment to decision, time, and development.

The full complexity of the Vroom-Jago model cannot be represented by a decision tree, as was the case with the Vroom-Yetton model. To be sure, decision trees have been drawn, but they reduce the multiple level attributes to dichotomies and ignore certain attributes by holding them constant at a specified level.

The true power of the Vroom-Jago model required computer software. In 1988 Jago wrote a computer program that was amazing for its time. A user with a decision problem to solve was asked twelve questions about the problem and its context. The analysis was then entered, and a bar graph appeared showing the relative expected effectiveness of each of the five processes. If desired, separate evaluations of the consequences of participation on each of the four outcomes (quality, commitment, time, and development) could be obtained permitting investigation of tradeoffs.

Table 1. Taxonomy of Decision Processes (Vroom 2000)

<i>0</i> <i>Decide</i>	<i>3</i> <i>Consult (Individually)</i>	<i>5</i> <i>Consult (Group)</i>	<i>7</i> <i>Facilitate</i>	<i>10</i> <i>Delegate</i>
Make the decision alone and either announce or “sell” it to the group. One may use expertise in collecting information from the group or others that one deems relevant to the problem.	Present the problem to group members individually, get their suggestions, and then make the decision.	Present the problem to group members in a meeting, get their suggestions, and then make the decision.	Present the problem to the group in a meeting. Act as facilitator, defining the problem to be solved and the boundaries within which the decision must be made. The objective is to get concurrence on a decision. Above all, take care to ensure that one’s ideas are not given any greater weight than those of others simply because of one’s position.	Permit the group to make the decision within prescribed limits. The group undertakes the identification and diagnosis of the problem, developing alternative procedures for solving it and deciding on one or more alternative solutions. Although one plays no direct role in the group’s deliberations unless explicitly asked, one’s role is an important one behind the scenes, providing needed resources and encouragement.

Source: Vroom (2000).

THE PRESENT MODEL

Computer technology has increased by leaps and bounds since 1988, and research continues although at a somewhat reduced pace from the period following 1973. No account of the Vroom-Yetton-Jago models would be complete without a description of the latest version. The taxonomy of participation has been modified. (See Table 1.)

The changes are not merely semantic. AI and AII have been subsumed under “Decide”; CI and CII are now referred to as “Consult (Individually)” and “Consult (Group)”; and GII has been separated into “Facilitate” (which requires the leader’s active participation in the process) and “Delegate” (in which the group is self-managing).

The situational factors resulting from the use of the five leadership styles are substantially the same, as are the equations relating participation to quality, implementation, time, and development. A simpli-

fied version of the model can be represented on a single sheet of paper, but it now takes the form of a related analytical tool that we term a decision matrix rather than the earlier decision tree.

Perhaps the greatest difference can be found in the computer software. It is now a CD and includes a complete bibliography, detailed explanation of the theory and the equations, definitions and examples of each of the situational factors, and other segments for learning the model and using it intelligently. The most critical component is an “expert system” to permit managers to analyze a specific decision problem and estimate the consequences of their actions for particular decisions that they face.

SCIENTIFIC IMPLICATIONS

People have said that a theory should be evaluated not only in terms of its validity but also in terms of

the questions it raises and the quality of research it stimulates. Jago has recently compiled a list of almost 150 studies in scientific journals and over forty doctoral dissertations dealing directly with the Vroom-Yetton-Jago models. The models have also stimulated the development of a novel measure of leadership style that has proven useful in both research and leadership development. The concept of a problem set—a set of real or realistic cases, each depicting a manager faced with a decision to make that would impact his or her team—was introduced in the Vroom-Yetton model and continues to be refined. The cases are not selected on a random basis but rather on the basis of a powerful multifactorial experimental design in which each of the relevant situational factors is varied independently of one another across the cases. This property makes it possible to systematically determine how people change their behavior as elements of the situation are changed. This measurement tool has made it possible to draw some conclusions about leadership differences among managers based on culture, gender, functional specialty, and hierarchical position. It has also been used to determine the effectiveness of training in the Vroom-Yetton-Jago models.

This type of instrument, which measures differences within persons as well as across persons, has also shown that it is more appropriate to talk about autocratic and participative situations rather than autocratic and participative managers. Certainly people are different. However, by a ratio of about 3 to 1, people display greater similarity than differences in behavior. Certain situations evoke an autocratic response among most people, whereas other situations evoke a more participative response from the same people.

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

Apart from the impact that the Vroom-Yetton-Jago models and derivative tools have had on the science of leadership, it is safe to say that they have had an even greater impact on the practice of leadership. Over 100,000 managers around the world have been trained in the models in programs ranging from one to five days in length. Typically such training has

included feedback or responses to problem sets showing how managers compare to peers and to the model as well as the analysis of the situational factors that are seemingly most important in governing the managers' behavior and, conversely, those factors that the managers seem to ignore.

Research associated with the Vroom-Yetton-Jago models provides a classic example of the futility of attempting to classify such research as either basic or applied. The evidence of the last three decades shows substantial impact of this line of inquiry upon worlds of both science and practice.

—Victor H. Vroom

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DEEP CHANGE

Deep change refers to the process of transformation or radical alteration that occasionally occurs in people, groups, and organizations. One element of the process concerns leadership. From the study of people in the process of making deep change comes a concept called the fundamental state of leadership (Quinn 2004). It refers to a psychological state or condition that an individual might enter in order to become the catalyst of transformation in a group or organization. It suggests that to make deep change in

an organization, we begin by making deep change in ourselves. The concept of the fundamental state of leadership redefines much conventional leadership thought and also serves as an applied tool for those who seek to stimulate organizational transformation.

DEEP CHANGE OR SLOW DEATH

Energy is the capacity for doing work and overcoming resistance. From the second law of thermodynamics we learn that all systems tend toward increasing entropy. Increasing entropy means that energy in the system is being dispersed and therefore that the system is becoming more disordered. Less energy is available to do the work of the system. In a parallel fashion both the social structure of organizations and the psychological structure of individuals tend toward increasing entropy. Unless work is done to the contrary, natural processes will move the organizational culture or the individual ego toward stagnation and decay. The pull toward entropy gives rise to a pattern known as the “deep change” or “slow death” dilemma (Quinn 1996).

The slow death of an individual ego or a collective culture is natural. It results from a number of tendencies. The first tendency is our unconscious conservatism; we adjust our behaviors and aspirations to preserve the status quo. Behaviors become habits, and we act unreflectively, choosing familiar methods without thinking about why we choose them (Bargh and Chartrand 1999). Moreover, we normally adjust our goals to match past performance; we judge our current state by comparing it to what we have accomplished in the past (Cyert and March 1963). The result is that most behavior is conservative and recapitulates the past. The second tendency relevant to the slow death is the desire for control; we need to feel that we understand and shape our lives (Depret and Fiske 1993). Our self-concepts hinge upon our sense of control. We are uncomfortable in situations that we do not understand or that we cannot influence. The third tendency is for the environment to change. Regardless of our personal desire for predictability and control, the external environment is constantly changing, demanding new responses from us.

Together, these three tendencies combine to create the deep change or slow death dilemma. We rely on old behaviors, even though the environment is constantly changing. As a result, we fall out of alignment and receive signals suggesting the need to change. Nevertheless, we need to feel that we are in control; thus, our natural reaction to demands for change is to practice denial. Such denial is a defense mechanism. It defends against the pain of anticipated personal or collective change. However, this denial is a form of closure, which increasingly shuts out some aspect of the evolving external world. As we close down, we increasingly lose information, energy, and other resources. We experience slow death.

Although such denial is potentially destructive, it is quite common. Following the natural laws governing physical systems, individuals and organizations travel along the path of least resistance (Fritz 1989). We do the easy things first. We leave the path of least resistance only when we make commitments, take risks, and move to new levels of performance. We then plateau. At first the plateau is a positive time of consolidation and success, but it eventually becomes a zone of comfort. At that point external signals begin to call for change. However, we react by practicing denial because we want to continue using the strategies that worked in the past. We choose slow death over deep change.

As a result, most of us normally live in a reactive state (Fritz 1989). We are trying to preserve our ego or current self. We do this by denying signals for change. To practice this form of denial is to practice self-deception. In this sense we are all hypocrites; there are gaps between what we espouse and what we practice (Argyris 1988, 1991). We espouse change, dynamism, and learning, but we practice preservation, resistance, and denial. Therefore, it is normal for us to live in hypocrisy while denying that we do.

Because of this hypocrisy, our organizations and social systems, like us, are unconsciously but systematically designed to remain in a reactive state; they ignore change, seeking to preserve the status quo and to maintain order. Consequently, they become systems of fear, orchestrated to deny the need for change. We design them in our normal, reactive state

to motivate people who are also in the normal, reactive state; they thus give rise to patterns of slow death.

However, individuals and organizations do not have to experience slow death. The alternative to slow death is deep change. The dilemma that we continually face, both personally and organizationally, is the choice between deep change and slow death, between integrity and hypocrisy.

INDIVIDUAL TRANSFORMATION

The normal individual state is a reactive state in which we seek to stay on the path of least resistance, where we seek to preserve our present zone of comfort. Individuals can leave the reactive state by making fundamental or foundational commitments, by having the courage to face the gap between their performance and what is needed, by ceding their illusions of control. Such commitments give rise to deep change. Fritz (1989) argues that the most powerful question a person can ask is “What result do I want to create?” Asking that question may create a vision that has the power to draw us out of the reactive state and off the path of least resistance. When we clarify our aspirations and values, when we commit to a higher purpose, we are no longer focused on the past. We leave our comfort zone and begin to move forward through uncertainty. When we do this, we are no longer reactive. We become more concerned about accomplishing our desired result than we are about preserving our current self. We tend to become proactive.

At the individual level, deep change is a process in which we increase our integrity. It occurs when we stop denying the pressures to change and commit to a result that we truly want to create. Knowing what we want to create and committing to do so mean that we have clarified our values and that we are moving into the uncertain world that exists outside our zone of comfort. The movement from the normal state to the fundamental state of leadership is represented in Table 1.

Our normal state has four characteristics. First, we normally are comfort centered; we stay in our rou-

Table 1. Normal State and the Fundamental State of Leadership

<i>Normal State</i>			<i>Fundamental State of Leadership</i>	
Comfort centered		to	Purposed centered	
Externally directed		to	Internally directed	
Self-focused		to	Other focused	
Internally closed		to	Externally open	

tines and react to forces that might influence and distort our equilibrium. When we are purpose centered, we become intentional, choosing to create a unique result. Second, it is also normal to be externally directed, to respond to the social pressures that demand conformity. Therefore, to become internally directed is a courageous choice. We must exercise the courage to act on own values and thus express our unique self. This choice reverses the normal deterministic relationship between the individual and the social system; as we change we distort the expectations in the people around us. The third characteristic of the normal state is to be self-focused, to be concerned with our own needs, our own results. In contrast, to be other focused is to act out of concern for the welfare of a relationship or the collective good. Such concern creates conditions in which others can grow with us in a mutually enhancing and unique way; the relationship is more energized. Finally, in the normal state, we are internally closed; we avoid connections that require change. To be externally open is to move forward in uncertainty, searching out all forms of feedback and learning from them. A person who has made the commitment to deep change pursues a unique purpose while personally unfolding the self in a unique way, creating unique relationships, and learning unique things. To be in such a unique and dynamic state is to be transformational; it is to be in the fundamental state of leadership.

This state, with the commitment and integrity it involves, transcends traditional boundaries. Although changes often involve renewed effort and performance in a work setting, committing to a higher purpose does not always mean embracing an organizational goal. For example, for some executives a needed deep change may be a commitment to spend less time at work and more time caring for personal



Exodus 6:1–13 (King James Version)

A biblical example of leadership responsibility for creating deep change is God's message to Moses about his covenant with the Israelites and Moses' charge to lead them out of Egypt.

- 1: Then the LORD said unto Moses, Now shalt thou see what I will do to Pharaoh: for with a strong hand shall he let them go, and with a strong hand shall he drive them out of his land.
- 2: And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am the LORD:
- 3: And I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by the name of God Almighty, but by my name JEHOVAH was I not known to them.
- 4: And I have also established my covenant with them, to give them the land of Canaan, the land of their pilgrimage, wherein they were strangers.
- 5: And I have also heard the groaning of the children of Israel, whom the Egyptians keep in bondage; and I have remembered my covenant.
- 6: Wherefore say unto the children of Israel, I am the LORD, and I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians, and I will rid you out of their bondage, and I will redeem you with a stretched out arm, and with great judgments:
- 7: And I will take you to me for a people, and I will be to you a God: and ye shall know that I am the LORD your God, which bringeth you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians.
- 8: And I will bring you in unto the land, concerning the which I did swear to give it to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob; and I will give it you for an heritage: I am the LORD.
- 9: And Moses spake so unto the children of Israel: but they hearkened not unto Moses for anguish of spirit, and for cruel bondage.
- 10: And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying,
- 11: Go in, speak unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, that he let the children of Israel go out of his land.
- 12: And Moses spake before the LORD, saying, Behold, the children of Israel have not hearkened unto me; how then shall Pharaoh hear me, who am of uncircumcised lips?
- 13: And the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, and gave them a charge unto the children of Israel, and unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, to bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt.

issues (Quinn 2004). The necessary deep change may be having the courage to commit to spending more time with a family member, to resuming an old hobby, or engaging in a community activity.

People sometimes report the surprising discovery that making a deep change in one area of their lives has positive impacts in other areas. By committing to

resume an old hobby, an individual may find, paradoxically, that she or he is more effective at work. Likewise, people who make the commitment to engage more fully at work often report an improvement in the quality of relationships at home. We must transcend ourselves to make deep change, and doing so affects every aspect of our lives.

In part, this spillover occurs because the dynamics of deep change generate reflection and commitment that lead to an increase in positive emotions. Whereas negative emotions have a narrowing effect on human processes, positive emotions broaden awareness, expand thinking, and result in increased vision and understanding. Moreover, positive emotion and positive thought are mutually reinforcing, creating what is called an “upward spiral.” In the spiral our new perspective leads us to experience positive emotions, which further broaden our awareness, creating more insight, and so on.

Such upward spirals may be called “virtuous cycles.” They are reciprocating relationships in which new structures and patterns are emerging. These new patterns allow for the expanded flow of information and energy. When we personally experience such expansion in awareness and energy, we tend to initiate more effective patterns of behavior. Because we see new

aspects of reality, aspects that others cannot see, we can interact with changing reality in ways that are more effective. We tend to exhibit virtues such as confidence, hope, optimism, and resilience.

Typically, virtuous cycles are ones in which desirable patterns are amplified, leading to better performance. They thus tend to fit the meaning of virtue

as generalized excellence. However, this increased performance or generalized excellence in the social realm can be traced to increased virtue in the moral realm. The Greek philosopher Aristotle considered courage the first of all virtues because the exercise of courage is necessary to activate the other virtues. By clarifying the result we want to create, by becoming internally directed, other focused, and externally open, we exercise the courage to reduce our hypocrisy. As described, this act of courage may activate positive emotions and increased performance. Thus, movement in the moral realm triggers various physiological and psychological processes that can spread to create general patterns of excellence.

ORGANIZATIONAL TRANSFORMATION

Over time, an organization turns various patterns and processes into routines. Roles, identities, and power patterns emerge. As denial continues, the organization loses alignment with the external environment and secures fewer external resources. As denial occurs, trust, cohesion, and coordination decay. As the gap between the internal capacity and the external demands increases, conflict also increases. People begin to lose hope in the collective purpose. They turn to preserving their self-interest and collude in the slow death of the organization. This unconscious conspiracy results in increased entropy. When this happens, change can occur only if someone cares enough for the collective good to risk his or her personal good. That person must take the risk of trying to change a system that does not want to change. This kind of commitment is rare. Such commitment requires the exercise of integrity and courage and may give rise to the fundamental state of leadership.

In entering the fundamental state of leadership we begin to transcend the normal or creative state. In place of denial and resistance, we practice choice and action; we have begun to genuinely *lead* our lives, rather than merely respond. In doing so, we tend to engage in the co-creation of our external world. By entering the fundamental state of leadership, we overcome our fears and become far more

aware of what is possible. By acting on possibility, we change not only ourselves but also the world around us.

In addition, an individual's deep change and entrance into the fundamental state of leadership can affect others. Interaction with a person in the fundamental state of leadership can have transformational effects. In seeking a desired result instead of simply solving a problem, we see things that others cannot see. In particular, we may see potential in others that they cannot see in themselves. When they are reactive and in denial, stuck on the path of least resistance, they cannot see potentialities. If we are in the fundamental state of leadership, we see the potential, and we tend to call others to a higher standard while providing increased support for them to risk pursuing that standard.

A basic assumption of the social sciences is that individuals seek their own self-interest, a dynamic that is at the heart of the slow death phenomenon in organizations. As organizations move toward entropy, more and more people tend to pursue self-interest, and the process of slow death is accelerated. The only way to break the downward spiral is to transform the system. Just as an individual emerges from deep change with new awareness and capability to work in the current emerging reality, so it is with organizations. People become more hopeful and more committed. Trust increases. More information flows through the invigorated network of relationships. Everyone has more energy. The collective interest and the individual interests tend to become a common set. People are then more willing to sacrifice for the good of the organization. The organization acquires new collective capacities, and performance tends to increase.

At this point, at least two reciprocal upward spirals are unfolding. The first spiral is within the individual. In the committed state positive emotions and positive thoughts may begin spiraling upward, giving rise to new awareness. The second spiral is within our relationships. We are joining with others, igniting one another's positive emotions, and moving each other towards increased hope, exploration, and discovery. The two spirals themselves now join in a reciprocating relationship. The group may thus

increase in purpose, integrity, connection, and emergent and spontaneous learning.

In this way, entering the fundamental state of leadership may give rise to emergent, spontaneous, or unplanned patterns of organizing. In the first of the reciprocal upward spirals, we experience the emergence of a more unique and complex self. We are simultaneously becoming more differentiated and more integrated than we were previously. We are becoming more differentiated because we are developing new awareness and new capacities; we become increasingly different from others. However, we are also becoming more integrated or aligned with the dynamic, external environment and with our internal values. We are becoming more connected to our purpose; the result we want to create tends to become more of a calling. We are also becoming more connected to the people who journey with us.

The second spiral gives rise to emergent organization. In the transformational state of leadership, we become disruptive of the status quo. We represent a new set of assumptions and perspectives. The old, recalcitrant organization is challenged. Because we are in an abnormal condition, we engage in acts of positive deviance. We become a disruptive signal to others, a distortion in their expectations of how things should be. They must stop to make sense of our altered state, broadening their own awareness by doing so (Nemeth 1986). We become a living invitation to change. We entice people to join us in the fundamental state of leadership. To do so they must transform themselves. This joining is also a dance of co-creation. As it unfolds, a new organization emerges. We do not plan it. It emerges through a process of interpersonal contagion and interaction.

Being in the fundamental state of leadership requires commitment and intense focus. It is a temporary state. In it we experience expanded awareness and expenditure of energy but we eventually return to the normal state. This shift provides a period of consolidation, sense making, and recovery. Eventually the new plateau becomes our normal state, our new zone of comfort. To leave it we must again enter the fundamental state of leadership. It is normal to resist the need to move back into the fundamental state of leadership, yet the experience of having been there

once may serve as a facilitator of reentry. Multiple episodes of moving in and out of the fundamental state of leadership contribute greatly to our development as human beings and as leaders of change because we gain intellectual and emotional assets that improve performance and broaden awareness.

IMPLICATIONS

In summary, deep change is transformational change. Observations of people making deep change give rise to the concept we call the fundamental state of leadership. The concept deviates from normal thinking about transformational leadership and also provides a tool for leaving the normal state and entering the fundamental state of leadership.

Unlike most approaches to leadership, this one does not put heavy emphasis on position and authority, on traits or behaviors, or on techniques for changing others. Much work on leadership focuses on people in positions of authority and automatically defines them as leaders. The CEO, for example, is normally referred to as the leader of the company. Since most of the time most people are not in the fundamental state of leadership, most of the time most authority figures, including CEOs, are not leading. On the other hand, anyone can choose to enter the fundamental state of leadership and thus become a leader. Anyone can be transformational. This suggests extreme accountability. We are all responsible for the creation of the world in which we choose to live.

Most leadership approaches seek to identify those traits and behaviors that make leaders effective. This approach does not. It suggests that when we enter the fundamental state of leadership, we develop new patterns of behavior uniquely matched to the context in which we operate. Transformational success cannot be imitated. It must, in each case, be created.

Nearly all leadership and management approaches suggest techniques for changing others. This one does not. It suggests that the key to transformation is self-change. We can only transform others by becoming more centered on results, more internally directed, more other-focused, and more externally open. When we do these things, we distort the context and gain attention. We model increased integrity

and moral power. We attract some people to greater challenge, higher self-regard, enriched relationships, and significant personal growth. The same cues repel others and give rise to resistance and conflict. As these things happen, we experience new patterns of organizing.

The concept also serves as a practical tool. We can increase the probability of exercising transformational influence by asking ourselves four key questions: What result do I want to create? Am I internally driven? Am I other-focused? Am I externally open? Truthful answers to these questions tend to change our perspective and our behavior and tend to impact the context in which we operate. We begin to lead deep change.

—Robert E. Quinn and Arran Caza

See also Change Management; Transformational and Visionary Leadership

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DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

Before we can understand and evaluate different aspects of democratic leadership, it is necessary to explain the roots and intention of democratic thinking. People are social entities, interacting in groups and societies. Evolution selected communities as the favorable environment because more advantages existed for members of communities than for isolated individuals. The strongest communities have been the ones that are able to maximize benefits for their people (or at least some of them) and are capable of defending themselves against the claims of others. However, communities face inherent problems, because although individuals have common goals (such as security), they also have different needs, motives, interests, and values, and these differences can provoke conflicts. The probability of conflicts increases if scarce resources (whether tangible or intangible) cannot be divided in such a way that all claims can be fulfilled.

Given the situation described above, it makes much sense to establish regulations that protect each individual from unjustified attacks by others and to guarantee a fair procedure for resolving conflicts. Different answers have been formulated during human history to satisfy this need for regulation. More than two thousand years ago the idea of handling one's own affairs as an individual responsibility arose: "From ancient times some people have conceived of a political system in which the members regard one another as political equals, are collectively sovereign, and possess all the capacities, resources, and institutions they need in order to govern themselves" (Dahl 1989, p. 1). This idea, the transformation of rule by the few to rule by the many, was put into action in the first half of the fifth century BCE among the Greek city-states (*polis*). This political order has been called democracy, although this type of democracy differs quite a bit from current understanding and practice. The word is derived from the Greek words for "people, nation" (*demos*) and for

“power, control, authority” (*kratein*). So, the political term *democracy* means nothing less than the power of the people, or the dominion of the many, whereby the people may participate in power directly or representatively. One necessary requirement for the idea of representation is that transferred power has to be used for the well-being of the people.

Democracy has not always carried the positive connotations it does today. The majority of philosophers and political scientists viewed democracy with suspicion for a long time, in large part because of their view that the mindless masses were capable only of creating riots and following false prophets. Democracy therefore appeared to be an unstable social system that would degenerate into tyranny. Even the great philosopher Plato (c. 428–c. 347 BCE), living next to the cradle of the origin of democracy, was critical of democracy, which he felt lacked order and responsibility. Later thinkers raised similar arguments. The French social psychologist Gustave Le Bon (1841–1931), for example, observed that in groups or masses, individual differences vanish and make it possible for strong leaders impose their will on others. For him and other thinkers, a leader’s legitimacy came from wisdom, birth, property, or God. These sources have lost much but by no means all their power to grant legitimacy, and their influence waned only gradually.

The most prominent changes that led to the displacement of those sources of a leader’s legitimacy were (a) a growing mistrust of an alleged divine order; (b) the success of the heliocentric worldview, which had serious consequences for existing political and social regulations; and (c) the overwhelming need to justify a lack of equality if it were to be allowed to persist. Important material changes occurred as populations and economic prosperity increased. Economic success for more and more people shifted values and provoked the claim that they had a political right to codetermination. However, not before the twentieth century was democracy seen in an increasingly positive light in such regions or countries as Western Europe, the United States, Australia, India, and Japan, to name but a few. Many countries—or at least their governments—still have different conceptions about regulating political and social order.

Nor should readers leave with the impression that democratic societies face no problems or that they are on all points superior to alternative conceptions. On the question of the relative merits of democracy, political scientists give different, often balanced answers. However, to mention some essentials of modern-day democracies, it is typical for democracies to have free, equal, and secret periodic elections, competition of parties, authentic freedom of thought and information, the possibility of coalition building, different kinds of checks and balances, protection of minorities, and the embeddedness of all procedures in justified and constituted law. Political leadership—which is outside the scope of our considerations here—can be, for most political theorists and probably for most people, characterized as democratic when it is based on institutional distributed power that is on the whole accepted.

Starting with the theories of Aristotle (384–322 BCE), many different normative or empirical theories about democracy have gained influence that specify requirements, contents, and procedures of and in democratic societies or that inform us about varieties of democratic cultures. Two very important threads in this discussion are whether subsystems of societies should, like the society at large, be evaluated by democratic standards and whether democracy should strive for participation as far as possible, beyond representative, mandatory forms. When it comes to legitimizing political systems, some theories focus more on the normative aspect of legitimation (these are characterized as input oriented), while others define desirable performance requirements for political systems first and then define corresponding conditions for them (these are characterized as output oriented).

LEADERSHIP AND ITS PROBLEM WITH DEMOCRACY

Like democracy, the phenomenon of leadership has been studied since antiquity, and different approaches characterize the landscape of research. Many articulate positions from the leader’s perspective. Starting with trait theory in the early 1930s and ending in the 2000s (at least temporarily) with trans-

formational and neo-charismatic theories, the focus has been on the person of the leader. Special traits or a combination of traits (such as energy, intelligence, and prosocial behavior) or a distinctive behavior (such as initiating structure) generate particular effects that are associated with leadership. Sometimes situational variables are taken into account, too, as with path-goal theory. Only very few approaches, such as attribution theory or implicit leadership theory, consider the follower position and try to answer leadership-related questions from the followers' perspective.

Conventional views of leadership assume a kind of natural downward gradient of maturity, according to which the leader as a superior person leads followers to the goal. Those who are led are seen as less active, less knowledgeable, and less willing to take responsibility. Although the (moral) superiority of the leader is not theoretically and empirically reasoned (consider, for example, the fact that in most organizations most leaders are also followers), it dominates leadership thinking, teaching, and practice. Certain myths are passed from one generation to the other. The presence of these seldom questioned presuppositions shows that democratic ideas are not central to the understanding of leadership yet. Rather, a relationship is constructed in which autocratic leader behavior—or at the very least behavior that is determined by the leader's values, attitudes, and aims—seems to be functional. Accordingly, most leadership approaches that are action oriented try to develop techniques by which the leader's intentions can be realized. This thinking is—or was—very compatible with the functioning of social entities, particularly business organizations, in which the hierarchical principle is seen to be necessary for the coordination of divided work and for efficiency.



Destoolment of a Chief

The following extract of ethnographic text describes how and why an Ashanti chief in Ghana might be removed from office. Although the Ashanti political system is not democratic in general, democratic principles are used to ensure that the chief is effective and competent.

The Ashanti had a constitutional practice which ensured that the will of the people was given consideration. They had ultimately the constitutional right to destool a chief. As the fundamental principle was that only those who elected a chief could destool him, a destoolment required the consent of the elders. Sometimes they initiated a destoolment themselves when, for example, a chief repeatedly rejected their advice, or when he broke a taboo, or committed a sacrilegious act. The kind of offences for which chiefs were destooled may be gathered from the following instances of destoolments recounted in the traditional histories of the Divisions.

Chiefs Kwabena Aboagye of Asumegya, Kwabena Bruku, and Kwasi Ten of Nsuta were destooled for drunkenness; Kwame Asonane of Bekwai for being a glutton (adidifurum); Kwame Asona, also of Bekwai, for dealing in charms and noxious medicines; and Akuamoa Panyin of Juaben for his abusive tongue, and for not following the advice of his elders. In Kokofu, Osei Yaw was destooled for being fond of disclosing the origin of his subjects (i.e. reproaching them with their slave ancestry), and Mensa Bonsu for excessive cruelty.

A chief was also destooled if he became blind, or impotent, or suffered from leprosy, madness, or fits, or if his body was maimed in a way that disfigured him.

Source: Busia, K. A. (1951). *The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political System of the Ashanti: A Study of the Influence of Contemporary Social Change on Ashanti Political Institutions*. London: The Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, p. 22.

This dominating view has been challenged for two reasons. First, from an economic point of view, some have suggested that more democracy could, under specified conditions, lead to more efficiency. Second, from a moral point of view, some are of the opinion that democracy is not a principle that is only valid in certain areas (such as political leadership) and not in others (such as organizational leadership). While the first point addresses the risk of suboptimality in performance, the second point, which questions the presupposed superiority of leaders, leads to a debate about ethics that is grounded in moral philosophy. In the first case, democracy is an instrument that supports economic organizational goals; in the second case, democracy is a moral value.

CLOTHING LEADERSHIP IN DEMOCRATIC VESTMENTS

Bearing the previous discussion in mind, it is not surprising that there is no clear definition of *democratic leadership* within academia. On the contrary, there is a conceptual ambiguity and operational inconsistency: Content, degree, form of, and pretension to democracy differ. This has led to the same phenomena being discussed under different terms (for instance, consensual leadership or superleadership). However, everyone seems to agree that democracy has something to do with self-determination. In this context, the Kantian principle that every man should be treated as an end and not as a means is to be remembered. Self-determination itself implies (primarily) participation in decisions about one's own affairs. It is a question of distributing power.

The term *participation* is used here in its original, political meaning because within the leadership discussion participation is often downgraded to mean a form of mere articulation or a standpoint. Articulating something is different from deciding something. The psychologists Edwin Hollander and Lynn Offermann argue that the area of subordinate participation is "one of the clearest bridges between the study of power and leadership in organizations" (1990, 183). This leads to the conclusion that if one wants to know something about the influence of democracy on leadership, one has to question the leadership discussion about the integration of participation (as well as delegation), which in turn requires an understanding of the main streams of leadership theory. Grounded in the logic of traditional leadership, the aspect of performance and efficiency dominate these theories directly or indirectly.

THE BEGINNINGS

It was the social psychologist Kurt Lewin who, at the end of the 1930s, introduced scientific research into the thinking about democracy in leadership. The main idea in a series of studies was to investigate "democracy" and "autocracy" as group atmospheres and observe the consequences for different social and performance behaviors. Lewin and his col-

leagues at the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station shared the opinion that success in the classroom depended not only on the skills of the teacher but to a great extent on the atmosphere that was created. The atmospheres of the two experimental groups was manipulated as follows: In the authoritarian group, which was seen as the opposite of a democratic group, all decisions were made by the authority. In the democratic group, common determination was preferred; explanations and advice were given by the authority, and children were free to work with one another. The findings indicated that in the democratic group more cooperative and constructive behavior was found, the feeling for group property and group goals was higher, and the group structure was more stable. In addition, the products of the democratic group were superior.

The scholars Robert Tannenbaum and Warren Schmidt offered a more conceptual approach at the end of the 1950s. They tried to enrich the polarized spectrum of leadership styles by introducing gradations between the extremes. They stated that direction (authoritarian style) and participation (democratic style) are only two halves of a continuum, and they differentiated between the behavior of leaders who make and announce decisions without offering reasons and leaders who permit followers to function freely within limits. This opened the way for a more sophisticated discussion.

THE SPREAD OF DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP THEORIES

The organizational psychologist Rensis Likert, who advocated democratic approaches in organizations in the late 1960s, had not only leadership but also organization structure and climate on his agenda. The so-called human relations movement proposed that democratization could increase effectiveness and satisfaction, particularly in the long run. Empirical studies supported the satisfaction hypothesis but could not demonstrate overall superior effectiveness.

Also in the sixties, the scholars Robert Blake and Jane Mouton presented their renowned managerial-grid model. They, like many others, built on the find-

ings of the so-called Ohio school and Michigan school of leadership, where two main independent dimensions of leadership behavior were identified empirically: initiating structure (task orientation, concern for production) and consideration (relations orientation, concern for people). For Blake and Mouton, the ideal leader scored a 9.9 on their “management grid.” This style is characterized not only by participation, but also by openness, trust and respect, mutual support, and much more. The authors are convinced that this style has a positive effect on many performance criteria.

Around 1970, the scholars Paul Hersey and Kenneth Blanchard introduced a situational leadership model in which the maturity of followers was connected with four different leadership styles: telling, selling, participating, and delegating. The maturity level of followers differs by task and experience. What is required is a match between the leadership style and the followers’ maturity. It is worth mentioning that the maturity level is defined by the leader, and that he or she has the undisputed power to determine the amount of follower participation. In this sense, participation is treated as purely functional.

A few years later, the theorist Fred Fiedler proposed his contingency model of leadership. Using the attitude of the leader’s least-preferred coworker as a measure, leaders are characterized as being either task or relations oriented. Taking into account three situational variables (position power, task structure, leader-member relationship), the theory proposes that in favorable situations in which the leader has full control over the situation and in unfavorable situations in which the leader has little control, task-oriented behavior promises higher success. In situations that fall between those extremes, a relational style should be effective. This is, Fiedler notes, the conclusion of many empirical studies. In short, it appears that follower participation is a necessity under certain conditions if the leader wants to be effective. However, participation has no value on its own.

The path-goal theory of leadership, strongly associated with the management scholar Robert House, tried to reconcile conflicting empirical findings concerning task- and relations-oriented behaviors. The

problem was that the effects of prescribed style recommendations were found to be contradictory. To address the problem, new situational moderators of the relationships between the main behavior dimensions and their effects were developed. In sum, four leader behaviors (including participative style); a number of moderators of task, environmental, and follower traits; five intervening variables; and two dependent variables were used. Nevertheless, in this theory too, the focus is on the functionality of the leader’s behavior.

The decision process theory put forward by Victor Vroom, Philip Yetton, and Arthur Jago is probably the most explicit leadership style theory that includes participation. This prescriptive model indicates when leaders should be directive and when they should be participative. The overall question is in which situations the superior can take complete responsibility for decisions and in which situations the subordinates should take part in the decision. The effectiveness of a decision depends basically on two, not completely separable variables: the quality of the decision and the degree to which the decision is accepted. The decision procedure will affect these two variables differently. In 1988 more outcome variables were considered (concern for subordinate development and concern for the time it took to make a decision). A basic assumption of this model is that subordinates’ participation increases the degree of acceptance of the decision—assuming acceptance is necessary. Thus, acceptance will be low for autocratic decisions and high for joint decision making. A functional perspective assumes that acceptance is a must when the subordinates are to implement the decision or when the decision has long-term effects on motivation.

The question of decision quality, in contrast, relates to how well the decision helps the organization meet its goals. The authors take five types of decision making into consideration: two varieties of autocratic decision making and consultative decision making, and one variety of joint decision making. Joint decision making, in this theory, involves generating and evaluating solutions to problems and attempting to reach a consensus on a solution. In some situations there is more than one acceptable

decision-making style; in those cases, the leader's preferences are significant.

CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS

New organizational developments—in particular, market competition—in the late 1980s forced renewed thinking on the topic of follower participation. Organizations were finding they lacked the ability to adapt and respond successfully; qualities previously associated with effective management were insufficient. Leadership theorists answered in two ways. First, whereas the previously effective behaviors had required leaders simply to react to changes in markets and competition, theorists now proposed that leaders needed a more proactive stance. It would also be necessary to elicit from followers higher levels of loyalty, trust, and performance. The theory that addressed that angle, well-known under the label *transformational leadership*, envisions a more skilled, more fulfilled follower, but doesn't address the question of democratic leadership. Rather, the downward gradient of maturity mentioned earlier is presumed: The leader is acting on behalf of the followers.

Second, some theorists suggested that more decision making and responsibility should be decentralized and delegated to followers. Empowerment and superleadership are important catchwords for this development. Although it is assumed that leaders control this process and have, accordingly, the power to determine the amount of shifting of decision power down the hierarchy, the aim is to enable another person to act more strongly on his or her own. One might call this a form of paternalistic democratization in social relationships. However, this development too is forced by the desire to achieve greater efficacy. Moral aspects may be an additional motive but are not the driving force.

The situation is seen totally differently by people who claim a moral right to participation. They stress the principle that all who are affected by a decision have a right to participate in the decision making. Their claims are grounded in moral philosophy. Ethics, they argue, are not a matter of situational variance or economic success. The only important point

is that one person, the leader, due to his or her hierarchical position, can fall back upon the right to exercise power that is denied to followers. Because this course of action has empirically provable consequences regarding subordinates' personal work satisfaction, it cannot be ignored. "The key question is how to ensure that such significant consequences are positive and beneficial to all concerned" (Singer 1997, 147). From the days of Aristotle in the fourth century BCE, philosophers have asked what obligations result from an asymmetrical dependency relationship, particularly for the stronger party. For the most part these days, however, that line of thought is passed over in favor of one in which steps toward more participation are required and always positively valued, and contingency factors are worked out to increase the probability of successful participation. It is fair to state that a clear normative position lacks wide support in the leadership discussion. This is, of course, not proof against its appropriateness.

FUNCTIONS AND REQUIREMENTS OF DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

In addition to the two developments mentioned above, there is a growing body of literature that focuses on the active roles of followers in the leadership process. This literature is not about democratic leadership, but it indirectly builds foundations for a stronger regard for it, because it asks how followers perceive leaders and under what conditions legitimacy is ascribed. This is an old question. Historically, following the famous German sociologist Max Weber, three types of legitimate power are identified: legal (for example, an elected government), traditional (for example, a monarchy), and charismatic (personal). It is important to stress that all these forms are based on the hierarchical principle but that this does not determine how the internal control processes work. For instance, both in a legal and in a traditional order, democratic coordination is allowed to occur. The amount differs. In contrast, command and total control represent only a very extreme position.

What we can learn from this is that followers' perceptions constrain the behavior of the leader.

Suppose that—and there is empirical evidence for this, for instance, in value research—followers expect to be able to participate. The attribution of leadership depends on how far people are allowed to set goals, make decisions, solve problems, and are involved in change processes. In this sense, leadership is a socially accepted influence process, with followers defining if and when it occurs. Leadership becomes democratic when this acceptance relies on “basic democratic principles and processes, such as self-determination, inclusiveness, equal participation, and deliberation” (Gastil 1994a, 956). John Gastil identifies three primary functions that a democratic leader should fulfill: distributing responsibility, empowering others, and aiding others in their deliberations. These obligations are equally valid for both large and small social groups. Members differ in needs, skills, time, and availability. Therefore, a variety of opportunities for involvement should be built into the structure of the organization. Leaders and other members of the organization must tolerate some members’ refusal to take their full share of responsibility.

Leaders should help members to develop technical and emotional maturity and should avoid a know-it-all attitude. Leaders should foster the emancipation of consciousness and pursue the ideal of making members into leaders. Problems must be analyzed by the group, and therefore information must be shared. Disagreement has to be dealt with in an open and constructive way. Groups must make concerted efforts to address existing inequalities based on gender, age, race, or formal education and must try to consider the consequences any solutions they propose will have. Possible solutions should be reflectively discussed without using coercion. The collective interest of the group should be revealed. A spirit of congeniality should be developed, and accepted norms must be actively in the collective mind. Because no leader will be able to act on this alone, the narrow (organization) and broader context (society) should assist leaders in this task. Here it is important to remember that behavior is produced by values, motivation, skills, and structures. Bearing that in mind, clear, accountable and transparent structures, the democratizing of knowledge, better

communication techniques, and deliberate leadership development programs make sense.

LOOKING AHEAD

This entry has shown that democratic leadership can be viewed from both an economic and an ethical perspective. Both perspectives are vibrant in the leadership discussion although the economic viewpoint prevails. At present it is not clear how widely democratic behavior is practiced or what effects it has under various circumstances. Nor is it known how willing either leaders or followers are to embrace it, or what behavior and institutional precautions support or inhibit democratic leadership in different situations. Nevertheless, there is ample evidence that the democratic style of leadership fits quite well with personal values and organizational necessities. This may be a practical consequence of the statement of the philosopher John Dewey (1859–1952), who declared that democracy was not a mere political form but a way of being, living, and relating.

We must bear in mind, however, that democratic leadership is an ideal toward which an organization can strive but that may not be entirely achieved, as serious barriers to success exist. Moving toward democracy means that some people lose their advantages, and for others leading becomes more difficult. This is not easy to accept and not easy to manage; there is evidence that it will take time for people to learn new leader and follower roles (rights and duties). There is no doubt that certain social, economic, and political environments increase the chances for democratic solutions. In any case, one need not be a prophet to predict that the clamor for democratic leadership in organizations will not fall silent.

—Jürgen Weibler

See also Apartheid in South Africa, Demise of; Aristotle; Congressional Leadership; Green Parties; Plato; Politics; Presidential Leadership, U.S.; Tiananmen Square; United States Constitution; War on Terrorism

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DIRTY HANDS

Leaders are said to get their hands dirty when, for the sake of what might be called a “higher cause,” they engage in behavior that is generally thought to be morally wrong. Accordingly, immoral action that makes a leader’s hands dirty cannot be just any kind of wrongdoing. Purely self-interested leadership behavior, for example, will not constitute cases of dirty hands, even if this behavior is clearly immoral. For an instance of wrongdoing to be characterized as a case of dirty hands, it must be true that the leader did what he did in the service of something larger than himself. The defining feature of this particular kind of wrongdoing is that leaders who get their hands dirty do so for the good of others, in much the same way that anyone working for a common goal might roll up his or her sleeves and undertake distasteful or objectionable work in order to get the job done.

The analogy to manual labor is not perfect, of course, because it is ultimately moral muck into which leaders dip their hands. Dirty hands cases thus give rise to conflicts between what common morality requires of leaders and the other demands that positions of leadership bring with them, not to conflicts between what leaders would rather be doing and what they must do for leadership effectiveness. From the standpoint of ethics, the potential for conflicts between morality and goal achievement is worrisome enough in its own right. But the problem of dirty hands presents a deeper worry, one arguably central to the very nature of leadership. According to advocates of dirty hands analyses, leadership ethics necessitates this kind of behavior. Meeting the ethical demands of leadership, specifically, doing what

really is morally right by followers, often leaves leaders nevertheless having done a moral wrong. The ethical reality of leadership is such that leaders cannot be expected to keep their hands clean.

CATEGORIZATION OF DIRTY HANDS CASES

Dirty hands cases can be roughly categorized in terms of the parties that are potentially wronged by such leadership behavior: other leaders, followers, or outsiders. The defense of dirty hands cases in the first category finds its origin in Machiavelli's *The Prince*. Machiavelli (1469–1527) argues that “a ruler who wishes to maintain his power must be prepared to act immorally” because he is almost certain to be surrounded by “many unscrupulous men” (Machiavelli 1532/1988, 54–55). Max Weber (1864–1920) similarly holds that “[since] the world is governed by demons . . . it is *not* true that good can follow only from good and evil only from evil, but that often the opposite is true.” Weber concludes, “Anyone who fails to see this is, indeed, a political infant” (Weber 1946/1958, 123). The point of these authors and others like them is that leaders, especially political leaders, find themselves in an environment in which adherence to standard moral principles would put them and, more to the point, their followers at a significant disadvantage. Unfortunately, sometimes engaging in dirty hands behavior when dealing with other leaders is the best available option.

The second category of dirty hands cases identifies potential wrongs done to followers. In some circumstances, leaders pursue group goals by treating followers in ways that are generally thought to be morally wrong. Kenneth Winston of the Kennedy School's Center for Public Leadership appeals to “the necessity of moral opportunism” to define this category: “The public official cannot always wait. And since others may not agree, indeed may not even understand what is being proposed, prudent officials find it necessary sometimes to resort to manipulation, deception, even coercion—for the public good” (Winston 1994, 38). Admittedly, in this category of dirty hands cases, the potential wrong done to followers lends itself to the counterclaim that, in the end, the behavior in question is for their own good.

That said, proponents of dirty hands analyses contend that these leaders are still left having done a moral wrong to followers, despite whatever good might have been achieved for the group as a whole.

The third category of dirty hands cases draws our attention to potential wrongs done to outsiders. This category is characterized by cases of straightforward conflict between the good of a leader's group and the good of one or more individuals outside the group. Maintaining that there is a moral dilemma at the core of the problem of dirty hands, commentators on cases within this category defend the significant partiality embodied in the choice of the former good over the latter and yet deny that leaders keep their hands clean when they make this choice. As political theorist Michael Walzer articulates this line of reasoning, the dilemma of dirty hands is indicative of the fact that there is not complete “coherence and harmony of the moral universe” (Walzer 1973, 161). One result of this metaphysical disunity is that leaders will sometimes face choices for which complete justification of their behavior is not forthcoming. No matter what they do, they will be left having done a moral wrong.

RESPONSES TO THE PROBLEM OF DIRTY HANDS

There are three possible responses to the problem of dirty hands, one of which is a straightforward realist response and two of which are standard idealist responses. The realist response says that we have no choice but to embrace the problem of dirty hands; in fact, leadership ethics would be unrecognizable without it. In contrast, idealist responses hold either that leadership behavior in dirty hands cases is immoral or that the immorality of this kind of behavior must be explained away by appeal to the dictates of idealist moral theory itself. The first version of the idealist response advocates a strategy of absolutism. Leaders should keep their hands clean by adhering to standard moral principles, and they have full justification for their behavior when they do so. The second version of the idealist response suggests a strategy of reconciliation between dirty hands cases and what morality really requires of leaders. For exam-

ple, consequentialist moral theories such as utilitarianism allow that behavior generally thought to be morally wrong can be fully justified when it maximizes happiness or well-being. The wide range of possible responses to the problem of dirty hands means that choices between them will have important implications for an understanding of the moral demands on leadership behavior.

—Terry L. Price

See also Enron Scandal; Ethics; Dot-Com Meltdown; Moral Imagination; Trust Busting

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DISCOURSE ETHICS

People—and, in context, leaders—have to make decisions. Leaders make decisions that significantly affect the integrity and autonomy of other people. However, as Joanne Ciulla notes at the start of her treatment of leadership ethics, “We live in a world

where leaders are often morally disappointing. Even the greats of the past . . . are diminished by probing biographers who document their ethical shortcomings” (Ciulla 1995, 5). This might be even truer for leaders in everyday life, such as organizational leaders. Pressure for profits, increasing in companies as a consequence of globalization worldwide, requires acknowledgment. Pressure on managers often leads them to focus only on things that bring in money and ignore the needs, goals, and rights of those being led. Ethical questions and reflections about morality are—as a consequence—not on the agenda. Although for-profit organizations are of higher interest in this situation, nonprofit organizations are similarly affected by ethical questions because leadership relations occur in every type of organization.

Leadership relations are interactions and as such subject to moral rules and ethical reflections. Nevertheless, rarely has leadership research asked whether the form and extension of influencing subordinates have any limitations. *Limitations* here does not refer to boundaries given by law; these are obvious and can easily be handled in principle. Rather, limitations here refers to those boundaries grounded in morality. This invisible boundary of action is likewise important. Every community and every group relies on it and cannot fulfill its task efficiently if standards of moral behavior are disregarded. Moreover, because people—and, in context, subordinates—have value in their own right, questions of moral behavior are always present. However, because most leadership approaches have been articulated from the leader’s perspective and are concerned mainly with efficient organizational goal attainment, moral behavior remains in the shadow. Only a few approaches consider the follower position and, as such, allow thinking confined to effects of behavior besides efficiency. These include attribution theory (which explains both the process by which persons are distinguished from others as leaders and how individuals systematically search for different causes of their behavior and the behavior of others) and implicit leadership theory (which deals with cognitive processes of the people being led—perceptions, evaluations—when confronted with leaders and leadership attempts). Ethics is con-

cerned with *moral behavior*, which refers to an act that is to be valued as good, hence justified. Ethics is concerned with perspectives and criteria of moral behavior without giving valued answers for a concrete situation itself or at all. Three main streams of research are distinguishable: normative ethics, descriptive ethics, and meta-ethics. Normative (or prescriptive) ethics is concerned about the correctness of statements with regard to moral values and action norms. Two parts are worth mentioning: On one side exists a material ethics that presents values and norms that should be fulfilled. On the other side exists a formal ethics that deals with procedures about finding solutions in conflict situations. Descriptive ethics examines the psychological, biological, social, and historical bases of judgments. It especially examines practiced norms and interprets them. Finally, meta-ethics—often called “analytical ethics”—deals with the problem of separating moral from non-moral questions and asks about the epistemological (relating to the study of knowledge), ontological (relating to existence), and philosophical foundations of statements of values and norms. Meta-ethics helps us to understand why and when differences between different ethics exist and—importantly—whether and how it is possible if at all to justify a (universal) truth of moral judgments.

Such judgments are important for leadership. Everyday life contains a lot of situations where morality matters. Are politicians allowed to temporarily ignore morality in a crisis? Are employees to be treated as a means and not as subjects in pursuit of profit? Are leaders allowed to make decisions on their own and, if so, without any restrictions? Are organizational goals considered to be more important than individual goals? Is there any limitation? Where are the limitations? These are only a few questions that should demonstrate that all of us are affected by these sorts of questions. Conflicts, such as “You must do this for me” versus “I need give you only this much for the money I earn,” or critical situations such as “Weekend overtime is required” are the daily life in organizations. Unfortunately there are no easy answers. However, this does not mean that we cannot find some guiding paths that can help us more consciously to bridge the gap

between “right” and “wrong.” Normative ethics is concerned precisely with this.

MORAL BEHAVIOR

To start, we should take a deeper look into the development of moral behavior. The Swiss biologist Jean Piaget (1896–1980), who is famous for his work in developmental psychology, explains the adoption of morality as follows: Children learn from their parents. They learn which behavior is allowed and which behavior is forbidden. At the beginning stage children experience rules by obeying instructions, regulations, and necessities. So, the learned duties are heteronomous (Greek: *heteros* = extraneous; *nomos* = law). In a phase of transition children obey rules not because obedience is authorized by their parents but rather because obedience is required by the rules themselves. Children have learned that rules are not an accidental product, made by their parents, but rather something that is formed in and socialized by culture. Gradually the range of valid rules expands. In the end—and this is the stage of morality—children are able to reflect on rules critically with respect to their moral content. Here autonomy takes place. For the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), the intellectual pioneer of the eighteenth-century period known as the Enlightenment (marked by the belief that reason is the source of all knowing), maturity (*Mündigkeit*) is the prerequisite for autonomy.

Piaget’s most important point is that morality is learned but that children know that sometimes morality has no value in itself but rather helps to coordinate activities between humans justly and peacefully. Only a rule that guarantees the freedom of action for everyone in a community in the best possible way can be qualified as a moral rule at all. Everyday we judge others or ourselves: We condemn politicians for their decisions, we honor a young person who respects elderly people, and we encourage a colleague at work to articulate his or her position to the superior, or we feel guilty about doing or not doing something. Following James R. Rest, moral behavior consists of at least four elements: moral sensitivity (analyzing and interpreting a situation),

moral judgment (deciding between right and wrong), moral motivation (preferring certain values), and moral character (doing what corresponds to beliefs and intentions). If we ask ourselves whether and how such evaluations of events or behaviors can be reasoned and justified, the time for ethics has come.

ETHICS IN LEADERSHIP

In general, ethics has no real tradition in leadership studies. Following Rabindra Kanungo, this is true of even the most cited theory in organizational leadership research of the last decade, namely transformational leadership (leadership behavior that transforms followers' attitudes and values to so-called higher-order levels and achieves extraordinary standards of motivation, commitment, trust, and performance). However, there were always impressive exceptions. John W. Gardner's *On Leadership* (1993), written from the perspective of a practitioner, is one example; James MacGregor Burns's renowned *Leadership* (1978) is another. Both books reflect on the moral dimension of leadership. Joanne Ciulla's more recent *Ethics, the Heart of Leadership* (1998) discusses essential basics in greater detail. With respect to transformational leadership, the writing of Bernard Bass and Paul Steidlmeier at the end of the 1990s deserves special attention.

The consequence of this remarkable deficit of ethical reflection is that the leading discipline of ethics, moral philosophy, is not taken into consideration for leadership issues as it is for other disciplines such as sociology or politics. This limits our understanding because developments in these disciplines are not discussed in leadership. Moreover, mostly only one—the traditional stream of moral philosophy—is pursued. This is a shortcoming. If we consider the approaches that have emerged within the history of ethics so far and that dominate the controversy about “correct” ethics, we have to conclude that traditional ethics is only one part. Traditional (also called “premodern”) ethics covers basically two separate “ethics.” On the one hand is theological ethics, which claims to be the “revealing knowledge” of original religious texts (e.g., the Bible), which are given to humans by a higher authority (God) and

contain (material) action standards (e.g., the Ten Commandments). On the other hand is so-called goods or virtue ethics, which proceeds from a higher objective (Greek *télos* = a goal) founded on the “nature of humans” and/or “highest values and goals,” which each human should strive for and which can be attained in particular by “virtuous” acting. Frequently at its center are found the “cardinal virtues” of temperance, courage, justice, prudence, fortitude, and moderation, as described by the Greek philosopher Aristotle (384–322 BCE).

Both traditional ethics are justified metaphysically. This means that nonhuman arbiters (God, nature) and detailed do's and don'ts guide action. If leaders develop a “correct understanding” of these guidelines, such as Aristotelian virtues, and transform them into an “action standard,” then a true moral behavior is executed. The legitimation of the position taken is based on value decisions. Other theoreticians could approach the subject with other value references to other attitudes. The German philosopher Jürgen Habermas speaks of an “ethnocentric fallacy” (Habermas 1995, 75). Further, traditional ethics and its most prominent part, virtue ethics, are person-centered and do not regard the character of leadership as a relation.

In this perspective the leader is seen as a morally superior person who knows if he or she is guided by a certain metaphysical prescription. Those who are led are thereby seen “as less active, less knowledgeable and as having less access to the (privileged) goals and interests possessed by the leader” (Dachler and Hosking 1995, 11). However, why must we see a follower in this way? We should not forget that a leader in one leader-follower relationship is a follower in the next. So, is he or she less responsible in the latter?

This and other general questions have already been addressed by Kant. He expresses one of his ideas in a famous maxim: “Act in such a way that you honour humanity in each person as much as that of any other person, always as an end, and never simply as a means” (Kant [1785]1947, 54). Everyone who wants to act ethically has to think about the general validity of the intended action. Accordingly, each person has to make decisions compatible with

his or her conscience. The consequence of this egalitarian philosophy for leadership is that leadership actions are ethically responsible when the leader is able to justify his or her action and the implications for the work and life quality of the follower in relation to his or her conscience. This position is a remarkable step forward but disregards the social ties that are typical for human beings. Consciousness—even self-identity and personality—is determined particularly by others and the culture we live in. In this sense the relational aspect of leadership is given little consideration, even though establishing in principle norms of agreement acceptable to all rational beings ought to be essential. We do not explicitly assume that someone has to make sure that he or she regards the interests of the other adequately. So, do we have a guarantee that the conscience of the leader and the follower provokes an identical moral behavior that is accepted from both sides? If this were not the case who would have morality on his or her side?

THE DIFFERENT VIEW: DISCOURSE ETHICS

Habermas offered an important theory. A member of the Frankfurt, Germany, School of Critical Theory, Habermas is decidedly Kantian in his orientation to reason but tries to overcome the aforementioned deficits of Kantian moral philosophy. Besides the formulation of a meaningful concept of the rationality of actions and of an appropriate theory of action, he developed a concept of social order and submitted proposals for the democratization of contemporary societies in his book *Between Facts and Norms*. Habermas advocates the Enlightenment project, where he and others feel obliged to strengthen their efforts to formulate reasoned and universal valid norms of moral—justified—action. He states that the only alternative for a reasonable foundation of ethical norms and ethical conflict solution is so-called discourse ethics. In contrast to virtue ethics, discourse ethics is a formal normative theory in practical ethics that can be seen as a kind of moral argumentation standard. Habermas agrees with the postmodern position that totalitarian knowledge (which expresses the thesis that no one is able or has the right to decide/define what reality is or what

knowledge is valid and which is not valid) does not exist but argues that this does not imply that a “theory of rationality” could not be universal.

Habermas concludes that we cannot formulate concrete (material) norms. As a proponent of the model of learning in interactions he articulates the view that—under certain ideal circumstances (so-called ideal speech situation)—the “unforced force” (that is, a free exchange of ideas without coercion or manipulation) of the better argument will prevail. This better argument is recognized by all who participate in that discourse. However, even people who cannot participate in that discourse but are substantially affected by the consequences should be considered as fairly as possible. Accordingly, Habermas prefers a thinking based solidly on “good reasons,” which are themselves the product of a reasoned discussion. Accordingly, a communicative community (at least two persons) is constructed in which the reciprocal recognition of individuals as subjects of argumentation is acknowledged. In this sense, not only the individuals’ interests but also their proposals for moral solutions are equally relevant until the better argument prevails. In this context, the hermeneutic (relating to the study of the methodological principles of interpretation) philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer is often quoted as noting, “What others are saying could be right.” Gadamer’s admonition makes the case for individuals to maintain a respectful, reflective discourse since people can never be sure that their particular point of view is the best reasoned one. The rationality of communication is “oriented to achieving, sustaining and reviewing consensus—and indeed a consensus that rests on the intersubjective recognition of criticisable validity claims” (Habermas 1985, 17). Consequently, the agreements are open to challenge when new reasons are detected. This “communicative action” is opposed to so-called strategic action, where one participant seeks to influence the behavior of another by threatening sanctions or promising gratifications.

This advanced moral theory, of course, has both philosophical and practical criticism. The philosophical criticism is formulated equally by traditionalists and postmodern proponents with totally different arguments. The practical criticism relates mainly to

issues of feasibility and implementation; that is, that the ideas of discourse ethics cannot be put into real interactions. It has to be said that discourse ethics has two aims: First, to reason an ethical position. Second, to help to shape dialogues about the solution of moral problems. So, the practical criticism refers to the second part. The discourse ethics prefers to describe a situation in which the discourse works best. But the theorists of this position know that all elements of the description are formulated in such a way that there is no equivalent in reality. So a discourse situation is sketched as a guideline. The task is to work for conditions where the elements in reality (for instance, resources, qualifications, settings) come closer and closer to the best framework.

However, for leader-follower relations the consequences of discourse ethics—in contrast to virtue ethics approaches and pure Kantian positions—are evident. Discourse ethics stresses the right of self-determination of and respect for followers and demands that the leader explore and accept their legitimate interests. The leader is not able to define a situation with respect to appropriate moral behavior alone. No moral superiority can be claimed by anyone with reference to formal position. Leaders do not have to be moral heroes, and logically they cannot systematically be. Best moral intentions are fine, and we should be thankful that persons try to give them life, but they cannot have the status of a liability in a leadership relation a priori (relating to reasoning from self-evident propositions).

It is important to stress that a discourse ethics approach is not generally required in routine daily operations and is not necessary for every decision; a question about logistics or changing a production line is usually not a moral issue. Instead, first, discourse ethics demands that leaders take the moral point of view as a matter of course, and, second, discourse ethics concentrates itself primarily on the question of how decisions are made between the leader and the follower, possibly with different procedures for different decision situations. Furthermore, in every moral conflict situation where at least the leader and one follower are affected, the requirement to start such a discourse is justified.

Discourse ethics offers a fresh perspective for decision situations and relationships between leaders and followers where morality is involved. This approach, which is heavily attacked by traditionalists, neo-Aristotelian philosophers, and proponents of postmodern thinking, has consequences in practice. Taken-for-granted assumptions—such as hierarchical decision making (i.e., decisions made by upper management), the defining of situations solely by the leader, the moral superiority of the leader, and involuntary changes (transformations) or individual development when no one has been asked—are suddenly questioned. Movements such as employee empowerment and superleadership (a method of leadership that makes the leader less necessary over time) are—in the logic of normative ethics—only a starting point for breaking traditional structures in thinking. Discourse ethics is related to democratic leadership in its pure definition. Leadership with respect to discourse ethics stresses dialogue and mutuality instead leadership that relies only on position power.

Leadership that reflects discourse ethics requires a leader to show respect, emancipation, and participation in situations that call for moral behavior. Such leadership could provide an orientation for distributed or shared leadership (that is, given formally and informally into the hands of many instead of one). Whatever the mode of leadership, however, moral behavior cannot be replaced by economic success; further, morality can be an important component in business success. Accordingly, Joanne Ciulla can be supported in her view that good leadership “has two senses, morally good and technically good or effective” (Ciulla 1995, 13). Discourse ethics provides leadership research with significant insights and offers a sound basis on which to broaden ethical perspectives on leadership.

—*Jürgen Weibler*

See also Economic Justice; Ethics; Philosophy

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DISNEY, WALT (1901–1966)

Founder of Walt Disney Company

Walter Elias Disney is an iconic figure in twentieth-century entertainment. He was a driving force in the history of animation, creating the world's best-known animated figure, Mickey Mouse, and the first animated feature film, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*. In 1955, he pioneered the modern theme park industry when he opened Disneyland. The founder and builder of an entertainment empire over four decades, Disney is also an example of the creative leader.

EARLY YEARS

Disney's intuitive understanding of the entertainment desires of the U.S. family has roots in his midwestern childhood. He was born on 5 December 1901 in Chicago. His family lived in Marceline, Missouri, and then Kansas City, Missouri, before returning to Chicago in 1917.

Disney was the fourth of five children and the family's youngest son. His mother, Flora (née Call), doted on him; his father, Elias, was a disciplinarian.



Walt Disney poses with a toy Donald Duck while reading *Alice in Wonderland in London in 1951.*

Source: Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis; used with permission.

Elias was also a hard worker with an entrepreneurial spirit: two traits that Disney inherited. The family's moves were often driven by Elias's business ventures, but none of them provided more than a lower-middle-class existence for the family.

Disney discovered his talent for drawing as a boy and dreamed of becoming a political cartoonist. As a teen, he worked as a delivery boy, snack vendor on the railroad (the root of his lifelong affinity for trains), security guard, and post office employee. Disney left high school after his junior year at age sixteen when, over his father's objections, he lied about his age to enlist as a driver in the American Ambulance Corps, a World War I division of the American Red Cross. As he was sent to Europe, the war ended, and in 1919, after a year abroad, he returned to United States.

THE BUDDING ANIMATOR

Shortly after returning home, Disney left his parents for Kansas City, where he lived with his brother, Roy O. Disney (1893–1971) and pursued his goal of earning a living as an artist. Within a few months the young entrepreneur started his first business, a short-lived commercial art partnership with cartoonist Ub Iwerks (1901–1971), the beginning of a long creative collaboration between the two men.

In early 1920, Disney took a job at the Kansas City Slide Company, where he learned to make crude advertising animations. He was soon moonlighting, creating short animated cartoons with borrowed equipment in a jury-rigged studio at home. He brought his first short cartoon to a local movie chain and earned a contract to produce one Laugh-O-Gram cartoon per week.

By 1922, Disney had established a reputation for creativity and was ready to strike out on his own again. In May of that year, he launched Laugh-O-Gram Films with \$15,000 in local investment capital. The company, which employed Iwerks and five other animators, got off to a promising start with a multicartoon contract. Disney delivered the films, but the buyer never paid, and his young company began a fast decline that ended in bankruptcy. In July 1923, a despondent Disney left Kansas City and cartooning for Hollywood, where he planned to become a director.

STARTING OVER IN HOLLYWOOD

Unable to find steady employment in the movie industry, Disney returned to animation. In October 1923, he sold the idea for a series of short films he had conceived in Kansas City featuring a child actress, Virginia Davis, whose image was superimposed on a cartoon. With a contract in hand for twelve of these cartoons, known as Alice Comedies, Disney and brother Roy (who served as business manager) founded Disney Bros. Studio.

The innovative Alice films were a success, and Disney convinced Ub Iwerks to come west to join the new studio as it expanded. In July 1925, Disney married Lillian Bounds, whom he had employed as an inker.

By the mid-1920s, the popularity of the Alice films began to wane, and Disney needed a new vehicle for growth. At the suggestion of his distributor, Disney created a new animated character, Oswald the Lucky Rabbit, who soon earned critical and popular acclaim.

Because Disney had not retained ownership of the character, Oswald's success also precipitated the company's first major crisis. In 1928, as the series'

contract was being renewed, Disney's New York distributor decided to force him to lower his prices by threatening to steal the studio's animators and produce the cartoons himself. Disney refused, and the distributor hired away most of the Disney animation team.

THE BIRTH OF A MOUSE

Mickey Mouse was born out of Disney's urgent need for a new moneymaker. Loyal Ub Iwerks first drew the mouse, and Lillian Disney named it. In a prodigious solo effort, Iwerks created the first Mickey cartoon, *Plane Crazy*, in just two weeks.

Disney was unable to secure a distributor for the first two Mickey films. The third, *Steamboat Willie*, marked a historic innovation in animation. Disney had decided that the future of movies lay in "talking pictures" and created the first cartoon with a soundtrack. Still, Disney could not convince distributors of Mickey's value, so he took Mickey directly to the public. *Steamboat Willie* was first shown in a New York theater on 18 November 1928. It was a smash with moviegoers and critics. Now the distributors pursued Disney.

Learning from past errors, Disney refused to sign the standard distribution agreement of the day. Instead, the studio remained independent and contracted with a distribution agent who was paid a percentage of gross sales. Disney was also wary of dependence on one series of cartoons, and he started a new series named "Silly Symphonies" that was also a success.

By 1931, Mickey Mouse was an international celebrity, and the company was earning a substantial income for merchandising rights to the mouse. In what would become a pattern, Disney invested the studio's earnings in the expansion of facilities and staff. He also began providing art classes for his employees and intensified his focus on the quality of the cartoons, insisting that each be better than the last.

In 1932, Disney released the first color cartoon, a Silly Symphony titled *Flowers and Trees*. The innovation earned him the first Academy Award ever given for animated film. In 1933 he released *The Three Little Pigs*, another Academy Award-winning

cartoon that drove the public into theaters and became a rallying point during the Great Depression.

THE PUSH INTO FEATURE FILMS

In 1934 the ever-ambitious Disney conceived the greatest challenge the studio had ever undertaken. He began work on the first feature-length animated film, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*. The eighty-three-minute film required 2 million drawings. It consumed three years of effort and all of the resources of the studio. Disney borrowed almost \$2 million from Bank of America to complete the film, which was nicknamed "Disney's Folly" and which many predicted would never produce a profit. His resolve paid off, and *Snow White's* first run, beginning in December 1937, earned \$8 million.

Characteristically, Disney invested the proceeds in expansion. He bought fifty-one acres in Burbank, California, for a new studio and hired more employees. He pushed on with animated features, releasing *Pinocchio* in 1940, the year that Walt Disney Productions made its initial public stock offering. Uncharacteristically, Disney pushed too far ahead of popular tastes with *Fantasia*, a film that was a box office failure in 1940 but that today is considered a masterpiece of animation art. *Bambi* followed in 1942.

WAR AND RECOVERY

World War II hit the studio hard, and its international revenues dried up. Scaling back on commercial production, Disney produced training and propaganda films for the government. The studio's debt grew throughout the period; Disney owed \$4 million to his bankers by the war's end.

Money restrictions may have slowed Disney down, but they could not stop him. The studio continued to produce cartoons and animated features. In 1948 he released the studio's first live-action film, *Seal Island*, the first in the True-Life Adventure series. In 1950 the animated feature *Cinderella* became the studio's first major hit since *Snow White*, and Disney was able to cut the studio's debt by more than half. That same year he created a Christmas special for television, a program that presaged a long,

productive relationship with the emerging entertainment medium.

A NEW KIND OF AMUSEMENT PARK

In the early 1950s Disney began considering a new challenge. He wanted to reinvent the amusement park and create a safe, enjoyable environment that would appeal to the entire family. Disney was unable to convince his brother Roy to finance an amusement park from company coffers, but he would not give up the idea. In December 1952 he formed WED Enterprises and committed his personal resources to Disneyland. He borrowed against his life insurance policies and sold a vacation home to finance the planning of the project.

In 1954, a time when Hollywood studios viewed television as their competition, Disney used it to create his dream. Roy cut the deal in which the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) invested \$500,000 and guaranteed \$4.5 million in loans in return for a weekly, one-hour Disney television series and a 35-percent stake in the proposed amusement park.

The television series *Disneyland* (which eventually became *The Wonderful World of Disney*) began airing in October 1954. It opened a whole new business for the company and was followed with popular series such as *The Mickey Mouse Club* (1955) and *Zorro* (1957).

Disney also used television to promote his amusement park, and when Disneyland opened in Anaheim, California, on 17 July 1955, it was an instant sensation. One million people visited Disney's park in its first two months; by October 1956 more than 5 million people had visited.

THE DISNEY EMPIRE

Disney's expansion from film into television and amusement parks laid the foundation for an entertainment empire. His timing could not have been better; the Baby Boom was in full swing, and the demand for family entertainment was exploding. The company's gross income increased more than ten times, from \$6 million in 1950 to \$70 million by the decade's end.

As was his habit, Disney invested both creatively and financially on all fronts. As always, he looked for new challenges. He solicited corporate sponsorships to finance attractions for the 1964 World's Fair in New York. For Disney it was a gigantic marketing test to determine whether the East Coast was ready for a Disneyland of its own. The attractions were the most popular of the two-year fair. In 1965 Disney quietly purchased more than 27,000 acres outside Orlando, Florida, and began planning a colossal theme park.

DISNEY'S LEGACY

Walt Disney never saw the fruition of his last dream. He died on 15 December 1966, two months after surgery for lung cancer. His passing was mourned worldwide. His unceasing drive to innovate made him a larger-than-life figure in the history of animation and Hollywood. During his career he was nominated for sixty-four Academy Awards and won thirty-two—individual records in both categories. In addition, he was the father of the modern theme park industry.

Roy Disney completed Walt Disney World for his brother and died two months after it opened in October 1971. Over the next fifteen years the company the brothers left behind lived off of its past triumphs, a victim of changing tastes and mediocre management. In 1984 a new management team led by Michael Eisner and Frank Wells took control, and the creative spirit of Disney was revitalized.

By 2001, Walt Disney's one-hundredth birthday, the company he founded was the second-largest entertainment conglomerate in the world. Its major businesses included television, radio, film, publishing, and theme parks; its annual revenues reached \$25 billion.

—Theodore B. Kinni

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DISTINCTIVE COMPETENCE APPROACH

The organizational psychologist Philip Selznick introduced the world to the term *distinctive competence* in his 1957 book *Leadership in Administration: A Sociological Interpretation*, which became a classic within the academic literature on leadership. Selznick's term embodies those distinctive resources and capabilities within an organization that give it a competitive edge and allow it achieve and maintain a leadership position in a field. (By contrast, a "core competence" is considered by some management experts to be an internal capability that adds to an organization's success, though may not in and of itself add to its competitive edge and leadership position.)

In *Leadership in Administration*, Selznick tried to clarify the theoretical perspective that he had used in two earlier works. The first, *TVA and the Grass Roots* (1949), was a study of how the organizational character of the Tennessee Valley Authority was formed and how the TVA adopted strategies that later affected its capacity to uphold standards of environmental protection. The second, *The Organizational Weapon* (1952), examined how organizational methods in Marxist-Leninist political parties created a distinctive competence for turning members in a voluntary association into disciplined and deployable organizational agents. In both cases, the organiza-

tions under study were able to develop their distinctive competences because of their leaders' ability to infuse the organizations with meaning.

LEADERS HELP ORGANIZATIONS BECOME INSTITUTIONS

Leadership in Administration was written at a time when, according to the sociologist W. Richard Scott, there were two major perspectives on organizations: the rational-system perspective and the natural-system perspective. The rational-system perspective considered organizations to be no more than formal systems of rules and roles with a fixed set of goals. Organizations were consequently viewed as technical instruments for mobilizing human resources in order to reach given goals. The most important job within such an organization was to secure the best possible allocation of resources; that is, the focus was on obtaining static efficiency. From this perspective, organizations were seen as mechanical systems and therefore studied as if they were entities without any history.

Selznick felt that seeing organizations in that light limited one's understanding of them. Besides being formal systems, organizations are also informal social systems. They may therefore also be studied from what Scott calls a natural-system perspective. The natural-system perspective acknowledges that people in an organization are "whole persons" who have a broader repertoire of behavior than is called into play by the expectations associated with their formal roles in the organization. In most organizations, social relationships emerge alongside formal ones.

In *Leadership in Administration*, Selznick distinguished mere organizations, that is, entities that function at Scott's rational-system level, from institutions, which are more complete, natural-system entities. In setting up his distinction between an organization and an institution, Selznick made a corresponding distinction between managers and management on the one hand and leaders and leadership on the other. Managers would assume that the goals of an organization are something that they should take as given; leaders, by contrast, are those who

define the goal of the organization by defining what type of organization it will be, what identity it should have, and what mission it should pursue.

Turning an organization into an institution requires infusing the organization with value: The organization is given a sense of larger purpose by taking on a special organizational character or special role in its environment. This may happen when the organization voluntarily commits itself to accept certain constraints not by acting in an opportunistic or short-term way but by being committed to its organizational character and long-term strategy. For instance, this may happen when a organization avoids following a profitable, but nonrelated diversification strategy in order to stay within its core competences and maintain its organizational character

LEADERS RECOGNIZE THAT ORGANIZATIONS GROW AND CHANGE

According to Selznick, an institutional (natural-system) perspective on leadership “requires a genetic and developmental approach, an emphasis on historical origins and growth stages. There will be a need to see the enterprise as a whole and to see how it is transformed as new ways of dealing with a changing environment evolve” (1957, 141). Selznick’s emphasis on the need to understand organizations from a genetic and developmental perspective is most apparent in his rather critical attitude toward the Nobel Prize-winning social scientist Herbert Simon’s behavioral perspective, which saw an organization as the outcome of a rather complex equilibrium process. In Simon’s theory, the leader of the firm was conceptualized as an “interpersonal agent” whose primary function was to secure a truce among the organization’s different stakeholders. Selznick criticized that approach for not permitting analysis of how basic values infuse an organization and how long-term character-defining commitments are formulated. Instead of seeing the leader as an interpersonal agent who mediates between conflicting interests, Selznick suggested that we conceptualize the leader as an “institutionalization agent” who shapes the identity of an organization through character-defining commitments.

Further, Selznick felt one should study the organization over time, so one could analyze how the organization’s mission and identity emerge over the long term through the process of institutionalization—that is, through the process of infusing value into the organization. Leadership therefore consists of “accepting the obligation of giving direction instead of merely ministering to organizational equilibrium; in adapting aspiration to the character of organization, bearing in mind what the organization has been will affect what it can be and do; and in transcending bare organizational survival by seeing that specialized decisions do not weaken or confuse the distinctive identity of the enterprise” (1957, 149). In choosing a genetic and developmental model, Selznick goes beyond the traditional functionalist model. Selznick did not see organizations as solutions to well-defined problems; for him an organization was rather dependent upon its former history.

LEADERS BUILD ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITY AND LOOK TO THE LONG TERM

Viewing organizations from an institutional point of view can be seen as analogous to the study of personal identity in clinical psychology. An organization that becomes infused with value is like a person who deliberately limits his or her own future freedom of choice by making character-defining commitments in order to construct a specific identity or character. By binding him- or herself to some rule or moral principle and thereby limiting his or her own freedom of choice (that is, limiting his or her ability to make decision on a case-by-case basis), a person can build a specific identity.

In stressing the importance of moving away from case-by-case decision making, Selznick saw himself as a voice of resistance to the culture of shortsightedness that he thought was predominant in U.S. business life, whether manifested in unproductive conglomerations or in rewards tied to short-term financial gains. In fact, Selznick was warning about shortsightedness in general if a technical rather than an institutional form of leadership was adopted. Technical leadership was, according to Selznick,

characterized by “the pursuit of immediate short-run advantages in a way inadequately controlled by considerations of principle and ultimate consequence” (1957, 143). Organizations were therefore just adapting to short-run problems internally and externally rather than trying to construct an organizational identity for the long run. Selznick considered this kind of case-by-case adaptation to be irresponsible, since it does not leave the organization with any kind of autonomy in relation to its environment; the organization in effect lacks willpower. An institutional form of leadership, by contrast, “look[s] to the long-run effect of present advantage . . . and how changes affect personal and institutional identity” (1957, 143).

The only way for a decision-making unit to overcome its self-command problems is to set up and follow a set of precommitment strategies. We use such strategies as individuals when we are split between our short-term and long-term interests. For example, in order to avoid the temptation of staying in bed when the alarm clock rings at six o’clock in the morning, in the evening we deliberately place the clock out of our reach so we will have to get out of the warm bed in the morning. By such precommitments we are constraining our future decision-making situations, thereby trying to influence our future choices. In a similar way, the responsible leader will use precommitment strategies to build the character, identity, and distinctive competences of his or her organization in order to solve the organization’s self-management problems. Or as Selznick argues: “Our major institutions—political, legal, educational industrial—are under pressure to perform in the short run and have little support, from within or without, for a longer view of what they are doing and where they are going” (1957, vi).

TAKING A CONSTITUTIONAL VIEW OF LEADERSHIP

So far we have focused on Selznick’s analysis of organizations from the perspective of the clinical psychologist. However, such a view may be rather limited, since organizations are not individuals but collective institutions. Selznick prefers instead to view organizations as institutional arrangements that

emerge to solve a mixture of interpersonal and time-related self-command problems. He suggests studying an organization and its problems of leadership as if it were a constitution, that is, as if it were a multi-lateral contractual system that constrains the holders of power within an organization in order to secure individual members’ human-capital investments in the organization. The analogy is to a political constitution that sets up certain restrictions on what type of policies the majority in a parliament may pass. For instance, a majority will be unable to violate the civil rights of its inhabitants. These precommitments constitute the values of the society; similarly, the precommitments that private organizations accept construct its organizational identity, character, and distinctive competences.

—Christian Knudsen

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DISTRIBUTION OF LEADERSHIP

In the last half-century’s history of ideas, few concepts have had stronger and more popular currency among both the general public and scholarly com-

munity than “leadership.” In both of these domains, the contemporary dominant conception of leadership is “exceptionalism.” The antecedents of exceptionalism were evident in the now discredited “great man” theory of history and in the trait theory of leadership, which prevailed until about the late 1940s.

LEADERSHIP BY EXCEPTION

Exceptionalism reemerged during the early-1980s with the gradual supplanting of command-and-control line managerialism by rhetorics of integration and control achieved through the management of culture. The idea of exceptionalism assumes that leadership is the monopoly of individual position-holders or a handful of strategically located actors in organizations. This doctrine is legitimated by a discursive normative split—a conceptual distinction that is often drawn between managers and leaders—between leadership and management that constructs leaders as visionary champions who, unlike managers, add value to organizations.

Leadership that is exceptional is presumed to be manifest behaviorally in individual deeds of heroic proportions, as is evident in an accompanying discourse of transformation that attributes states of organizational turnaround, revitalization, and performative excellence to high profile, larger-than-life figures. Exceptional leadership, then, is “focused” leadership. The totality of the behavior that is deemed to count as leadership by exemplars, proponents, and observers alike is presumed to be concentrated in one or at best a very few hands.

The popularity of focused exceptionalism has resided mostly in its attraction as a presumed solution to the problem of motivation, that is, how to secure enhanced levels of employee output and productivity in a competitive global economy. Exceptionalism puts the bar very high. It says, in effect, “If you want to be a leader, then this is how high you have to be prepared to jump.” Its status is also fuelled by a wider culture of narcissism and romanticism in which control by so-called ordinary functionaries has proven incapable of representing popular fantasies of organizational leadership (Gabriel 1997, 338). Despite its seductive appeal, however, focused

exceptionalism generates a number of unintended consequences. First, while canonizing leaders, its proponents are inclined to downplay or demonize the work of managers (Krantz and Gilmore 1990).

Second, while highlighting the claimed superiority of leaders, exceptionalism has residualized and infantilized so-called followers. For this reason, the experience of nonleadership induces feelings of disempowerment and alienation (Gabriel 1997). Such outcomes create strong incentives for prospective and aspiring leaders to disengage from the career pursuit of leadership roles. Exceptionalism puts the bar very high. Many people reason that since not everyone can be—nor would they want to be—a hero-like figure, a leadership role is not worth the intense effort required to achieve it.

Third, and perhaps most importantly, in foregrounding the work of leaders, exceptionalism glosses the complexities of the division of labor in the workplace and the processes by which the totality of an organization’s work is accomplished (Gronn 2003, 28–43).

DISTRIBUTING LEADERSHIP

An alternative to focused exceptionalism, is a conception of leadership grounded in the actual division of workplace labor: dispersed, shared, or distributed leadership. It was Gibb (1954) who first articulated the possibility of “distributed leadership.” Initially, his idea attracted remarkably little scholarly attention. Recently, however, it has been developed conceptually by both Spillane, Halverson, & Diamond (2000) and Gronn (2002).

Unlike focused exceptionalism, which is the creature of a discursive world of hierarchically prescribed binaries (e.g., leader–follower, superior–subordinate), distributed leadership is grounded in a representation of the workplace as a community of practice. Communities of practice are the products of flexibilized work arrangements. As such, they may be located within conventionally defined organizational structures, or across interorganizational fields as a result of coalitions, joint ventures, strategic alliances, and partnerships between organizations within an industry sector. Potentially, organizational

personnel may be members simultaneously of a number of cross-cutting and interconnected communities. Typically, communities of practice are of varying membership size and duration, and they coalesce around regular, seasonally defined activities (e.g., annual budget preparation), ongoing portfolios of responsibilities (e.g., marketing, research and development) and one-off major workplace projects (e.g., restructuring). Role relations in such communities of practice tend to be fluid rather than fixed, and lateral rather than hierarchical, with terms such as “interdependence” and “reciprocity,” rather than “dependence,” more accurately reflecting the members’ patterns of working engagement. In these kinds of circumstances, the conventional dualism of leader–followers, which presupposes a bifurcation of influence (the core defining attribute of leadership for most commentators) into fixed categorical quantities and directional flows (i.e., leaders exercise preponderant influence over followers), proves manifestly incapable of corraling the actualities of emergent practice.

In contrast to the false promise of exceptionalism, then, distributed leadership offers an expanded view of how organizations are led and the place of leadership in the articulation of work. Distributed leadership exists in a number of guises. First, in its simplest form, it means, potentially, that every single organization member may be influential and display leadership, for at least some of the time and in a variety of ways, as noted by Yukl (1999, 292–293). Within a particular theater of operations, therefore, distributed leadership may be understood as the aggregated influence of numerous individual agents. Even though the influence of some of these agents may turn out to be



Distribution of Leadership in a Hierarchal Society

Korea is a society where age, kinship, and education determine who are the leaders and who are the followers. However, in day-to-day life, other factors often matter more, as indicated by the following account of the informal leadership based on skill and knowledge that was apparent on a trip on a Korean boat.

An example from my field notes illustrates the situation on one boat:

It was four o'clock in the morning, and we went a couple of miles across the bay to pick up a friend of the captain's before leaving for Incheon. The coastline was dark with no easily distinguishable features, and there was neither light nor voice to guide us. Soon we were aground in the mud. There was a lot of poling and shouting from the bow and a great deal of starting, stopping, and reversing of the propeller as we hunted for a channel that would take us right up to the rocks. Changes of course, plan, and even helmsman took place rapidly without any apparent coordination, all accompanied by a constant stream of shouted warnings from the bow and insistent suggestions from everyone else. Judged by New England standards the atmosphere on the boat was one of chaotic excitement bordering on panic.

Throughout the episode, however, nothing occurred that really upset the skipper or crew, or that even seemed noteworthy enough for them to talk about afterwards. No serious mistake in seamanship was made, and the boat was worked reasonably effectively. There was no visible evidence of the captain being in command except that he held the tiller more than anyone else. Everyone seemed to operate independently according to his own whim, and yet it all fit together somehow to produce the desired result. When we finally did get near the rocks and located our passenger, the boat handling was impressive. Considerable surge of the sea and jagged half submerged rocks made it a nasty spot. I still don't know if the captain's impassivity amidst pandemonium was fatalism or expert knowledge of the "landing."

Source: Brandt, Vincent S. R. (1971). *A Korean Village between Farm and Sea*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, p. 104.

more consequential in determining task outcomes than others, this acknowledgment of the possibility of multiple agency suggests that the spirit of distributed practice is broadly democratic. That is, while expectations of absolute parity or equality of causal effects on performance by every employee may be unrealistic, the existence of dispersed sources of influence represents a shift in recognition from one focused, preponderant voice toward the possibility of multivocal leadership.

Second, at the same time as there may be multiple individual agents, other agents also act concertively

in multimember work units. Here, the leadership agency is conjoint. That is, the members blend or fuse their plans and purposes to such an extent that, for all practical purposes, they appear to act as a “shared mind” (Schrage 1990), with understanding and cognition distributed among the members.

This conjoint agency in the workplace tends not to be mandated, but emerges spontaneously, as people “rub shoulders” with one another and discover their interests or capacities in common. This may explain why the bonding and synergies between members tend to be stronger in “bottom up” workplace teams than in project teams mandated from on high as part of the managerial prerogative. There are numerous examples of conjoint agency (Gronn 2002, 436–437). Most entail strong working partnerships formed by two or more people with complementary skills and temperaments, and who, over time, have developed a depth of mutual trust and implicit understanding. They include not only hierarchically positioned executives and their deputies or support staff, but also coworkers, musicians, sportsmen and women, and part-time board chairs and managers.

In every instance, the agents are interdependent and they negotiate their shared role space to coordinate their work-related activities. The tandem-like quality of their working partnership is sufficient to render meaningless any attempted disaggregation of their respective contributions into “leader” and “follower,” for together they constitute a distributed leadership unit.

Fixed a priori dualisms, such as leader–follower, then, provide remarkably little analytical purchase—analytical insight, understanding, or help—in trying to come to grips with the dynamism of the circumstances just outlined. Gibb (1958, 103) himself dismissed the search for hard and fast distinctions between leaders and followers as akin to drawing arbitrary lines on a behavioral frequency continuum. Likewise, Follett (1973/1926, 120–121), previously, had inveighed against the exaggerated significance of an authority figure’s order or command as “a larger part of a whole process than it really is” for, she maintained, all the actions of others that led up to and followed the moment of decision making also

needed to be acknowledged for a realistic appreciation of organizational conduct. For these reasons, resort to a dualism such as leader–follower, as a means, ostensibly, of simplifying understanding of workplace complexities, serves merely to silence awareness of the realities of the labor process. This act of invisibilization, as Shapin’s (1989) historical analyses of the division of labor in scientific laboratories indicate graphically, is most clearly evident in the reduction of the collective processes of knowledge construction to the product of an individual mind, and their authorial attribution to an exceptional figure of history. And when a variety of hagiographers and publication media collude in this process of attribution making, a mythology of “genius” is afforded cultural legitimacy.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The field of leadership, unlike the cognate terminology in the areas with it is most closely associated conceptually, in particular, influence and power, has spawned a discourse of exceptionality. Curiously, whereas for students of power, such as political scientists and historians, resort to a phrase such as “the distribution of power” is commonplace in their analyses of organizations, social structures, and societies, commentators in leadership have shied away from the use of words like “distribution” or dispersal.

Although the alternative idea of “the distribution of leadership” proposed in this entry in no way denies the existence of and social significance accorded exceptional individuals, it has taken issue with the oversimplification of workplace reality legitimated by attributions of leadership exceptionality. As an antidote to invisibilization, distributed leadership is offered, less as a celebration of the mundane and unexceptional than as an acknowledgment that organizational viability and the satisfactory accomplishment of work is dependent on the capability of many hands, not just the presumed greatness of a few.

—Peter Gronn

See also Empowerment; Networks and Networking; Teamwork

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 **DOMINANCE AND SUBMISSION**

Dominance is exercising controlling power or influence over something, usually other people; persons who are dominant command and rule. Consequently, dominance is closely related to leadership. Submission, on the other hand, is obeying—willingly carrying out the wishes of others. In ordinary language dominance concerns issuing orders, and submission concerns complying with those orders.

One should distinguish between dominance as a characteristic of a person and dominance as a characteristic of a role. It is easy to visualize the problems that would occur when a nondominant person occupies a dominant role or when a dominant person occupies a subordinate role. Similarly, one should

distinguish between submission as a characteristic of persons and of roles.

Dominance and submission are not necessarily antonyms (opposites); rather, they seem to be orthogonal (uncorrelated). Thus, depending on the circumstances, a normally dominant person might submit to another person's authority—a sergeant follows the orders of a lieutenant—and a normally obedient person might disobey authority—an accountant refuses the request of a senior executive to falsify his books. The idea that dominance and submission are orthogonal, not antonymic, is crucial for understanding the psychology of dominance and submission.

THE ORIGINS OF DOMINANCE

Dominance as a characteristic of individuals almost surely has a genetic basis. This conclusion is supported by three lines of evidence.

First, it is possible to breed for dominance. Behavior geneticists developed strains of dominant mice and rats after World War II. Moreover, terriers dominate beagles, and every tropical fish fancier knows that certain fish species dominate other species.

Second, every flock of chickens has a pecking order, every herd of cows has a lead cow, and every wolf pack has lead males and females. All troops of social primates are organized in terms of dominance hierarchies. The principal social dynamic in a chimpanzee troop concerns coalition building as subordinates try to overthrow the lead male. The fact that chimpanzees are humans' nearest living primate relatives—the two share over 90 percent of their genes—makes this an interesting perspective on human social behavior.

One should note that in animal interactions, from lizards to chimpanzees, dominance is almost identical to aggressiveness. Animals establish dominance by intimidating or physically defeating their competitors. Among the primates and especially the chimpanzees, matters are more complex. Two male chimpanzees can always defeat a single animal; the lead chimpanzee is the one who can attract the most support from other chimpanzees in his aggressive encounters with competitors.

Third, developmental psychologists Patricia Haw-

*An army of deer would be more formidable
commanded by a lion, than an army of lions
commanded by a stag.*

—Viking Proverb

ley and Ted Little (1999) studied toddlers in New Haven, Connecticut, in free-play situations. They report three important findings. First, almost as soon as the toddlers were mobile, some tried to dominate others, largely by taking their toys away from them. Second, at some point in the three-to-four-year-old age range, a kind of status hierarchy developed, and the high-status (popular) children were defined as the ones the other children watched. Third, about this time, the children who tried to preempt the toys of the others (i.e., the dominant children) separated into two groups. The first group of dominant children continued to take toys away by force, and these children were not well liked by the others. The second group, the popular children, would approach another child and say something like, “Let’s you and me play with your toy.” The approached child, happy to play with the popular child, would then be willing to share his or her toy. This seems to reflect the origins of something like prosocial and antisocial dominance, where prosocial dominance is associated with social skill, and antisocial dominance is associated with raw aggression.

The facts that dominance hierarchies are universal in mammalian groups, that it is possible to breed for dominance, and that dominance behavior appears spontaneously in human toddlers strongly support the notion that dominance has a genetic basis. In humans, however, naked aggression and prosocial dominance quickly separate, with the latter being associated with popularity. What are the developmental origins of prosocial dominance? It is probably learned from caretakers through the modeling process.

THE ORIGINS OF SUBMISSION

Submission is defined in terms of obedience to another’s rules, usually another person who is in a higher-status role. Consequently, the origins of sub-

mission are identical to the origins of socialization—the process by which children come to comply with the wishes of parents and community. Compliance seems to be an interaction between genetics and child rearing. Human infants are innately predisposed to some compliance—which is why they are able to learn language so quickly. Similarly, infants of many other mammalian species seem innately prepared to respond to warning signals from their mothers. Researchers in child development suggest that parent-child relationships have two major dimensions—warmth and restrictiveness. Children raised by parents who are warm and restrictive have two characteristics in common compared to children raised in other ways: (1) They seem compliant; and (2) they seem mature.

DOMINANCE AND LEADERSHIP

One of the most carefully developed and extensively validated measures of dominance that is commercially available is the dominance scale of the California Psychological Inventory (CPI). This measure was developed empirically by comparing the responses of persons with high and low ratings for dominance across a large pool of items. The scale has been shown repeatedly to predict various measures of leadership using both ratings and performance indicators. Furthermore, in CPI-based studies of leadership, the adjective that is most frequently used to describe persons with high ratings for leadership is “dominant.”

Since the early 1980s, the world of personality measurement has undergone a framework shift associated with the so-called Five-Factor Model (FFM; also known as the Big Five Personality Traits). The principal research agenda of the advocates of the FFM has been to show that the same five factors can be recovered from virtually any set of personality data, and they have been largely successful in this effort.

Despite the popularity of the FFM, it has not been particularly useful for the purposes of this discussion of dominance and submission for two reasons. First, the standard version of the FFM is defined in terms of the following dimensions: extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability, and

intellect/openness. Dominance is not part of this taxonomy. Some people might argue that dominance is part of extraversion, which they characterize as combining sociability (the love of social interaction) with an active and adventurous engagement with the world. This is a serious reinterpretation of the concept of extraversion as the concept is normally understood. So, the first problem with trying to incorporate the concept of dominance into the FFM is that it doesn't fit with the taxonomy—the fit is arbitrary at best. The second problem is that the FFM is typically used to organize data rather than predict performance outcomes, and the dominance scale of the CPI predicts leadership criteria better than extraversion from the FFM. Nonetheless, in a meta-analytic (aggregating results across studies) study of the links between the FFM and two indices of leadership, industrial-organizational psychologists Timothy Judge, Joyce Bono, Remus Ilies, and Megan Gerhardt (2002) report a correlation of .33 between extraversion and leadership, indicating a modest but reliable link.

Personality psychologists Robert Hogan and Joyce Hogan (1995) argue that the extraversion dimension of the FFM is too broad, that it confuses two not closely related components—sociability and ambition—and that the ambition component, and not sociability, predicts leadership. The ambition scale of the Hogan Personality Inventory (HPI) is designed to assess the components of status seeking covered by several CPI scales, including dominance and capacity for status. The correlation reported by Judge and associates (2002) almost certainly reflects the influence of ambition, not extraversion.

SUBMISSION AND LEADERSHIP

Submission is not the opposite (antonym) of dominance; rather it is orthogonal to (uncorrelated with) dominance, and a better term for *submission* might be *conformity*, as indicated by the standard definition of *submission*. Some evidence indicates that measures of conformity are also related to leadership. The Judge et al. (2002) study of leadership reports a correlation of .33 between the conscientiousness dimension of the FFM and two indices of leadership; this is

the same value that they report for the extraversion dimension. Thus, the only major study dealing with the issue suggests that measures of dominance and submission predict leadership equally well, a finding that makes good conceptual sense. A standard line in the military is, “You have to know how to be a good follower before you can be a good leader,” and that is what the data of Judge and his colleagues indicate.

Not only is conformity related to measures of leadership, but also it is a strong predictor of status in bureaucratic hierarchies. Psychologists Leonard Goodstein and William Schrader (1963) and Harrison Gough (1984) developed and refined a CPI-based measure of managerial potential. The psychological and psychometric core of this CPI-based measure is conformity. The following adjectives characterize persons with high scores: *responsible, reasonable, reliable, organized, and stable*; the following adjectives characterize persons with low scores: *rebellious, immature, careless, and irresponsible*.

DOMINANCE, SUBMISSION, AND PERSONALITY THEORY

Developmental personality psychologist John Digman (1997) provides a wide-ranging review of the role of dominance, submission, the FFM, and personality theory. His argument can be summarized in terms of three points. First, he argues that the FFM can be organized in terms of two superordinate factors. The first factor is defined by the FFM dimensions of extraversion (which Digman refers to as “ascendance”) and intellect. The second factor is defined by the FFM dimensions of agreeableness, conscientiousness, and emotional stability.

Second, Digman states that these two orthogonal dimensions concern different psychological themes. The first dimension concerns active engagement with the world and defines a continuum from passivity and avoidance to activity and engagement. The second factor resembles the socialization process, the movement from rebellion and independence to conformity, compliance, and maturity.

Third, Digman states that these two dimensions are common themes in traditional personality psychology. They have been referred to as “striving for

superiority and social interests” (Alfred Adler, “fear of life and fear of death” (Otto Rank), “aggression and love” (Sigmund Freud), “agency and communion” (David Bakan), “status seeking and approval seeking” (Hogan), and “power and intimacy” (Dan McAdams).

Dominance and submission are archetypal dimensions of personality psychology, and both are related to leadership. A review of the literature surrounding these two dimensions suggests the following conclusions:

- Dominance and submission are orthogonal, not antonymic, dimensions.
- Dominance predicts leadership.
- Submission (conformity) predicts managerial potential.
- Dominance fits uncomfortably in the FFM, suggesting a limitation in that taxonomy.
- Dominance and submission seem to be higher-order factors arising from the FFM.
- Dominance and submission are archetypal dimensions in personality theory.

—Robert Hogan and Joyce Hogan

See also Autocratic Leadership; Conflict; Followership; Obedience; Resistance

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DOT-COM MELTDOWN

During the late 1990s, enthusiasm over the possibilities of doing business using the Internet attracted entrepreneurs and investors to participate in what the media called the “new economy.” The new economy generated new heroes, such as Jeff Bezos, the founder of Amazon.com and *Time Magazine*'s 1999 man of the year. Business schools began developing new e-commerce programs to teach the next generation how to succeed in the new economy. Some of the newly formed Internet companies, often called dot-coms, launched initial public offerings (IPOs); their stock values soared with little relation to their business performance. For example, Akamai Technologies, founded in August 1998 by a professor at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), was valued at \$13 billion at the time of its IPO though its revenues were only \$1.3 million. As early as the middle of the year 2000, the short dot-com boom turned into a “dot-bomb” wave. Investors and venture capitalists were realizing that their investments were highly risky, and companies were burning through the remains of their working capital. Stock values declined, companies began laying off employees, and the period that the U.S. Federal Reserve Board Chairman, Alan Greenspan, had

characterized back in 1996 as one of “irrational exuberance,” ended.

Preliminary research into the dot-com meltdown found poor business models, a lack of competitive advantage, and problems in organization and execution contributed to the young companies’ demise. However, while earlier analyses have focused on organizational factors and poor strategic leadership as reasons for the dot-com meltdown, this entry focuses on the role of leadership within the company in the dot-com demise.

BACKGROUND: LEADING IN INTERNET TIME

During the mid-1990s, many in the business world and media began emphasizing the need for fast-acting, fast-thinking leaders who were capable of dealing effectively with a constantly changing business environment. With the rise of the Internet, people began to speak of managing in “Internet time,” implying that effective leaders were highly dynamic individuals who emphasized speed. This was the background for the evolving dot-com culture.

In addition to speed, the new culture emphasized other values of youth, including the need to rebel against traditional management. Internet companies were led by a younger generation. Sydney Finkelstein, a professor of strategy, found that dot-com executives were on the average ten year younger than executives in other companies. Denouncing the old economy, the new dot-com leaders developed their own language of business with terms such as *space* and *business models* replacing *market* and *strategy*. The dot-com culture was celebrated by the press, which portrayed its young leaders as heroes of a new industrial revolution and further mystified the Internet and its business potential; the soaring stock market confirmed popular perceptions that the new leadership style was anything but traditional.

The new leadership style that prevailed in Internet companies deemphasized the need for structure and planning and the dangers of failing. Many dot-com leaders viewed organizational structures and procedures, necessary for the success of any business, as useless or ineffective. Successful startups and failures were equally disdainful of bureaucracy; con-

trary to the myth, a lack of bureaucracy was not a reason for success even in the high-paced Internet economy. The dot-com leaders also took the notion that failure breeds innovation to unwarranted extremes. Finkelstein quotes Marc Andreesen, the founder of Netscape, who said, “The bottom line for me is I fail, like, let’s say, six months after I launch the company. I just absolutely fail. So what’s going to happen? I’m going to apply to business school and have an incredible application. Failure is, like, part of the business plan” (Finkelstein 2001, 180). While leadership that tolerates failure is important, it is also important for leaders to assure that followers learn from their failures.

The attitude of dot-com leaders toward the economy, principles of management, and business success also affected the way they led their employees. Liberal approaches that emphasized employee satisfaction, high intrinsic but also very often extrinsic rewards, and “innovative” cultures were all in line with new theories of leadership that were popular at the time and that avoided discussing traditional aspects of effective leadership. The following two case studies—of a company that failed and a company that is struggling—reveal facets of the leadership styles that prevailed in the new economy.

SMARTTECH.COM: DOES TECHNOLOGY MAKE THE DIFFERENCE?

Smarttech.com began as an idea of two PhD students at MIT’s prestigious Media Laboratory. The MIT Media Lab, founded by Nicholas Negroponte, a professor of media technology and an Internet guru, was where many founders and employees of dot-com companies got their start. A January 2002 *Forbes* article described the Media Lab of the 1990s as a “white beacon for a shining high-tech future filled with gadgets, gizmos and seemingly endless funding. Its legions of techies have eagerly spent money donated by corporate sponsors since the lab opened its doors in 1985. The money—an annual budget of about \$40 million—went not only to sometimes wild ideas like ‘smart’ potholders, dice, chairs and animal building blocks, but also apparently to fund some dot-com-style largesse” (Herper 2002).

Smartech.com evolved in the Media Lab in late 1997. The Lab was also the source for the company's management team, which included Karin Dunkin, the company's first CEO; Matthew Flynn, the main founder; and Kevin Heins, who joined later from the Lab. All were in their late twenties. In order to impress potential investors, the team hired Barry Weiner, an older fellow, who had already published a prominent book in the field of media technology. With about \$1 million in seed funding, the team hired employees to develop a product designed to aid web shoppers' interaction with e-commerce websites.

Leadership at Smartech.com

In 1999, a year after the company's launch, a venture capitalist invested a significant amount of money in the company but insisted that professional management rather than the "creative" staff run the company. Consequently, the founders hired Jennifer Eng, a new CEO with a glorious background as a CEO of a major portal that she led to a successful IPO. Eng introduced the "matrix management style" that divided managerial responsibility between Heins and a new administrator, John Green, who was hired with the intention of freeing Heins from dealing with employees' personal issues. This innovative management style was intended to allow research and development teams to spend maximum time on product development, unhindered by other organizational or bureaucratic tasks. As one employee said, "this structure allowed Kevin [Heins] to focus on product development which is what really mattered."

The Leadership Style of the Innovation Guru

In early 2000, things still looked good for the company. They had been able to attract their first client, an e-commerce website, and to negotiate a good deal with a major portal. Following these first signs of success, Smartech went on a hiring frenzy, hiring mainly friends of the founders and graduates of the MIT Media Lab. By early 2000 the company had more than sixty employees. It was a highly homogeneous company, composed almost entirely of graduates from MIT and other prestigious private univer-

sities. Heins's decision to hire only programmers who were familiar with a rather rare and unpopular computer language further contributed to the highly homogeneous culture. As one of the employees noted, "it was a cohesive and exciting culture but yet very restricted to certain types of people."

The main force behind this culture and atmosphere was Heins, Smartech's innovation guru. An employee who reported to him described him as "charismatic yet friendly and down to earth, extremely tech savvy but also open-minded." A visionary leader, Heins was determined to grow the company exponentially and to win with technology; technology was the drive and source of inspiration for his research and development team. The development of innovative technology was the collective goal that aligned team members. The team adored Heins, who recognized their effort and work, listened, and gave advice. His leadership provided the foundation for Smartech's culture of cooperation and peer support. His total devotion to technological competence together with enthusiasm and openness allowed him to transform competitive individuals into a cooperative team committed to innovation and technological mastery.

The Challenges

However, Heins's charisma was not enough; leading Smartech.com's research and development required something more. Even highly committed team members who shared Heins's enthusiasm were frustrated with his lack of organization. One of them said, "Kevin was an idea guy but not an implementer. . . . the meetings he ran were slow and inefficient, many questions remained unanswered, there was little planning and even that was unrealistic." He was lenient with the team regarding meeting deadlines. "It was frustrating to see how he could not cut people when they were so unfocused." Under Heins's management, communication between team members was poor, and there was an overall lack of focus.

Barry Weiner, who had both reputation and knowledge, was even less organized than Heins; team members perceived him as "slow, detached, and idiosyncratic." The administrative team was not

very helpful either. Eng, the CEO, was concentrating on getting Smartech to the IPO stage rather than paying attention to the actual challenges.

At that point, the company had a burn rate of \$500,000 a month, no new customers, and generated little interest with potential investors. It was only a few months after the peak of enthusiasm that Eng asked for a meeting of the research and development team. Such meetings were rare given that Eng was hardly involved with internal affairs. Even when things looked very bad, her focus was on the IPO. She started the meeting by announcing that all those in attendance were fired. There was no notice; there had been no sense of urgency in the company prior to the meeting. Three weeks after the meetings the remaining employees were laid off and the company shut down.

MEDIANEXT.COM: A TALE OF NARCISSISTIC LEADERSHIP

In May 1998, David Kelly, Jerry Stern, and Mona Kim graduated from the Interactive Telecommunication Program at New York University's Tisch School and started a web design company. At that time New York City's newly formed "Silicon Alley" was beginning to establish itself as the hub for new-media companies—companies specializing in information technology and especially Internet-related technologies. The booming New York economy attracted artsy people to join the new wave of startups that were focused on bringing music, design, and other arts to the Web. The market for new-media product seemed endless at the time, as companies raced to create and maintain fancy websites in order not to be left behind. Kelly and his colleagues were able to enlarge their web business to take further advantage of the dot-com market. In early 1999 they transformed their company into a software company, with a goal of developing video applications for websites that used animation to convey advertising and other messages. They aimed to attract potential clients mainly from the entertainment industry.

The Magnet

Early in the process of forming the company, Kelly emerged as a leader. His leadership manifested in

both his ability to obtain crucial resources and his "magical" influence on fellow team members. Kelly's first step was to approach a family member who agreed to provide initial funding of \$5 million. Kelly also reached out to a friend in the entertainment industry and recruited him for the management team. The success of the company as well as the atmosphere in the New York media business led to euphoria in the early days of MediaNext.com. It became a part of the Silicon Alley community, notorious for its parties and celebrations but also for its culture of nonstop work. "It was like a family," recalled a former employee. "We were so enthusiastic about the product, about being artists in the coolest media. . . . it seemed irrelevant that some of our loyal web shop customers were unhappy with the new direction that the company was taking." Every product launch was a major party. One of these parties took place in a major club in Manhattan and featured balloons with the company logo and product name; all the guests were given fancy gifts. The company engaged in intensive recruiting when it was difficult to hire computer programmers—after a short conversation with Kelly, candidates rushed to join the company. By mid-1999 the company had more than fifty employees. It also started to have clients, though it was never profitable. Kelly's enthusiasm was contagious, and he had the ability to use language to inspire—he was a true magnet.

"David Is the Company and the Company is David"

As magnetic as he was, it didn't take long for Kelly's weaknesses to surface. He insisted on being copied on all e-mail messages and was very impatient with others, including his partners. Only a few months after the company was formed, his two partners, Jerry Stern and Mona Kim, left the company, and so did the new hire from the entertainment industry. The former chief financial officer (CFO) described how meetings with company directors were managed. "Meetings would begin with a typical question that David [Kelly] would address to participants, however, he would not wait to hear the answer, rather he often burst towards participants with comments such as 'you don't understand the technology, why am I

wasting my time listening to you?” Kelly not only hated listening to others, he also had no patience to teach them; mentoring was a waste of time for him. His narcissistic leadership style was too much even for the financial backer and family friend who had supplied the company’s initial funding.

Following the burst of the dot-com bubble in mid-2000 and the consequent decline in investment in Internet companies, the company quickly deteriorated, though it was still able to maintain its web design business. The financial backer hired a professional CEO to replace Kelly, and managed to persuade Kelly that Kelly’s lack of business management experience was a problem. David agreed to be the research and development director. However, in effect he continued to manage the company. Employees, afraid to lose their job, continued to listen to him, gradually eroding the status of the new CEO. The new CEO resigned after a few months, and so did the one who replaced him. In 2003 the company was still struggling, moving more into its original web design business, where David’s talents are strongest.

CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE LEADERSHIP STYLES AT SMARTECH.COM AND MEDIANEXT.COM

Four factors stand out as contributing to the failure of Smartech.com and the lack of success of MediaNext.com.

A Dangerous Context

Leadership emerges and is evaluated in context, and a key element of the context for the dot-com rise and meltdown was the idealization, if not idolization, of technology. In that context, technology-oriented leaders were bound to emerge, but their perceived strength—mastery of the technology—was also their weakness. In the case of Smartech, a homogeneous, technology-focused culture put Heins in an ideal leadership position, but also restricted creativity and deemphasized necessary business skills. Similarly, the turbulent late 1990s were the context for Kelly’s emergence at MediaNext as a charismatic leader

who attracted new people and investors. However, his leadership style did not allow others’ input thus decreasing the company’s ability to change.

The Insufficiency of Charisma

Both Smartech and MediaNext had charismatic leaders. While charisma is useful for influencing others, leaders need more than charisma to manage a company. Bernard Bass and Bruce Avolio, two scholars who have studied leadership, have suggested that effective leadership requires attention to goal setting and rewards as well as to personal charisma.

Lack of Business Skills

Many of the entrepreneurs who started Internet companies had technology background but not enough business education. Although Smartech hired a professional CEO, she was more focused on the IPO than on running the business and left the actual management of the company to the “techies.” MediaNext’s Kelly also lacked the business skills that would have complemented his charismatic personality.

Individual versus Collective Goals

Effective leaders focus on collective rather than individual goals. The dot-com leaders, by comparison, were largely interested in themselves. Kelly’s style, for example, was narcissistic. The psychoanalyst and anthropologist Michael Maccoby has suggested that such leaders, “although they say they want teamwork. . . [actually] want a group of yes-men” (Maccoby 2000, 72). Leaders are responsible for aligning their organization by emphasizing collective goals—and they themselves must be the first to fall in line.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THEORY AND PRACTICE

Many leadership theorists and researchers have argued that effective leaders are charismatic, especially during crisis periods. Although the evidence presented above is anecdotal, it sounds a cautionary note. Future research should examine the role of

charisma in evolving companies, especially during times of economic prosperity. Does charisma stimulate innovation? If not, what leadership style does lead to innovation and success? Meanwhile, leadership training programs should emphasize that collective goals and teamwork are essential components of a successful startup operation.

—Yair Berson

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DU BOIS, W. E. B. (1868–1963)

*African-American scholar and
civil rights leader*

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois was one of the most important African-American leaders in the United States in the first half of the twentieth century. He was a man of many talents who made significant contributions as a journalist, research scholar, sociologist, historian, novelist, pamphleteer,

civil rights leader, and teacher. Among his many publications are sociological studies, ground-breaking histories of the slave trade and Reconstruction, a biography of John Brown, as well as fictional works such as *Quest of the Silver Fleece* (1911). Biographer David Levering Lewis characterizes Du Bois's life as a collective portrait of the African-American intelligentsia in the mid-twentieth century. It is almost impossible to undertake a study of African-Americans without encountering W. E. B. Du Bois's name at every turn.

Du Bois has been portrayed as an overconfident, uncompromising, and arrogant man, but he could also be modest and self-effacing. In his autobiography he publicly questioned his effectiveness as a leader. Nevertheless, Du Bois's leadership qualities are well documented. He was instrumental in the formation of the Niagara movement—an organization that was the precursor to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). He was also a major promoter of the NAACP publication program and served as editor of its magazine, *The Crisis*, from 1910 to 1934. As editor of *The Crisis*, Du Bois exercised considerable influence on African-American politics and thought.

During a long (ninety-five years) and productive lifetime, Du Bois changed his opinions on issues of the day many times. A complex and unpredictable personality, he could appear as assertive, accommodative, practical, obtuse, an activist, a joiner, and a loner. Despite his many personal and intellectual inconsistencies, Du Bois's thoughts and actions were united by a single goal: to achieve what he saw as the betterment of all “people of color”—African-Americans and Africans alike.

DU BOIS'S EARLY LIFE AND CAREER

W. E. B. Du Bois was born on 23 February 1868, on Church Street in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. In 1884 he graduated as valedictorian of Great Barrington High School. He married (twice) and had two children. Only one child—a daughter—survived to adulthood. In 1888, Du Bois graduated from Fisk College (now Fisk University), a historically black institution in Nashville, Tennessee.



Du Bois on the Veil

After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world,—a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife—this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face.

Source: Du Bois, W. E. B. (1903). *The Souls of Black Folk*. Retrieved September 11, 2003, from <http://www.bartleby.com/114/1.html>

Growing up in Great Barrington, he experienced subtle discrimination, but it was in Tennessee that Du Bois first experienced overt racial discrimination. Du Bois earned a second bachelor's degree (1890) and a master of arts degree (1892) from Harvard University in Cambridge. From 1892 to 1893 he studied at the University of Berlin where he was greatly influenced by the socialist scholar Edward Bernstein. He also studied with the eminent sociologist/economist Max Weber. In 1895 W. E. B. Du Bois was awarded the first doctorate ever to be granted to an African-American by Harvard University. He would have preferred to have earned his Ph.D. from the University of Berlin and attempted to distance himself from Harvard by later claiming that he was "in" Harvard but not "of" Harvard. The bulk of his personal papers are archived at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

The significance of Du Bois's brief period of study in Berlin should not be underestimated. First, his experiences in Berlin forced him to consider the "race problem" in America from a global perspective. Second, his Berlin training influenced him

politically. As Manning Marable has suggested, Du Bois was introduced to Marxism in his twenties and remained sympathetic to Marxism for much of his adult life. His socialist leanings in later life should not be seen as an abrupt departure from previously held beliefs.

Du Bois was very much a public figure who divided his time equally between intellectual pursuits and the political arena. He spent much of his career in academe. After receiving his doctorate from Harvard, Du Bois served as professor of Latin and Greek at Wilberforce University (1894–1896) and as an assistant instructor of sociology at the University of Pennsylvania (1896–1897). But he is best known for his long and productive association with Atlanta University, where he was a professor of economics

and history from 1897 to 1910 and served as the chair of the sociology department from 1934 to 1944.

Du Bois's doctoral dissertation, "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638–1870," was published in 1896. It constitutes a pioneering application of economic analysis to history. Previous studies of slavery had examined the development of Southern slavery from the standpoint of social ethics but had given little attention to slavery's indissoluble connection to the cotton market.

Although Du Bois's Ph.D. was in history, he was broadly trained as a social scientist and conducted numerous empirical studies of the social and economic conditions affecting African-Americans. He approached social research with a great sense of urgency and believed that compact communities such as the African-American ghetto and the "Black Belt" were crying out for sociological analysis. Between 1897 and 1914, Du Bois completed sixteen sociological investigations of rural African-Americans. In addition, he authored *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* (1899). *The Philadel-*

phia Negro is the first case study of an urban African-American community ever undertaken in the United States.

In tracing Du Bois's thought, it is clear that he initially hoped that the social sciences could provide a knowledge base that would solve the "race problem" in America. Over time, however, he came to recognize that within a climate of racism and segregation, social justice ultimately could only be accomplished through agitation and protest.

THE "TALENTED TENTH" AND ITS PROGRAM

Du Bois held contradictory opinions concerning the role of democracy in bringing about the betterment of African-Americans. He suggested in *The Philadelphia Negro* that intense political activity in the United States between 1892 and 1912 had placed the African-American electorate in a decisive position: "With the right to vote goes everything; freedom, manhood, the honor of your wives, the chastity of your daughters, the right to work, and the chance to rise" (p. 32). While championing the power of the ballot, Du Bois also developed a concept of what he termed the "Talented Tenth"—his ideal of an elite group of African-American leaders who, he believed, were obligated to lift the illiterate and poverty-stricken African-American masses.

He postulated that one of the most striking characteristics of the African-American upper class was that it paralleled the white middle class rather than the white upper class. African-American elites, he contended, remained isolated from both rural and urban blacks. Thus, Du Bois's "Talented Tenth"—with a keen sense of history and exalted mission—was poised to fill a vacuum in American class relations. The "Talented Tenth" would serve as a buffer and a bridge between white American elites and the African-American masses. Nevertheless, a number of critics suggested that Du Bois's notion of the "Talented Tenth" could become a limiting, restraining, and subordinating concept for the African-American masses. Du Bois was acutely aware of this possibility and became a passionate advocate of higher education for African-Americans. He warned that it was only through education that

"demagogic" leadership of the African-American masses could be avoided.

W. E. B. Du Bois was one of the first advocates of feminism in the early twentieth century. He praised African-American women for their great courage in the face of oppression, and in a 1917 essay supporting women's suffrage, he asserted that much of the actual work of the world was performed by women—not men.

CRITICISMS OF BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

Du Bois's views on civil rights clashed with those of another prominent and influential black leader of the period, Booker T. Washington. Washington promoted a philosophy of accommodation to racism, urging African-Americans to accept discrimination—at least for the time being. Washington encouraged African-Americans to elevate themselves through hard work. In this Washington followed Frederick Douglass and other nineteenth-century African-American leaders who pressed for industrial training for African-Americans. Initially, Du Bois agreed with Washington. He applauded Washington's famous Atlanta speech in 1895 in which Washington argued for "segregated equality." But changes within the African-American world militated against Washington's position. African-American migration from South to North accelerated the growth of ghettos, and these urban enclaves witnessed the birth of a professional class that was far removed from its Southern roots. The futility of Washington's position became more evident, even in the rural South. Washington believed that the education of African-American sharecroppers and tenant farmers in scientific agriculture would be a major means of creating independent African-American farmers, but as it turned out, the scientific revolution in agriculture only served to increase poverty for agricultural producers.

As a sociologist, Du Bois himself had conducted a study of African-American farms in Alabama in 1906. The study was sponsored by the United States commissioner of labor, and it concluded that African-American farmers were losing ground. The study was never published on the grounds that it "touched on sensitive political matters." But Du Bois's

conclusions were vindicated. By 1910, 75.3 percent of African-American farmers in the South were either tenants or sharecroppers.

It should be emphasized that Du Bois was not the first to publicly criticize Booker T. Washington. Earlier, Washington's agenda had been questioned by William Monroe Trotter and other civil rights leaders. But it was the chapter that dealt with Washington in Du Bois's widely known book—*The Souls of Black Folk* (1903)—that set the tone and outcome of the debate. Du Bois's chapter on Washington cogently argued that Washington's strategy could only serve to perpetuate the further oppression of African-Americans.

In *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois also gave first expression to his most abiding theoretical contribution to African-American studies. He underscored the characteristic dualism of African-Americans: "One ever feels his 'two-ness'—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two irreconcilable strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. . . . He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of opportunity closed roughly in his face" (1996, 58–59).

Ultimately, Du Bois's analysis crystallized opposition to Booker T. Washington among African-American intellectuals and polarized African-American leaders into two major factions: "conservatives" who supported Booker T. Washington, and "radicals" who were inalterably opposed to Washington.

THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT AND BIRTH OF THE NAACP

In 1905, Du Bois founded the Niagara Movement dedicated primarily to criticizing the platform of Booker T. Washington. This small organization, which met annually until 1909, was seriously weakened by internal squabbles. Nevertheless, it is significant as the forerunner of the NAACP.

As noted, Du Bois played a major role in founding the NAACP in 1909 and became the association's director of research. He was one of few blacks

to occupy a leadership position within the organization and also the founding editor of its magazine, *The Crisis*. In his role as editor of *The Crisis*, he wielded considerable influence over NAACP affairs and among middle-class African-Americans and progressive whites between 1910 and 1934. His often strident editorials resulted in a number of changes to public policy; for example, admission of African-Americans to officers' training school, establishment of legal procedures against those accused of lynching African-Americans, and creation of a federal work plan to benefit returning African-American veterans. His writings during this period also evidence a willingness to compromise his "true" feelings in order to attain organizational goals and foster organizational harmony. Within both the Niagara Movement and the NAACP, Du Bois officially adopted the stance of a "capitalist" and an "integrationist." Meanwhile, his non-NAACP writings more accurately reflected his socialist and Pan-African views.

"PAN-AFRICANISM" AND NATIONALISM

Du Bois's nationalism took a variety of forms. He was a strong advocate of "Pan-Africanism"—the belief that all people of African descent had common interests and should work together in a common struggle for freedom. In 1900, Du Bois served as an organizer of the first Pan-African Conference, held in London. He was also the architect of four subsequent Pan-African Congresses, held in London.

Always an independent thinker, Du Bois was critical of Marcus Garvey and the "Back to Africa" movement (a movement that advocated the repatriation of African-Americans to Africa). Du Bois's notion of Pan-Africanism never embraced the idea that all peoples of color should be gathered in one place. It is ironic that of the many prominent African-American leaders who actively participated in the back to Africa debate, only Du Bois—who opposed the Back to Africa movement—actually ever moved to Africa.

In addition Du Bois was a passionate supporter of cultural nationalism. As editor of *The Crisis*, he encouraged the development of African-American

art and literature. He also encouraged economic nationalism among African-Americans. His economic nationalism took the form of his assertion that African-Americans needed to develop a separate “group economy” of producers and consumers. He saw cooperatives as an effective way of battling poverty and economic discrimination. Others did not see it this way. His promotion of economic nationalism brought about an intense ideological split within the NAACP. As a consequence Du Bois resigned as editor of *The Crisis* and, in 1934, resigned from the NAACP. Du Bois later complained that the NAACP had become more concerned with the interests of a select group of African-American elites than with helping the African-American masses.

After leaving the NAACP, Du Bois again returned to Atlanta University where he devoted the next ten years of his life to teaching and research. In 1940 he founded the magazine *Phylon: The Atlanta University's Review of Race and Culture*. In 1945 he published a “preparatory volume” for a projected African-American encyclopedia for which he hoped to serve as editor-in-chief.

He also produced two major books during this period. *Black Reconstruction: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860–1880* (1935) and *Dusk of Dawn: an Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept* (1940). *Black Reconstruction* provided an innovative and exhaustive treatment of this pivotal period in African-American history. *Dusk of Dawn* was autobiographical and recounted Du Bois's role in the civil rights struggle. In *Dusk to Dawn*, Du Bois attempted to view his career abstractly, as a “case study” illustrating the complexities of interracial conflict.

Following a fruitful decade of teaching at Atlanta University, Du Bois returned once again to a research position at the NAACP (1944–1948), but this affiliation ended in yet another bitter quarrel.

THE LATER YEARS: CAPITALISM AND COMMUNISM

In the 1890s, Du Bois had been an outspoken supporter of capitalism. He urged African-Americans to

support African-American businesses. But still he had reservations about the capitalist system. By 1905 he had become thoroughly convinced of the advantages of socialism. He joined the Socialist Party in 1912 and remained sympathetic to Marxist ideals for the rest of his life.

After 1948, Du Bois moved further leftward politically. He publicly identified with pro-Russian causes and was indicted in 1951 as an “unregistered agent for a foreign power.” Although acquitted of all charges, Du Bois became increasingly disillusioned with the United States. In 1962, he renounced his U.S. citizenship and moved to Ghana, where he was to serve as editor-in-chief of *Encyclopedia Africana*, a project to be sponsored by the then president of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah. The encyclopedia was never completed. W. E. B. Du Bois died on 27 August 1963, in Accra, Ghana.

Du Bois possessed an independent spirit. He could never confine himself to any one ideology, party, or organization. Nevertheless, he was both willing and able to compromise his beliefs in order to attain a higher goal: the betterment of all peoples of color. Whenever the occasion warranted, Du Bois could be charming and accommodating. But much of his effectiveness as a leader rested with his single-minded persistence. Du Bois stated things bluntly. While he was not known for his wit, he did possess a keen sense of irony. His leadership style became a model for twentieth-century African-American activist/intellectuals like Henry Louis Gates Jr., Cornel West, and Manning Marable, who followed him. He also has influenced other African-American leaders like Malcolm X, novelists like Richard Wright, and a generation of African-American comics like George Wallace and Chris Rock.

—Stephen D. Glazier

See also Civil Rights Movement

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DYSFUNCTIONAL LEADERSHIP

A 2003 cartoon in the *International Herald Tribune* shows two fighting children being pulled apart by their mother. One child points at the other, protesting “She called me a CEO first!” Until recently, when leadership scandals such as those at Tyco, Enron, and WorldCom had begun to reveal leadership’s underbelly, American business leadership was viewed as an essentially benign activity, with leaders working for the good of the organization and all of its stakeholders. Most studies of leadership have emphasized its positive, transforming aspects, assigning an almost moral dimension to the task—one that involves a calling to a higher plane. But such perceptions, laudable though they may be, ignore leadership’s shadow side, that part of the leadership equation which thrives on the power that comes with the role. This “Darth Vader” aspect of

the role, which grows out of personality traits such as self-aggrandizement and entitlement, thrives on narcissism, self-deceit, and the abuse of power.

PSYCHOLOGICAL PRESSURES

In the psychopathology of leadership, the combination of neurotic personality and personal power can—and almost inevitably does—create social and business disasters. Despite the potency of this shadow side, many leaders are unwilling to face it. They hesitate to look inside themselves, and when they do, they refuse to acknowledge their weaknesses; they are unwilling to face up to how their defensive structures and character traits can negatively affect their organizations. They are all too quick to deny that the pressures that come with leadership can contribute to dysfunctional behavior and decisions. The psychological pressures of leadership can be formidable, however, contributing to dysfunctional behavior to the detriment of both leader and organization. Among such pressures are:

- *The loneliness of command*. Once a man or woman reaches a top position in an organization, stress and frustration often develop as old relationships and support networks change and previous colleagues become distant.
- *Addiction to power*. The fear of losing what has been so difficult to gain—a top leadership position—sometimes motivates people to engage in malevolent acts.
- *Fear of envy*. Some people find being the object of envy very disturbing. That fear can reach the point where dysfunctional self-destructive behavior “snatches defeat out of the jaws of victory.”
- *The experience of “What now?”* After achieving a lifetime’s ambition, leaders sometimes suffer from a sense of depression, feeling that they have little left to strive for.

All these psychological pressures may cause stress, anxiety, and/or depression, which may in their turn provoke irresponsible and irrational behaviors that affect an organization’s culture and decision-making patterns (Kets de Vries 1993, 2001). But what lies behind them? Many of the

pressures leaders experience derive from the ways they have learned to cope with the vicissitudes of narcissism.

THE ROLE OF NARCISSISM

Human development is shaped, in part, by responding to frustration. Before birth, human beings are, in effect, on automatic pilot: One's needs are met immediately and automatically. This situation changes the moment a baby makes its entry into the world. In dealing with the frustrations of expressing needs and wants, and to cope with feelings of helplessness, the infant tries to retain the original impression of the perfection and bliss of intrauterine life by creating both a grandiose, exhibitionistic image of the self and an all-powerful, idealized image of the parents (Kohut 1971). Over time, and with what psychiatrist Donald Winnicott termed "good enough parenting," these two configurations are "tamed" by the forces of reality—especially by parents, siblings, caretakers, and teachers, who modify the infant's exhibitionism and channel the grandiose fantasies. How do the major caretakers react to the child's struggle with the paradoxical quandary of infancy—that quandary being how to resolve the tension between childhood helplessness and the "grandiose sense of self" found in almost all children? The answer is of paramount importance to the child's psychological health. The resolution of that tension is what determines a person's feelings of potency or impotency. Inadequate resolution often produces feelings of rage, desire for vengeance, and hunger for personal power. If that hunger is not properly resolved in the various stages of childhood, it may be acted out in highly destructive ways in adulthood.

Much depends on the "good enough" parenting mentioned above. Children exposed to extremes of dysfunctional parenting often believe that they cannot rely on anybody's love or loyalty. As adults, they remain deeply troubled by a sense of deprivation, anger, and emptiness, and they cope with this by resorting to narcissistic excess.

From a conceptual point of view, a distinction can be made between two varieties of narcissism: constructive and reactive (Kets de Vries 1993). Con-

structive narcissists are those who were fortunate enough to have caretakers who knew how to provide age-appropriate frustration—that is, enough frustration to challenge but not so much as to overwhelm. These caretakers were able to provide a supportive environment that fostered feelings of basic trust and to a sense of control over one's actions. People exposed to such parenting tend to be relatively well balanced, have a positive sense of self-esteem, a capacity for introspection, and an empathetic outlook; they radiate a sense of positive vitality.

Reactive narcissists, on the other hand, were not so fortunate as children. Instead of receiving age-appropriate frustration, they received over- or understimulation, or chaotic, inconsistent stimulation, and thus were left with a legacy of feelings of inadequacy and deprivation. To master their feelings of inadequacy such individuals often develop an exaggerated sense of self-importance and grandiosity and a concomitant need for admiration. To master their sense of deprivation they develop feelings of entitlement, believing that they deserve special treatment and that rules and regulations apply only to others. Furthermore, having not had empathic experiences, these people lack empathy; they are unable to experience how others feel. Typically they become fixated on issues of power, status, prestige, and superiority. They may also suffer from what has been called the "Monte Cristo complex" (after the protagonist in Alexandre Dumas's *The Count of Monte Cristo*), becoming preoccupied with feelings of envy, spite, revenge, and/or vindictive triumph over others. In short, they become haunted by the need to get even for real or imagined hurts.

TRANSFERENTIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Transference, the act of using relationship patterns from the past to deal with situations in the present, is a common phenomenon. In fact, all of us act out transference (or "historical") reactions on a daily basis. The boss who shares our mother's unwillingness to listen, or the colleague whose stealth reminds us of our father, inspires in us the same feelings that those original caregivers did. The psychological imprints of crucial early caregivers—partic-

There is no such thing as a perfect leader either in the past or present, in China or elsewhere. If there is one, he is only pretending, like a pig inserting scallions into its nose in an effort to look like an elephant.

—Liu Shao-ch'1

ularly our parents—cause confusion in time and place such that we act toward others in the present as if they were significant people from the past. These imprints stay with us and guide our interactions throughout our life.

Two subtypes of transference are especially common in the workplace (and are often exaggerated in reactive narcissists): mirroring and idealizing. It is said that the first mirror a baby looks into is the mother's face. A person's identity and mind are heavily shaped by contact with the mother, particularly during the early, narcissistic period of development. Starting with that first mirror, the process of mirroring—that is, taking our cues about being and behaving from those around us—becomes an ongoing aspect of our daily lives and relationships. Idealizing is another universal process: As a way of coping with feelings of helplessness, we idealize people important to us, beginning with our first caretakers, assigning powerful imagery to them. Through this idealizing process we hope to combat helplessness and acquire some of the power of the person admired.

When idealizing and mirroring show up in organizational settings, these transference patterns accelerate a process whereby followers no longer respond to the leader according to the reality of the situation, but rather as if the leader were a significant figure from the past, such as a parent or other authoritative person. The followers' emotional legacy drives them to transfer many of their past hopes and fantasies to people in positions of power and authority. This idealizing transference creates in the follower a sense of being protected and of sharing in "reflected" power.

Reactive narcissistic leaders are especially responsive to such admiration, often becoming so

dependent on it that they can no longer function without this emotional fix. It fatally seduces such leaders into believing that they are in fact the illusory creatures their followers have made them out to be. It is a two-way street, of course: Followers project their fantasies onto their leaders, and leaders mirror themselves in the glow of their followers. The result for leaders who are reactive narcissists is that disposition and position work together to wreak havoc on reality-testing: They are happy to find themselves in a mutual admiration society—or indeed in a hall of mirrors that lets them hear and see only what they want to hear and see. When followers rebel against a leader's distorted view of the world, the leader, perceiving such disagreement as a direct personal attack, may react with an outburst of rage. This "tantrum," if you will—a reenactment of childhood behavior—originates from earlier feelings of helplessness and humiliation. Unlike in childhood, however, the power that such leaders now hold means that the impact of their rage on their immediate environment can be devastating.

Such outbursts compound the problem by intimidating followers, who then themselves regress to more childlike behavior. To overcome the severe anxiety prompted by the leader's aggression, followers may resort to the defensive reaction known as "identification with the aggressor," thus transforming themselves from the threatened to the threatening.

Within this climate of dependency, the world is seen as starkly black and white. In other words, people are either for or against the leader. Independent thinkers are removed, while those who hesitate to collaborate become the new "villains"—"deviants" who provide fresh targets for the leader's anger. Those "identifying with the aggressor" support the leader in his or her destructive activities as a rite of passage. They help deal with the leader's "enemies." The sharing of the guilt can be endlessly fed with new scapegoats, designated villains on whom the group enacts revenge whenever things go wrong. These scapegoats fulfill an important function: They become to others the external stabilizers of identity and inner control. They are a point of reference on which to project everything one is afraid of, everything perceived as bad.

This frightening scenario can have various outcomes—all negative. In extreme cases, it can lead to the self-destruction of the leader, professionally speaking, and the demise of the organization. Before the “fall,” however, there sometimes comes a point when the organizational participants recognize that the price for participating in the collusion is becoming too high. The endgame may include a palace revolution whereby the leader is overthrown when the cycle of abusive behavior becomes unbearable. Followers may come to realize that they are next in line to be sacrificed on the insatiable altar of the leader’s wrath. The attempt to remove the leader becomes a desperate effort to break the magic spell.

NEUROTIC ORGANIZATIONS

Although reactive narcissism is the most salient factor in dysfunctional leadership, a number of other personality configurations can contribute to leader and organizational dysfunction. In organizations that have a strong concentration of power, those personality configurations can result in a parallel organizational “pathology.” In what can be called “neurotic organizations,” one is likely to find a top executive whose rigid, neurotic style is strongly mirrored in inappropriate strategies, structures, organizational cultures, and patterns of decision making.

The five most common types of neurotic organizations can be labeled dramatic, suspicious, detached, depressive, and compulsive (Kets de Vries and Miller 1984).

Table 1 outlines how, in each type of organization, the leader’s personal style and “inner theater” interrelate with the organization’s characteristics. Each of the five organizational patterns has strengths as well as weaknesses, just as every difficult emotion has a silver lining. In many cases a solid strength becomes a weakness over time. For example, a leader’s careful attention to the actions of rivals can shade from a healthy wariness to an unmitigated sense of suspi-

cion that pollutes the atmosphere of the organization. When that happens, change is needed if the organization is to survive. Unfortunately, with corporate styles deeply rooted in history and personality, change never comes easily.

The first step toward change is recognition of the danger signs of dysfunctional leadership and dysfunctional organizations. This necessitates a willingness on the part of leaders to look within themselves and make an honest (and often painful) appraisal. Because it is difficult to identify problems and make new choices when the entire organization is caught in a self-destructive pattern, leaders in this position would do well to summon the courage to ask for help. Caught in a psychic prison, they need the keys to their release. By encouraging them to see what they are doing to themselves and the organization, and by offering workable behavioral alternatives, trained outsiders offer those keys.

Napoleon once said that leaders are merchants of hope. They succeed best when they speak to the collective imagination of their people and create a sense of purpose and meaning. To effectively accomplish those tasks, they must mute the calls of the narcissistic sirens by looking deep within and acknowledging their own imperfections. They need to develop a sense of emotional intelligence, a process that starts with self-awareness. This is not news, of course; it is what the Oracle at Delphi and Sigmund Freud have been telling us all along.

—Manfred Kets de Vries

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Table 1. The Five “Neurotic” Styles: An Overview

<i>Type</i>	<i>Organizational Features</i>	<i>Executive</i>	<i>Culture</i>	<i>Management Strategy</i>
Dramatic/ Cyclothymic	Overcentralization hinders the development of effective communication systems; organization too primitive for its many products and broad market; second-tier executive level lacks influence.	Seeks attention; craves excitement, activity, and stimulation; touched by a sense of entitlement; tends toward extremes. Guiding theme: <i>“I want to get attention from and impress the people who count in my life.”</i>	Subordinates’ dependency and leader’s protective instincts reinforce each other, leading to “idealizing” and “mirroring”; leader serves as catalyst for subordinates’ initiatives and morale.	Hyperactive, impulsive, venturesome, and dangerously uninhibited; favors executive initiation of bold ventures; pursues inconsistent diversification and growth; encourages action for action’s sake; nonparticipative decision making.
Suspicious	Elaborate information processing; abundant analysis of external trends; centralization of power.	Vigilantly prepared to counter attacks and personal threats; hypersensitive and distrustful; cold and lacking emotional expression; overinvolved in rules and details to secure complete control; craves information; sometimes vindictive. Guiding theme: <i>“Some menacing force is out to get me. I’d better be on my guard. I can’t really trust anybody.”</i>	Atmosphere fosters intimidation, conformity, and mistrust; information is powerful; subordinates may fear attack and prepare for “fight-or-flight” mode.	Reactive and conservative, overly analytical, diversified, secretive.
Detached	Internal focus, insufficient scanning of external environment; hindered by self-imposed barriers to free flow of information.	Withdrawn and uninvolved; lacking interest in present or future; sometimes indifferent to praise or criticism. Guiding theme: <i>“Reality doesn’t offer any satisfaction. Interaction with others is destined to fail, so it’s safer to remain distant.”</i>	Atmosphere lacks warmth or emotion; conflict-ridden; subordinates plagued by insecurity and jockeying for power.	Vacillating, indecisive, and inconsistent; vision comes from narrow, parochial perspectives.
Depressive	Ritualism, bureaucracy, inflexibility; excessive hierarchy; poor internal communications; resistance to change.	Lacks self-confidence; plagued by self-esteem problems; afraid of success and therefore tolerant of mediocrity and failure; dependent on “messiahs.” Guiding theme: <i>“It’s hopeless to try to change the course of events. I’m just not good enough.”</i>	Passive; lacks initiative or motivation; ignorant of markets; avoidant—resulting in a sense of leadership vacuum.	Plagued by “decidophobia”; focuses inward; lacks vigilance over changing market conditions; drifts with no sense of direction; confined to antiquated, mature markets.
Compulsive	Rigid formal codes; elaborate communication systems; ritualized evaluation procedures; excessive thoroughness and exactness; hierarchical structure.	Tends to dominate organization from top to bottom; insists that others conform to strict rules in lockstep fashion; dogmatic or obstinate; obsessed with perfectionism, detail, routine, rituals, efficiency. Guiding theme: <i>“I don’t want to be at the mercy of events. I have to master and control all the things affecting me.”</i>	Rigid, inward-directed, and insular; peopled with submissive, uncreative, insecure employees.	Tightly calculated and focused; characterized by exhaustive evaluation; slow and non-adaptive; reliant on a narrow, established theme; obsessed with a single goal—such as cost-cutting or quality—to the exclusion of other factors.



EAST TIMOR, FOUNDING OF

With the lowering of the flag of the United Nations Transitional Administration (UNTAET) on 20 May 2002, the Indonesian island of East Timor (Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste) gained its independence after twenty-five years of political and military struggle against its occupier. It is no accident that the group of East Timorese who accepted the transfer of power from U.N. stewardship were also members of the group that created the first pro-independence party in 1974. Just as U.N. peacekeepers had intervened in September 1999 to prevent a humanitarian disaster and to both honor the results of the U.N.-conducted poll under which East Timorese rejected integration with Indonesia and ensure that the results were honored, so former rebels and exiles joined with UNTAET in preparing the nation for independence.

THE FRETILIN HERITAGE

The timing of independence and the rhetoric and symbolism of the independence ceremony were evocative of the role of the Frente Revolucionária do Timor-Leste Independente (Fretilin) party and its precursor party, Associação Social Democrática Timorese (ASDT), founded in 1974. As inscribed in the East Timor constitution, the day of Fretilin's unilateral declaration of independence, 28 November

1975, just ahead of an Indonesian invasion, is honored as the new nation's independence day. For Fretilin, the long and costly struggle was vindicated.

In fact, during the years after the Indonesian invasion, key Fretilin members were captured or killed, including Commandante Nicolau Lobato, leaving but one surviving central committee member to assume the leadership of Falintil, which was the armed resistance. That member was future East Timor President José Xanana Gusmão, who in March 1981 founded the umbrella National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) above party affiliation.

However, where military struggle had its limits against an adversary who virtually sealed off the island to outside contacts, José Ramos-Horta (Fretilin external affairs spokesperson and future East Timor foreign minister) became a spokesperson for East Timor independence, making his youthful debut at the U.N. Security Council in 1976. Other central committee members then outside the country gained the support of Portugal's former African colonies of Mozambique and Angola. The future prime minister of East Timor, Mari Alkatiri, a scion of East Timor's small Arab community, long traveled with a Mozambique diplomatic passport.

However, just as the armed struggle by a ragged resistance became almost mythical in the minds of Timorese at home as well as abroad, communications between the external and internal wings of the

resistance ruptured. Relations among leaders in the diaspora, especially Portugal, Australia, and Mozambique also frayed over tactics and personalities. This fraying became apparent in a clash in Maputo (Mozambique) in 1978–1979 between left-wing exile Abilio Araujo and fellow exile Rogerio Lobato against the Social Democratic wing of the party as represented by Ramos-Horta. In October 1989, Ramos-Horta resigned from Fretilin; Abilio Araujo, accused of corruption, was expelled in 1993.

CNRT AND THE RISE OF THE “CLANDESTINE”

Attempts to coordinate the diplomatic struggle led to convergence of former adversaries of the short civil war of 1975: the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT) party under João Carrascalão and the Fretilin party. The decision to bury the hatchet led to the formation in April 1998 of the Timorese National Resistance Council (CNRT), an umbrella organization that also included the Church. Until it was dissolved at a congress in the capital city of Dili in August 2000, CNRT was the major interlocutor organization between the East Timorese and the U.N. As one among many voices in the CNRT, Fretilin would resurface as a force only in the run-up to East Timor’s first free elections held under U.N. auspices in August 2001.

The gap between the internal and external wings of the resistance was eventually bridged by a generation of East Timorese schooled by Indonesia. Working out of universities in Bali and Java as well as inside East Timor, the youthful “clandestine” under the umbrella Renetil movement increasingly coordinated assistance and links between external resistance, their foreign activist supporters, and the armed resistance. Some of the early youth leaders, such as Constâncio Pinto, carried on the struggle from exile in the United States, while others, such as National Resistance of East Timorese Students (Renetil) leader and future East Timor Vice Foreign Minister Fernando d’Araujo, operated inside prison alongside Gusmão. Undoubtedly Gusmão’s decision to leave the mountains for the city, leaving himself vulnerable to capture, was problematic but good strategy in the context of the broadening political movement.

The importance of the external resistance increased as East Timor’s fate gained international exposure after the Dili massacre of November 1991. This importance became apparent with the awarding of the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize to two sons of East Timor: Bishop Carlos Ximenes and Ramos-Horta. While committing the Church to the defense of the religion, culture, and people of East Timor, the bishop had also lobbied the U.N. to rescue his people. Without the moral support of the bishop and the Church, East Timor’s plight would undoubtedly have been even worse.

REENTER THE UNITED NATIONS

U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan’s appointment of a special representative for East Timor, Pakistani diplomat Jamsheed Marker, in 1995 quickened the pace of East Timor’s progress to independence. By seeking to engage East Timor leaders from across the political spectrum in a series of meetings in Austria called the “All-Inclusive East Timorese Dialogue,” U.N. interlocutors also brought together for the first time a second generation of leaders, certain of whom are now prominent in government.

East Timor leaders reacted to the situation created by the 1997 Asian economic crisis, the collapse of the New Order government of Indonesian President Suharto on 21 May 1998, and the advent of the reformist government of President B. J. Habibie. Taking its cue from the pro-democracy movement in Indonesia, the Dili-based Student Solidarity Council headed by Antero Bendito da Silva spearheaded unprecedented demonstrations throughout East Timor between June and September 1998 in support of a U.N.-supervised referendum.

After Habibie agreed on 27 January 1999 to the principle of an internationally supervised consultation on whether East Timor would accept special autonomy within Indonesia, the ball was once again in the U.N.’s court. In a 5 May 1999 agreement signed in New York by the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal, Portugal conceded sovereignty to Indonesia pending the results of the ballot eventually held on 30 August 1999 in which East Timorese were asked to accept or reject integration



Preamble to the Constitution of the Democratic Republic of East Timor

The Constituent Assembly of East Timor, in a plenary session on 22 March 2002, approved and decreed the Constitution of the Democratic Republic of East Timor. Following is the Preamble.

Following the liberation of the Timorese People from colonisation and illegal occupation of the Maubere Motherland by foreign powers, the independence of East Timor, proclaimed on the 28th of November 1975 by Frente Revolucionária do Timor-Leste Independente (FRETILIN), is recognised internationally on the 20th of May 2002.

The preparation and adoption of the Constitution of the Democratic Republic of East Timor is the culmination of the secular resistance of the Timorese People intensified following the invasion of the 7th of December 1975.

The struggle waged against the enemy, initially under the leadership of FRETILIN, gave way to more comprehensive forms of political participation, particularly in the wake of the establishment of the National Council of the Maubere Resistance (CNRT) in 1987 and the National Council of Timorese Resistance (CNRT) in 1998.

The Resistance was divided into three fronts.

The armed front was carried out by the glorious Forças Armadas de Libertação Nacional de Timor-Leste (FALINTIL) whose historical undertaking is to be praised.

The action of the clandestine front, astutely unleashed in hostile territory, involved the sacrifice of thousands of lives of women and men, especially the youth, who fought with abnegation for freedom and independence.

The diplomatic front, harmoniously carried out all over the world, enabled the paving of the way for definitive liberation.

In its cultural and humane perspective, the Catholic

Church in East Timor has always been able to take on the suffering of all the People with dignity, placing itself on their side in the defense of their most fundamental rights.

Ultimately, the present Constitution represents a heartfelt tribute to all martyrs of the Motherland.

Thus, the Members of the Constituent Assembly, in their capacity as legitimate representatives of the People elected on the 30th of August 2001;

Based further on the results of the referendum of the 30th of August 1999 organised under the auspices of the United Nations which confirmed the self-determined will for independence;

Fully conscious of the need to build a democratic and institutional culture proper of a State based on the rule of law where respect for the Constitution, for the laws and for democratically elected institutions constitute its unquestionable foundation;

Interpreting the profound sentiments, the aspirations and the faith in God of the People of East Timor;

Solemnly reaffirm their determination to fight all forms of tyranny, oppression, social, cultural or religious domination and segregation, to defend national independence, to respect and guarantee human rights and the fundamental rights of the citizen, to ensure the principle of the separation of powers in the organisation of the State, and to establish the essential rules of multi-party democracy, with a view to building a just and prosperous nation and developing a society of solidarity and fraternity.

Source: Environmental Law Alliance Worldwide. <http://www.elaw.org/resources>

with Indonesia. Although this concession was a high-stakes gamble for Portugal, East Timor leaders were not directly involved in the tripartite Indonesia-Portugal-United Nations negotiations, even if they were briefed. However, inside and outside East Timor expectations ran high because the Habibie government was viewed as providing a window of opportunity that might not be repeated.

In another throw of the dice the Falintil leadership was again tested. As Indonesian militia attacked an unarmed population, Lu Olo (Francisco Guterres), next-ranking survivor of the armed resistance, was faced with the dilemma of taking action to protect the people or maintaining the de facto ceasefire to

avoid massive Indonesian military retaliation. Controversially, Falintil commander-in-chief Gusmão overruled armed action on the grounds that it would provoke the kind of civil war that Indonesia falsely claimed it was defending.

U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL INTERVENTION OF SEPTEMBER 1999

With the specter of another Rwanda in the making, where the U.N. failed to intervene to stem mass killings, Ramos-Horta was brought into consultation at the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit meeting in Auckland, New Zealand, on

12 September 1999. There U.S. President Bill Clinton, Japanese Prime Minister Kazuo Obuchi, South Korean President Kim Dae-jung, and Australian Prime Minister John Howard, among other regional leaders, reached broad consensus on the urgency of humanitarian intervention backed by a peacekeeping force. The U.N./World Bank and Western embassies were then in close contact with Gusmão and other members of CNRT pending their triumphal reentry into Dili in September–October as U.N. forces commenced to deploy.

While U.N. forces met resistance from Falintil, which was reluctant to disarm, CNRT leaders quickly moved to fill an administrative vacuum at the district and subdistrict levels. Although the CNRT had hastily drafted economic plans, there was a sense that from the beginning the World Bank moved to preempt or redirect Fretilin radicals from replaying their socialist dreams. Ramos-Horta and Gusmão were early visitors to the World Bank and the U.S. Pentagon. Still, the incoming UNTAET administration, headed by Brazilian diplomat Sergio Vieira de Mello, had little choice but to work with CNRT leadership, just as from early on CNRT leadership made it plain that the U.N. mandate would not hold in East Timor without the highest levels of CNRT participation. Rather than confronting utopian radicals, the World Bank confronted no less prickly, albeit more malleable, pragmatic nationalists.

TOWARD INDEPENDENCE

UNTAET was also concerned with institution building, including preparing East Timor for independence. Just as preparation for democratic elections had become one of the key components of U.N. peacekeeping after the U.N. experience of conducting elections in Cambodia in May 1993, so under the stewardship of the Independent Electoral Commission the U.N. mounted two elections in East Timor. The first, held in August 2001, was to elect a constituent assembly that would write the new nation's constitution. The second, held in April 2002, was to elect a president. With the promulgation of an electoral law, political parties blossomed, not surprisingly dominated by names and symbols of the past.

Freed from the old CNRT structure, Fretilin began to make its play as the historic party of freedom and liberation. However, a new centrist social-democratic party, led by a scion of the Carrascalão family, and a “youth” party led by Fernando d’Araujo sapped Fretilin’s strength. A major destabilizing factor was the obstruction mounted by a faux Fretilin party (a fake party of troublemakers) that disavowed the U.N. process by upholding the unilateral declaration of independence by Fretilin on 28 November 1975. From the left, veteran resistance figure Avelino Coehlo headed a small urban-based socialist party. In the end Fretilin triumphed, and an old adversary, UDT, emerged as the greatest loser. Mari Alkatiri became chief minister pending independence, with Lu Olo appointed speaker of parliament. Bolstered by its majority, Fretilin steered the country’s new constitution.

Few people doubted that Gusmão would be elected president, even though he had to be convinced to run. In another throwback to the past, Fretilin founding president Xavier do Amaral returned from “house arrest” in Indonesia and emerged as the only opponent, drawing major support from his Mambae-speaking compatriots. The fact that Fretilin did not endorse Gusmão for president suggested to many that bad blood sullied the office of the president and the ruling party, boding ill for future unity. Gusmão had also been critical of the appointment of Rogerio Lobato to the post of minister of the interior. However, victory for Gusmão in East Timor’s first presidential election appeared to confirm the role of a big man in history.

THE FUTURE

The U.N. remained in East Timor in an advisory capacity for good reason. East Timor still faced a lack of administrative workers, especially in such specialist areas as legal services, finance, and policing. Under UNMISSET (the U.N. Mission of Support in East Timor), the U.N. retained a large peacekeeping contingent tested by a number of outbreaks of violence stemming from internal and external origins. The most serious challenge to the new nation occurred in December 2002 with an assault on the

parliament, the destruction of property (including the prime minister's house), and loss of life in an action attributed to agent provocateurs linked to disaffected people. Although the administration has gained its legitimacy at the ballot box, the challenge for leadership in the future is to create jobs and address other social and economic issues. However, even the acquisition of oil revenues from the Timor Sea will require good governance and wise leadership for years to come. The surprise resignation of Bishop Carlo Belo in November 2002 left a large gap in moral leadership. As an axiom, leadership without success will not last long; but in East Timor a rebellious opposition is short on both ideas and talent in a new nation bereft of experienced lawmakers and entirely lacking in democratic traditions.

—Geoffrey C. Gunn

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E-COMMERCE

Electronic commerce, or “e-commerce,” is a broadly used term to describe transactions conducted over the Internet, whether completed by individuals, organizations, or companies. E-commerce is usually used to represent individual purchases made via the World Wide Web, though it is also applicable to business-to-business applications, such as selling inventory online or general procurement activities.

Before e-commerce could become a phenomenon,

the general public first had to become acquainted and comfortable with the Internet. Marc Andreessen and a team of computer scientists at the University of Illinois cleared the first hurdle to mass acceptance in 1993 when they introduced the Mosaic browser. Mosaic married graphics and images to the predominantly text-based World Wide Web and made usage easier through point-and-click access.

EXPANDING AND SELLING THE INTERNET

After Mosaic, Internet traffic increased 341,631 percent as more than one million users downloaded the software for free. In 1994, Andreessen joined with computer industry veteran Jim Clark to form Netscape, one of the Web's pioneering companies. That same year, *Time* magazine ran its first cover story on the Internet. By early 1995, a *Business Week* survey estimated that 27,000 websites existed, with the number doubling every two months.

The Web grew so quickly that commercializing it seemed inevitable. Countless entrepreneurs founded Internet-based start-up companies, funded by Silicon Valley venture capitalists headquartered near Stanford University on famous Sand Hill Road, such as Sequoia Capital, Draper Fisher Jurvetson, and Kleiner Perkins Caufield and Byers.

The feeding frenzy for start-ups reached a peak after several early innovators filed initial public offerings (IPO) and turned its founders into paper millionaires. In early August 1995, Netscape went public and Clark's shares were worth \$565 million, making him one of the wealthiest people in America and coining the phrase “Internet billionaire.” By the end of the year, the company's stock reached \$170 a share, making it worth nearly \$6.5 billion. Netscape's IPO success turned the Internet into the new Wild West, a place where fantastic wealth could be created—a capitalist nirvana on the western edge of the country, similar to the gold rush days in the mid-1800s.

AMAZON SPARKS DOT-COM REVOLUTION

The company that embodied both the Internet stock market bubble and the promise of the dot-com revolution was Amazon.com. Founded by Jeff Bezos, a

former investment banker, the Seattle-based company sold books online, then later expanded into other consumer goods, including music, movies, clothing, and much more. Initially, Bezos thought that selling books via the Web would exploit the power of the Internet, since the company would not have to stock inventory.

Bezos adopted a “get big fast” mentality that emphasized building Amazon’s brand name, despite the negative effect it had on earnings. Bezos saw the battle as one of market share, not profitability, and other Web entrepreneurs and investors followed suit. Soon, nearly every industry had Internet-based startups fighting with traditional competitors and any corporation on the Fortune 500 was suddenly deemed stodgy if it lacked a viable Web component.

Bezos became the most celebrated New Economy cheerleader, particularly after being deemed *Time*’s “Person of the Year,” the fourth-youngest individual ever named to the list. His story was considered the quintessential e-commerce fairy tale. Amazon’s lasting significance may be as a cultural force. By getting on the Web early, Amazon enabled millions of people to become comfortable with the Internet as a purchasing tool.

Based on Amazon’s early success, others founded companies to capitalize on the phenomenal growth rate of the Web. College-age entrepreneurs were some of the earliest innovators. For example, Stanford University students David Filo and Jerry Yang decided that the Web required a directory to organize the plethora of new sites. In response, they founded Yahoo!, the first major portal, which attracted millions of visitors. Another young computer enthusiast, Pierre Omidyar, believed that a web-based community could use the Internet as a giant flea market. He founded eBay so that people could buy and sell collectibles and other goods. eBay is one of the few dot-com companies to become profitable and has since become the crown jewel of the Internet.

As consumers became more Web-savvy, e-commerce grew rapidly, doubling every year throughout the late 1990s. In 1998, online retailers sold \$7.2 billion in merchandise, up 50 percent over the previous year. Amazon alone topped \$1 billion in 1998. These figures scared traditional retailers into pushing their

own online capabilities. The thought was that if a company did not find a way to sell goods and services online, it would be destined for history’s dustbin.

DOT-COM REVOLUTION

The dot-com “revolution” refers to the period spanning the late 1990s through the spring of 2000, when Wall Street, corporate America, the general public, and the media caught a wave of euphoria generated by the Internet and the use of high technology for business purposes. Numerous factors all came together to create an “Internet bubble” of market speculation and frenzied investment, primarily among small investors who could use web-based trading sites to buy and sell stocks easily.

The ensuing stock market boom revolutionized the way businesses operated by providing the capital to invest in new technology. Perhaps more important, the dot-com revolution fundamentally changed the way people communicated through Internet-based technologies, such as e-mail, message boards, chat rooms, and others. Thus, despite the failure of most dot-com companies, the transformation continues through the use of technology and the Internet for business purposes.

In its broadest sense, the dot-com revolution served as a massive growth engine for the U.S. economy. For the first time in recent memory, the power and mystique of small, entrepreneurial companies dwarfed that of established corporations. Given the public’s willingness to invest in Internet-based startups, their valuations soared.

Finally, given the chance at riches gained from stock options and participation in initial public offerings (IPO), workers flocked to dot-coms, despite the risk involved. Added to the possibility for quick riches, the quirky, decentralized culture of dot-com companies drew Generation X workers in droves. The media added fuel to the mass exodus from the Fortune 500 by regaling readers with stories of office foosball tournaments, game rooms, and company-sponsored espresso machines. Dot-com entrepreneurs also promoted work as a way of achieving a more spiritual or fulfilling state, which appealed to the sullen masses of workers confined in endless

rows of drab, gray cubicles in the nation's large companies. Start-ups were seen as antiauthoritarian and laid-back, mirroring the lifestyle exuded in northern California since the 1960s.

BUSINESS-TO-BUSINESS E-COMMERCE

Corporations also rushed to establish e-commerce sites in the late 1990s. Business-to-business (B2B) e-commerce, or electronic transactions between companies, was hyped as the future of corporate America. America's business bellwether, General Electric (GE), grasped the significance of the Internet, despite some early resistance. GE chief executive officer Jack Welch caught e-commerce fever with a vengeance. In early 1999, he demanded that the company become an e-business and directed the company's top five hundred executives to execute on that goal within several months.

GE's Global eXchange Services (GXS) assembled online exchanges and auctions. Welch fueled the growth of GXS by investing several hundred million dollars in the unit, which provides software, infrastructure systems, and consulting services to companies that want to build online exchanges. GXS became the largest B2B community in the world, with 100,000 trading partners, including 17,000 suppliers, and handling 1 billion transactions and accounting for \$1 trillion in goods and services a year.

In 2000, U.S. Census Bureau analysts showed that B2B e-commerce accounted for 94 percent of all e-commerce transactions. The manufacturing arena alone reported \$777 billion in e-commerce shipments for the year. E-commerce is an attractive method for selling goods and services for companies of all sizes because it reduces the overhead costs associated with conducting business transactions. Sending an order online over the Internet is cheaper, faster, and more convenient than completing the same deal via the mail or phone.

GLOBAL RECESSION SLOWS GROWTH

The economic recession gripping the United States in the early years of the twenty-first century slowed e-commerce, despite the geometric growth in the late

1990s. Some estimates show online retail sales falling for the first time in the third quarter of 2002, basically keeping in line with the sluggish state of the world economy.

The definition of what constitutes e-commerce is broad, hindering accurate statistics about its overall impact on the economy. Different analysts use varying methods for calculating total sales, but general estimates were that online sales accounted for approximately \$50 to \$60 billion in revenue in 2001. Experts expect the figure for 2002 to top \$72 billion, a 41 percent increase from the previous year. E-commerce leaders anticipate sales to continue expanding through 2007, but at a more measured pace than experienced through the early years of the new century.

HYPE VERSUS REALITY

The Internet is a technological marvel, but as the Web was commercialized, the hype overtook reality. Too many people began viewing the Internet as a way to quick riches. Rather than use the Web as an additional tool for selling goods and services, start-ups believed that they were revolutionizing business.

Backed by venture capitalists and a general public willing to buy technology stocks, e-commerce companies soon realized that a sustainable business required much more than a jazzy website. When the Internet bubble burst, many of these companies were exposed as empty shells. It is little wonder that some of the best examples of how e-commerce has transformed business are from large corporations, like General Electric, Hilton Hotels, and Home Depot. Using size to their advantage, these companies utilized e-commerce to squeeze costs out of their infrastructures and make their organizations more efficient.

THE BUBBLE BURSTS

Dot-com mania reached a peak in the late 1990s, when venture capitalists started funding dot-coms based on the ability to take the company public, thus cashing in on the IPO shares. Seemingly ludicrous businesses received millions of dollars in seed money, despite having little more than a bright idea.

The list of now defunct dot-coms reads like a comedy sketch, ranging from fashion site Boo.com, which burned through its \$135 million investment before declaring bankruptcy, to online toy retailer eToys, online newspaper LocalBusiness.com, and the self-descriptive FurnitureAndBedding.com. Online grocer Webvan may be the biggest failure in Internet history, burning through an estimated \$1 billion before shutting down.

The companies that flamed out at the tail end of the New Economy bubble were like kindling for the recession wildfire that gripped the United States at the dawn of the new century. Over the course of one month (10 March 2000 to 6 April 6 2000), the Nasdaq stock market lost \$1 trillion in value. The tsunami destroyed the dreams of many dot-coms in its wake and startled technology investors back to reality. For employees at start-ups, from the chief executive officer (CEO) on down, stock options ended up “under water,” worthless scraps of paper that would never regain their luster.

In retrospect, people should have seen the downfall coming sooner. Flying in the face of multiple warning signs, too many people still sought a shot at Web wealth and glory, unable to pass on the gamble, despite the long odds. Even after the Nasdaq crashed in the spring of 2000, investors rushed in to buy shares of depressed stocks, many of which rebounded slightly before falling for good. The media (fueled by business cable stations, like CNBC, which turned Internet CEOs into celebrities, and the plump ad-soaked tech magazines) made folk heroes out of people like Amazon.com’s Bezos and Yahoo!’s Yang. So many Internet legends were tales of rags-to-riches glory or college students coming up with an idea in their dorm room that by focusing on them, the media made it seem easy.

Seemingly educated people (doctors, lawyers, and professors) started writing dot-com business plans in their spare time, figuring that they might be able to strike it rich by riding the venture capital wave out of Silicon Valley and into the IPO spotlight. With enough cash, anyone could become a venture capitalist in the late 1990s, even if they had never set foot inside a high-technology start-up and knew nothing about building a thriving business.

By the end of 2001, thousands of dot-com companies went bankrupt and tens of thousands of employees lost their jobs. The massive failure of the New Economy and the subsequent trickle of new investments in technology companies, combined with corporate governance scandals and the September 11 2001 terrorist attacks, sparked a recession that plagued businesses in the early years of the twenty-first century. High-tech centers, such as Silicon Valley, San Francisco, Austin, Washington, D.C., and New York, have been especially hard-hit by the failure of the dot-com revolution.

Despite the dot-com meltdown, the high-tech revolution continues, though on a much more modest scale, as traditional businesses use e-commerce and the Internet to meld online and physical storefronts. Companies are using web-based services and technologies to become more efficient and profitable. It is nearly impossible to find an industry that has not been improved through Internet-based technology, whether it is in education and nonprofits or financial services and manufacturing.

The dot-com revolution ended in early 2000, but innovation continues to propel companies into novel areas that mix business and the Internet. Figures released by the United Nations reveal that there were 655 million registered Internet users worldwide in 2002 and that global e-commerce will top \$2.3 billion, doubling the figure from the previous year.

In the future, e-commerce will remain a vital part of the economy as technological innovations push into new areas. Wireless communications over the Web, nanotechnology, and online gaming are some examples of industries that will necessitate an e-commerce infrastructure. Both start-ups and established companies are looking at these opportunities, along with a host of others, to generate new e-commerce business.

—Bob Batchelor

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ECONOMIC JUSTICE

The moral philosopher and political economist Adam Smith asserted that “justice . . . is the main pillar that upholds the whole edifice [of society]. If it is removed, the great, the immense fabric of human society . . . must in a moment crumble into atoms” (Smith 1976a [1790], 86). What this pillar should look like, and how it should be constructed, are perennial questions that scholars and practitioners of leadership have debated before and after Smith.

In disparate contexts, political leaders and social-movement activists have pursued the goal of a more just economic system. Examples of such efforts include the Peasants’ Revolt in the fourteenth century CE; the American Revolutionary leaders’ rejection of “taxation without representation”; Marx and Engels’s call for “workers of the world [to] unite!”; President Lyndon Johnson’s declaration of a “war on poverty”; César Chávez’s leadership of the United Farm Workers’ struggle; organizing in factories and beyond to secure a decent wage and safe working conditions; and coordinated efforts to secure gender equity in the workplace.

Economic justice is not only a worthy end; it is also instrumentally valuable in the quest for other valuable social ends. Proponents of a minimum wage, for instance, have argued that some level of income is necessary for citizen-workers to be full participants in the life of their society. Societies in which persons do not receive their due are likely to be marked by unrest, fragmentation, or even violence. Stated positively, citizens who feel they have a

stake in their society are able to be active agents in various spheres of life.

MEANINGS AND FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS

Understandings of economic justice fit within wider conceptions of a good and just society, about which there is vigorous intellectual and practical disagreement. Economic justice has to do with conditions of a society that enable individual persons to receive their due within their society, under conditions of finite material resources. One of the most basic questions in economic justice concerns which parties have moral status within a society—do all women and men, children, adults, and elderly people, persons of all races, IQs, and sexual orientations have equal claims within the society? Do foreign workers and national-citizen workers have the same (or different) status in terms of economic justice? Do members of future generations have any claim to economic justice? (For example, should their interests be considered in shaping a social security system or in deciding what forms of pollution are morally acceptable?) Finally, do nonhuman beings have claims in justice?

Whether economic justice should focus on opportunities, capabilities, resources, utilities, outcomes, or some other dimension or level is an additional matter of debate. So, too, is how broadly the term “economic” should be taken, since the economic system is closely related to political, social, cultural, religious, and familial arrangements in a society. The criterion of economic justice is another fundamental question: Should a society determine what is due to individuals according to inherent worth, need, social class, merit, work, prior possession, or in some other way?

Yet another issue in economic justice concerns the way in which the analyst relates an ideal conception of justice to the current injustices of a particular actual society. Justice as an end, arguably, is not fully attainable in any human society, and thus a key issue for any view of justice is how to prioritize leadership actions against various forms of injustice in order to approximate conditions of justice more fully.



William Bradford, Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, on Property

At length, after much debate of things, the Governor (with the advice of the chiefest amongst them) gave way that they should set corn every man for his own particular, and in that regard trust to themselves; in all other things to go on in the general way as before. And so assigned to every family a parcel of land, according to the proportion of their number, for that end, only for present use (but made no division for inheritance) and ranged all boys and youth under some family. This had very good success, for it made all hands very industrious, so as much more corn was planted than otherwise would have been by any means the Governor or any other could use, and saved him a great deal of trouble, and gave far better content. The women now went willingly into the field, and took their little ones with them to set corn; which before would allege weakness and inability; whom to have compelled would have been thought great tyranny and oppression.

The experience that was had in this common course and condition, tried sundry years and that amongst godly and sober men, may well evince the vanity of that conceit of Plato's and other ancients applauded by some of later times; that the taking away of property and bringing in community into a commonwealth would make them happy and flourishing; as if they were wiser than God. For this community (so far as it was) was found to breed much confusion and

discontent and retard much employment that would have been to their benefit and comfort. For the young men, that were most fit and able for labour and service, did repine that they should spend their time and strength to work for other men's wives and children without recompense. The strong, or man of parts, had no more in division of victuals and clothes than he that was weak and not able to do a quarter the other could; this was thought injustice. The aged and graver men to be ranked and equalized in labours and victuals, clothes, etc., with the meaner and younger sort, thought it some indignity and disrespect unto them. And for men's wives to be commanded to do service for other men, as dressing their meat, washing their clothes, etc., they deemed it a kind of slavery, neither could many husbands well brook it. Upon the point all being to have alike, and all to do alike, they thought themselves in the like condition, and one as good as another; and so, if it did not cut off those relations that God hath set among men, yet it did at least much diminish and take off the mutual respects that should be preserved amongst them. And would have been worse if they had been men of another condition. Let none object this is men's corruption, and nothing to the course [ownership arrangement] itself. I answer, seeing all men have this corruption in them, God in His wisdom saw another course fitter for them.

Source: Bradford, William (1952). *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620–1647*, edited by Samuel Eliot Morison. New York: Knopf, pp. 120–121.

UTILITARIAN FOUNDATIONS OF ECONOMIC THEORY

Standard neoclassical economics is firmly rooted in utilitarianism. “Utility”—variously understood in terms of satisfaction or happiness—is the metric of analysis. In theorizing, economists assume individuals are motivated by their own self-interest, generally understood in terms of the maximization of their own utility. At base, economic modeling is not distribution focused but, rather, productivity focused. That is, the chief concern is how utility can be maximized for a population. Each individual's utility is valued equally in standard models, though the question of whether (and how) interpersonal comparisons of utility can be made remains unanswered.

The standard economic framework avoids normative evaluation of the initial distribution of utilities

(or of incomes or other goods). Thus, any assessment of justice or injustice of the initial distribution must be done outside of the standard economic approach, according to economist Amartya Sen and others. Social welfare analysis in economics is focused, instead, on unambiguous improvements (or declines). A condition known as “Pareto optimality” defines an improvement in social welfare as the increase in the utility of at least one individual without the reduction in utility of any individual. This kind of improvement does not allow cases of trade-offs—that is, a small amount of utility reduction on the part of well-off persons coincides with a massive increase in the utility of poor or needy persons (if, say, they were saved from starvation or natural disaster).

While Pareto improvements reflect clear progress, they do not address the many politically difficult

situations, such as in policies of redistribution, in which one party stands to gain and another party stands to lose in the policymaking process. Critics of the standard economic approach thus assert that it unduly privileges the status quo in socioeconomic distributions.

The utility-based economic frame has an additional noteworthy dimension. Since the assumption of decreasing marginal utility of income is commonly made, there is some egalitarian bias (in terms of income) in seeking to maximize overall utility. That is, assuming identical utility functions and the possibility of making interpersonal comparisons of utility, an additional dollar would have a greater utility impact on a poor person than on a wealthy person. For a fixed amount of income, then, and equivalent and comparable utility functions for all persons, the utility-maximizing distribution would be full income equality. As long as strict Pareto optimality is maintained, however, transfers of income from one person to another are still not viewed as an unambiguous social improvement.

LAISSEZ-FAIRE ECONOMICS AND COMMUTATIVE JUSTICE

Advocates of the free-market (or laissez-faire) economic system have argued, in different ways, that the most appropriate form of justice for the economy is commutative justice, or the justice of the transaction or exchange. In 1974 philosopher Robert Nozick offered his now-famous Wilt Chamberlain example, in which millions of persons happily pay \$0.25 to see Chamberlain play—and, consequently, Chamberlain gets rich (161–163). Nozick’s thought experiment emphasizes the justice of the exchange, and he argues that if we are to protect the freedom of consumer choice, we cannot meddle with the outcome of greater income inequality (presumably as long as the exchanges themselves do not involve fraud, coercion, or “external” costs to third parties).

Nozick’s view fits within a wider group of defenders of a laissez-faire economic system. In this century, economists F. A. Hayek and Milton Friedman have been articulate defenders of such a position. Libertarians defend market exchange not only as an

efficient mechanism but also as a reflection of human freedom. In this approach, besides government’s minimal role of enforcing the laws of contract, providing national defense, and perhaps subsidizing education, additional involvement by the government is considered “intervention.” This “negative-freedom” view, in which individuals should be free from government’s reach, contrasts with the understanding of freedom presented in the works of John Rawls, Amartya Sen, Michael Walzer, and others, discussed below.

Like the utilitarianism of economic analysis, the libertarian defenses of free-market justice do not worry a great deal about unequal distribution. The assumption that the process of just exchange will lead, by definition, to just outcomes tends to accept as given the present distribution of income, wealth, and opportunities. Often libertarians present a desert-based argument about private-property holdings in order to suggest that the present distribution of property is a result, along with voluntary exchanges, of the fair (if unequal) efforts of humans. One classic argument of this kind, put forth by John Locke in 1690, argues that property should be understood as the outcome of individuals who mix their labor with the land. As discussed in the following two sections, however, a strong commitment to freedom of property and exchange is not necessarily incompatible with distributive justice.

PERSPECTIVES ON DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE: RAWLS AND SEN

No approach to justice has received more scholarly or public attention in recent years than the framework presented by John Rawls in his 1971 book *A Theory of Justice*. Rawls offers his theory as one that is morally preferable to utilitarianism (and other conceptions of justice). Rawls’s approach allows for reflection upon the “initial” distribution of endowments to individuals and, in so doing, it reflects a much stronger form of egalitarian justice than utilitarianism or libertarianism.

Rawls’s theory of justice is based upon a “thought experiment” that asks what kind of society a person would choose if he or she did not know his or her

own position, status, race, gender, occupation, or educational opportunities or attainments. Behind such a “veil of ignorance” in what Rawls calls the “original position,” and given some risk-aversion, Rawls asserts that individuals would concur to two principles of justice. This approach builds upon the social-contract model of liberal-democratic society, in which individuals must be allowed to consent to their form of government. The operation of the two agreed-upon principles would, within certain assumptions, guarantee a “just basic structure” of society. A key result would be a just distribution, among citizens, of “primary goods”—a set of all-purpose goods, including wealth and income, liberties, powers, and opportunities, and the social bases of self-respect.

Rawls’s first principle of justice establishes the “priority of liberty” in the theory and grants an equal set of liberties to all citizens. The second principle defines what kinds of social and economic inequalities are just (and which are not). In order to be just, any inequalities must be consistent with a fair equality of opportunity and “they must be to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged members of society” (Rawls 1993, 291). This latter condition, known as the “difference principle,” grants strong moral priority to poor or marginalized members of society. Despite Rawls’s insistence that his theory be understood as a whole, the difference principle has often been considered, in isolation from the rest of his theory, as a principle of economic justice. But the overall framework’s strong demand for basic liberties and fair equality of opportunity are even more fundamental preconditions than the difference principle for economic justice.

Philosopher and Nobel-prize-winning economist Amartya Sen has joined Rawls in the rejection of much of utilitarian (and libertarian) approaches to economic justice. Sen has broken down the components of utilitarianism (Sen 1987, 39) and emphasized multiple ways in which utility-based analyses do not account for “internalized” effects of oppression on disadvantaged persons, via so-called adaptive preferences. Sen has also offered a critical response to Rawls’s own framework. Most significant on this front, Sen asserts that Rawls’s principles, to the extent that they deal with the distribution of a

certain set of all-purpose means known as “primary goods,” do not focus as directly as they should on the intrinsic ends of human freedoms and achievements. Sen argues that social and moral analysis (of justice, equality, freedom, well-being, and so on) should be on intrinsically valuable ends, not on means to those ends (Sen 1999).

Sen, along with philosopher Martha Nussbaum, suggests the perspective of “human capability,” with an emphasis on those things that people are actually able to do and to achieve in their society. Because human beings have different capacities to translate basic goods (such as income or schooling) into ends (such as being in good health or having adequate education), attention to persons most in need requires a focus on their actual capability, and not only on what goods they possess. For instance, a pregnant woman has greater nutritional needs than a woman who is not pregnant in order to achieve the same state of being well-nourished. In addition, persons born with physical or mental disabilities may need additional medical or educational care in order to achieve the same capability as other members of society.

Sen thus rejects—along with Rawls’s emphasis on primary goods—the 1981 focus on resources of philosopher Ronald Dworkin and Robert Nozick’s 1974 view of entitlements because they do not adequately focus on ends. As part of a conception of justice, Sen has called for an equality of basic capability, although he leaves to citizens in particular societies to determine precisely what basic capability and economic justice entail in their respective contexts. Sen acknowledges the instrumental and the intrinsic importance of the freedom of exchange, but there are other important aspects, such as being free from hunger, that are part of economic justice. He argues that his capability-based approach is a fuller conception of freedom in its multiple forms than utilitarian, libertarian, or Rawlsian accounts.

COMMUTATIVE AND DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE

Commutative justice and distributive justice are not unrelated, and a system of economic justice can attend to both forms. Many scholars who focus

(almost) exclusively on commutative justice acknowledge, in various ways, that distribution is important. But, in some of these views, redistribution is a matter not properly of economic justice, but of the political order. That is, economic justice per se should focus only on commutative justice—that is, on assuring that there is an honest and non-coercive transaction among the parties. As social ethicist Jon Gunnemann (1985) discusses, however, if there is no “mutual competence” or shared meanings among the parties—for instance, in a case of extreme cultural or geographic distance or in a situation of severe inequality—then commutative justice is easily violated. Assuring such mutuality may require public attention (whether it is called political or economic) to economic distributions.

Political philosopher Michael Walzer, in his account of *Spheres of Justice* (1983), offers a view of complex equality that is suggestive of the relationship between the economic “sphere” and other spheres of life. Walzer calls for “complex equality” that operates among various spheres—the economy, politics, education, family, religion, and so forth—in which no good from any sphere is allowed to “dominate” goods in other spheres of life. For example, a just society would not permit money, which belongs in the economic sphere, to have an undue influence on political, religious, or familial life. The concern for domination by money justifies “blocked exchanges”—for instance, laws against the buying and selling of political votes or of educational degrees. If, and only if, domination is blocked (through political and other forms of leadership, presumably), then in that case Walzer sees little reason for moral concern about inequalities in income, political power, or educational attainment. In other words, if a system of basic justice were in place, then, given the diversity of human abilities and experiences, the remaining inequalities would be acceptable.

INEQUALITIES, DIFFERENCES, AND INJUSTICES

In actual, current societies, Walzer and others assert, many inequalities do exist that reflect not differences, but injustices. Genuine differences can be

consistent with justice and equality, but they are not necessarily so. For instance, the fact that—in the United States—among full-time, year-round workers, the average salary for women is only 0.75 times that of men, is arguably a matter not only of difference, but of injustice.

Critics of this claim point out that women tend to work in less lucrative fields and are more likely (for child rearing and other reasons) to move in and out of the labor market. The fact of unequal wages, these critics are right to point out, is a matter of more than merely individual discrimination. These more “systemic” or “cultural” factors are surely at play. Yet it is not clear that there is only a one-way causality—that is, that women’s wages are lower because they work in lower-paying fields. It is also possible that some fields are low-paying because they employ mostly women. This debate suggests that both individual-level and system-level analysis should be part of the reflection upon economic justice.

GENDER AND FAMILY

This discussion leads back to the fundamental question of how wide the analysis of economic justice should be. Clearly, economic justice pertains to more spheres of society than merely the economy. Rawls asserts that the subject of justice is the “basic structure” of a society, which entails the political, public sphere. Sympathetic critics such as feminist philosopher Susan Moller Okin have contended that Rawls’s view should be broadened to attend to justice within the institution of the family. In particular, gender inequalities are masked behind the wall created when the family is considered part of the “private” sphere, and thus protected, except in matters of direct harm to the vulnerable, from government intrusion. Views about gender-based roles are commonly developed and taught in familial settings, and Okin argues that there is good reason to expand a theory of justice to reflect more directly on family life.

Standard economic approaches, not unlike Rawls’s theory in this sense, typically stop at the household or family level, seeing life within that “private” context as a black box. As an exception, Nobel laureate Gary Becker explores the “economics

of the family,” but he assumes a harmony of interests among family or household members and an altruistic head of the house. Sen, noting empirical data that shows gender-based discrimination in very typical household activities such as food intake and basic health care, suggests that gender relations within the household be modeled and understood as having both cooperative and conflictual elements. Nussbaum undertakes a closer examination of the role of traditional beliefs and practices within the household on the capabilities of girls and women. In all these approaches, economic justice relates to family and culture as well as to the political and economic spheres (2000; see also Nussbaum & Glover 1995).

INTERNATIONAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL ECONOMIC JUSTICE

Whether and how claims of justice can be made across political boundaries is currently a matter of widespread discussion. In a world in which almost half of the population lives below two dollars a day of income, reflection upon global economic justice takes on practical urgency. Yet most theories of justice take as given the sovereign nation-state as a starting point. The most significant example here is Rawls’s theory of justice, envisioned for liberal democracies; Rawls’s “law of peoples” provides a very thin (though not empty) account of the demands of justice at the international level. “Cosmopolitan” or global accounts of ethics, such as those put forward by bioethicist Peter Singer, philosopher Martha Nussbaum, and theologian Hans Küng, understand political boundaries of nation-states to be of little moral significance. Any approach that upholds justice claims beyond political borders must consider which national or international bodies have obligations to respond to injustices. International, or even fully global, justice has increasingly become part of the agenda of national and international political leaders.

How best to expand discussions of justice beyond human beings to other beings, or to the environment itself, challenges the classic understanding of justice as based on claims of humans upon each other and their human institutions. One way to expand justice

is to assert the rights, including the equal rights vis-à-vis human beings, of all other animals, as Peter Singer argues. Another is to understand the earth itself as having legitimate claims as a living entity, a position taken by theologian John Cobb, World Bank economist Herman E. Daly, and cultural historian Thomas Berry. More “anthropocentric” approaches, including many in environmental economics, devise ways in which to “internalize” into human transactions the costs of environmental damage or resource depletion. Concern about the natural environment also reminds leaders and citizens of the implications of economic processes upon future generations of human beings and other animals, an awareness that should be part of a wide view of economic justice.

ECONOMIC JUSTICE AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Writing in the late eighteenth century, Adam Smith did not foresee the complexities of the contemporary global economy, and he did not envision the extensive social welfare systems that mark (to differing degrees) the most developed societies. Smith was primarily interested in commutative justice, but he also emphasized the moral significance of public education and he asserted that higher wages for workers would increase productivity (Smith 1976b [1776]). In overall terms, Smith’s assertion that justice is the main pillar of society is still a critical insight for relating leadership to economic justice. Economists are correct to state that, in general, business leaders, workers, investors, savers, and consumers tend to pursue their own interests in economic life. It remains the task of society as a whole, especially through deliberation in civil society and voting and policymaking in the political sphere, to decide what economic justice requires for its citizens. Once a process of good leadership establishes those standards, or rules of the game, then individuals and organizations can pursue their ends in freedom. Although there is clearly no sovereign political authority at the global level, to the extent that there is an emerging global society, individuals as well as governmental and nongovernmental institutions can

create a web of structures that work toward a more just global economy as well.

—Douglas A. Hicks

See also Enron Scandal; Farm Worker Movement; Green Parties; Trust Busting

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EDDY, MARY BAKER (1821–1910)

Founder of the Church of Christ, Scientist, and The Christian Science Monitor

Mary Baker Eddy made her mark as a leader through the establishment and promotion of Christian Science, known for its doctrine of healing through prayer. Born in Bow, New Hampshire, she was sickly from an early age and therefore received much of her early education at home. She began publishing poetry and prose while still young. In December 1843, she married George W. Glover, but was widowed six months later. In 1853, she married a second time, this time to Daniel Patterson, a dentist, and the couple eventually settled in Lynn, Massachusetts.

ILLNESS AND THE IDEA OF SPIRITUAL HEALING

Having been brought up in a family that prized Puritan values, Eddy read the Bible daily for consolation and healing of the ailments that continued to plague her, but to little effect. She also tried the various medical treatments of her time, but found no permanent help there either.



Portrait of Mary Baker Eddy, founder of the Christian Science Church.
Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

The treatments she received from Phineas Parkhurst Quimby (1802–1866), however, improved her health markedly and deeply influenced her ideas on healing. Quimby was an advocate of medicine-free healing. Under Quimby's care, Eddy went from being an invalid to being virtually pain-free and active; this experience led her to research theories of disease and cure. Eddy not only read essays on health, she wrote her own, submitting them to Quimby for correction. These essays attracted attention, and Eddy began to give public lectures on Quimby's healing system in Warren, Maine.

THE FOUNDATION AND SPREAD OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE

Quimby died in 1866, and shortly after Quimby's death, Eddy found herself an invalid again as a result

of a fall on an icy sidewalk. The physician who attended her told her she would never walk again. Believing she was dying, she asked for her Bible and read an account of one of Jesus's healings. She felt a spiritual transformation and got up from her sickbed feeling reinvigorated and ready to spread the word.

Following her miraculous recovery, however, Eddy was fearful that she would suffer a relapse. She asked a fellow patient of Quimby's for help, but when he failed to respond, she realized that she had to work out her own interpretation of spiritual healing. It was through those efforts that she came to understand the "Science of Christianity," or Christian Science, both terms Eddy acknowledged that Quimby used at least once in her presence. Also in 1866, the year of her great breakthrough and of Quimby's death, Eddy separated from George Glover, divorcing him in 1873. In 1877, she married again, to Asa Gilbert Eddy, a follower of her new faith.

In the months and years following Eddy's breakthrough, she began to rework Quimby's ideas and to actively spread them. Her leadership style was one of persistence, a persistence that wore down the opposition. She took all questions, often denying any inconsistencies within her teachings and insisting that Quimby had had only a limited influence on her work. She declared that those who argued otherwise were simply opponents of her movement seeking to discredit it. She felt that being associated with Quimby would discredit her movement because she felt she had gone beyond the earlier teachings of her mentor.

Her persistence and obvious deep conviction worked to win converts to her cause. She led by offering examples of the power of Christian Science's healing, her own, which she elaborated over time, being the foremost. Other converts added their own stories, which she was able to integrate into an emotional and coherent whole for Christian Science teachings.

In 1875, Eddy wrote the textbook of Christian Science, *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, which over the following century was published in seventeen languages and Braille and sold more than 10 million copies. Although *Science and*



Selection from Mary Baker Eddy's *Science and Health*

Chapter VI: Science, Theology, Medicine

But I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me is not after man. For I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ.
—Paul

The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took, and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened.
—Jesus

In the year 1866, I discovered the Christ Science or divine laws of Life, Truth, and Love, and named my discovery Christian Science. God had been graciously preparing me during many years for the reception of this final revelation of the absolute divine Principle of scientific mental healing.

This apodictical Principle points to the revelation of Immanuel, "God with us,"—the sovereign ever-presence, delivering the children of men from every ill "that flesh is heir to." Through Christian Science, religion and medicine are inspired with a diviner nature and essence; fresh pinions are given to faith and understanding, and thoughts acquaint themselves intelligently with God.

Feeling so perpetually the false consciousness that life inheres in the body, yet remembering that in reality God is our Life, we may well tremble in the prospect of those days in which we must say, "I have no pleasure in them."

Whence came to me this heavenly conviction,—a conviction antagonistic to the testimony of the physical senses? According to St. Paul, it was "the gift of the grace of God given unto me by the effectual working of His power." It was the divine law of Life and Love, unfolding to

me the demonstrable fact that matter possesses neither sensation nor life; that human experiences show the falsity of all material things; and that immortal cravings, "the price of learning love," establish the truism that the only sufferer is mortal mind, for the divine Mind cannot suffer.

My conclusions were reached by allowing the evidence of this revelation to multiply with mathematical certainty and the lesser demonstration to prove the greater, as the product of three multiplied by three, equaling nine, proves conclusively that three times three duodecillions must be nine duodecillions,—not a fraction more, not a unit less.

When apparently near the confines of mortal existence, standing already within the shadow of the death-valley, I learned these truths in divine Science: that all real being is in God, the divine Mind, and that Life, Truth, and Love are all-powerful and ever-present; that the opposite of Truth,—called error, sin, sickness, disease, death,—is the false testimony of false material sense, of mind in matter; that this false sense evolves, in belief, a subjective state of mortal mind which this same so-called mind names *matter*, thereby shutting out the true sense of Spirit.

My discovery, that erring, mortal, misnamed *mind* produces all the organism and action of the mortal body, set my thoughts to work in new channels, and led up to my demonstration of the proposition that Mind is All and matter is naught as the leading factor in Mind-science.

Christian Science reveals incontrovertibly that Mind is All-in-all, that the only realities are the divine Mind and idea. This great fact is not, however, seen to be supported by sensible evidence, until its divine Principle is demonstrated by healing the sick and thus proved absolute and divine. This proof once seen, no other conclusion can be reached.

Source: Eddy, Mary Baker. (1875). *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*. Boston: The First Church of Christ, Scientist; pp. 107–109.

Health is her most famous work, Eddy also wrote several other books laying out her ideas on religion.

In 1879, she officially founded the Church of Christ, Scientist. She was also responsible for establishing its various organs, including its newspaper, the *Christian Science Monitor*, which she established in 1908, when she was eighty-eight years old. The *Monitor* came to have a reputation for journalistic excellence. By the time of Eddy's death in 1910, Christian Science was found throughout the world. She had become an important and respected public

figure. In 1995, she was inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame for her contributions to society, religion, and journalism.

CONTROVERSY AND FINAL ASSESSMENT

Once she had formulated the idea of Christian Science, Eddy took on the role of itinerant teacher, going from place to place giving lectures, writing, tutoring individual pupils, and conducting classes. Over the years she moved from a strong reliance on

Quimby's writings to introducing more of her own ideas and terminology.

Nonetheless, *Science and Health* bears a striking resemblance to a manuscript of Quimby's. In 1904, *The New York Times* published a facsimile of Quimby's manuscript with changes in Eddy's handwriting. The *Times* pointed out the parallels between Quimby's teaching and hers. This article came after a long controversy about who was truly the originator of the ideas of Christian Science.

The controversy continued to rage for years. It seems fairly clear that Eddy took many of Quimby's ideas, but it is also clear that she continued to revise them for each new edition of her textbook, so that in the end they bore but slight resemblance to his original ideas. She was able to present the ideas of Christian Science in such a fashion through writing, teaching, and lecturing that it spread throughout the world by her death in 1910. Eddy's personality was clearly the motive force for the spread of Christian Science. Mary Baker Eddy was a great synthesizer and teacher. Deep belief in the rightness of her cause gave her an evangelical fervor. Eddy was able to use her great persuasive and literary powers to enlist those eager for a new message. She appealed to many who had not been cured by traditional means and who were open to nonmedical cures. Although many of her early followers today would probably be considered victims of psychosomatic or hysterical diseases, it is to Eddy's credit that she was able to offer them a means to ease their pain.

—Frank A. Salamone

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EDISON, THOMAS (1847–1931)

U.S. inventor and entrepreneur

Thomas Alva Edison was the greatest inventor in modern history. Since his rise to fame in the 1870s he has been one of history's most mythologized figures. The richness and complexity of his work, combined with the legends that have surrounded it, make Edison's career an especially challenging puzzle for those who seek to recover the "real" Edison. However, because of the availability of millions of pages of Edison laboratory notebooks, correspondence, and other documents, historians now have a much clearer understanding of Edison's life and work. If anything, writings based on the Edison papers have only reinforced the remarkable nature of his career; Edison remains a towering figure in the history of modern technological and business development. At the same time, the "new" Edison differs in several significant ways from the Edison of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century hagiography (a worshipful or idealized biography). How he established and operated scores of businesses; how he recruited, motivated, and collaborated with other technologists; how he organized and supervised employees; and how he cultivated and leveraged his own public image—in short, how Edison functioned as a leader—have emerged as central themes of his career.

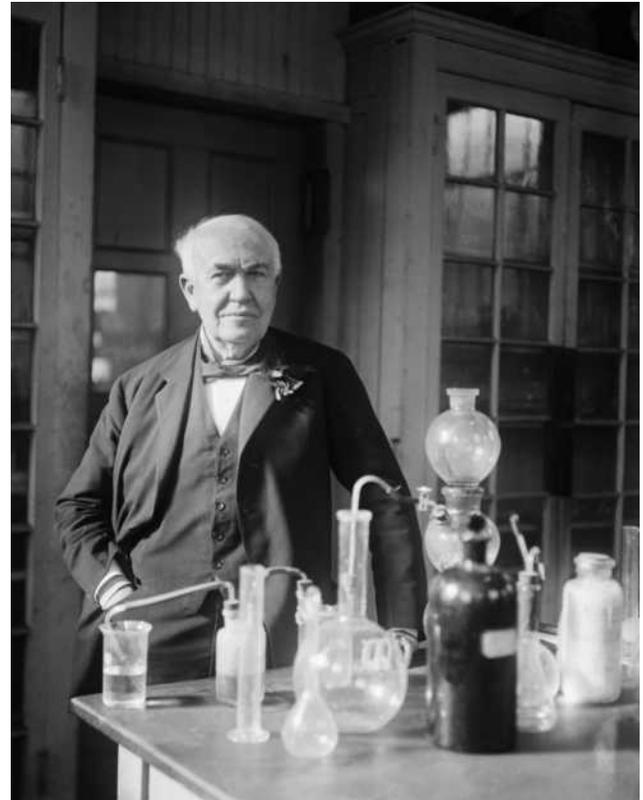
Edison was issued 1,093 U.S. patents and made major contributions to the development of several of the modern world's most important industries—telegraphy, telephony, electric light and power, recorded sound (the phonograph), motion pictures, chemical energy storage (batteries)—as well as less sweeping but still notable contributions to the fields

of mimeography, railroads, cement, automobiles, ore separation, and others. His discovery of the so-called Edison effect laid the groundwork for the development of radio. However, Edison was as much an entrepreneur and innovator as he was an inventor. That is, he was centrally occupied not only with creating but also with commercializing. According to many historians of technology, the process of innovation entails both invention and commercial application. This process typically involves applying new ideas to build working prototypes, then (with continual modification) scaling up production for sales. In this way theories, concepts, and designs are first embodied in the physical world, as technology, and then launched in the marketplace, as products. Edison devoted considerable attention to all stages of this process—conceptualization, design, model building, and commercialization—which involved him with a variety of individuals, including scientists and mathematicians, craftsmen and mechanics, investors, politicians, and customers. In his interactions with each kind of stakeholder (a person having an interest in an outcome), Edison exhibited a distinctive and usually quite effective leadership style.

Born on a farm in Milan, Ohio, Edison began his professional career as a telegrapher, which gave him a decent income and plenty of mobility. He hung out his shingle as an inventor and began to attract modest corporate capital in Boston during a stint there in 1868–1869. His initial work focused on improving telegraph, fire alarm, and facsimile telegraph systems. Edison soon moved to New York City, expanded his work into new areas, and achieved some notable success—along with additional venture capital. In 1876 he opened what he called an “invention factory” in the northeastern New Jersey farm community of Menlo Park. It was a predecessor of the twentieth-century research and development laboratory, an institution devoted to controlling the pace and direction of technological development.

A LEADER OF CRAFTSMEN

As an inventor, Edison worked much more pragmatically than theoretically—by present-day standards—but this was largely a consequence of the



Thomas Alva Edison in his laboratory in Menlo Park, New Jersey.
Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

times in which he lived. Edison often relied on scientific research to guide his work in mechanics and electricity but had to rely more on trial and error in the chemical domain. Much Edison mythology has been based on the premise that Edison virtually plucked inspiration out of thin air. (Thus, a light bulb illuminating over one’s head became the standard metaphor for the flash of a brilliant idea.) Edison mythology also has been based on the premise that Edison actively spurned the contributions of people formally trained in the natural sciences. Probably the most popular quotation attributed to Edison has been his remark that invention is 99 percent perspiration and 1 percent inspiration. However, at his research facilities at Menlo Park (1876) and West Orange, New Jersey (1887), Edison assembled the largest technical library in North America, its sprawling stacks filled with scientific and technical journals (some from Europe), academic books, and patent reports. Francis Upton, one of Edison’s chief collab-

Hell, there are no rules here—we're trying to accomplish something.

—Thomas Edison

orators in electric lighting, was a brilliant mathematician educated at the Andover Academy, Bowdoin College, and Princeton University who also attended lectures by the German physicist Hermann von Helmholtz at Berlin University. In short, Edison exploited theoretical understandings as best he could; but the ends he sought quite often outran the limits of theory, forcing him and his researchers into uncharted terrain, where laborious trial-and-error protocols were the only practical solution.

The staff of craftsmen, mechanics, and model builders at Menlo Park grew to sixty-four by 1880. Later, at West Orange, Edison worked with hundreds of specialists in the main laboratory and in the large phonograph works as well as in smaller laboratories devoted to electricity, chemistry, chemical storage, and metallurgy. These men (as was common at the time, Edison's operations employed no women as skilled craftspeople or professionals) looked to Edison for direction and inspiration, and "the Old Man" did not disappoint. Edison flitted from workstation to workstation, giving directions, sounding out ideas, and proposing solutions. It was a two-way interaction, but Edison retained the clear leadership role. Although assistants exercised a high degree of autonomy, Edison—by dint of his enormous talent and creativity—usually took the lead in both defining and solving problems. When he departed the laboratory for more than a couple of days, work slowed noticeably without his direction.

Edison defined the work ethic within his laboratories by example. A "workaholic" (to use modern parlance) under normal conditions, he worked ceaselessly when in the crucial stage of a project, sneaking short naps on virtually any horizontal surface, and expected his assistants to keep pace. The long absences from home strained his associates and took a heavy toll on Edison's personal life (especially his first marriage, which was to Mary Stilwell). Even so, the work culture among Edison and his "muckers"

fostered a sense of camaraderie, much like Edison had experienced among the telegraphers and machinists of his young adulthood. It was an informal, masculine culture in which colorful stories and off-color jokes were valued as much as hard work and independent initiative. Edison's crews were kept within loose bounds and motivated, not by bureaucratic managerial systems, but by their enthusiasm for working with the greatest mucker of them all.

Managing Factories, Investors, and Celebrity

Even though inventive activity gave Edison the greatest intellectual satisfaction, he was also determined to profit from the fruits of his creativity. He founded multiple corporations in most of the areas of his research to produce the technological components and systems that flowed from his laboratories. In the field of electric light and power, for instance, the Edison Electric Light Company controlled the rights to several hundred patents that together comprised the "Edison system." Major system components were manufactured by the Edison Electric Lamp Company, the Edison Company for Isolated Lighting, the Edison Machine Works, and the Edison Tube Company. Edison Electric Light Company, in turn, licensed to a variety of local Edison illuminating companies in which Edison held a financial interest.

Throughout his career Edison had to court investors to keep the capital flowing in. To launch his career as an independent inventor, he garnered the support of major telegraph companies. Leading financiers such as J. Pierpont Morgan (the first North American to install electric lights in his home) and Henry Villard were strong supporters of Edison's electric light and power endeavors. Although Edison came through with promised innovations much of the time, he also displayed a propensity toward overly optimistic projection. In September 1878, for instance, he announced that he had solved the incandescent light challenge, although more than a year passed before he produced a practicable lamp, and it wasn't until 1882 that the first lighting station went on line, at Pearl Street in lower Manhattan, New York. Edison was supremely confident, but he also

recognized—and cultivated—the art of posturing for the press and for his financial backers.

Journalists were eager to comply. Edison's reputation began to soar in the 1870s, thanks in large measure to his successes with the phonograph. The device's power to capture and reproduce voices and music awed and enchanted the press and the public. For the most part thereafter, journalists uncritically reported Edison's claims and reveled in his eccentricities, a fact that Edison exploited. He was happy to play the part of the homespun genius who napped under his desk and was ready to take on virtually any technological challenge. On one occasion Edison jokingly claimed to have invented a machine that would feed the world. The news services ran the story straight, and millions of newspaper readers found it perfectly credible.

In spite of his celebrity Edison's relations with his financial backers often were strained. Although he was extraordinarily foresighted in identifying areas of opportunity, at times he proved to be stubbornly committed to what proved to be technological and entrepreneurial dead ends. Edison's electrical systems operated on direct current (DC), but when George Westinghouse and others introduced alternating current (AC) systems that were more economical for long-distance transmission and distribution, Edison dug in his heels and pushed DC even harder. AC ultimately prevailed. Similarly, Edison never succeeded in developing a commercially viable electric vehicle; he failed to envision the commercial possibilities of recorded sound; and in the 1890s he spent most of his fortune on a behemoth electromagnetic ore separation gambit that ultimately failed.

Nor did he fully control the interests that bore his name, especially as the scale of his various manufacturing enterprises grew large. By the 1880s, Edison's manufacturing and utility interests were simply too numerous and geographically dispersed for him to play much of a direct role in management. In 1892, his electrical interests were merged with those of Thomson-Houston to form General Electric, but Edison played a marginal role in the merger itself and in the company it created. He was by then one of the most renowned and admired figures in the world, his reputation on par with those of Theodore Roose-

Genius is one percent inspiration and ninety-nine percent perspiration.

—Thomas Edison

velt and Abraham Lincoln. In his twilight years Edison sustained his image through interviews and historical reenactments. Unlike many who attained his level of celebrity, however, Edison demonstrated few ambitions as a social philosopher.

Edison thus devoted much of his professional life—especially after opening the West Orange facilities in 1887—to founding and operating manufacturing facilities. Historians continue to debate how effective he was as an industrialist, although there is little question that he was strong, if not exceptional, as a businessman, especially given the range and complexity of his various enterprises. Edison's greatest business strength was in marketing—in both perceiving and shaping demand for mass consumer products.

However, in his own day and today, Edison chiefly stands as an example of a heroic inventor and, more broadly, a heroic U.S. citizen. His lack of much formal education, his strong practical bent, his independent habits, his apparent willingness to take on virtually any technical challenge—all resonated deeply with a nation that was becoming more and more bureaucratic, scientific, and professionalized yet feeling ambivalent about the transition. Edison left an enormous legacy. He was simultaneously a one-of-a-kind “wizard” and an everyman who aspired to greatness through hard work and creativity. In the popular imagination he served as a great inspiration more than a leader. However, those who explore the new Edison scholarship will find many valuable leadership lessons about how to organize and motivate creative teams, how to move technological ideas into the marketplace, and how to cultivate a potent public image.

—David B. Sicilia

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EDUCATION, HIGHER

Colleges and universities generally provide society with the education and training necessary for social, economic, and technological progress. Institutions of higher education must themselves be led effectively if they are to produce the leaders needed for the common good.

While some consideration will be given to higher education in other parts of the world, the United States will be the primary focus of this entry. The United States has more students enrolled in higher-education institutions than any other country in the world.

Higher education is not a unified system. It comprises both public and private institutions, both non-profit and for-profit. For the purposes of this article, higher education will refer to all the types and categories of postsecondary institutions included in the Carnegie Classification. Last revised in 2000, the Carnegie Classification includes all colleges and universities in the United States that grant degrees and are certified by an accrediting agency recognized by the U.S. Secretary of Education. The Carnegie Classification includes six primary categories of institutions:

Doctoral or research universities. These institutions typically offer bachelor's and master's degrees in a broad array of fields as well as doctoral degrees in a range of subjects.

Master's colleges and universities. These typically offer baccalaureate (bachelor's) degrees in a variety of fields and graduate education through the master's level.

Baccalaureate colleges. These institutions specialize primarily in undergraduate education, offering bachelor's degrees in liberal arts subjects and other fields.

Associate colleges. Usually characterized as community colleges or junior colleges, these institu-

tions offer primarily two-year associate's degrees and certificate programs.

Specialized institutions. Specialized institutions are usually free-standing institutions that offer degrees, from bachelor's to doctoral degrees, in a single field, such as medicine, theology, engineering and technology, business and management, art, music, and so forth.

Tribal colleges and universities. American Indian tribes control these institutions, almost all of which are located on reservations.

RECENT STATISTICS

The U.S. Department of Education and the U.S. Census Bureau are principal suppliers of information about higher education in the United States, although there are other sources as well. The statistics in this entry are from the 30 August 2002 issue of the *Chronicle of Higher Education*. The most recently available statistics for various categories of information are not always for the same year. In 2000–2001 the total U.S. higher-education enterprise comprised 4,182 institutions, including 1,698 in the public sector and 1,695 in the private or independent sector. In fall 1999 the combined total number of students enrolled at all categories of U.S. postsecondary institutions was 14,791,224. Comprehensive financial statistics are available only for the nonprofit institutions. In 1996–1997 the public nonprofit institutions had revenues of more than \$130 billion and expenditures of almost \$126 billion, while in 1995–1996 the private nonprofit institutions had revenues of approximately \$74.5 billion and all expenditures totaling almost \$71 billion.

India, with a population almost four times that of the United States, has the second-largest higher education enrollment, with 7,780,000 students in the year 2000. In 1998 China, with a population approximately five times that of the United States, enrolled 3,408,800 students. The United States and Japan have the world's highest percentage of high school graduates who continue their formal education, with slightly more than 65 percent of Japanese continuing and slightly less than 65 percent of Americans.

Transnational developments in higher education



Dorm Life as a Leadership Study

COLLEGE PARK, MD. (ANS)—In place of the usual rough and tumble of dormitory life, students at the University of Maryland are turning their residences into a laboratory on civility.

A new project beginning this fall called the CIVICUS Living and Learning Program will compare modern citizenship with historic ideals, encourage students to come up with solutions to age-old incivilities and establish a model community in a dormitory.

"The most important thing I'd like to see is a free exchange of ideas while maintaining respect and civility for each person," said Sue Briggs, who directs the two-year, residential program in Somerset Hall. "Our biggest task is trying to corral energy and focus on a few distinctive programs to make a difference."

The 121 freshman and upper-class participants in the project were invited to apply based on their academic and public service records. They will take several classes together and work on independent projects related to democracy, leadership and community building.

The students may need this classroom learning when they head back to the dormitory. In other university housing, students generally rely on paid resident assistants to enforce house rules and broker conflicts, according to University of Maryland spokesperson Jean Reuter. Instead, CIVICUS residents are expected to come up with their own rules of civility for dorm life and to develop systems for resolving everyday dorm hassles like a neighbor's blaring music or messy roommates.

In the first month of the program, there has been ample evidence of ideas, energy and commitment, administrators said. On their first weekend on campus, CIVICUS students made 1,200 sandwiches for the hungry, loaded produce onto trucks for delivery to food banks and hauled compost on an organic farm.

"No one was required to be there, but we got 85 students up and ready at 8:30 in the morning," said Rachel Philofsky, a sophomore from Portland. "That gave me a lot of hope for the rest of the year."

But the program will cover more than community service. Agenda items for the students range from examining the criteria for respectful relationships to coping with small irritants like toothpaste in the sink to figuring out how best to govern themselves.

"I think the main idea is to try and build a civil society within this dorm," said Benny Anand, a freshman economics major. The building itself was renovated to accommodate the program and includes lots of classrooms, common areas and plenty of windows.

Anand admits he was first attracted to CIVICUS because of its great living space and location next to the library and dining hall. He since has become enthused about the group's diversity—28 percent are students of color—and its emphasis on generosity and trust.

The program is getting lots of attention, Briggs added, and receives daily phone calls from students interested in enrolling.

Source: "Students Take Lead in Turning Dorm Life Into Study in Civility." American News Service, October 7, 1999.

complicate the comparisons among nations. The Erasmus program, created by the European Union, effectively makes the higher-education resources of virtually all of Europe available to all qualified European students. Similarly, U.S. colleges and universities enroll more than half a million foreign nationals.

THE COMPLEXITY OF LEADERSHIP IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Especially since the beginning of the last quarter of the twentieth century, and continuing into the twenty-first century, there have been many calls for bolder leadership in U.S. higher education and criticism of college and university presidents for being

too timid. Those admonitions cite specific problems that need addressing—athletic excesses, binge drinking, curricular incoherence, grade inflation, "political correctness" run amok, and so on. The calls for stronger leadership frequently cite examples of presidents from past eras who demonstrated the qualities of character, personality, and intellect that made for effective leadership.

Those who demand bolder leaders almost always fail to acknowledge the vast differences in scale and character between today's colleges and universities and those of the late nineteenth or even early twentieth century. The post-Civil War era was of vast importance in U.S. higher education, and many of the celebrated leaders emerged during that period.

But in 1870, there were only slightly more than 50,000 college students in the entire United States. Today, Ohio State University enrolls on its main campus alone some 55,000 students. “College presidents of a century ago often were arbitrary in dismissing faculty members whose behavior or views offended them. It was only in 1915 with the creation of the American Association of University Professors that faculty members began to assert their collective power” (Menand 2001, 412–417). Not only is the scale of the enterprise today vastly greater, it is also much more complex. Authority and power in a typical university are diffused widely throughout the organization. Different units of an institution typically have distinctive missions. An academic medical center with hospitals and laboratories has little in common with the college of arts and sciences or the law school in the same university. The measures of success in one unit are likely to be at variance with the measures in another. In addition to a large degree of autonomy among the principal academic units, there is also great freedom for faculty members to determine what they will teach and what research interests they will pursue. Often, the president’s salary is well below that of the football coach, the manager of the endowment, professors of cardiac surgery, or Nobel Prize–winning professors.

Given those facts, leadership theories that explain the dynamics in earlier U.S. higher education institutions may not be as applicable to today’s environment. In his book *The Leadership Challenge of a College Presidency: Meaning, Occasion, and Voice*, Francis Oakley, a former president of Williams College, notes that the current literature on leadership in higher education tends to slight theories of leadership. For example, certain character or personality traits and intelligence are still important in academic leaders, but they are no longer considered the guarantors of success that they once were. The transformational leader—one who transforms his or her organization through the power of his or her vision—as described in *Leadership* (1978), the celebrated work of the historian James MacGregor Burns, still has great credibility, especially in small institutions such as liberal arts colleges, or among deans in professional schools within universities.

But it is much less applicable in large, complex, decentralized universities. Burns distinguishes between the “transforming” and the “transactional” leader. The transactional leader generates a following and effects change by exchanging benefits for support. The transforming leader is able to elevate and transform the aspirations of followers by providing a framework of moral purpose that energizes them and elicits their best efforts. It is important to note that Burns does not present the transforming and transactional models as mutually exclusive, and he notes that success for the transforming leader may require many practical political steps.

CLASSICAL AND COLONIAL HEADWATERS OF U.S. HIGHER EDUCATION

Bruce Kimball, the author of *Orators and Philosophers: A History of the Idea of Liberal Education* (1986), does not employ Burns’s leadership categories, but his portraits of Plato and Isocrates of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE qualify them as transforming leaders whose contrasting concepts of liberal education continue to define battle lines of debate twenty-four centuries later. Plato sided with his mentor Socrates in holding that the highest learning consists of *philosophia*, which discerns the essence of things, the final truth, through dialectical reasoning. Isocrates, by contrast, was skeptical of speculation. He insisted that the aim of education was to use oratory or public persuasion to promote personal and civic virtue. Despite the growth of undergraduate professional and preprofessional programs, especially since the mid-1970s, liberal arts education continues to flourish. Plato and Isocrates would feel at home today in many faculty debates about the content and aims of liberal education. Like many later leaders, they influenced the course of history decisively by articulating powerful and compelling ideas. Liberal arts higher education in the United States in the twenty-first century usually borrows from the traditions of both Plato and Isocrates, and most institutions represent an amalgam of their approaches.

Harvard College, founded in 1636, was the first American colonial college. It was modeled on Emmanuel College in England’s Cambridge Univer-

sity, and Harvard in turn became the model for many subsequent colonial colleges. Education at Harvard, as at Oxford and Cambridge, emphasized the formation of a learned aristocracy who would master classical Greek and Latin texts and go on to provide ecclesiastical, professional, and civic leadership. But Harvard departed from the Oxford and Cambridge model when it followed the example of the Calvinist universities at Leiden and Geneva by vesting final authority in a lay board of trustees instead of the faculty. That scheme of governance remains a hallmark of U.S. higher education.

The classical ideal of higher education that was brought over from England remained dominant for more than two centuries, but it gradually made way for various forms of applied and practical learning suitable for those whose primary interest was the development of the potential of a vast continent. The aristocratic presuppositions of the colonial colleges and their European antecedents conflicted increasingly with democratic impulses that demanded broader access to educational opportunities.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY LEADERSHIP OF HIGHER EDUCATION

As a principal architect of U.S. independence and as a child of the Enlightenment, Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) founded the University of Virginia in 1819 to embody an explicitly U.S. ideal of higher education. Jefferson's University of Virginia subordinated the legacies of Athens, Jerusalem, and Rome to the mastery of subjects that could be applied to contemporary problems. Thus the eight schools that comprised the curricular foundation of the University of Virginia included ancient languages, modern languages, mathematics, natural philosophy, natural history, anatomy and medicine, moral philosophy, and law.

In 1828 the faculty at Yale, under the leadership of Yale's president at that time, Jeremiah Day (1773–1867), launched a vigorous counterattack against Jefferson and all other would-be reformers. The Yale Report staunchly defended classical learning, with its emphasis on Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and advocated an understanding of the human psy-

che and of the physical world that was thoroughly grounded in Aristotle. Aristotelian, too, was the pedagogy that understood the mind to be a static receptacle for content received from textbooks and teachers. The Yale Report served as the mission statement and curricular blueprint for most of the hundreds of church-founded colleges that sprang up (and often perished soon thereafter) as Americans spread out across the continent. But although the voices of reform were muffled, they could not be stilled. One of the most effective was that of Francis Wayland (1796–1865), the president of Brown University from 1826 to 1856. Wayland called for greater attention to practical and applied studies and noted the absurdity of basing U.S. education on the Oxford and Cambridge models that were created to train medieval clergy and that continued to serve the aristocratic classes of England.

Jefferson's grand scheme for the University of Virginia was not fully realized, and Wayland experienced more frustration than success in trying to reshape Brown to fit his vision. By the time of the Civil War, however, reform messages began to find a response that would indeed reshape the enterprise of U.S. higher education. Congressman Justin Smith Morrill (1810–1898) of Vermont was never a college president or the leader of any educational organization, but he envisioned a national system of colleges and universities that would focus on scientific agriculture, engineering, and other applied studies. The Morrill Act of 1862 established federal grants of lands that would provide endowment and operational funding for that system. Many of the nation's great state universities were built on that foundation.

Long before the Land Grant universities took shape, a number of colleges introduced courses of study that provided students with an alternative to the classical model, offering the practical and applied subjects that the reformers were calling for. Perhaps the college to do so most successfully was Union College, in Schenectady, New York. Under the remarkable leadership of Eliphalet Nott (1773–1866), who presided for an astonishing sixty-two years (1804–1866), Union's alternative curriculum made that institution the second-largest college in number of students in the nation (after Yale). It also became

the nation's richest college, thanks to Nott's genius at making money and his generosity to Union.

THE RISE OF THE RESEARCH-ORIENTED UNIVERSITY

Following the Civil War and the greater recognition of the importance of colleges and universities as providers of intellectual capital, U.S. educators were no longer enamored of Oxford and Cambridge as models. Instead, they were interested in German universities. Established in 1810 by Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835), the University of Berlin put the discovery of new knowledge on a par with the dissemination of knowledge. The professors at Berlin and similar institutions understood that scholarship was at least as important as teaching. The German Ph.D. became the world's most prized academic credential. As scores of Americans with that credential began to leaven the faculty ranks of U.S. colleges and universities, those institutions began to take scholarship and research far more seriously. During the forty-year presidency (1869–1909) of Charles W. Eliot (1834–1926), Harvard became a preeminent center of research. Eliot's great expansion of student elective freedom in the choice of courses and programs facilitated and encouraged independent inquiry and acknowledged that student aptitudes and talents varied greatly.

While Eliot was transforming Harvard from a provincial college into a great university, other leaders were building ambitious new universities de novo. Johns Hopkins University was founded in 1876 explicitly on the German university model. Daniel Coit Gilman (1831–1908), its founding president, set out to establish a university whose central work was the creation and discovery of new knowledge through faculty scholarship. Teaching was secondary in importance. Recruiting professors who were prepared to carry out this mission, Gilman succeeded admirably. Johns Hopkins became a major producer of Ph.D. degrees and a model whose influence was widespread.

Founded in 1865, Cornell University was another bold venture that illustrated the primacy of research, as well as the importance of applied learning. Cornell

also illustrated the power of the combination of educational vision and philanthropic generosity. Andrew D. White (1832–1918), the first president, supplied educational vision and imagination. The financier and philanthropist Ezra Cornell (1807–1874) supplied generous financial support and political connections that brought in additional dollars from state and federal sources. Their university earned designation as New York's Land Grant college, and a panoply of programs emphasizing applied research developed. Cornell also became a major center for pure scientific research. Although the term *multiversity* did not arise until a century later, it is an apt description of what Cornell aspired to become, and succeeded in becoming.

Andrew D. White viewed religion as hostile to scientific progress and intellectual openness. By contrast, William Rainey Harper (1856–1906), a Yale professor of Hebrew and a Baptist layman, respected the piety of John D. Rockefeller (1839–1937), whose oil millions enabled Harper to transform a struggling little Baptist college into the University of Chicago. The combination of Harper's educational leadership and Rockefeller's financial support was remarkable. Frederick Rudolph, in his *The American College and University: A History* (1990), describes how Harper built the faculty of the University of Chicago by staging the "greatest mass raid on American college faculties in history" (Rudolph 1990, 350). Of the 120 faculty members hired in Harper's first year (1891), eight were former college or seminary presidents, five came from the Yale faculty, and fifteen of Clark University's most distinguished professors left their old institution reeling when they left for Chicago. As with Johns Hopkins, the Chicago faculty understood that scholarly investigation was their primary work and that instruction was secondary. Consistent with that mission, Chicago designated the first two years of the college experience as junior college, in which the faculty prepared students for scholarly work. The last two years, designated as senior college, were devoted to scholarly inquiry and the mastery in depth of a major field. The Chicago model attracted widespread attention and emulation in U.S. higher education. John D. Rockefeller's example of enlightened philanthropy,

which combined generosity with noninterference, also attracted much attention. By contrast, Leland Stanford (1824–1893) and his wife hobbled the development of Stanford University for years by inserting themselves deeply into administrative decisions.

BROADENING ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

As U.S. colleges and universities became more attuned to the needs of the general population, pressures for wider access naturally grew. Oberlin College (1833) opened its doors to women as well as men. Although there was strong agitation for educational opportunities for women, the focus had been largely on elementary and secondary education until after the Civil War. The pioneering role of the state universities in the Western states was particularly important in opening up to women the same college opportunities that were available to men. Emma Willard (1787–1870) and Mary Lyon (1797–1849), the latter of whom founded Mount Holyoke Seminary (1837), which eventually became Mount Holyoke College, were leaders in expanding the educational opportunities for women, but their emphasis was largely on secondary education.

A hundred and forty years after the Emancipation Proclamation ended slavery, Americans of African descent continue to be underrepresented in higher education. Booker T. Washington (1856–1915) founded Tuskegee Institute in 1881 with little encouragement or support from whites and criticism from some African-Americans, who believed that he was too yielding to the prejudices and stereotypical views of the times. Morehouse was founded soon after the Civil War, in 1867, but its preeminence today owes much to Benjamin Mays (1895–1984), who presided from 1940 to 1965. Under the leadership of Mays, Morehouse came to pride itself on educating young men (such as Martin Luther King, Jr.) who would combine intellectual competence with the courage to challenge laws and customs that denied African-Americans equal opportunity.

One of the most significant advances in the expansion of access to U.S. higher education came through

the so-called GI Bill of Rights, or the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944. Many of the titular leaders of higher education at that time, and especially presidents of the more prestigious institutions, resisted the proposal for federal scholarships for war veterans. They feared that a huge influx of students who had not previously aspired to attend college would lower standards. The American Legion deserves principal credit for passage of the bill, and the Legion's faith in the ability and seriousness of the veterans was dramatically vindicated. The role of the American Legion in assuring enactment of the GI Bill is but one of the many instances of significant leadership from generally faceless organizations. One can also point to the role of the League for Innovation. Founded in 1968 and with a current membership of more than 700 institutions, the League for Innovation in the Community College provides model curricular programs and sponsors programs to nurture institutional leadership. Its influence has helped make community colleges a dynamic force in American higher education, and they account for more than 35 percent of higher education enrollments in the United States.

LEADERSHIP CHALLENGES IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

In the United States at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the average tenure of college and university presidents is only about six-and-a-half years. That brief tenure attests to the difficulty of the job and raises troubling questions about the ability of presidents to provide the needed leadership. The strength of U.S. higher education owes much to the role of lay boards of trustees, whose role in supporting presidents and buttressing them against unwarranted interference and criticism is more important than ever. Still, the trend in public university state systems in the last three decades of the twentieth century has been toward systemwide boards and away from boards that are responsible for single institutions. The systemwide boards often demonstrate greater loyalty to the political agendas of governors and legislative bodies than to the colleges and universities in the system.

Such preeminent late-nineteenth-century leaders of U.S. higher education as Daniel Coit Gilman, Andrew D. White, William Rainey Harper, and Charles W. Eliot were, first and foremost, educators. They were part of a long leadership tradition that expected presidents to have the major voice in shaping educational programs and choosing the faculty to carry out those programs. Even well into the twentieth century the educator-president tradition remained vibrant, as illustrated by Robert Maynard Hutchins (1899–1977) of the University of Chicago (president from 1929 to 1951) and James B. Conant (1893–1978) of Harvard (president from 1933 to 1953). Those presidents were known both as the leaders of their institutions and as public intellectuals who took stands on important public issues: Conant, for example, strongly influenced U.S. secondary education. But especially after World War II, the increasing complexity and decentralization of the university made it increasingly difficult for university presidents to dominate the discussion about the aims and content of the education their institutions provided. The presidents of the larger research universities, in particular, are essentially the chief executive officers of complex federations of quasi-autonomous academic units. The skills and experience that presidential search committees seek in the leaders of such institutions rarely focus on educational vision. Moreover, the demand increasingly is for presidents who are persuasive with legislative bodies, foundations, and wealthy alumni. Curriculum questions have become the responsibility of faculty committees and academic deans, but the academic training of faculty members provides little preparation for forming overarching views of the kind of educational experience that is best suited for students. The result has been great growth in the requirements for students' major field and relatively little attention to the general-education component of the undergraduate curriculum. Often, students are provided great elective freedom based on the questionable assumption that they will make wise choices and bring coherence into their undergraduate experience.

An encouraging aspect of the leadership picture in U.S. higher education at the beginning of the twenty-first century is the rapidly growing presence

of women and members of underrepresented minority groups in the ranks of presidents. The leadership of the preeminent private research universities was a male preserve until 1993, when Nannerl Keohane left the presidency of Wellesley to become president of Duke University. Since then, Judith Rodin at the University of Pennsylvania and Shirley Tilghman at Princeton have joined those ranks. Brown University president Ruth Simmons, the daughter of sharecroppers, is the first African-American to head an Ivy League University.

There is now almost universal recognition that higher education is the principal source of the intellectual capital that is essential for personal fulfillment and for the technological and social progress of humankind. That recognition is leading to greater care in the selection of leaders of institutions of higher education and to more systematic evaluation of their performance. The political culture that is widely prevalent in colleges and universities makes difficult the kind of leadership succession planning that is common in other kinds of organizations. That is one of the principal leadership challenges facing U.S. higher education early in the twenty-first century.

—John W. Chandler

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EDUCATION, K–12

Educational leaders are those people who guide, manage, and, when need be, transform schools. Sometimes educational leaders have been chosen and given power (superintendents, principals, chancellors) and sometimes they are people within the school community who gain power or influence through their personalities and actions (students, parents, teachers). In some few cases, people outside the school system or community lead through their ideas (influential authors, for instance). Schools present unique challenges to their leaders, and understanding educational leadership requires a deep and detailed understanding of how schools work.

A school principal is certainly at the core, if not always the leader, of a school. One principal tells the following story about her job and her school.

In high school, lunch is big. I mean, lunch is very, very big. It's all about who you get to eat with, and whether you have time to hang out, whether you have the good lunch period or the bad lunch period. It's big for the teachers too. Do they have time off at lunch, or do they have lunch duty? Will they have a place to sit with other teachers and talk, or do they have to be around the kids? Will they have a good lunch period, and can they smoke while they eat and talk? At our school, we have three different staggered lunch periods. This means many of the students couldn't eat lunch with their friends. This was a big, big problem. So recently we made a change. All the students would have the same lunch period. But that created a new problem. Not all of the students could fit into the cafeteria at one time, which meant we had to let them eat lunch wherever they want. The students were ecstatic. The teachers were happy. But the janitors were in a fit. So for the last few weeks I've had a janitor in my office almost every day, complaining about the mess everywhere left from lunch. We made a decision that was good for the students, but bad for the

janitors. And anyone who doesn't think janitors are essential to the running of school has never spent much time in a school. So now we are trying to figure out some ways to make the janitors more comfortable with the new lunch plan. (Author interview)

Although the above example does not capture a moment of educational leadership that brings tears to one's eyes or astonishes one with the leader's vision, strength of mind, or charisma, it does convey what is special about educational leadership. The direction of a school often is determined by many seemingly mundane decisions. Vision, in most schools, is manifested in oblique ways, and often reveals itself only implicitly. For this principal, the overriding goal of every decision, big and small, is to ensure that students are learning as much and as well as possible, and that the conditions of the schools are conducive to that goal. From her perspective, the students' dissatisfaction with lunch was distracting them from their work, and from their ability to attend classes (when those classes conflicted with their friends' lunch period), be prepared for classes, and get to classes on time. She felt that the lunch issue had a direct bearing on the students' ability to learn, and therefore she changed the lunch schedule to optimize the students' learning. In so doing she affected the lives of everyone who spends time in the school building. Thus the quote demonstrates at least one of the ways in which schools differ from other institutions: Schools serve one constituency (in the case of K–12 schools, young people), but involve many different people. Often an educational leader's crystalizing moments unfold in the most unlikely spots, such as the cafeteria.

Schools are often at the epicenter of a community, whether rural, suburban, or urban, and they reflect the political forces and the tensions of the community as well as those of the larger society. As the lunch story reveals, each group of participants has a different stake in the shared enterprise (the students want a better education, or more freedom, or more fun; the teachers want better work conditions, or high standards for their students; the janitors want a more manageable system; the parents want their children to be safe, and so forth). This means that the leader

(in this case the principal) has to appeal to the interests of all the participants to get to his or her goal—in this case, a lunch period that will, in the end, get the kids to be more invested in their classes.

WHO LEADS IN A SCHOOL SETTING?

Although there is a hierarchy in most schools, the hierarchy is neither as clear nor as powerful a force as it is in some other settings. There is almost always a head (often a superintendent) who delegates power to others (such as principals, teachers, and so forth). Superintendents and principals are accountable to community members—that is, to school committees and school boards. The people who serve on these boards are not professional educators. As one New York City liaison between the chancellor of New York City schools and the city's many school boards said, "You have a group of people who are making the decisions, without knowing much about what they are in charge of. They want the power but not the responsibility to become knowledgeable" (author interview). In most public-school settings, at least, everyone feels like an expert because everyone has been to school, sent children to school, been on the school committee, paid taxes, or voted for a school referendum.

But it is not only the principal who leads a school. Because there is a rarely a strong, visible, and stable hierarchy shaping a public school, leadership is often up for grabs. While there always is a superintendent and a principal, any one of the constituents or constituent groups can also assert leadership. A teacher may be the driving force in an important change in educational practice within a school, for example.

Every once in a while it is the students who lead the way to change. For instance, in 2000 and 2001 students across the United States mounted a strong movement to protest the use of standardized tests as a requirement for graduation. These students, mainly juniors and seniors in high school, met, brought in experts to advise and support them, and organized widespread demonstrations, letter-writing campaigns, and boycotts of the tests themselves.

Because of the weakness of school hierarchies, the person who has the official role of leader may not

be the most powerful person in the system. The act of leading is much more powerful in a school setting than having the designated role of leader. The person in the head job (for instance, the superintendent) may spend his or her time and energy managing the system, without taking any steps to guide the school community in solving problems, moving in new directions, or improving some aspect of school performance.

MEASURING SUCCESSFUL LEADERSHIP IN A SCHOOL SETTING

The success of the leadership in schools in the K–12 range can be measured in several different ways, often somewhat incompatible.

Tenure as a Measure of Success

Superintendents and principals of public schools often consider themselves successful if they keep their jobs—no small task when the job involves satisfying groups of people who are often in conflict with one another (school committees and community members, teachers and students, union officials and parents). Take for example a superintendent of a regional school system in a rural area of Connecticut. For thirty-two years he remained the head of the school system. The school suffered a bad reputation in terms of delinquency, low test scores, and college admissions. His tenure, however, is remarkable in an era when the average tenure of a school superintendent is seven years. What did he do to maintain power, without actually articulating clear goals, guiding teachers, parents or students towards new achievements, or solving educational problems facing the school system? He kept people apart, so that there was little communication between various individuals or between groups. For instance, the school committee, made up of twelve representatives of the five member towns, had not met to discuss his performance in over fifteen years. Instead, he had instituted a tradition of having each member write him a letter evaluating him, which he alone received, read, and possibly discussed with that member. (Though public institutions such as schools often appear to have

clearly stated guidelines and practices, in reality there is much distance between policy and practice.) It had been years since anyone had looked to see whether or not the evaluation process was being conducted according to policy. He gave teachers a lot of freedom to do what they wanted, so they supported him: Good teachers liked him because he gave them freedom to initiate good practice, and bad teachers liked him because he didn't lean on them for showing up late, teaching poorly, or behaving inappropriately with students. This is an example of a superintendent whose success can be measured by the fact that he kept his job rather than by the job he was doing. His leadership resulted in a certain kind of stability rather than change.

More than most settings, schools are small communities, with representatives of different age groups, interests, levels of expertise, and in many cases conflicting needs. Given the community-like feel of many schools, principals often find themselves leading through an implicit policy of what one history teacher, Matthew Wohl, calls, "leading through proximity." This entails spending a lot of time with the people you want to influence and being influenced by the people with whom you spend the most time (for example, teacher leaders). Those who lead through proximity create strong networks of personal loyalties that ensure their role and that generate tight cohesion among an inner circle, but often (because of the centrality of the attachment) don't leave any room for top-down decisions, for radical changes, or for imposing strong standards on reluctant teachers.

Change as a Measure of Success

At the opposite end of the spectrum are those educational leaders whose main goal is to create



Frank Mickens, principal of Boys and Girls High School in Brooklyn, New York, poses with student Kareem Phillips. He is showing the gold caps on his teeth that Mickens has banned from the school along with miniskirts, large jewelry, and shearling coats. Mickens argues that "Somebody has to say, 'Hey, let's get back some values.'"

Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

change in a school system even if that makes their position extremely vulnerable. During the 1980s, one such leader, Dennis Littky, precipitated such radical change in a small New Hampshire community that members of the community sued him, and the case went to the Supreme Court. At the time Dennis Littky came to the New Hampshire town, he was already known for turning things around in schools, finding novel ways to engage students in academic work, and creating teams of teachers to teach in unorthodox ways. However, he found himself up against local residents who were strongly opposed to the changes he wanted to make. His leadership was visible and strong; he changed the school and won the Supreme Court case—but had to leave the community. The success of his leadership would have to be measured by the changes he brought about rather than by his popularity or tenure.

In some cases, leaders are faced with taking over institutions that are on the brink of demise. In those cases, their actions can be judged on their own merits or in terms of the survival of the institution. For instance, in 1990, when Elizabeth Coleman took

over as president of Bennington College, a small, private liberal arts college, it was in serious financial trouble, with a dwindling student body and a fractured faculty. By 2000 the school was on the upswing: It was stronger financially; its faculty were more productive and visible, and its admissions had increased, with higher admissions criteria. However, in the process Coleman had not renewed contracts for many faculty, drawn a censure from two national academic institutions (the Modern Language Association, and the American Association of University Professors). Some considered her actions and policies to be draconian. Some considered them to be strong and inspired. One might argue that though her individual actions were tough, harsh, in some cases off the mark, her alternative was to let the school sink. It is impossible, of course, for anyone to know how another leader might have handled things. But it is worth noting that the measure of a leader's success depends in part on what the evaluator thinks the alternatives are. This is no less true in K-12 schools, where the trade-offs are much the same.

Some would argue that a school leader can facilitate, manage, keep his or her job, and create change. But people who can actually do all these things are few and far between. People who manage all these tasks might articulate their mission in words like those of a principal from the Bay Area in San Francisco: "I never lose sight of my goal, which is to educate young people. But I know that in order to do this I have to keep everyone on board: parents, teachers, support staff, community members and, last but not least, the students themselves. That means always listening, remembering that each person has a perspective and a role that shapes their concerns and their take on a situation. I spend a lot of time listening."

Public schools in the United States have always vacillated between setting up strong hierarchies that put great faith in a leader and granted him or her great autonomy on the one hand and supporting the principle of bottom-up decision making on the other. William Glasser has described the ideal leader in schools as one who seems to combine the power and charisma of a strong manager with the listening

skills and openness of someone simply facilitating a more laterally organized group:

A boss drives. A leader leads.

A boss relies on authority. A leader relies on cooperation.

A boss says "I." A leader says, "We."

A boss creates fear. A leader creates confidence.

A boss knows how. A leader shows how.

A boss creates resentment. A leader breeds enthusiasm.

A boss fixes blame. A leader fixes mistakes.

A boss makes work drudgery. A leader makes work interesting.

(Glasser 1998, XI)

Schools more than most places depend for success on a comfortable, confident, happy workforce. It is hard for teachers to be encouraging, gentle, creative, and optimistic with their students if they feel criticized, disenfranchised, or inept. Hence the great emphasis—as in the quotation above—on the importance of creating an atmosphere of support, collegiality, and mutual respect. At the same time, however, the bulk of writing on schools and school environments during and after the 1990s has focused on the need to raise standards of performance in schools. Sometimes these two goals are in conflict and present the leader with a seemingly insoluble problem. How can one be a cheerleader and a tough coach at the same time? Playing both parts may be school leaders' toughest challenge outside of the fiscal challenges that are usually beyond their control.

THE GOALS OF THE SCHOOL LEADER

Schools are places of ideas, but also of outcomes. Students graduate or they don't. They go to college or they don't. The economically advantaged can leave for private schools or remain in the system. The school can become a center of community life or be a roadblock to members of the community. A school can reflect the values and habits of its community or act as an agent of change. To a great extent, the leader, whether principal, teacher, or superintendent,



Teaching about Leadership

The following is a case study assignment distributed by the University of Virginia to teachers to be used in teaching about leadership and about the English settlement of Virginia.

Assignment:

Picture yourself in Tower of London, in the court of James I. You are a member of the Privy Council, an adviser to the king. The English crown government wants to help the men in the Virginia Company establish a colony in the Chesapeake region of the New World, in a place they had named Virginia. The English government will raise the necessary money and supplies for the first colonists and help advertise in order to attract people to live there. James I, the English king, will also be the ruler of the colony; however, Jamestown lies across the Atlantic over 2,000 miles away from London and the king. He will be too far away from the settlers to be an effective leader. The colony will be impossible to control from London alone. In order for the colony to be successful, Jamestown needs its own leader, a strong authority. Another problem is that the Virginia Company has never attempted to colonize the New World before. They expect to find gold and lots of free, farmable land. (But Virginia in the 17th century was a wilderness with no roads, and populated with native American people who had already lived there for about 400 years!) If the colony is to survive, there must be able leadership. The leader should be an experienced person, someone who can make good decisions—lifesaving decisions. The leader must be able to lead (and sometimes discipline) men. He should also have vision, and be loyal to the mission of the company and its goals. Last but not least, the leader must be a person who could be diplomatic with the native peoples or know how to defend the colony if they became hostile.

Your group's mission is to select the first leader of Jamestown settlement. Debate the relative merits of each applicant, and make a ratings analysis chart for the three candidates. Then defend your selection in front of the king (or your teacher). You must give at least one reason why you chose your selected leader. Remember, you are responsible for picking a leader who will get the settlers through the hardships of the first years of the colony.

Source: Center for Technology & Teacher Education, University of Virginia. 1999. <http://www.teacherlink.org/content/social/instructional/jameslead/leadership.html>

Candidate A:

- served as an apprentice to a merchant
- read books on warfare and leadership
- survived a shipwreck
- served several years in the English army—was taken into slavery but killed his master to escape
- had contempt of men who could not work and pull their own weight
- traveled to the Netherlands, France, Egypt, and Austria (and joined the Austrian imperial army)
- was captured by the Turks and escaped
- killed three Turks at one time in hand-to-hand combat

Candidate B:

- sailed with Sir Francis Drake as a freebooter who raided Spanish ships
- searched for gold and the nonexistent Anian Strait for England
- survived a shipwreck
- has great skill in maritime matters
- was a soldier in the English army
- has a financial stake in the colony because he is a member of the Virginia Company
- was knighted by the Queen for service provided to England
- has traded goods with native American Indians

Candidate C:

- served in the English army
- fought in Ireland (which was colonized by the English long before the New World)
- served on the King's Privy Council (The Privy Council is similar to the American president's cabinet but it could also issue executive orders)
- studied at Oxford University
- is a nobleman (he inherited his title from his father)
- had served in Parliament
- is distantly related to James I on his father's side

will determine what role the school plays. As is true for leaders in other settings, a great deal of the school leader's success will depend on his or her force of

personality, ability to articulate a vivid and compelling picture of what he or she wants, and ability to draw others into that picture. Schools are meant to

serve everyone in a community, but in a heterogeneous society, a school often serves the interests and needs of some groups better than others (the teachers may have to work harder but the kids do better; the kids who are college bound may have great experiences, but those with different abilities or aspirations have a less successful experience; the middle-class families who have always dominated the community may feel frustrated, but an underrepresented group of families finally feels their voices are heard, and so on. This is an inherent conflict for any school leader.

One school leader known for creating fairly radical change is Deborah Meier. Some aspects of her work are worth noting for what they reveal about educational leadership. In her written and spoken statements, Meier, most famous for the Central Park East school in Harlem, New York City, has been clear about her belief that schools have to reflect the needs and desires of their communities, and that everyone has to have a say in the way the school functions. Because she is an articulate leader who is powerful whether she is in a role of power or not, she has sometimes set up consensual, collaborative, pluralistic structures but ended up wielding inordinate influence because of her other leadership qualities—determination, clarity and force of vision, and personal charisma.

WHAT LIES AHEAD

A central dilemma for those concerned about educational leadership is the fact that powerful people (the kind who lead armies, colleges, and big businesses, for instance) are often not the people drawn into the world of K–12 education or administration. Changing conceptions of schools, changing economics, and other social forces may mean that the twenty-first century sees a growth in the number of ambitious, powerful people who end up in K–12 leadership positions. That, in turn, could mean an improvement in schools. In recent years there has been some focus on creating programs to teach people how to lead as opposed to simply how to manage. Prescott College is one such institution. However there are some, such as Dennis Littky, who argue that educational leadership is best learned through the master

apprentice model. His program seeks to place young school principals and would-be superintendents as interns with established school leaders for two years, so they can learn alongside an experienced person. Programs like his should make the education and training of school leaders much more effective, and again attract a group of applicants more fundamentally suited for the task.

Because the hierarchies of schools are subtle and often implicit, and because the relationship of schools to communities, state government, and federal government is complex and ever shifting, what constitutes successful leadership is also in flux. If the United States succeeds in making the job of teaching a more satisfying, interesting, and valued job, a different kind of person will end up becoming a teacher. Stronger teachers may demand different kinds of characteristics in their leaders.

A school is an institution that has the capacity both to perpetuate societal values and habits and to provide a possible avenue for change. Perhaps it is this dual capability that often makes schools lightning rods within communities. Though schools are ostensibly for children, they actually must serve the needs and goals of a wide range of citizens. All schools are managed, but not all schools are led. Educational leadership can come from any sector within the school community. While many schools do not have strong leaders, the ones that do stand out far above the others.

—Susan Engel

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EDUCATION: OVERVIEW

In general, scholars of leadership in education have proceeded on an assumption that education leadership is best understood by situating studies in

schools, colleges, and universities, by treating these organizations as discrete and relatively impermeable institutions, and by focusing on the behavioral repertoires and characteristics of administrators, trustees, and boards of education. While there is nothing inherently wrong with this approach, we suggest that education leadership will be incompletely understood and inadequately envisioned if studies fail to take account of the mediating role that education has played in the political, economic, social, cultural, and moral development of the rising generation, especially in places like the United States, where authority over education is decentralized and where education leaders are effectively required to help learners manage transitions over a life course. Like leadership in other areas, educational leadership takes place in the context of local, national, and global processes. It is affected by religious and secular belief systems, and its influence is felt in formal institutions and informal arenas and in large and small structures of association found within and beyond the boundaries of formal systems of schooling. Considered in this light, educational leadership is necessarily diffuse, complex, and laden with possibilities.

PREDOMINANT TRADITIONS

Traditional studies of leadership in education have tended to focus on two dimensions: the traits of individuals who occupy high-level administrative roles, and the nature of the organizations within which they do their work. Indeed, research on leadership in education has yielded a high volume of largely descriptive writings on college presidents, deans, and department chairs, and on superintendents, principals, and, since the 1980s, teachers who assume quasi-administrative roles as teacher leaders. This body of literature has proceeded on an assumption that the work of education leaders is best understood in organizational terms, that is, as molded, if not essentially determined, by the nature of the formal institutions within which they carry out their roles. Taken together, these defining characteristics constitute a now sixty-year-old tradition of work that has tended to bind studies of leadership to school- or

university-based, role-related, organizationally insular processes. Additionally, while some scholars have attempted to address the orientations, experiences, and insights of women and minorities in various administrative positions, the bulk of the mainstream literature has accepted rather than problematized the prevailing power structures that have dominated educational administration at all levels of the U.S. education system. The result has been a literature that focuses on a relatively narrow sampling of white men in formal institutional settings.

Beyond this sampling limitation, the literature on leadership in education also reflects theoretical constraints that have limited scholars' ability to capitalize on the full range of opportunities that the field of education offers. For example, studies begun in the 1940s and continuing to the present have focused on identifying and analyzing the individual traits, organizational tasks, and characteristics and behaviors that distinguish leaders from non-leaders or effective leaders from ineffective leaders. But this approach has yet to produce the theoretically consistent, empirically verifiable profile of individual qualities and task competencies that proponents of this approach had hoped to develop, notwithstanding the emergence in the 1970s and 1980s of a line of work that incorporated more complex, contingency-oriented constructions of leadership that took account of situational conditions as well as individual traits and specified tasks. What has emerged instead is an array of mix-and-match models that indicate which "leadership styles" might be more or less effective in various organizational circumstances. Through this construction, leadership becomes a function of the fit between the traits and behaviors of individuals, features of the task, and characteristics of the organization, including at times the organization's relationship to its broader, external environment. While this type of work has generated a great deal of research and debate, it has also reinforced the tendency to concentrate on formal actors, notably school administrators, in fairly traditional institutional contexts.

Another stream of work, evident in the 1960s and 1970s and extended in the 1980s and 1990s, expanded the notion of leadership to include configurations of actors working collectively and collabo-

ratively to carry out various leadership roles and responsibilities. Deploying notions of shared or distributed leadership, this more-open systems approach enlarges the numbers and types of leaders and emphasizes the ways in which leaders engender consensus rather than procure compliance. Studies of elementary and secondary schools in which teachers and parents as well as administrators become part of a leadership structure designed to develop school improvement teams and to respond to external mandates illustrate this more inclusive approach. Scholars such as Betty Malen and Rodney Ogawa have suggested that these new leadership configurations tend to preserve rather than transform the professional-patron relationships typically found in schools. Nonetheless, scholars continue to search for sites where the transformative potential of new leadership configurations may emerge.

The fruits of multiple lines of scholarship on leadership in K–12 school settings were summarized in a 2003 American Education Research Association publication, “What We Know About School Leadership.” This review identifies the functions of “successful leaders” and suggests that these individuals are engaged in “identifying and articulating a vision . . . creating shared meanings . . . creating high performance expectations . . . fostering the acceptance of group goals. . . monitoring organizational performance . . . [and] communicating” with multiple stakeholders “through participatory communication strategies . . . that will lead to productive discourse and decision making” (Leithwood and Reile 2003, 3–4). These leaders also construct concepts of professional community, develop prescriptions for improved practice, and engage in efforts to improve school performance by “strengthening school culture . . . modifying organizational structure . . . building collaborative processes . . . [and] managing the environment” (Ibid., 4–5). According to this view, education leaders are conductors managing lengthy lists of processes that, despite rhetoric to the contrary, tend to go on within relatively stable, hierarchical structures of authority.

As we have seen, traditional approaches to education leadership, while rich in the capacity to reveal the ways in which school administrators at all levels

do their work, are only beginning to examine the important and independent capacity of teachers to take on leadership roles in schools. Reflecting a broader and more professionally nuanced view of school authority, researchers have begun to integrate teachers into their thinking, especially as researchers, policymakers, and educators seek to discover ways to restructure and reform schools and to delegate and diffuse leadership, with the goal of empowering individuals to transform schools in the United States and other parts of the world into dynamic, productive organizations. The emphasis is on how leaders (often but not always individuals in formal administrative roles) develop “shared purposes . . . [and] work through and with people” in formal and informal roles to attain organizational goals (Leithwood and Reile 2003, 2). But even in these more teacher-sensitive constructions, teachers emerge as subordinates in a system of hierarchical relationships. Not only has this assumption denied teachers leadership agency, it has also blinded researchers, as Robert Croninger and Barbara Finkelstein point out, to the many ways in which teacher leadership is organized and fashioned in the corridors and classrooms of schools and acknowledged in families and communities.

EVOLVING TRADITIONS

As we have suggested, traditional research in education leadership has not fully capitalized on the rich opportunities that the field of education presents. We believe that education leadership will be better understood if we broaden and deepen programs of research in at least four ways.

Education Leadership Is Diffuse

It is important to recognize the essentially diffuse character of leadership within and outside schools through studies that investigate leadership in all the possible places in which teaching and learning occur. These studies should map the contours and expressions of education leadership in families, communities, museums, and newsrooms as well as

in formal schools, government agencies, corporate board rooms, nonprofit organizations, and international development institutions. The sociologist Howard Becker, in a pointed and powerful critique of traditional assumptions about the locus of authority in education, called attention to the insular constructions of education when he wrote, “If we think of education and learning as generic social processes, there is no reason to think that those processes take place only in schools. There is no reason, for that matter, to think they take place in schools at all, even though that is the story schools tell about themselves and the story that well-socialized members of our society believe, or at least, pretend to believe so they won’t appear to be nuts” (Becker 1990, 236). If, as he suggests, education leadership may be more powerfully enacted outside rather than inside schools, researchers should begin to focus on these sites of previously invisible sources of leadership and on the full panoply of human relations that constitute education.

Education Leadership Involves a Wide Range of People and Processes

Scholarship should include the full array of participants and processes that constitute leadership in education. As earlier noted, teachers exercise leadership not only in schools, but in their dealings with families and the local community. Unfortunately this form of leadership is rarely examined in studies of leadership in education. Nor have students been visible actors in the leadership literature. Like teachers, they emerge as subjects to be controlled rather than active agents with a potential to influence the scope and character of the curriculum, the climate and dynamics of classrooms, and even the tone and tenor of the broader organization. In a similar vein, traditional studies have tended to treat community power structures as groups that require supervision, direction, and regulation by professionals, rather than as groups possessed of insight, expertise, and wisdom that can fruitfully be brought to bear on education deliberations, policy decisions, and daily practices. Writers who seek to understand education leadership might work to develop more robust ways to explore

If we don't model what we teach, we are teaching something else.

—Unknown

the subtleties of teacher-student dynamics and the multiple and powerful roles that parents and community groups play in the formulation of school purposes, priorities, practices, and outcomes.

Education Leadership Is Transcultural

Researchers should recognize the transcultural nature of education leadership in all contexts. No matter what the sponsorship, location, or focus of education effort, teaching and learning inevitably structure status and identity, nurture communication habits, and cultivate what the nineteenth-century historian de Tocqueville called habits of the heart. Administrators, teachers, students, professors, parents, museum curators, textbook writers, government officials, teacher educators, curriculum planners, tribal leaders, storytellers, and youth advocates are all leaders in education: Together they and others construct distinctions of generation, class, race, ethnicity, nation, and gender as well as distinctions between one kind of knowledge and another. The context and ethos of education, perspective taking, reciprocal authority, and locally and globally constituted constructions of leadership are indispensable ingredients for twenty-first-century leadership studies in education.

Education Leadership Is Complex and Multifaceted

Those who study leadership in education should emulate such leadership authorities as Geneva Gay, Flora Ida Ortiz, James MacGregor Burns, Lawrence A. Cremin, Pierre Bourdieu, and Alan Peshkin, who recognize the force of social, political, economic, and cultural circumstance, the crucial roles that education plays in the forming of cultural arrangements, processes, and identities in all their facets, and the interactive and reciprocal character of leadership purposes, processes, and outcomes. Such comprehensive

and sophisticated treatments of context, structure, and agency reveal the broad range of possibilities embedded in constructions of education leadership. In our view, this more challenging approach will both broaden and deepen our capacity to discover the foundations of leadership in education.

—Barbara Finkelstein and Betty Malen

See also Education, Higher; Education, K–12

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EFFICACY

Efficacy is the power people have to produce an effect. People hold beliefs about their own efficacy and about the efficacy of people with whom they work. Such beliefs define a crucial basis for several aspects of leadership, including how much effort a leader devotes to social influence and how effectively a group responds to leadership influence. This psychological quality indicates a person's conviction (or lack thereof) that he or she can enact behaviors leading to desired outcomes. Motivated behavior is purposive, based on personal reflection, foresight, and planning. Based on this reflection, people choose goals to attain. Their choices depend in large part on their confidence that they can do what they need to do to meet their goals. Although people often choose to accomplish tasks for which they believe they have limited competence, such choices are often driven by external constraints and contingencies. On the whole, when having complete freedom of choice, people choose behaviors and tasks that they are at least somewhat confident they can accomplish. Efficacy, therefore, reflects psychological processes related to a person's choice of particular goal paths, the amount of effort devoted to attainment of chosen goals, and the persistence of effort when progress toward goal attainment is thwarted.

People's beliefs about their own efficacy—self-efficacy—pertain to specific tasks and circumstances. Self-efficacy reflects competency beliefs about one's ability to accomplish a particular set of tasks in a defined situation. Thus, people have beliefs in their ability to drive a car, lose weight, quit smoking, handle a sailboat, play an instrument, and so on. Some efficacy beliefs may reflect a broader class of activities, such as believed competency in raising children, accomplishing one's job, or playing a sport. These activities typically reflect a large number of distinct behaviors, all bearing on more

abstract goals (e.g., raising well-behaved, responsible children; achieving high job performance, winning a tournament). This distinction is particularly relevant to leadership because leadership reflects a generalized class of behaviors pertaining to individual and group accomplishment of a range of tasks. So one's efficacy beliefs regarding leadership competence are likely to reflect believed competency at a variety of subtasks.

Some researchers have described generalized notions of efficacy as reflecting beliefs extending across many kinds of tasks. As such beliefs become broader and more diffuse, they tend to lose their ability to predict effectiveness and behavior in specific situations. However, leadership efficacy has been shown to predict a variety of tasks to denote the broad category of leadership performance, suggesting that it reflects a more general sense of efficacy.

ANTECEDENTS OF EFFICACY

Where do efficacy beliefs come from? Perhaps the most important basis for efficacy beliefs resides in a person's experience in similar task situations. If a person experiences a consistent pattern of success at a task, he or she will approach future accomplishment of this task with a high degree of perceived efficacy; if failure has been the typical experience of past task engagements, then the person will experience low task efficacy beliefs. Although such direct performance experiences provide quite potent sources for efficacy beliefs, they cannot serve as the only sources; otherwise individuals will need to experience every task before establishing beliefs about their own competence.

Efficacy beliefs can emerge from a variety of other experiences and events. People can form beliefs about their own competency at a task by observing others performing the same or similar tasks. The power of such vicarious experiences to influence personal efficacy beliefs depends upon how similar the performers are to the person observing them, the number of experiences observed, the status of the observed individuals, and the similarity of the task to the one about which the observer is forming an efficacy belief. Individuals may form efficacy beliefs by

A competent leader can get efficient service from poor troops, while on the contrary an incapable leader can demoralize the best of troops.

—U.S. Army General John J. Pershing

imagining themselves being effective at the task. Sports psychologists often use imagery devices to help athletes envision themselves displaying effective behaviors and thereby increase their chances for success in performance. Researchers have applied such self-success imagery to improving leadership effectiveness.

Efficacy beliefs can also emerge from verbal persuasion and from physiological and emotional cues. An effective technique that fosters employee empowerment centers on the leader or manager providing encouragement and expressions of confidence in the abilities of subordinates. Such encouragement and expressions of confidence raise the efficacy beliefs of followers, increasing their commitment and performance. Efficacy varies according to physiological and emotional cues. Individuals may report lower efficacy when feeling in pain or in a weakened physical condition. Also, lower efficacy beliefs emerge from negative affect (the conscious subjective aspect of an emotion considered apart from bodily changes) or poor moods. These cues, though, are less powerful as determinants of efficacy than are past performance or vicarious experiences.

CONSEQUENCES OF EFFICACY BELIEFS

Higher efficacy beliefs result in stronger task performance. Indeed, efficacy beliefs predict performance, even after controlling for actual prior performances. This situation mitigates the argument that efficacy beliefs are a surrogate for task skills and past performance.

Efficacy beliefs influence performance by giving rise to several psychological processes. High-efficacy individuals will choose more difficult goals, commit more deeply to those goals, and persist longer in reaching those goals. High-efficacy individuals focus their attention and effort on planning how to attain set

*Fail to honor people,
They fail to honor you;
But of a good leader, who talks little,
When his work is done, his aims fulfilled,
They will all say, "We did this ourselves."*

—Lao-Tzu

goals and solving problems that arise along their goal path. Low-efficacy individuals spend more time preoccupied with their perceptions of inadequacy, with the attendant motivational consequences; they ruminate over failure scenarios.

Low efficacy can produce strong negative affective reactions, particularly stress, anxiety, and depression, especially when the performance of a task or demonstration of a skill has strong positive value for the individual. High efficacy can produce a sense of exhilaration in task accomplishment.

Efficacy beliefs determine what situations and environments individuals will choose to join. In free-choice conditions, people will generally choose performance situations in which they have an acceptable level of perceived competence and avoid those situations in which they do not have confidence of success. Thus, efficacy beliefs can affect choice of colleges, occupations, careers, and jobs as well as the myriad of separate task choices that occur throughout these larger choices.

LEADERSHIP AND EFFICACY

Efficacy beliefs pertain to most task situations. However, for leaders such beliefs pertain not only to the leaders' accomplishment of particular tasks, but also to their perceived competence as leaders. In essence, leadership efficacy represents a leader's confidence in his or her ability to lead others to perform well and to help his or her group succeed. Effective leadership requires a strong positive image and a sense that one can meet individual and group challenges. Often leaders pull their groups, organizations, and nations through crises by displaying a strong sense of confidence and optimism. U.S. President Franklin Roo-

sevelt displayed such efficacy in his speech to the nation during the Great Depression in which he asserted that "We have nothing to fear but fear itself."

Leadership reflects the undertaking of several kinds of tasks, including understanding environmental demands, decision making, organizational problem solving, group planning, motivation of others, coordination of the activities of others, and resolution of conflicts among one's subordinates and with other groups. Thus, leadership efficacy represents a more general form of efficacy that pertains to a broad class of tasks and situations. Indeed, measures of leadership efficacy have assessed a leader's perceived self-competence in performing as many as sixteen activities under the heading of "leadership."

Leadership efficacy influences an individual's leadership performance. Highly efficacious leaders set higher goals for themselves and their group and establish more effective individual and group strategies for attaining these goals. Such leaders also seek more readily to implement required group and organizational changes. Research has also demonstrated that the effects of leadership efficacy on behavior and performance become even stronger in stressful and demanding circumstances.

Strong leadership efficacy has a positive effect on another type of efficacy beliefs—those shared among the members of a leader's group. Such beliefs refer to the group's "collective efficacy"—a collective sense that members have that, together, they can perform a particular task. This definition emphasizes that collective efficacy is a property of the group; it represents a belief of collective competence (or incompetence) that is strongly shared among all group members to the point that it becomes a defining characteristic of the group as a whole. Although most research has limited the investigation of collective efficacy to groups, the U.S. psychologist Albert Bandura, who first offered and defined this concept, argued that it extends to large organizations, communities, nations, and cultures.

The consequences of collective efficacy resemble those of individual efficacy. Thus, when members feel confident of their group's capabilities, they work harder on behalf of the group, collectively set more difficult group goals, persist in the face of goal

obstacles, and display higher commitment and cohesion than when they have less collective efficacy. Efficacious groups allocate more of their collective attention and effort to task performance. Such groups will also display more effective processes where group interactions are more tightly linked to group performance requirements.

Leaders have a fundamental responsibility to raise the collective efficacy of a group. As noted, efficacy beliefs can emerge from a history of success, observations of successful task completion by others, and verbal persuasion. Simply by engaging in effective leadership, leaders increase the likelihood that groups will accumulate a history of success, thereby increasing the members' sense of collective competence. Research has shown that the goals and strategies that a leader develops for a group have a direct effect on the group's subsequent task efficacy and that efficacy beliefs affect future group performance. Leaders may also improve the ability of group members to work well together by modeling appropriate task strategies. They may model acceptable interaction processes, such as the most effective way to communicate ideas, offer constructive comments on offered ideas, and request and give information to the group. Such processes in turn improve the coordination and interaction of group members and thereby increase the group's collective efficacy.

Finally, leaders can improve the group's collective efficacy by persuading members that they can accomplish a task well or by exhorting them to do so. Such persuasion lies at the heart of charismatic or transformational leadership, whereby a leader by force of personality and strength of vision convinces followers of the correctness of a particular course of action and, more importantly, raises their individual and collective senses of efficacy that they can achieve desired outcomes.

While leadership efficacy and collective efficacy are important for group performance, a third form of efficacy that relates leadership to group processes pertains to the leader's efficacy for the competence of his or her group. This form of efficacy differs from leadership efficacy in that the latter reflects the leader's beliefs about his or her personal competence. It also differs from collective efficacy because

beliefs are not shared among group members; the leader holds the beliefs about the group.

A leader's beliefs about the competence of his or her followers play an important role in how he or she interacts with followers. How the leader evaluates the abilities of group members influences the level of goals established for the group, the complexity of strategies developed to accomplish these goals, and the amount of sense-making communications the leader delivers to the group. The leader's sense of collective efficacy will also determine where he or she will target group training and development efforts.

Research has demonstrated the potency of individual efficacy, leader efficacy, collective efficacy, and a leader's sense of collective efficacy in predicting the strength of individual, leader, and group performance. This research links efficacy beliefs to key psychological and social processes that occur within an individual and within a group. These processes include goal setting, strategy development, the exertion of effort, and persistence in the face of obstacles. Research has found that leadership efficacy has even stronger effects when the leader and the group are trying to accomplish a complex task. Such efficacy also has stronger influence early in the group's tenure when the group does not have a reservoir of success experiences. Taken together, this research confirms that efficacy represents a critical component of understanding leadership and its effects on groups and organizations. Efficacy also provides a basis for distinguishing strong and weak groups and organizations.

—*Stephen J. Zaccaro and Meredith Cracraft*

See also Narcissistic Leadership

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EISENHOWER, DWIGHT DAVID (1890–1969)

U.S. Army general and president

Military leaders are—naturally enough it would seem—usually known for what they do or achieve on the battlefield. Dwight D. Eisenhower, on the other hand, began his career as a staff officer and rose through the ranks in the U.S. Army to become the most prominent American general in the most important war of the twentieth century. By the end of World War II, he was the supreme commander of all Allied forces on the continent of Europe, and his influence and responsibilities were nearly beyond measure. Eisenhower’s long military career became a testament to the notion that decisive military leadership can be exercised on the planning tables just as surely as on the battlefield. He gained worldwide fame as the man who orchestrated the Allied effort, kept bickering and egotistical generals working alongside one another, and ultimately led the coalition to defeat Nazi Germany. Unlike many of his contemporaries, however, his career as a leader did not end with the surrender of the enemy. Just a few years after the end of the war, Dwight D. Eisenhower

became one of the most popular presidents the United States ever had. In each of his two careers, the man known simply as “Ike” was noted for his distinctive leadership.

HISTORY

Eisenhower was born in Denison, Texas, in 1890 and grew up in the prairie town of Abilene, Kansas, one of six brothers. In elementary and high school, he was known for his high spirit and fiercely competitive nature, especially in sports. After high school graduation, he won a coveted appointment to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1911. Even though Eisenhower graduated from West Point shortly before the United States entered World War I, he was not among those who crossed the Atlantic and took part in the fighting. Instead, Eisenhower acted as a training officer at various army posts in Georgia, Kansas, and Pennsylvania. (His most lasting wartime achievement was setting up a training program for tank soldiers at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.) After the war and a short stint serving in the Panama Canal Zone, he entered the army’s Command and General Staff College and graduated at the top of his class. He clearly had a particular ability for staff work, planning, and organizing. For six years in the 1930s, he served under the outspoken and flamboyant General Douglas MacArthur, serving for four years as MacArthur’s aide in the Philippines. The month that Japan bombed Pearl Harbor, Eisenhower was back in Washington, D.C., working in the Army War Plans division under General George C. Marshall. By the summer of 1942, he was in charge of U.S. forces in Europe and from that November onward, Eisenhower had direct command of tens of thousands of American officers and soldiers deployed from North Africa to England.

WARTIME LEADER

Eisenhower’s greatest wartime challenge, and consequently the clearest manifestation of his leadership abilities, came in his task of overseeing and holding together the military planning efforts for the Allied coalition. From 1942 through the end of the war, it

fell to Eisenhower, who eventually rose to supreme commander of all Allied forces in Europe, to keep military personnel with their clashing personalities and contradictory ideas about military operations all working toward the same end. And it was Eisenhower's leadership that kept the planning on track. His energetic personality and electric grin may have dominated his public image, but his strong will and keen insight made him effective behind the scenes. He was able to keep numerous alternatives straight in his head and see the faults and opportunities with each. He was a forceful man whose fiery temper could and did erupt at a moment's notice and who, once he made a decision, brought even his most recalcitrant subordinates along with him. Most who were exposed to his anger never wanted to cross him again.

Despite his position and responsibility, few people considered Eisenhower arrogant or egotistical. Most people liked him immediately and thought him genuine and a man utterly without airs. He was, by all accounts, a humble man whose character never strayed far from his Abilene roots. He was intensely loyal to his subordinates, who hated to disappoint him. All these personal attributes, combined with his determination and his abilities, made him a person who was easy to follow and one who was a natural leader.

In one sense, his leadership was not unlike that of an orchestra conductor, but, of course, he operated with infinitely higher stakes. "In a war such as this," he wrote in his diary, "when high command invariably involves a president, a prime minister, six chiefs of staff, and a horde of lesser 'planners,' there has got to be a lot of patience—no one person can be a Napoleon or a Caesar" (Ambrose 1991, 146). In particular, his two most egocentric and brilliant commanders—British General Sir Bernard Montgomery



Selection from Eisenhower's Speech on the Military-Industrial Complex, 17 January 1961

Our military organization today bears little relation to that known by any of my predecessors in peacetime, or indeed by the fighting men of World War II or Korea.

Until the latest of our world conflicts, the United States had no armaments industry. American makers of plowshares could, with time and as required, make swords as well. But now we can no longer risk emergency improvisation of national defense; we have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. Added to this, three and a half million men and women are directly engaged in the defense establishment. We annually spend on military security more than the net income of all United States corporations.

This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence—economic, political, even spiritual—is felt in every city, every State house, every office of the Federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society.

In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.

We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together.

Source: Public Papers of the Presidents, Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1961, pp. 1035–1040.

and American General George S. Patton—each had a tendency to think of himself as either a Napoleon or a Caesar. That Eisenhower kept the two hammering away at the Germans more than at each other spoke to his great ability with people.

Eisenhower was, in many respects, a politician-warrior. He was patient, tactful, and willing to compromise when the situation allowed, but he was just as able to dig in his heels, cut off debate, and hold his ground. Rarely did British ideas for a particular campaign blend perfectly with American ideas, and varying and contradictory ideas abounded from all corners. Even British Prime Minister Winston Churchill was prone to make various demands and suggestions that sometimes reflected a distinctly British interest rather than an Allied interest. Conversely, and to his

Leadership: The art of getting someone to do something you want done because he wants to do it.

—Dwight D. Eisenhower

credit as an Allied leader, Eisenhower sometimes had to put the overall Allied effort before any strictly American concerns, leading George Patton more than once to conclude that Eisenhower had forgotten his nationality. Such harping had no effect. Eisenhower's focus was remarkable at times, for he never lost sight of the finish line, and refused to let anyone around him redefine it.

A few hours over the course of the war illustrate well some particular facets of Eisenhower's leadership. When the time at last came for the Normandy landings in June 1944, it was Eisenhower's decision alone to give the "go" order—already postponed for twenty-four hours. Eisenhower stared out the window at a driving rain that his weather forecasters promised would break for a short window of opportunity. He gave the order to go. He then sat down by himself and wrote a note he hoped never to use. It explained that the invasion had failed and the troops had been withdrawn. The choice to launch the operation, however, had been entirely his. Responsibility for its failure was equally his. He folded the note and put it away. He never had to use it, but it indicated how seriously he saw his leadership and his individual responsibility for the decision to invade. Later that evening, he drove out to see the soldiers from the 101st Airborne Division who would be among the first into France. He walked among them, chatting and giving encouragement, shaking hands and looking each man squarely in the eye. His warmth, energy, and concern were buoyant and his enthusiasm was contagious.

Some of his detractors during World War II complained that for all his duties of leadership, he never heard a shot fired in anger. Such derisions are hollow, however. Dwight D. Eisenhower had one of the toughest jobs in World War II—that of keeping a fractious coalition together and focused on a distant goal, and in this he was remarkably successful.

When V-E Day came in the late spring of 1945, much of the credit belonged to Eisenhower. In the wake of the war, though, his career as a leader was only half-finished. Within a handful of years, he would be president of the United States.

PRESIDENT

As president of the United States, Eisenhower led the country through a difficult decade during the Cold War, and presided over one of the longest stretches of peace in the post-World War II era. When he took office, the Korean War was dragging toward the middle of its third long year, having been a bitter stalemate since the end of 1950. After the Korean War ended, potential crises in the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and Europe punctuated the years. Behind them all loomed the possibility of conflict with the Soviet Union. Eisenhower stood up to America's French and British allies during the Suez Crisis to prevent a regional crisis from possibly becoming an East versus West standoff. He also refused to take action on behalf of the surrounded French garrison at Dien Bien Phu in Vietnam unless the French would end their colonial presence in that country, a step he knew they would not take. He was perfectly willing at other times, however, to send U.S. Marines to Lebanon as a show of American resolve. His ability to be decisive once he had all the information he needed set him apart from many who could grow paralyzed by indecision.

Domestically, Eisenhower's plate was equally full. The civil rights era really began in earnest during Eisenhower's presidency, and it was punctuated in 1954 by the *Brown vs. Board of Education* case. When the Supreme Court ordered that schools be desegregated, Eisenhower personally doubted whether a Court fiat would be able to overturn decades and decades of segregation. Nevertheless it was the Court's order and the president enforced it. When Arkansas governor Orval Faubus used the Arkansas National Guard to prohibit a handful of black students from attending Little Rock Central High School, Eisenhower angrily took command of the guard, ordered in a thousand troopers from the 101st Airborne, and directed them to escort the students to school as long as was necessary.

In delivering his farewell address, Eisenhower simply followed the pattern of one of his heroes, George Washington. It was Washington's "stamina and patience in adversity," that Eisenhower had always admired, characteristics easily credited to Ike himself at many times in his career (Burk 1987, 10). In his farewell address, Eisenhower famously warned Americans of the influence of the "military-industrial complex" on policymaking. Many people then and since seemed to think this was one of his boldest actions, given his background as a military man and his presumed closeness to whatever such "complex" did exist. His warning was by no means out of character, though. It was simply a product of his ability to see possible problems down the road and take steps to avoid them. Both Eisenhower and Washington became even more renowned for the way they left the stage after years of dominating it.

AFTERWARD

In the 1960s, the standard assessment of the Eisenhower presidency was negative. Eisenhower's critics portrayed him as a simple man who took no firm stand on any of the issues and who let his subordinates act without his overview. But what was apparent on the surface was not reality. Eisenhower's presidential leadership was like his wartime leadership. He was a realistic leader who had a good sense of what was possible and what was not. He tried to lead the nation in a way that fostered stability, encouraged economic growth, and kept the world free from another devastating war. That, just as once had been the defeat of Germany, was Eisenhower's goal, and the nation attained it in the 1950s. Since the 1980s, there has been a substantial amount of reassessment about Eisenhower as president. Eisenhower, it seems, was a far more effective president than many historians earlier believed. The world situation was fraught with dangerous problems yet somehow America remained at peace. There were powder kegs of domestic challenge, yet the tumultuous riots and breakdown of social order lay in the decade to come. As a planner, he was often behind the scenes during the war, but his influence was no less real. As president, he led in the same way.

—David A. Smith

See also D-Day; Presidential Leadership, U.S.

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E-LEADERSHIP

The proliferation of information technology (IT) is creating a new context for leadership. Leaders must be proactive in the implementation and management of IT; to realize the benefits of IT deployment most fully, changes may be required in leadership style, corporate culture, and organizational structure. Challenges and opportunities are arising as organizations' stakeholders obtain, store, categorize, retrieve, and use information in new and faster ways. Customized relationships with stakeholders, made possible by advances in IT, are pressuring leaders to be more selective about their stakeholders and more responsive to them. The increasing use of electronic communication in organizations is also affecting leader-

ship. Virtual teams, whose members communicate electronically because they work at a distance from one another—sometimes even on different continents—are increasingly common. While the basic functions of leadership found in conventional teams are not altered, the locus, relative importance, and performance of these functions are different in virtual teams.

In this entry, e-leadership is defined as a process of social influence that takes place in an organizational context where a significant amount of work, including communication, is supported by IT. That process of social influence is aimed at producing a change in attitudes, emotions, thinking, behavior, or performance. Let us consider e-leadership in five areas that Fred Dansereau and Francis Yammarino, experts in the field of organizational behavior and leadership, have identified as important in the study of leadership.

The first area, fundamental human processes, covers the set of psychological and related processes without which leadership would not be possible or, perhaps, relevant. It includes basic affective, cognitive, interpersonal, group, collective, and communication processes and factors. The second area, leadership core processes, covers what a leader does to exercise leadership. The third area, leadership outcomes, covers the ways in which leadership core processes are put together; examples include team building, delegation, and participatory decision making. The fourth area, second-level leadership outcomes, covers the effects of leadership core processes on performance, satisfaction, absenteeism, and turnover, among other variables. The last area, substitutes for leadership, presents enhancers, neutralizers of, or replacements for the leadership core processes.

E-LEADERSHIP AND FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN PROCESSES

IT proliferation is changing when, how, and with whom organizational members, including leaders, communicate, as well as who can access what information at what time, how, and from where, and who has access to information media.

Communication Processes

Thanks to the increased communication that IT offers, leaders can spread their messages more easily. For instance, the CEO of Cisco Systems, John Chambers, doubled the number of Cisco employees who view his quarterly address by making it available on employees' desktops via Cisco's intranet (internal computer network). Communication flexibility is also making geographic, time, and organizational boundaries fuzzier, as seen in the growth of virtual teams. Such teams provide new challenges to leaders. The lack of face-to-face contact in virtual teams severely restricts a leader's ability to monitor and regulate members' performances, implement solutions to problems, and perform typical mentoring and developmental functions. Therefore, in virtual teams a leader must share these functions with the team itself.

Virtual teams are also challenging for leaders because they operate within an altered social context. Members from different cultures meet electronically; in the absence of prior interaction, the initial level of cohesion and trust among team members is typically low. These conditions make it challenging for a leader to maintain unity and cohesiveness and to motivate team members to achieve a common goal.

Leaders of virtual teams are also challenged by the variation in technology skills among team members, by the inherent difficulty in coordinating electronic messages that appear at different times, and by the consequent lack of a sequential build-up of ideas. Leaders will be more effective if they display appreciation for the technical challenges team members face and if they create suitable processes for dissemination and collection of ideas.

While the use of electronic communication systems such as e-mail is increasing, leaders need to reflect on whether electronic communication is appropriate for the purpose at hand. Electronic communication is considered to lack richness because of its relative lack of nonverbal cues and its inability to provide rapid feedback. Accordingly, it is recommended for situations that lack a socioemotional component and are relatively clear. Rich communication is suggested for relationship-building or for

issues that are complex, ambiguous, or equivocal. It is worth noting, however, that the richness of communication may not be determined entirely by the communication system employed—the context in which communication takes place may also play a role. For instance, prior use of e-mail with someone over a long period of time may make e-mail suitable for resolution of ambiguous issues. Leaders need to consider the fit between the context, the communication issue, and the communication medium when considering the use of a computer-mediated communication system.

Another good reason for the leader to exercise control over electronic communication is that electronic communication can be easily stored and circulated over the Internet—as many leaders who are not discreet in their electronic communication have discovered to their dismay. Drawn by the convenience of e-mail, a leader may e-mail remarks that he or she would otherwise reserve for private situations.

Access to Information

Access to information is affecting power dynamics within organizations. Open-access databases allow members of the organization to access useful information easily. While quick and easy access to a greater amount of information has put a greater onus on leaders to adjust rapidly and frequently to changes, it has also enabled them to have a complete view of what is going on in their organization, thereby altering their power vis-à-vis their followers. For instance, Lorenzo Zambrano, the CEO of Mexico's Cemex (a cement manufacturer), logs on to the corporate database at least once or twice a week and checks the oven temperatures at Cemex's nearly fifty plants, because a faulty kiln means lost business. When Zambrano sees something wrong, he skips several layers of executives and shoots an e-mail directly to the plant manager, questioning the problem. While this type of oversight can be effective, leaders have to exercise it carefully because followers who feel under constant scrutiny may become alienated.

The other side of the coin is that leaders are challenged by their followers' greater access to informa-

tion. A senior industry leader in Singapore recently said to one of the authors of this article "How can I lead when everyone else has the same information that I have, and oftentimes sooner than me?" Consider another example. Military leaders who brief their staff in the early morning often find themselves contradicted by one of the many web-based news sources by lunchtime. The inconsistent information received can cause a soldier to question whether he or she has the latest mission-related details. And this doubt places a burden on the military leadership system to disseminate accurate information as quickly as possible and to verify that the disseminated information has been received. It also has changed the command system to one in which military officers are trained to communicate the intent underlying a commander's order. What is happening in the military needs to happen in every organization facing a dynamic environment. Employees need to be aware of their leader's intent, while having the flexibility to make independent decisions at the point of contact with their customers.

Leaders are in a quandary over how much access to the Internet to give to workers. While unfettered access is believed to contribute to worker learning, it is also believed to reduce productivity, as workers are tempted to access their e-mail frequently, to go to sites unrelated to work, or to copy their e-mails unnecessarily. To curb loss of productivity caused by employees' e-mail use, in the mid-1990s Charles Wang, CEO of Computer Associates, mandated that company e-mail had to be shut down at specified times during the day.

Access to Information Media

Greater access to information media is accelerating the trend towards networked organizational structures in which employees at lower levels and stakeholders such as customers and investors have an increased leadership role. Online support groups emerge almost spontaneously today, enabling groups to organize a challenge to powerful leaders who in the past could have kept individuals in these groups apart. The site www.companycommand.com was created by U.S. army officers in 2000 who felt they

needed additional support as they assumed new command positions. This spontaneous effort, which was eventually adopted by the U.S. Army, is being used as a model for promoting organizational learning and cultural change.

Today, a dissatisfied employee can take action much more easily than in the past. With a few clicks of the mouse, the employee can contact the top management team or send a message with a story to the entire organization or the local media. Technology savvy employees may even set up gripe websites. Message boards that are shared by customers, investors, and employees are proliferating, and organizational leaders need to keep an eye on them to get a sense of the stakeholders' pulse and act quickly to quell any misinformation. There are so many channels through which information flows today, however, that leaders can no longer control releasing the most important information.

E-LEADERSHIP AND LEADERSHIP CORE PROCESSES

When work is supported to a significant extent by information systems, what core leadership processes are important? To answer this question, let us consider how a leader's actions can complement the application of information technology, how they can affect the assimilation and management of information systems, and how they can improve the functioning of technology-supported teams.

Complementary Processes

Successful IT assimilation requires complementary changes in an organization's leadership, culture, rewards, and structure. If the complementary changes do not occur, there will be little or no gain from IT investments. With increasing IT deployment, leaders need to be willing to delegate and let the organization be less hierarchical. Because knowledge work tends to accompany IT deployment and it becomes difficult to know whom to credit when it comes to knowledge creation, leaders may have a hard time motivating employees through the use of rewards. Rewarding some players and not oth-

ers may also lead to mistrust among the stakeholders involved. In such circumstances, leaders will need to focus more on team building and goal alignment and less on offering rewards to motivate beneficial behaviors.

Assimilation and Management of IT

Leaders can affect IT assimilation and management in several ways. By offering a vision for the organization and explaining how IT fits into that vision, they can make IT assimilation meaningful. By believing in IT, participating in IT strategy and projects, and using IT, leaders can be role models and legitimize participation in IT projects and adoption of IT. Finally, leaders can issue mandates and policies requiring IT adoption and use.

It seems that senior leaders' perceptions and attitudes concerning IT determine progressive use of IT to a greater extent than their actual participation in IT planning, development, implementation, and maintenance.

Virtual Teams

The way in which a leader helps the functioning of a virtual team depends on the nature of the team. A leader is most likely to need to manage performance by initiating structure and coordinating communication if team members are temporally distributed, team membership is dynamic, members hold multiple roles, and the team itself is temporary. In such teams, the performance management function becomes critical because the leader receives information from members on a delayed basis and risks losing touch with—and influence over—events. On the other hand, when a virtual team's members are working synchronously in time with each other, membership is stable, members hold single roles, and the team has a lengthy life cycle, a leader will invest more energy on the team's development. Teams of this type are more likely to be able to manage and regulate themselves, reducing the leader's need to manage performance and increasing the time the leader can spend on developing cohesion and effective long-term relationships among members—

which will enable the team to sustain itself and perform effectively over its lengthy lifecycle.

Conventional Teams

Conventional teams may be supported by communication technologies known as group support systems (GSS). These systems are designed to overcome such barriers to communication as fear of evaluation or domination of the team by a few members. They do so by providing features that enable team members to offer comments or messages anonymously (allowing for more open and honest communication than might be given in a face-to-face meetings) and enabling more than one member to communicate at the same time. They may also include features such as agenda setting and suggestions for sequences of steps that the team should follow. When GSS are employed, leaders play a crucial role in facilitating the use of all their complex features. Leaders must decide whether use of GSS will be restrictive (that is, only a fixed sequence of activities based on GSS features will be allowed) or adaptive (such that GSS features are applied flexibly depending on how the group's interaction is emerging).

E-LEADERSHIP OUTCOMES, SECOND-LEVEL OUTCOMES, AND SUBSTITUTES

The relationship of leadership processes to outcomes in the form of IT assimilation and management was implicitly presented in the last section. It appears to be the case that no studies have systematically examined the outcomes of complementary leadership processes in the area of IT deployment or of leadership in virtual teams. There are, however, a number of studies that report outcomes of leadership processes in teams aided by GSS. We divided those studies into two groups based on whether or not they manipulated leadership behavior.

GSS Studies of Group Leaders without Leadership Manipulation

In these studies, leaders were either elected by group members or designated by the researchers. These

studies indicate that the presence of leaders in groups aided by GSS, by itself or in interaction with GSS features, can affect participation, attempts to exercise influence, satisfaction with the process, decision quality, agreement among members, and willingness to disclose information. Though GSS tend to promote equality of participation and attempts to exercise influence in leaderless groups, they do not stop a leader from participating or exercising influence to a greater degree than others. In one study, the presence of a leader was associated with higher-quality decisions. In another study, assigned leadership reduced the level of agreement in the group in the presence of statistical feedback provided by the GSS. In a study in which a team was assigned a task involving negotiations between members with different motives, the presence of a leader lowered the willingness of group members to disclose information. Leadership had mixed effects on satisfaction; the mixed results may have been due to the interaction of leadership with GSS features, which were dissimilar across studies.

Because these studies did not manipulate leadership behaviors systematically, they offer little guidance in prescribing leadership behavior that would be helpful for groups making use of GSS. They do, however, suggest that GSS features may interact with leadership and, in some cases, substitute for leadership. For instance, the process structure provided by a GSS in the form of a normative set of steps to follow may undermine a leader by rendering the process structure provided by the leader redundant.

GSS Studies of Group Leaders with Leadership Manipulation

Researchers at the Center for Leadership Studies (CLS) at Binghamton University in Binghamton, New York, have conducted several experiments with groups whose members were present in the same place and communicated at the same time to examine the effects of participative, directive, transformational (the leader offers followers a transcendent purpose and encourages consideration and intellectual stimulation), and transactional (the leader views leadership as a transaction with followers) leadership styles in a GSS context. In one of the studies compar-

ing the consultative form of participative leadership to directive leadership, they found that for a task requiring creativity and in which participants provided input anonymously, participants made more supportive remarks when guided by participative leadership. Furthermore, participative leadership generated more solution proposals for a semistructured problem, while directive leadership generated more solution proposals for a more highly structured problem. In another study, transformational leadership led to higher levels of group potency—that is, the group's collective belief that it can be effective—than transactional leadership. Group potency in turn was positively associated with group effectiveness. Transformational leadership's superiority over transactional leadership in producing group potency diminished when there was anonymity in the group's brainstorming phase, which relied on individual effort, but increased when there was anonymity in the report generation phase, which required collective effort.

Two other studies produce similar findings that suggest that anonymity may enhance the effects of transformational leadership by creating a condition that is consistent with the transformational leader's emphasis on the collective. In one study, transformational leadership was found to limit social loafing—that is, decline in task-oriented activity—by encouraging all members to work for the good of the group. In another study, flow (a psychological state characterized by high levels of concentration, enjoyment, and intrinsic motivation) mediated team perceptions of transactional and transformational leadership only in the anonymous condition: Anonymity led to marginally more positive associations between perceptions of transformational leadership and flow.

In a study of the effects of transformational leadership on creativity, higher levels of transformational leadership were associated with higher levels of elaboration and originality. In groups whose members were identified, higher levels of transformational leadership were associated with greater flexibility. Under conditions of anonymity, however, leadership effects disappeared, probably because anonymity substituted for leadership by encouraging flexibility of thinking.

When examining the effects of components of

transformational and transactional leadership in another study, the CLS researchers found that both transactional goal setting and inspiring leadership had a positive impact on group creativity. Intellectual stimulation and individualized consideration had negative effects on group creativity. Participants may have perceived the leader's intellectual stimulation as critical or judicial and therefore curbed their input or became more cautious in generating ideas.

The above studies suggest that leadership style indeed does make a difference in a GSS context. Anonymity interacts notably with the transformational and transactional leadership styles to influence group outcomes.

E-LEADERSHIP AS AN EMERGING AREA OF STUDY

It appears that traditional patterns of leadership effects do not necessarily hold up in IT-supported contexts. We are beginning to learn more about the IT-enabled context, but a lot of ground remains to be covered in the future. We expect that future work in this area will begin to address such questions as these:

- How do increasing virtuality and greater use of mobile technologies influence the effects of e-leadership?
- Will e-leadership lead us into conflicts more quickly due to the rapid exchanges IT technologies make possible across complex issues and problems?
- How will new generations of employees respond to leadership that is more virtual than face to face?

Finally, the overarching question is whether the human element in organizations will be able to keep up with these advances and use them to achieve greater effectiveness.

—*Surinder S. Kahai and Bruce J. Avolio*

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not be said for elites. Especially in democracies, people tend to recoil from the whole notion of elites, thinking of them as repositories of privilege or as cabals plotting to overthrow institutions. The words *elitist* and *elitism* carry negative connotations. Nonetheless, leadership and elites are intertwining concepts.

WHAT IS ELITE THEORY?

Elite theory is a distinct strand in the development of sociological theory. Interestingly, this particular strand was developed primarily by Italians, such as Vilfredo Pareto (1848–1923), Gaetano Mosca (1858–1941), Roberto Michels (1876–1936), and Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937), with perhaps one of the earliest elite theorists being Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527). More recent Italians, such as Guido Dorso, Norberto Bobbio, and Giovanni Sartori, have also contributed to elite theory.

Together, these theorists argue that all groups, organizations, and societies separate into layers or strata. The layer that serves as the ruling political class is an organized minority, and it exists in one form or another within every form of political regime, even in monarchies and democracies. Based on their own observations and on examples from history, these theorists believed elites to be inevitable. The logic is straightforward. Masses of people need organization to get anything done. Organizations need leadership. The class of leaders constitutes an elite.

Elite theory begins with ruminations about the inescapable differences among individual human beings. Simple observation demonstrates that some individuals are better equipped for one task and some are better equipped for another. This variation is without debate. Elite theory derives from thinking about these differences.

More specifically, elite theory considers the tendency for societies to separate within themselves into layers or strata. (Different writers use different terms, such as circle, class, and status group.) This is not to say that the dividing line between one stratum and another is altogether distinct, like an impenetrable boundary. It does not have to be so formal as a caste system or apartheid. Nonetheless, a neutral

ELITE THEORY

While people generally consider leadership to be a good thing, a thing worth improving, the same can-

observer should be able to abstract from any community the presence of two or more strata, even when a certain amount of interpenetration does take place. Mosca goes so far as to say that the division into an elite and masses “is apparent to the most casual eye” (Mosca 1939, 50).

Even more specifically, elite theory reflects on the tendency of certain strata to amass a disproportionate amount of goods, whether tangible goods such as wealth or intangible goods such as power, fame, and leisure. Members of these strata can be said to constitute the elite. With few, if any, exceptions, every society has at least one elite, if not more than one. An elite stands opposed conceptually to those who are excluded from it: namely, the masses. It is their relative share of desirable goods that determines who belongs to which stratum, and vice versa. Thus, the elite is smaller and more powerful than the masses.

The Fairness of Inequality

A distinction between elites and the masses, like any social distinction, automatically raises the issue of fairness. Is one class, the elite, destined to be in charge of the other? Why is that? Should the elite enjoy greater autonomy and greater responsibility? As a class, what exactly does the elite owe the masses? What do individual members of the elite owe the masses? What do the masses owe the elite, as a class or as individuals?

It is this sense of unfairness that renders the word *elite* controversial. People often react strongly to the word because of what it implies. To many, “elite theory” refers to an offensive social arrangement based on some pernicious tendency on the part of the rich and strong to perpetuate themselves in privilege. Unlike the proponents of elite theory, these people do not accept that an elite is inevitable, and even when they concede the point as a matter of empirical fact, they do not like it. Out of this spirit of resentment, politicians find energy and focus for various causes, using the word *elite* to heighten the emotion that already exists. People in a democratic culture customarily sneer and hiss at members of the elite.

Terminology

This baggage of connotation led Bobbio to conclude that the word elite is probably unsuitable for scientific usage. The theorist Dante Germino was not so sure. It probably does increasingly serve as a symbol for ideological struggle, he thought, just as Bobbio claimed, yet it has also served for decades as a concept in theory, stripped there of all the value judgments and rhetorical distractions. The word has had a legitimate academic use, argued Germino, and scholars cannot afford to abandon every word that is appropriated by partisan debate. Guido Dorso and Giovanni Sartori responded to the challenge by developing a neutral set of terms, grounded in the work of their predecessors, that scholars can use to minimize the bad feelings and ill will associated with the word *elite*. For precision, the following terminology is useful.

There is a ruling class made up of elites in all sectors of society, such as organized religion, the entertainment industry, the military, and so forth. The term *ruling class* is relatively precise and less provocative than the term *elite*.

A subset of the ruling class is the political class, made up of those who exercise political power, such as party activists, candidates, judges, and cabinet members. Some of these persons exercise authority directly, while others wield their influence indirectly. The political class is further subdivided into those in power and those who aspire to displace them, members of what we might call the opposition—a rival elite so to speak. This division is clear in the United States because of its two-party system of Republicans and Democrats. Those outside the ruling class may become part of the opposition, creating or joining an elite that may well displace those in the political class who currently hold power. Many who join the political class are pushing their way up from the bottom, in the role of labor leader, for example, or community activist, or entrepreneur. Some may rise up from humble beginnings, as did a number of U.S. presidents such as Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan, and Bill Clinton. Although their backgrounds would not seem to make them “eligible” for the ruling class, as president, they were each extremely powerful members of the ruling class.

The rest of those falling outside the ruling class we refer to as alienated. This group constitutes the bulk of the masses. The masses are predominantly indifferent to the daily struggle for preeminence and power. They tend to be uninvolved. The masses pay little attention to political conflict, in part because they are busy doing other things.

Distinguishing Elite Theory from Racism

On the issue of fairness and the connotation of words, one caveat needs to be added. Elite theorists observe that an elite of some kind dominates every society, but that does not have to mean that they endorse domination per se. They simply make observations. It is especially wrong-headed to say that they endorse dominance based on biology or race. Elite theory does not posit a master race; it merely observes that elites are present in societies and notes the characteristics of the elites. Even when race is a determining factor in who may belong to an elite, elite theory merely studies the phenomenon; it does not condone it. Indeed, critics of existing leadership and of power structures would be advised to consult elite theory, as did the black writer W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963). Feminists, populists, labor unions, Marxists, egalitarians, and multiculturalists all should find elite theory helpful in framing their critiques.

MODELS OF ELITE THEORY

There are two ways to depict elite theory: by means of a static model and by means of a dynamic model. The static model is like a snapshot; it reveals a structure frozen in time, showing the levels of domination, higher and lower, and the subdivisions within each level, such as the presence of rival elites competing for dominance. Observers can detect in the static model configurations, hierarchies, and alliances as they separate the various elements and place them in relation to one another. This process alone would be helpful for leadership studies.

Antonio Gramsci, for example, described a kind of pyramid with intellectuals at the narrow top, lieutenants communicating their vision, true believers to carry out orders, and a relatively dull and amorphous

mass at the bottom to be converted. In the contemporary scene, Mosca found three dominant types of elite. There are bureaucrats, constituting a special class of civil servants dedicated to their agency (and to their careers within the agency). These are the leaders who exemplify efficiency above all in their quest for meeting performance standards, because that demonstrates value to the agency. There are eminent persons, such as celebrities, who are notable in some way—for their beauty, their wealth, their athletic ability, or their intelligence, for example—and who thereby garner more than their share of attention. Finally, there are partisans, dedicated to a cause, pushing an agenda and by that method (whether intentionally or not) elevating themselves above the rest. In summary, bureaucrats pay attention to their careers and adapt themselves accordingly. The notables pay attention to whatever it is that makes them notable—their portfolio or their golf game, whatever the case might be. Partisans pay attention to their cause.

In pragmatic fashion, Gramsci ignored the notables, presumably since they are not direct participants in the struggle for preeminence. They are off doing their own thing. Instead, Gramsci was interested in the more extreme “ideal types” of a bureaucrat anchored too much in the real and a fanatic lost in the ideal. Someone has to harness them to form an effective cadre for social change. That organization of different people into a coherent force is what he considered the task of leadership. This leadership cadre or party is better suited than any single individual to serve as an embodiment of collective will, a concrete form of mass desire, the carrier of a myth. Many individual leaders serve merely as symbols, images, or rallying points for the cadre. In fact, if there is a role for notables in the change process, it would be as figureheads.

In contrast to the static model, the dynamic model shows how things change over time. It traces the rise and fall of elites, their coming together and their falling apart. As Bobbio put it, the elite has a lifespan. By zooming in to take a closer look, one sees all the little episodes of leadership—up and down the structure—that in the aggregate Pareto referred to as the circulation of elites. Examining leadership helps

to explain how elites form. Do new leaders rise from the bottom up by their own talent and initiative, as they do in liberal regimes, or are they selected from the top, as in authoritarian regimes?

There are several explanations for what starts the process of elite formation. At certain moments, an organization may require rapidity in its leadership, or specialty, or stability. As groups become sufficiently large and complex, they require coordination. Such groups fare better when they can work through representatives. In other words, according to the Italian tradition, “the good of the collectivity depends crucially on capable leaders ensconced in a hierarchical structure” (Levine 1995, 249). This at least is the elite’s purported function and frequently its justification.

The assumption seems to be that elites have won some kind of competition and the masses lost. This is not entirely fair, of course. According to elite theory, people are not driven exclusively by an impulse to struggle. They also seek solidarity and form groups of like-minded individuals. Leaders of these groups struggle on behalf of their members, and the elite tends to take the lead in framing and conducting these struggles.

From this it follows that the elite must seem to bear “onerous duties” (Germino 1967, 118) and make sacrifices for the sake of the group, lest the group collapse completely or turn that elite out in exchange for one that *will* make those sacrifices. Some rival elite with compatible values and an air of competence is always eager to step forward to take the place of preeminence. Being willing to make sacrifices for the community is part of the bargain that permits an elite to become an elite to begin with. The idle rich, the self-aggrandizing politician, and the demagogue are all likely to be accused of taking but not giving. All leaders must lead for the sake of the group or defer to someone else; leadership is a process of endless struggle for preeminence, if not for survival. Pareto saw this nonstop struggling as a good thing, since competition is “instrumental to the progress of society” (Bellamy 1987, 24).

The forces engaged in struggle are rarely equal. The prevailing elite, referred to earlier as the ruling class, enjoys tremendous advantages, and it has a

stake therefore in concentrating power and marginalizing threats to its hegemony. Hegemony is a term of art developed by Gramsci to denote structured class inequality, based on consent, in the midst of ongoing contestation. The ruling class preserves its hegemony in three ways. First, Mosca described how the ruling class tries to rationalize its status:

Ruling classes do not justify their power exclusively by de facto possession of it, but try to find a moral and legal basis for it, representing it as the logical and necessary consequence of doctrines and beliefs that are generally recognized and accepted. (Mosca 1939, 70)

Thus, they attempt to make it an article of faith that they are the ones to govern. If enough people believe in the legitimacy of the ruling class, they give it tacit consent to persist in power.

Second, in true Machiavellian fashion, elites manipulate appearances to make sure the masses continue to defer. Occasionally this means emphasizing appearance over reality. Leaders sometimes lie outright and rationalize privately that the lies are necessary.

Third, when necessary, the ruling class will resort to coercion, including outright violence. In other words, the ruling class relies on some combination of faith, fraud, and force to stay in power. Elite theory argues that the ruling class does so not because it is evil, but simply because that is what it takes to prevail. In elite theory, judging elites as good or evil is secondary to determining what they do as a matter of fact.

THE CONNECTION BETWEEN LEADERSHIP AND ELITES

In ordinary conversation, people distinguish leadership from elites in certain ways. For instance, leadership occurs on a smaller scale for a shorter period of time; the elite is an entrenched part of the structure of an entire society. Leadership describes the process, directed outward, of changing followers; elite theory describes the influx of goods to a privileged minority. Leadership suggests direct, even face-to-face involvement, which means specific behaviors in mutual orientation, whereas the elite

progressively distances itself from the masses and employs indirect techniques for channeling resources. Often, leaders work to close the gap between leader and led, whereas the elite reinforces the gap between itself and the non-elite.

However, leadership is also the movement of people into positions of increasing influence and authority, and therefore can be thought of as the means whereby elites constitute themselves. The formation of an elite is the eventual consequence of patterns of leadership.

According to Gramsci, in terms of elite theory, “the essential task [of the leader] is that of paying systematic and patient attention to forming and developing this [social] force [i.e., the cadre], rendering it ever more homogeneous, compact, conscious of itself” (Gramsci 1992, 173). So, speaking roughly, ideas are born in individuals, taken up and given form by groups, and then sold to masses. Leaders oversee this process.

An elite engages in leadership in order to establish and maintain itself, and leadership tends to consolidate itself in the conservation of power—an idea encapsulated by the sociologist Roberto Michels (1876–1936) as the “Iron Law of Oligarchy.” It is undoubtedly true that simple leadership does occur all the time among the masses, in even the smallest and lowliest group, and it is also true that many among the ruling class lead scarcely anyone at all in actual practice, but over time these facts contribute to the famous circulation of elites, as leaders from among the masses emerge to challenge the ruling class and as the lethargic or incompetent elite tumbles from its place of privilege. Leadership can be thought of as movement in a thousand associations—creating, sustaining, and ultimately destroying a ruling class—in a manner similar to boiling water sending bubbles to the surface. One recent book on elite theory even refers to elites as “leadership groups” and “leadership cadres” (Lerner, Nagai, and Rothman 1996, ix). This is a particularly useful way to understand the relationship.

IMPLICATIONS FOR DEMOCRACY

Is elite theory antidemocratic? Elite theory and democracy might seem to be antithetical concepts.

When a society commits itself to democratic principles such as equality and participation, the whole notion of an elite seems contrary. Democracy means that the people govern; the presence of an elite suggests an aristocracy or oligarchy.

Democracies openly tolerate nonpolitical elites, such as in the entertainment industry and the business world. Michels’s Iron Law of Oligarchy suggests that an elite of any kind tends to coalesce and create political power. Actors and celebrities frequently become politically influential and sometimes even stand for election. More importantly, however, in every historical example elite theorists have examined, democracies have some kind of political elite, whether an official elite, such as an upper chamber in the legislature and a supreme judiciary, or an unofficial elite, such as one formed by party bosses or rich lobbyists. The philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) has been quoted in support of this view: “To take the term in its fully rigorous meaning, there has never existed a true democracy and one will never exist. It is against the natural order of things that the great number governs” (Michels 1949a, 89, citing Rousseau’s *The Social Contract*).

Democracies may abhor elites, yet empirically they tolerate them. What explains this discrepancy? Elite theorists disagree among themselves on the answer to that question, and several possible answers have been proposed.

Democracies Use Leadership to Counter Elites

Democracies cry for leadership to balance a countervailing power, to prevent a ruling class from getting too comfortable and monopolizing the franchise. Gramsci suggested that Machiavelli revealed the secrets of wielding power in the hope that no one could then use them on a populace that is caught unawares. It is a move toward democracy to foster leadership, because the rising leaders offset the tendency of the prevailing elite to convert democracy into an oligarchy.

Democracies Want Leadership to Create Better Elites

A democracy requires competent leadership, and the cry for leadership can be thought of as a cry for a

more competent and more principled elite. According to this theory, democracies condone elites not so much to counter the ruling class from outside as to improve it from within.

Democracies Want Leadership on a Small Scale

Then again, the cry for leadership could be a cry for discrete relationships and episodic moments of leadership, in other words, for leadership that does not rise to the establishment of an elite. If this is the case, then asking for leadership and getting an elite is like asking for a drink of water and getting a flood.

Democracy Will Not Work; Leadership Ameliorates It

Of course, some who cry for leadership do not object to an elite in the first place and are willing to give up on democracy as a pure, egalitarian ideal. Mosca noted that trying to repair democracy with even more democracy frequently makes matters worse. For many elite theorists, democracy is problematic. Leadership helps to soften or nullify the ill effects of democracy.

Democracy Exists to Create an Elite

The drama critic Eric Bentley saw no contradiction between democracy and an elite. “Democracy, to justify itself, must *include* aristocracy. . . . Aristocracy is one of the goals of democracy” (Bentley 1957, 264f.). It is, in other words, a mistake to imagine democracy and aristocracy—that is, democracy and an elite—as opposing concepts. Democracy is the manner by which people determine who becomes the elite. It is through the exercise of leadership that the members of the elite become the elite.

Democracy and Leadership—or Democracy and Elites—Are Simply Incompatible

By way of contrast, some theorists argue that democracy and leadership are simply incompatible, and others argue that democracy and elites are incompatible. This view holds that elite theory and leadership studies are inherently antidemocratic.

Many would argue, however, that rather than rejecting leadership studies and elite theory as anti-democratic, those disciplines should be embraced for the knowledge they offer to democracies about the nature of elites.

—Nathan Harter

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ELIZABETH I (1533–1603)

Queen of England

Elizabeth I was Queen of England from 1558 to 1603. During her reign, she demonstrated considerable leadership skills, surviving in an environment that was often extremely hostile and threatening. Popular culture flourished during the reign of Elizabeth; her court was a focal point for writers, musicians, and scholars such as William Shakespeare (1564–1616) and Francis Bacon (1561–1626), and explorers such as Francis Drake (c. 1540–1596) and Walter Raleigh (c. 1554–1618). Elizabeth encouraged a spirit of free inquiry that in turn facilitated the scientific revolution and the age of enlightenment. During her reign, the English economy expanded massively. The queen herself came to be known as Gloriana, a name that reflected the triumphs of the age she oversaw.

The England Elizabeth had inherited was blighted by bankruptcy, roaring inflation, disastrous wars, and religious conflict. Poverty, disease, and deprivation were rife. From childhood, Elizabeth's life was fraught with danger. When she was only two years old, her father (Henry VIII, 1491–1547; reigned 1509–1547) executed her mother Anne Boleyn (his second wife), and Elizabeth was declared illegitimate. After her father died, her brother Edward (1537–1553; reigned 1547–1553), the son of Henry's third wife, inherited the throne but lived only for a short time. In 1553, Elizabeth's Catholic half-sister Mary (1516–1558; reigned 1553–1558), Henry's daughter by his first wife, became queen. In March 1554, Elizabeth was incarcerated in the Tower of London, accused of plotting against Mary

and of refusing to embrace the Catholic faith. She was released in May but remained under suspicion and was carefully watched until Mary died childless in 1558.

In the context of these threats, deprivations, and indignities, it is remarkable indeed that Elizabeth ever became Queen of England, let alone that she then reigned for forty-five years. Elizabeth had been forced to learn the arts and skills of survival at a very early age, and this knowledge stayed with her throughout her life, significantly influencing her approach to leadership. The life of Elizabeth tells us a great deal about leadership and about the effective exercise of power and authority.

ELIZABETH AND GOVERNMENT

Elizabeth recognized that, unlike her father, she could not adopt an autocratic approach to leadership based on absolute power. She would have to lead in a rather more sophisticated way. Her powers of oratory (which age did not diminish) became legendary and enabled her to obtain the support of the Privy Council, the bishops, Parliament, and the people. Elizabeth's speech to a deputation from Parliament about her repeal of monopolies in 1601 became known as her "Golden Speech." In 1601, Parliament debated the outlawing of monopolies. This constituted a significant challenge to the Queen's royal prerogative to grant monopolies. However, aware of the strength of feeling within Parliament on this matter, Elizabeth decided to preempt any unwelcome legislation by sending a message to Parliament that she herself would reform affairs. Her superb timing defused the agitation: "The House was overjoyed . . . not by its own victory, but at their Queen's magnanimity" (Williams 1967, 346). Parliament requested leave to send a deputation to thank her and it was to this deputation that Elizabeth gave her Golden Speech. Elizabeth's consummate skill as a leader had turned the possibility of a humiliating defeat into a great victory.

Still a relatively young woman of twenty-five when she took the throne, Elizabeth recognized the value of wise counsel. She created a small circle of trusted advisers, the most influential of whom was William



The “Golden Speech” to Parliament Delivered by Queen Elizabeth I

Of the various versions of the speech that survive—including one thought to have been edited by Elizabeth—this one is the version produced by Hayward Townshend, a member of Parliament when it was delivered on 30 November 1601. Its “golden words” were Elizabeth’s last address to Parliament before her death in 1603.

Mr Speaker,

We have heard your declaration and perceive your care of our estate. I do assure you there is no prince that loves his subjects better, or whose love can countervail our love. There is no jewel, be it of never so rich a price, which I set before this jewel: I mean your love. For I do esteem it more than any treasure or riches; for that we know how to prize, but love and thanks I count invaluable. And, though God hath raised me high, yet this I count the glory of my Crown, that I have reigned with your loves. This makes me that I do not so much rejoice that God hath made me to be a Queen, as to be a Queen over so thankful a people. Therefore I have cause to wish nothing more than to content the subject and that is a duty which I owe. Neither do I desire to live longer days than I may see your prosperity and that is my only desire. And as I am that person still yet, under God, hath delivered you and so I trust by the almighty power of God that I shall be his instrument to preserve you from every peril, dishonour, shame, tyranny and oppression, partly by means of your intended helps which we take very acceptably because it manifesteth the largeness of your good loves and loyalties unto your sovereign.

Of myself I must say this: I never was any greedy, scraping grasper, nor a strait fast-holding Prince, nor yet a waster. My heart was never set on any worldly goods. What you bestow on me, I will not hoard it up, but receive it to bestow on you again. Therefore render unto them I beseech you Mr Speaker, such thanks as you imagine my heart yieldeth, but my tongue cannot express. Mr Speaker, I would wish you and the rest to

stand up for I shall yet trouble you with longer speech. Mr Speaker, you give me thanks but I doubt me I have greater cause to give you thanks, than you me, and I charge you to thank them of the Lower House from me. For had I not received a knowledge from you, I might have fallen into the lapse of an error, only for lack of true information.

Since I was Queen, yet did I never put my pen to any grant, but that upon pretext and semblance made unto me, it was both good and beneficial to the subject in general though a private profit to some of my ancient servants, who had deserved well at my hands. But the contrary being found by experience, I am exceedingly beholden to such subjects as would move the same at first. And I am not so simple to suppose but that there be some of the Lower House whom these grievances never touched. I think they spake out of zeal to their countries and not out of spleen or malevolent affection as being parties grieved. That my grants should be grievous to my people and oppressions to be privileged under colour of our patents, our kingly dignity shall not suffer it. Yea, when I heard it, I could give no rest unto my thoughts until I had reformed it. Shall they, think you, escape unpunished that have oppressed you, and have been disrespectful of their duty and regardless our honour? No, I assure you, Mr Speaker, were it not more for conscience’ sake than for any glory or increase of love that I desire, these errors, troubles, vexations and oppressions done by these varlets and lewd persons not worthy of the name of subjects should not escape without condign punishment. But I perceive they dealt with me like physicians who, ministering a drug, make it more acceptable

Source: Elizabeth I. (1601). “The Farewell Speech.” Retrieved September 27, 2003, from <http://www.education-india.net/inspirational/elizabeth1601.php>

Cecil (1520–1598). On formally appointing Cecil as her secretary of state, she told him, “This judgement I have of you, that you will not be corrupted by any manner of gift, and that you will be faithful to the state, and that without respect of my private will, you will give me that counsel you think best, and if you shall know anything necessary to be declared to me of secrecy, you shall show it to myself only” (Luke 1973, 28). She relied on Cecil to speak frankly and to give his opinion even when it conflicted with her own. Together, they forged a unique partnership. Over the

next forty years the queen rarely took an important decision without consulting Cecil first, although she did not always defer to his advice.

Highly intelligent, Elizabeth made herself thoroughly familiar with all aspects of policy within and outside her realm. Accordingly, it was very difficult to deceive her. Being multilingual, she was able to converse directly with ambassadors from many different countries, and this ensured that no information could be accidentally or deliberately lost in translation. Cecil’s admiration and respect for his queen’s

by giving it a good aromatical savour, or when they give pills do gild them all over.

I have ever used to set the Last Judgement Day before mine eyes and so to rule as I shall be judged to answer before a higher judge, and now if my kingly bounties have been abused and my grants turned to the hurt of my people contrary to my will and meaning, and if any in authority under me have neglected or perverted what I have committed to them, I hope God will not lay their culps and offenses in my charge. I know the title of a King is a glorious title, but assure yourself that the shining glory of princely authority hath not so dazzled the eyes of our understanding, but that we well know and remember that we also are to yield an account of our actions before the great judge. To be a king and wear a crown is a thing more glorious to them that see it than it is pleasant to them that bear it. For myself I was never so much enticed with the glorious name of a King or royal authority of a Queen as delighted that God hath made me his instrument to maintain his truth and glory and to defend his kingdom as I said from peril, dishonour, tyranny and oppression. There will never Queen sit in my seat with more zeal to my country, care to my subjects and that will sooner with willingness venture her life for your good and safety than myself. For it is my desire to live nor reign no longer than my life and reign shall be for your good. And though you have had, and may have, many princes more mighty and wise sitting in this seat, yet you never had nor shall have, any that will be more careful and loving.

"For I, oh Lord, what am I, whom practices and perils past should not fear? Or what can I do? That I should speak for any glory, God forbid." And turning to the Speaker and her councilors she said, "And I pray to you Mr Comptroller, Mr Secretary and you of my Council, that before these gentlemen go into their countries, you bring them all to kiss my hand."

grasp of policy and politics can be clearly seen from his remark that

there never was so wise a woman born, for all respects, as Queen Elizabeth, for she spake and understood all languages; knew all estates and dispositions of Princes. And particularly was so expert in the knowledge of her own realm and estate as no counsellor she had could tell her what she knew not before. (Somerset 1997, 64)

Although Elizabeth never left the shores of England, she was by no means an insular queen. Indeed,

she was an expert on foreign policy, and one of her legacies was the establishment of England as a maritime nation. Although she never formally condoned piracy on the high seas, Elizabeth informally encouraged (partly through financing) Francis Drake and other sailors to plunder and pirate on her behalf. During her reign, English merchant ships challenged Spain's seafaring preeminence, and the first English settlers were sent to North America.

Elizabeth maintained a pragmatic approach to international affairs. Very careful with money, she was highly reluctant to fight wars, as their cost inevitably drained her treasury. However, when forced into battle against the Spanish Armada, Elizabeth was an unflappable leader. Her inspirational speech to the troops at Tilbury Docks again demonstrated her oratory skill and great courage.

Elizabeth appreciated the value and indeed necessity of managing her reputation. Courtiers frequently used propaganda and "political spin" on her behalf. In matters of international politics, monarchs were always very aware of their image. Their position and status within the international arena also reflected directly on their courtiers, especially ambassadors who were resident in foreign courts (i.e., "prestige by association"). As a female, Elizabeth was at a disadvantage within the international hierarchy. However, her intellect, judgment, and grasp of foreign policy became legendary. Consequently, as Elizabeth's reign unfolded, the reputation of both the Queen and of England increased significantly. Visual images of Elizabeth were also tightly controlled, with paintings presenting Elizabeth as a very powerful and glorious ruler. These images cultivated the idea of Elizabeth as an eternally youthful virgin queen who was married to England and her subjects. Elizabeth used her yearly progresses around the country to make herself visible to her subjects. Her courtiers were often amazed at how she allowed the common people to approach her.

Along with these great strengths, Elizabeth, like all great leaders, also had weaknesses. She was very vain and could be extremely temperamental. She had a furious temper, and many of her courtiers lived in fear of her rebukes. As one ambassador noted, "She seems to me incomparably more feared than her sis-

ter, and gives her orders and has her way as absolutely as her father did” (Somerset 1997, 60). She could also be very indecisive, a trait that frustrated her close advisers. Two of the great issues of government that dominated much of Elizabeth’s reign were the question of religion and of Elizabeth’s possible marriage. In both cases, Elizabeth was able to manage the ambiguities of her situation in highly effective ways.

ELIZABETH AND RELIGION

Throughout Elizabeth’s reign religious divisions were a central concern. Elizabeth’s father, Henry VIII, had rebelled against the pope and rejected the Catholic Church, which at that time dominated Europe. Subsequently, Queen Mary, Elizabeth’s half-sister, had returned England to Catholicism and married the Catholic King of Spain. Mary had persecuted those who resisted the Catholic faith. Elizabeth was acutely aware of the religious polarities within England and sought to walk the more inclusive, less extreme path of toleration. Although she returned England to Protestantism, Elizabeth recognized the dangers of encouraging the extreme elements of Protestantism. Despite insisting on changes in church services, she retained many trappings of Catholic worship, including candlesticks, crucifixes, and clerical robes.

Forging a religious middle ground, she brought a degree of peace to England that was not echoed in continental Europe, where religious fanaticism and turbulence ran rampant. In Spain there were the Inquisitions, while in France heretics were being burned at the stake. By contrast, Elizabeth attempted to defuse religious tensions by gaining outward compliance with the Protestant services. Anyone not attending church was subject to a fine. In the first part of Elizabeth’s reign those Catholics who either attended the parish church, or paid their fines for non-attendance, could usually still practice their faith privately without fear of persecution. In contrast with the Queen’s more relaxed attitude toward religious matters, Elizabeth’s counselors were fearful that Catholic religious extremists would attempt to assassinate the queen. Francis Walsingham

(c. 1532–1590), acting under the direction of Cecil, was in charge of information gathering through the extensive network of spies considered necessary to obtain information about any potential threats to the queen. Walsingham, who held extreme Puritan views, operated a sophisticated counterespionage organization using double agents and torture to obtain information. Although Elizabeth considered Walsingham to be an extremist in terms of religion, she admired his shrewdness and never doubted his commitment to her well-being.

Elizabeth’s policy of religious moderation was tested to its limits when her cousin Mary Queen of Scots (1542–1587) sought sanctuary in England in 1568 following an uprising in Scotland. Mary was Catholic, and there were some Catholic factions at the national and international level who believed that she was the rightful queen of England. Cecil and Walsingham were concerned that Mary’s presence in England threatened Elizabeth’s safety. After almost twenty years in captivity in England, Mary was executed for treason in 1587.

ELIZABETH AND MARRIAGE

Like many leaders, Elizabeth had a strong sense of destiny. She had no doubt that her rise to the throne was God’s doing. When informed that her half-sister Mary had died and she was now queen, Elizabeth stated, “This is the Lord’s doing; and it is marvelous in our eyes” (Marshall 1991, 47). Elizabeth viewed the advantages she derived from her sovereign status as far outweighing the disadvantages that she saw accruing from her sex. For Elizabeth, being a woman was not so much a handicap as an irrelevance, as she stated “my sex cannot diminish my prestige” (Somerset 1997, 60). In the sixteenth century, the first duty of a monarch was to marry and have children, thereby ensuring the succession. Cecil in particular was very keen to secure the succession and create a Protestant heir to the throne.

However, Elizabeth’s experiences in childhood and her knowledge of international politics led her to believe that marrying would be disadvantageous both to her and the realm. As a queen it was expected that she would marry someone of royal blood. Eliz-

abeth understood that marriage to a foreign prince offered some security from other hostile states within Europe. However, she knew that the English people were notoriously suspicious of and antagonistic toward foreigners. Mary Tudor's marriage to Philip of Spain had caused great disruption within the realm. The other option was marriage to an English nobleman. Elizabeth considered that such a marriage would create jealousies within the nobility and could lead to civil war. From the queen's perspective, having to share power with a husband conflicted with her sense of her own destiny. Although at that time an unmarried queen was considered unnatural, Elizabeth turned her single status into a strength. With great leadership skills, she created the image of the virgin queen who sacrificed personal happiness for the welfare of her people.

Elizabeth's policy of remaining single did leave the problem of who would succeed her. The loss of such a charismatic leader as Queen Elizabeth left a vacuum that resulted in deep-seated internal conflict. On her death, Elizabeth was succeeded by the son of Mary Queen of Scots, James I of England (1566–1625; reigned as James VI of Scotland 1567–1625 and as king of England 1603–1625), who had been raised a Protestant. This subsequent period in English history was characterized by religious strife, social turmoil, and a civil war.

Respected abroad and celebrated at home, Elizabeth I was an extraordinary woman. Four hundred years after her death we still recognize the legacy she bequeathed. Elizabeth became one of the greatest monarchs in English history—perhaps the greatest. Her reign was a time of increasing prosperity, peace, and a significant strengthening of England's international interests. Many consider the Elizabethan era to have been a golden age. After the highly turbulent years of Henry VIII's reign, the relative stability that England enjoyed during Elizabeth's long reign was of enormous benefit to the development of English society and culture. Elizabeth's reign led to the emergence of the British Empire. This included the colonization of Virginia (named after the virgin queen). Sailors such as Drake and Raleigh took the English language abroad; today it is the preeminent language of world communication. A highly skilled and pro-

gressive leader, Elizabeth utilized strategies of religious and political tolerance effectively. She encouraged learning and merriment, which in turn facilitated free speech and creativity. Her policies encouraged further development of parliamentary democracy, a moderate Church of England and, for the times in which she lived, a relatively prosperous, peaceful, and stable society and economy.

—Margaret Collinson and David Collinson

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EMPOWERMENT

In organizational contexts, empowerment typically involves sharing of power, whereby a hierarchically superior leader gives some of the authority and decision-making latitude previously in his or her purview to one or more followers, thus expanding the follower's sphere of influence. Once "empowered," the follower can engage in decision making within the expanded boundaries without the need to check back with the leader for permission to act.

True empowerment increases the follower's sense of self-worth and provides personal fulfillment. Leaders can delegate without empowering, either by delegating only menial tasks that will produce no increment in the follower's sense of mastery or purpose, or by inappropriately giving tasks to followers who are not able to succeed at them. Research on psychological empowerment suggests that four key components determine whether people feel empowered: meaning (consistency with values or ideals; care about the work), self-determination (behavioral choice or autonomy), self-efficacy (self-confidence about one's ability to perform well on a task), and the belief in the prospect of significant impact on the work or organization. Although many leaders feel that it is their job to control, and resist empowering their staffs, research is accumulating on the value of

leaders sharing power through the psychological empowerment of followers.

WHY SHOULD LEADERS SHARE POWER?

The ability to speed up certain processes by allowing decisions to be made at hierarchically lower levels can have some distinct advantages for staff, organizations, and leaders.

Greater education, capabilities, and expectations of staff. As the education levels of staff rise, options for empowerment increase. Research indicates that most leaders will not delegate to incompetent staff, nor would their organizations want them to. But many leadership theories have suggested that talented and motivated staff members do not require the same kinds of leadership guidance as unskilled and uninterested staff, and, in fact, respond negatively to too much leadership structure as "micromanagement." Having professional staff substitutes for the need to have a structuring leader, and such staff often expect to be empowered to act within the bounds of their skills. Leaders who fail to empower skilled staff risk losing their talents, motivation, and commitment.

Increase in knowledge and service sector employment. As the U.S. economy increasingly depends on the expanding knowledge and service sectors, empowerment becomes even more vital. Knowledge and information demands require the involvement and commitment of all staff members, not just leaders. Service quality occurs at the point of service contact, where the customer or client interacts with staff. The inability of staff to satisfy customer demands promptly and without "checking with a manager" yields customer dissatisfaction and the potential loss of return business. Empowering staff within predetermined limits allows them maximum flexibility to provide a satisfying customer experience.

Freedom for the leader to focus on broader strategic issues rather than primarily day-to-day management. Although leaders are often wary of sharing power, in fact it is the primary way that they can expand their own ability to focus on how to really add value to their organizations. Freed from a myriad of time-consuming actions now under staff oversight, the

leader can focus more on strategic vision, on new and creative business options and prospects, and on expanding their client base and profit margins. They must also focus on coaching and developing staff to succeed in their newly empowered roles.

Thus, for both leaders and staff, successful empowerment can result in increased motivation, satisfaction, and learning, while organizations benefit from increased flexibility, superior client service, and better job performance. Unfortunately, these benefits are not always realized in practice.

WHY ARE LEADERS RELUCTANT TO SHARE POWER?

Implementing empowerment initiatives has proved more difficult than many organizations expected. Numerous organizational attempts at empowerment have failed because of a leader's unwillingness or inability to engage in appropriate empowering behaviors. Research suggests that one reason for this may be a self-enhancement bias: leaders have a higher regard for work that they control or in which they have high input, even if others see no quality difference with or without leader input. Further, when leaders exert more control, they attribute greater success to themselves than to staff, and may denigrate subordinates as incapable. This self-fulfilling prophecy of perceived staff failure then leads to increased leader resistance to empowering staff, since the leader fears that lower quality work may result.

Even leaders who sincerely want to develop and empower their subordinates may find it difficult to do so. Empowerment can change the entire leader-follower relationship from one of hierarchical superiority/inferiority to a more egalitarian relationship built on mutual trust and support. For leaders, there is an element of risk: If subordinates can do what the leader used to do, what then is the leader's role? Empowerment does not just change the follower's job, but it changes the leader's job as well. And unless leaders are confident about their own abilities to move forward into a new and expanded role, it is likely that they will continue to do what

they know how to do—at least some of which should now be their subordinate's job.

BECOMING AN EMPOWERING LEADER

Delegation is often one of the hardest leadership behaviors to execute well. At one extreme, leaders are reluctant to give up influence to staff, and either fail to delegate meaningful work or interject themselves unnecessarily with staff for whom delegation is appropriate and desired. On the other extreme, some staff complain that “delegation” means desertion, where a project is dumped on them with little discussion of parameters or expectations before a leader completely removes him or herself from further involvement, even as a consultant or monitor. Neither extreme will produce feelings of psychological empowerment in followers. Effective empowerment requires an accurate assessment of staff capabilities and “growing” staff into positions of increasing responsibility. It means providing inspiring goals as well as needed resources and information, removing organizational constraints, encouraging participation in decision making, and rewarding staff initiative and accomplishment. Leadership becomes less about direction and control, and more about making full use of subordinate capabilities in service of organizational goals.

Effective empowering leaders must learn new roles as visionaries, coaches, team builders, champions, and facilitators, to name a few. They need to determine the boundaries of staff autonomy, and work with staff over time to expand those boundaries as staff competence and confidence grows. Ideally, empowerment begins with top-level leaders, who model empowering behaviors for lower-level leaders and support leaders in their efforts to master empowering behaviors. Some companies have gone so far as to virtually mandate empowerment by expanding the leader's areas of responsibility to the point that the leader cannot succeed without delegating and empowering staff. In these situations, leaders either empower others or face personal exhaustion and ineffectiveness. Investing in training for empowered staff—including leaders—can be of significant value. Dealing with supervisory fear of

Give us the tools, and we will finish the job.

—Winston Churchill

job loss and clarifying new leader role expectations can help allay fear that empowering others means losing one's own job.

CAUTIONS ABOUT EMPOWERMENT

Despite its attractions, empowerment is not for every subordinate. First of all, not everyone wants to be empowered; some people may be perfectly content to have others make all the decisions, and dislike taking on more responsibility. Unfortunately, some leaders seem to overestimate the number of such empowerment-averse staff, and underestimate the percentage of staff who would welcome additional challenge and responsibility in their jobs. Nonetheless, individuals need to be ready to be empowered, both in terms of their skills and their motivation levels, and leaders need to ensure that important goals are being achieved in an ethical and effective manner. Part of an empowering leader's job is to develop staff to the point of their being able to assume increasing responsibility with the leader's confidence and support.

In order to effectively empower staff, the organizational system itself needs to embrace and support empowerment. Specifically, research suggests that empowerment is most appropriate for skilled professional staff with high needs for achievement, who work on complex and non-repetitive tasks, in decentralized, less formalized, more flexible organizations that emphasize individual learning and participation. The core values of the organization must be clear to all employees, whose empowered actions then operate within the bounds of those values. The relationship between leaders and their empowered staff needs to be characterized by mutual trust and respect in order for empowerment to grow and flourish.

Cultural differences need to be considered as well. Employee reactions to particular managerial or leadership practices, including empowerment, may vary depending on cultural background. In terms of

empowerment, a recent study by Robert et al. (2000) predicted that empowerment would be a better fit in more egalitarian societies (low on the cultural dimension of power distance) than in societies in which unequal power for different members of society is both accepted and acceptable (high power-distance cultures). Since high power-distance societies endorse hierarchical structures and members expect decisions to be made by those in higher-level positions, empowerment in high power distance societies may be seen as weak leadership. The authors found that empowerment was negatively associated with job satisfaction only in the highest power-distance society studied, India, while positively associated with satisfaction in the United States, Mexico, and Poland. Although the mechanism needs further study, this and other cross-cultural research does support the contention that it is dangerous to assume that empowerment will always be seen as a good thing by all followers in all cultures.

Finally, there is an ethical issue surrounding what has been called bogus empowerment, where leaders promise more responsibility than they actually give staff. Past research on participative management has suggested that many leaders consider themselves to be more participative than their subordinates do. Bogus empowerment is quickly discerned by staff, with negative results. True empowerment requires the moral courage to change the power relationship that leaders have with followers, and an acknowledgment that empowerment does not necessarily mean agreement. And what a leader promises in terms of empowerment, he or she needs to be prepared to deliver.

Empowerment can result in new opportunities for both leaders and followers, as well as increased organizational productivity and satisfaction when it is used appropriately with staff who are ready for it, by leaders who truly embrace it and are willing to expand their own roles as well as those of their staffs. In learning to unleash the creative power of staff through empowerment, modern leaders can discover the wisdom of ancient Chinese philosopher Lao-Tzu (cited in Bynner 1976, p. 46): "But of a good leader who talks little, when his work is done, his aim fulfilled, they will all say, 'We did this ourselves.'"

—Lynn R. Offermann

See also Distribution of Leadership; Relational Leadership Approaches; Teamwork

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ENRON SCANDAL

On the eve of its spectacular collapse in the autumn of 2001, the Enron Corporation of Houston, Texas—a diversified energy trading company—was the seventh-largest corporation in the United States. More than that, Enron was touted as one of the greatest successes in U.S. business history. However, soon the success was over: The company's share price, which had traded at more than \$80 early in the year, plummeted to less than \$1 in late November, and Enron filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy on 2 December. In a matter of months Enron became one of the greatest corporate failures—and one of the greatest corporate scandals—in U.S. business history.

Enron's leaders were chiefly responsible for the corporation's meteoric rise and breathtaking disintegration. They devised the corporation's unconventional business strategy; secured enormous infusions of investment capital; recruited legions of young, aggressive business school graduates; forged political ties with influential government officials across the political spectrum; and moved Enron's assets into increasingly speculative, legally dubious, and opaque investment instruments. Perhaps more significantly, Enron's top executives created an internal corporate culture and an external corporate image that transformed it into a juggernaut. Their leadership style was at once highly effective and deeply deceptive.

Enron was born in 1985 when InterNorth, a leading natural gas pipeline company, acquired one of its chief competitors, Houston Natural Gas, for \$2.6 billion. The next year the company's name was changed to "Enron," its headquarters were moved to Houston, and Kenneth Lay (the former chairman of Houston Natural Gas) was elected chief executive officer. Lay's initial strategy was to build Enron into the leading integrated natural gas corporation in the nation by pushing and exploiting opportunities created by the ongoing deregulation of the natural gas sector.

Lay ultimately stood at the center of the Enron scandal. He grew up on a farm in Tyrone, Missouri,

earned B.A. and M.A. degrees in economics from the University of Missouri, then (while working at Exxon USA) earned a Ph.D. in economics from the University of Houston in 1968. From there, Lay worked for the federal government in a variety of posts, including deputy undersecretary of energy in the U.S. Department of Interior. While in government, Lay lobbied aggressively to deregulate natural gas markets. Returning to the private sector, he headed the Florida-based Continental Resources Company and (beginning in 1981) Transco Energy Company. Lay moved to Houston Natural Gas, as chairman and CEO, in June 1994. At Enron during its early years, he adeptly encouraged and exploited the emergence of spot markets (highly competitive temporary markets) for natural gas.

A second major figure in Enron's management—and later in the scandal investigation—joined the company in 1990. Jeffrey K. Skilling joined Enron as chairman and chief executive officer of Enron Finance Corporation (an Enron subsidiary that raised capital). A native of Pittsburgh, he had graduated from Southern Methodist University in Dallas with a B.A. in 1975 and from the Harvard Business School with a master's of business administration (M.B.A.) degree in 1979. Skilling subsequently held various positions in banking and finance. In 1982, while working as an energy and chemical specialist for the leading consulting firm McKinsey & Company, he began to consult for Enron as well. Skilling believed that people could make enormous profits from energy trading—that gas and electricity supply contracts, among other things, could be packaged as securities and traded in the financial markets.

By 1996, when Skilling became Enron's president and chief operating officer, the corporation was expanding aggressively in the electricity supply business. That year it formed Enron Energy Services (EES) to serve commercial and light industrial customers. The next year Enron bought Portland General Electric (PGE) in the Pacific Northwest for \$3 billion, and in 1998 it acquired 1,300 megawatts of electric capacity to meet demand peaks by running jet engines on natural gas. The latter was quite profitable, but Enron soon divested PGE. EES turned profitable in late 1999, by which time it had nearly

five thousand employees operating 16,500 facilities worldwide. In addition to its considerable U.S.-based assets, Enron had a strong presence in Europe and Latin America.

NEW CORPORATE CULTURE

To go along with its unconventional strategy in the energy business, Enron's top executives cultivated a new kind of corporate culture. For an energy corporation, Enron employed an unusually high percentage of people with M.B.A. degrees, many of them trained in finance. Transactions, rather than the operation of pipelines and plants, were becoming the dominant focus as Enron transformed itself into "wholesale energy operations and services." Although Skilling would claim that the incentives within Enron were designed to minimize risk and conflicts of interest among its traders, the corporation exercised loose oversight and encouraged aggressive trading. For as long as anyone could remember, the energy sector had been seen as mature, complacent, even stodgy. It had few technological breakthroughs, and the industry structure in natural gas and electricity had changed little in decades. Enron was radically different. In its hands, the energy business was competitive, fast-paced, entrepreneurial, even glamorous.

Most of all, it was profitable. Each year Enron reported generous and steadily rising profits and set higher and higher earnings expectations. When the corporation's share price hit \$80—grossly overvalued in the eyes of many analysts—Skilling confidently asserted that \$126 would be a more fitting price. Revenues climbed from \$13 billion in 1998 to more than \$100 billion in 2000.

The business community couldn't seem to get enough of Enron. For an astonishing five consecutive years, from 1996 to 2000, *Fortune* magazine ranked Enron as the most innovative corporation in the United States. In 2000 the Harvard Business School produced a case study of Enron that quickly became a classic assigned at business schools across the country and internationally. Skilling was in high demand as a speaker. Two of his favorite subjects were the "loose-tight" oversight and incentive structure within Enron and its culture of "integrity."



The Lessons of Enron

To learn what went wrong at Enron and how such devastating problems can be avoided in the future, a number of congressional hearings have been convened. Below are excerpts from the testimony of Erik Olsen, a member of the AARP Board of Directors, before the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs, 5 February 2002, dealing with issues faced by employees who incurred severe losses in their company-stock-laden 401(K) plans.

Disclosure

Among the allegations concerning Enron is that participants did not receive complete, accurate and timely information concerning their plan and the employer stock in which they invested. The shift of risk and responsibility to employees makes it imperative that employees receive complete, accurate and timely disclosure of information to help them make more informed decisions about their retirement security. This includes defined contribution benefit statements on no less than a quarterly basis, detailing the status of participants' investments and investment activity. Similarly, defined benefit plans should be required to furnish regular benefit statements to participants on an automatic basis, without the current-law requirement that the participant first request the statement.

Employees must also be given prompt and accurate information about their company's financial performance. Employees should not only receive this information on a regular basis, but they should also be affirmatively informed when there is new information or a material change. This information should be required automatically, without requiring employees to request it. Although most courts agree that a failure to provide material information even without an inquiry is a breach of fiduciary duty, the Fifth Circuit (where Enron is located) has called this proposition into question. We believe that any legislation should affirm the position that a majority of courts have taken.

Other improvements in disclosure are needed to help address the problems that are highlighted by the Enron debacle. If a plan intends to implement a temporary suspension, limitation, or "lockdown" of participants' normal

ability to exercise control over their plan accounts, it must provide participants with ample advance notice. In addition, the Department of Labor should be directed to facilitate effective disclosure by publishing a model benefit statement that plan administrators could use or adapt. In addition to information on the participant's accrued and vested benefits, the statement would include information on the percentage of the participant's account that is invested in employer stock (and real property), on the importance of diversification, and other information relevant to the employee.

In addition, in order to minimize the risk of errors in determining pension benefits, participants who are ready to receive a distribution of their benefits should have the right to request an explanation of how the benefits were calculated. Such disclosures will help participants to confirm that they are in fact receiving the full benefits to which they are entitled.

Diversification of Risk

The Enron, Lucent, Polaroid, and other unfortunate cases illustrate the danger of defined contribution plan participants overinvestment in company stock. There is no more basic and fundamental principle of sound investment practice than diversification. That is why few financial planners or investment advisors would recommend investing more than a limited percentage of a client's portfolio in a single stock. This is true even where the portfolio is not the plan on which the individual's retirement security depends, and is especially true when that single stock is also the one on which the individual's job security and wage check depends.

Source: "Retirement Security: 401(k) Crisis at Enron." (2002, February 5). AARP. <http://www.aarp.org/press/testimony/2002/020502.html>

However, not all analysts were enamored with the Enron phenomenon. Some expressed bewilderment at Enron's business model. To the investment community, the corporation seemed less "transparent" than most—less willing to divulge and discuss the intricacies of its operational and financial architecture. In 2001 doubts within the investment community set in motion a process that led to Enron's spec-

tacular collapse by the end of the year. Early in the year Jim Chanos, a well-regarded securities analyst with Kynikos Associates, openly raised questions about how Enron actually worked. He also pointed out that Enron appeared to be booking income from the sale of assets as recurring revenue as well as including in its own revenues those revenues of companies in which it owned a partial share. However,

Skilling, along with the company's soon-to-be-infamous chief financial officer, Andrew Fastow, continued to emphasize reported earnings while stonewalling about returns on capital from the trading business.

The darling of Wall Street began to unravel in the summer of 2001. On 14 August, just six months after he took the helm as Enron's president and CEO, Skilling abruptly announced his resignation from the corporation. He cited personal reasons but refused to explain further. Lay again took over, assuring employees that Enron's prospects for continued growth as sound as ever. However, the next day he received a troubling memo from the corporation's vice president of corporate development, Sherron Watkins. Enron, she warned, was likely to "implode in a wave of accounting scandals" (Duffy and Dickerson 2002).

Even though Kenneth Lay had sold off \$21 million worth of his own Enron stock since January, he continued to reassure employees of Enron's strength in the weeks that followed. Skilling was selling his Enron stock as well. The thunderclap came on 16 October, when Enron announced a \$638 million third-quarter loss and a \$1.2 billion reduction in shareholder equity. Its explanation for the massive reduction was the early termination of a number of outside investment partnerships with shell companies (companies created strictly on paper for financial reasons). Enron had created thousands of these "special purpose entities" (SPEs) in order to hide massive amounts of debt and shield much of its derivatives trading and hedging (a form of outside trading to reduce risk) from the scrutiny of investors. The SPEs multiplied so quickly within Enron that Fastow and his staff, who earned millions of dollars overseeing them, started naming them after movie characters. (Two of these outside partnerships, inspired by the movie *Star Wars*, were named "Chewco" and "JEDI".) On 24 October Fastow announced that he was taking a "leave of absence." A week later the federal Securities and Exchange Commission launched an investigation into Enron's financial practices. More bad news followed in early November when Enron revised its five-year financial reports by reducing profits \$586 million while increasing its reported

debt a staggering \$2.5 billion. In January 2002 the Justice Department and the General Accounting Office also launched Enron investigations.

EMPLOYEES HIT HARD

Enron employees were especially hard hit by the collapse. Compelled to invest their retirement funds back into the corporation, many lost their life savings at the same time they lost their jobs. (About five thousand Enron employees in the United States and Europe were fired in October 2001 alone.) According to one estimate, \$67 billion of investor value was wiped out by Enron's demise. More than that, energy analysts calculated that Enron, along with Reliant Energy and other energy companies, manipulated the energy markets in California to create a false "crisis" that cost residents approximately \$11.3 billion in excess rates.

The investigations of Enron continue, but several significant features of its executive leadership and its role in the collapse have come into focus. As noted, Enron's top executives—most notably Lay, Skilling, and Fastow—apparently misled investors (including employees) on a grand scale by inflating the value of Enron's assets artificially and hiding massive amounts of debt with thousands of special-purpose entities. The mountain of debt that Enron was carrying was not reflected on its balance sheet, which in turn would have made Enron's financial performance look much less appealing to the investment community.

Kenneth Lay's culpability remains a matter of debate. In spite of his reassurances to investors and employees in the face of mounting evidence of crisis—while he quietly dumped his own Enron shares—some experts wonder if Lay was fully informed about, or even truly understood, the corporation's elaborate techniques for concealing debt and inflating its performance numbers. Even that generous assessment is not much of a defense: As chairman, CEO, and president of Enron (at various times), Lay should have known what was going on because he was ultimately responsible for Enron's legal, ethical, and financial behavior. Skilling and Fastow continue to defend their behavior, and, as of

this writing, both have avoided prosecution. Two years after the collapse the only former Enron executive prosecuted has been company treasurer Ben Glison Jr., who was sentenced to five years in prison and fined more than \$1 million after pleading guilty to federal charges of conspiring to commit wire and securities fraud.

Why the Enron scandal happened and what wider implications it holds for U.S. business leadership are related questions. Internally, the corrosion that developed within Enron largely was the product of its top executives, Skilling probably most of all. Although Enron's leaders seem to have started out with a creative strategy in an otherwise static industry, in time their focus shifted decisively toward financial manipulation. Enron began by supplying natural gas, electricity, and related services; it ended as a hedge fund (a highly speculative form of securities trading) and commodifier of a broad range of real and projected assets. (In 2000 and 2001 the corporation began to diversify further: into information technology and cyberspace with EnronOnline and Enron Broadband Services.)

A disjunction grew between Enron's professed values—particularly when limiting risk and agency conflict (conflicts of interest between investors and the agents who represent them)—and the incentive systems and cultural signals that Enron's leaders conveyed to traders and middle managers. Executive compensation often was based on internal estimates of market value, which gave executives incentive to inflate the value of contracts. As the corporation grew to unwieldy dimensions, its corporate culture became even more important as a mechanism for defining corporate behavior.

However, Enron did not act alone. It was aided by a variety of powerful outside interests and stakeholders (persons with an interest in an outcome).

First, as noted, business journals (such as *Fortune* magazine) contributed to the hype that continued to propel the Enron phenomenon. So did academics, in the form of business school professors. The Harvard Business School professor who wrote the popular and celebratory case about Enron a year before its collapse, Pankaj Ghemawat, was earning a \$50,000-per-year retainer from Enron at the time he wrote the

case. After Enron's collapse, the case mysteriously disappeared from the HBS case catalogue.

Second, the government played a major role in Enron's rise. At least ten key figures in the administration of President George W. Bush, including the president himself, had close ties with Enron. Thomas E. White, for example, had been a high-ranking executive and heavy investor in Enron for a decade before Bush appointed him secretary of the army. Vice President Dick Cheney or members of his energy task force met with Enron executives half a dozen times before the administration released its 2000 energy plan, although Cheney has refused to discuss the substance of those meetings. Suspicions also have been raised about ties between some influential Democrats and Enron.

Third, Enron's dubious accounting practices were facilitated by major interests in the accounting and consulting profession. Investigations into Enron's financial reporting practices led, in turn, to a major investigation of its auditors, the accounting and financial consulting giant Arthur Andersen. In 2000 Andersen earned \$25 million in auditing fees from Enron but also \$27 million from consulting services—raising serious questions about possible conflicts of interest. More importantly, investigators discovered evidence that Andersen instructed Enron employees to shred documents in October 2001. The next March, Andersen was indicted for willfully and illegally obstructing justice, and on 3 August the stalwart giant closed its doors forever. Later, forty of Andersen's major clients restated their 2002 earnings less favorably. Meanwhile, the investment banking community, most notably the esteemed house of J. P. Morgan and Company, was implicated in the Enron debacle as well. To many observers the lack of due diligence on the part of major investment firms appeared to have reached epidemic proportions.

LOTS OF COMPANY

Enron's transgressions and failure proved to be one of several similar corporate debacles at the turn of the twenty-first century. Global Crossing, WorldCom, Tyco, HealthSouth, ImClone, Adelphia, and other giants either collapsed spectacularly or saw

their top executives indicted, fined, and imprisoned for accounting practices that were deceptive, illegal, or both. WorldCom's failure alone cost seventeen thousand jobs and the loss of \$140 billion in investor wealth. Responding to rising political pressure, the Bush administration signed into law the Sarbanes-Oxley Act in July 2002. Among other provisions, it created a public oversight accounting board and compelled corporate CEOs to personally vouch for the accuracy of their firms' financial reports. For its part, the accounting profession launched a wave of reforms to restore confidence in its legitimacy as objective auditors. In addition to the major corporate collapses of the era, serious questions were raised about the reporting practices of a wide range of otherwise conservative, blue chip firms. Some experts saw the wave of investigations and reforms as healthy steps toward restoring public and investor confidence in corporate United States over the long run but feared that the greater scrutiny over corporate governance would constrain executive decision making too much in the short run.

The Enron scandal occurred at the end of an era of economic and financial enthusiasm often referred to as the "new economy." Enron's corporate culture exemplified the youthful, mold-breaking headiness of the era—its stock soaring to seventy times earnings, whereas twenty times earnings had been considered exceptional. It was an era when even the most traditional industries could plausibly claim to have become the most "innovative." Not surprisingly, many U.S. citizens saw Enron's collapse as the fitting consequence of an era of excess. Enron was neither the first nor the last in the wave of major corporate scandals at the turn of the twenty-first century. However, it played a large role in defining—indeed, gave its name to—a tumultuous and unforgettable period in U.S. business history.

Perhaps even more remarkable than the colossal failures of the "Enron era" have been the consequences that did not follow. Although Lay, Skilling, Fastow, and their counterparts at WorldCom, Tyco, and the others attracted considerable public scorn, the overall reputation of business leaders did not suffer a major setback. In fact, a surprising number of business specialists and finance professors came to

Enron's defense, at least in principle, by arguing that its special purpose entities (or similar instruments) are both legal and in accord with "generally accepted accounting principles." Enron and its cousins have not produced a regulatory response anything like the waves of corporate legislation that followed earlier corporate crises during the Progressive and New Deal eras. This may suggest that business leadership in the early twenty-first century rests on a solid foundation. Still, with the "Enron era" still unfolding and the final chapters of the Enron scandal itself still to be written, we cannot know yet.

—David B. Sicilia

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ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Entrepreneurs as social actors are not hermits; they do not introduce innovations to themselves or work in isolation. Although isolation has its place, individuals move from philosophical contemplation, detached observation, and laboratory invention into entrepreneurial behavior when they engage stakeholders (people who have an interest in an outcome) and build organizations. Entrepreneurship is marked by the taking of initiative through social interaction. As Schumpeter and the Physiocrats before him observed, entrepreneurs are the primary agents of change, of disruption, of disequilibrium in those social activities we call "economic" (Schumpeter, 1934). (Physiocrats were members of a school of political economists founded in eighteenth-century France and characterized by a belief that government

policy should not interfere with the operation of natural economic laws.)

Entrepreneurs are people acting in an entrepreneurial way. That definition includes the people we normally think of—the initiators of new and growing firms—as well as people doing the same kinds of organizational functions in other sectors and roles. We give thanks for entrepreneurs in our not-for-profit sector who enrich our lives with new cultural, sports, and religious activities (Whyte and Whyte, 1991). Our lives are also enriched by corporate entrepreneurs (sometimes called “intrapreneurs”) who introduce new ideas, products, and services in large established organizations, including companies, government, and churches (Abodaher, 1982; Block and MacMillan, 1993; Green, Bush, and Hart, 1999; Hitt et al., 1999; Katzenbach et al., 1995; Pinchot, 1986; von Hippel, 1988; Welch and Byrne, 2001; Zahra, Nielsen, and Bogner, 1999).

The degrees and dimensions of entrepreneurship can vary widely (Bhidé, 1999). In some important respects the effectiveness of an entrepreneur is a measure of his or her leadership skills. During the last twenty-five years the field of entrepreneurship research has increasingly focused on the factors that increase success, differentiating strongly between the average start-up businesses that have mediocre or poor results and the “gazelles” that grow rapidly and create incremental new wealth (Birch, 1987; Huizenga and Sexton, 2001; Ireland, Hitt, Camp, and Sexton, 2001).

By nature of their roles as founders and developers of organizations, entrepreneurs are leaders (DeCarlo and Lyons, 1980). This type of leadership is most visible in three primary impact groups: suppliers of resources, employees and partners, and customers.

RECYCLING RESOURCES

One of the key functions of entrepreneurs is recycling resources—moving resources such as money, intellectual property, tangible assets (buildings, equipment, inventories, etc.), and people from lower to higher economic value (Brush, Greene, and Hart, 2001). Entrepreneurs add value, and are economi-

cally successful, when they are able to combine such resources in ways that create more wealth than those resources had in their previous uses. Investment capital, for example, flows out of declining or low-yield activities into higher-yield activities. If an entrepreneur is unable to convince the owners of those resources to change their application, transferring resources to the new activity, then it will fail to launch, fail to grow.

Because entrepreneurs organize their ventures in the present, with the promise of future benefits, they must overcome an uncertainty differential. Owners of the resources that entrepreneurs seek tend to know the present and past performance of those resources. What entrepreneurs offer the owners is uncertain, to varying degrees, because the expected returns are subject to many factors that may occur in the future. One of the critical leadership activities of entrepreneurs is to convince those resource owners to make that “leap of faith,” to transfer their resources from their present known application to the less certain promises of the proposed venture. At these critical junctures entrepreneurs must be effective leaders, or else the resource owners will not follow.

Yet, the entrepreneurs’ resource-recycling tasks are further complicated by the need to not only inspire confidence in an uncertain future, but also to gather those resources at a discount. If entrepreneurs paid full price for all the required resources, relative to the known present uses of those resources, they would be unlikely to create the advantages they need to launch and grow their ventures. In effect, entrepreneurs must convince people to switch resources from known present outcomes to uncertain future ones—at a near-term discount. This requirement raises the stakes further. To offset those switching costs, entrepreneurs’ supporters must expect significantly greater longer-term rewards.

BUILDERS OF ORGANIZATIONS

Because entrepreneurship must integrate many functions, few entrepreneurs can develop their business innovations fully as solo operators. The vast majority of entrepreneurs need to build organizations, differentiating tasks and extending their vision through



Day Care Problem Becomes a Business Opportunity

CHICAGO (ANS)—Maribel Navarrete, mother of four, had a job at a radio station, but when the station closed down and her babysitter also moved on, Navarrete was faced with a hard choice.

If she looked for another job she'd have to find child care, but if she stayed at home with her children, she feared her family wouldn't be able to make its mortgage and credit card payments.

The answer for Navarrete was a project that is making child care a business opportunity for women. Navarrete now watches her children in a day care business she runs out of her home.

With her business turning 1 year old this month, Navarrete employs a full-time assistant and makes twice what she used to at the radio station. She's the president of a fledgling association of child care providers, and she has achieved something she never dreamed would be possible—owning her own business.

Community organizations across the country working to solve problems in child care and employment problems see the day care field as a promising job opportunity for women looking for both work and child care.

On Chicago's Northwest Side, the Logan Square Neighborhood Association is recruiting and training women like Navarrete on the ins and outs of opening a home day care business. Thirty-four women have graduated from the organization's six-week, 29-hour Incubator Without Walls course, which covers everything from childhood development to the state licensing process to how to run a business.

Anibal Miranda, project coordinator of the Incubator Without Walls project for the neighborhood association, said the association collaborates with a local day care advocacy group and an economic development organization to provide training.

Participants, most of whom were not previously in the workforce, receive assistance in writing a business plan and applying for a loan, and a local bank has agreed to loan up to \$3,000 in start-up money to every program graduate,

regardless of income or credit history. Graduates of the training have started a child care providers association as a way of sharing support and information.

The idea of converting child care from a problem to a business prospect has taken off in recent years, but it's by no means new.

In Brooklyn, N. Y., the Cypress Hills Child Care Corp., a subsidiary of a local nonprofit development corporation, has helped recruit and train 40 women to become home-based child care providers since 1994 through its Family Daycare Network.

In Philadelphia in the late 1980s, three women started a worker-owned day care center that offered women the ability to enroll their children at the center where they worked. Childspace Management Group now employs 41 women at two sites and is planning to hire 10 more when it opens a third site this fall. Projects modeled after Childspace are under way in Denver and in Richmond, Calif.

About 20 percent of the workers have their own children enrolled at Childspace. Since its inception the group has focused on providing quality jobs; they offer higher wages than the industry average and are supportive of workers who need time off to deal with family problems or to go back to school.

"In our mind the quality of the job is linked directly with the quality of the care," says Wendy Epstein, executive director of Childspace Cooperative Development, Inc., a nonprofit arm of the Childspace Management Group. "Yet, because we cater to low- and moderate-income families, we can't offer higher wages by relying on revenue alone."

One of the key problems in achieving quality care is high employee turn-over. Childspace in Philadelphia has an annual average employee turnover rate of about 15 to 20 percent, compared with a national average of 40 to 60 percent, according to Epstein. "Because our ability to offer high wages is limited, what Childspace has tried to do is to restructure the job into a worker cooperative, and to create a work culture that supports participation in decision-making and leadership," she said.

Source: "Women Learn to Turn Day Care Problem Into Business Opportunity," American News Service, August 26, 1999.

partners, employees, and associates. When we consider entrepreneurs as wealth creators, their success is defined to a significant degree by their abilities to lead other people to replicate what the entrepreneurs would do personally if they could be in many places, serving many customers at once.

Entrepreneurs' ability to build organizations that

translate their sense of an improved business model into something that many people share is a strong measure of the impact that entrepreneurs' ideas will have on the economy and society. Their ability to translate their visions of outstanding enterprises into practices understood and implemented by other people has a profound effect on their social effective-

To make it feasible to offer better wages, the group also seeks foundation funding and negotiates with partner organizations for free rent. The newest Childspace center, slated to open this September in West Philadelphia, will provide on-site day care for homeless families in a rent-free space provided by the nonprofit group HEALTH-Philadelphia.

Job quality has been a focus of the Chicago program as well, as emphasis is placed on women being business owners and child care providers, not low-paid babysitters.

With low unemployment rates and more people entering the job market due to welfare reform, demand for quality day care is higher than ever. According to a study done by the Government Accounting Office, 30,000 new child care spaces will be needed in Chicago alone to meet the increased demand brought on by welfare reform.

That demand has meant a booming business for new providers. "I was not even licensed and I had a waiting list," says Navarrete. "I had to take my sign down because I couldn't handle all the phone calls."

Encouraging women to start their own businesses has not come without challenges. So far in Chicago just two of the 34 women who have gone through the training are licensed and operating. Miranda says that's due to the long time it takes the state to complete the licensing process, which involves site visits, interviews and background checks on all family members. Another obstacle has been that most women who have gone through the training do not own their own homes and need to get permission from their landlord before they are able to open their businesses.

But the training has also brought unexpected rewards, including increased self-confidence and widened horizons for the women involved. Navarrete's new career inspired her to go back to school; she's currently working on an associate's degree in child development and early childhood education and says she's headed for a bachelor's, a master's and then a Ph.D.

"I feel like I can accomplish anything now," she says.

—Linda Lutton

ness. That ability is one of the prime differences between inventors and entrepreneurs and between successful and unsuccessful entrepreneurs.

In family firms leadership roles and development processes can take many forms. Although few people would argue that the founders of such firms are entrepreneurs, the roles and natures of successive

generations vary widely. More recently, as attention has focused on these issues, deliberate strategies of leadership development have become more common (Beckhard, 1998; Brown, Fiegenger, File, and Prince, 1993; Paisner, 1999; Syms, Lebenthal, and Sheehan, 1993).

ACTION TAKERS AND RISK MANAGERS

The word *entrepreneur* comes from the French word *entreprendre* (to take action). While relatively few people in the English-speaking world present business cards with "Entrepreneur" as their job title, it is more common in the French-speaking world. There, *entrepreneur* means a person who takes on responsibility for getting things done. Its most common use would translate into English as "general contractor." These are people who organize things, take action, get things done. In taking responsibility and action, in making decisions about what to do, when, with what and whom, they lead.

One of the important phenomena emerging from research in the field of entrepreneurship is a better understanding of the learning behavior of entrepreneurs. The common mythology of entrepreneurship often casts entrepreneurs as the risk takers in the economy. Yet, much of the early research on entrepreneurs repeatedly uncovered the counterintuitive findings that successful entrepreneurs are either risk neutral compared to the rest of the population, or even slightly risk averse (Brockhaus, 1980; Filion, 1989; Lamont, 1972; Lowe, 2000; Sexton et al., 1997; Shaver et al., 1996; Shrader, Oviatt, and McDougall, 1996; Wentzell, 1995). As those findings continue to be affirmed, a different model of entrepreneurial behavior is emerging.

Entrepreneurs prepare and then act. The most successful ones appear to know when they are not sufficiently prepared to act, and they demur until they are ready. When they are ready, they often are not certain about the outcomes but have confidence that they can deal effectively with whatever outcomes result. That stance requires them to test and evaluate, adapt and respond. After risks have been reduced to a manageable level, they take action and continue to reduce risks through active experimentation and adaptation

(Filion, 1989; Lamont, 1972; Sexton, Upton, Wacholtz, and McDougall, 1997; Wentzell, 1995; Zahra, Kuratko, and Jennings, 1999).

LEADERS OF CUSTOMERS

When entrepreneurs introduce new firms, products, or services to a marketplace, they lead customers. They make potential customers aware of the new offering, try to convince people that the new offering is superior to existing offerings, and challenge people to compare and improve. Entrepreneurs initiate change, or at least the consideration of it, on the part of potential customers. In this respect entrepreneurs lead customers to change.

As their ventures become established and grow, entrepreneurs need to attract new customers—and retain existing ones. The marketing and sales functions are important in these activities. Existing customers also need to be led. They need to be shown how to make good use, including additional uses, of the products they purchase. They need to be sold on improved versions being introduced by the maturing firm. To the extent that these jobs are done well, the firm will continue to grow and flourish.

LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

Even as leadership development programs and entrepreneurship development programs have proliferated in the last twenty-five years, a special class of programs designed to enhance entrepreneurial leadership has also emerged (Grant, 1992). Some programs are designed to support young people exploring entrepreneurial career options (Bryant, 1991). Others are designed more for university or postgraduate adult learners (Chia, 1996; Harrison and Leitch, 1994; Wacholtz, Edwards, and Thompson, 1999).

ETHICAL CHOICES

The ethical choices made by entrepreneurs can have a substantial effect on the growth potential of their firms (Bryant and Bryant, 1998). The choices can also alter relationships within their firms, as

well as between their firms and their critical stakeholders up and down the supply chains that surround them.

A contradictory tension exists between the boldness and the degree of innovation introduced by entrepreneurs and conformity to accepted social norms. Those norms, eventually enshrined in the formal legal system, are based on the judgments of many individuals, accumulated through repeated exposure to a product or service. The most established norms apply to the most mature, widespread products.

Entrepreneurs tend to work at the other end of the familiarity spectrum, trying to introduce new products and services that have not been seen or tried before—and which therefore have not yet been judged by society. By presenting opportunities to us, for which there is yet no formal determination of value, entrepreneurs challenge us to form judgments about things for which we have relatively few reference points. At the extreme they introduce “new-to-world” products (Cooper, 2001) such as video cameras, television, cell phones, margarine, “junk” corporate bonds, online pornography, mutual funds, and genetically modified corn.

Most potential customers shy away from radical innovations, so entrepreneurs cannot effectively introduce such products with an indiscriminant marketing strategy. They must identify the “mavens” and “early adopters” and concentrate on them until they find a successful market formula. Because those types of people are market leaders, entrepreneurs must work with them to introduce innovation. The mavens and early adopters try the new products and react to their experiences. More hesitant customers follow their leads. To be effective, entrepreneurs must gather, understand, and respond to those reactions until they get a product that those leading customers encourage others to adopt.

In this way entrepreneurs lead some aspects of norm formation in society. In their experiments to find out what customers will prefer, they stimulate normative judgments by society.

The ethical choices made by entrepreneurs, especially at times of crisis early in the life of their organizations, have important consequences.

The first consequence is that poor choices can lead to failure of an organization. Illegal activities can lead to police action and the enforcement of court orders, lawsuits, and other sanctions that can drive an organization out of business. Less severe offenses can also be fatal to an organization. Failures to respect creditors can lead to ever more stringent financial terms, until the firm is operating at a severe disadvantage. Offended customers, suppliers, and employees leave unhappy, tell others, and key stakeholders withdraw.

The opposite consequences attend successful choices. Difficult decisions, made well, attract people who are willing to give extra credit to the new organization, making it easier for that organization to survive its early challenges. More generous credit, forgiveness for early mistakes, keenness of potential employees and partners to join, good relationships with suppliers and key accounts—all of these advantages are more likely to accrue to an organization with a reputation for positive ethical values.

People cannot always easily “do the right thing.” In times of crisis entrepreneurs must make difficult trade-offs between such fundamental values as good customer relations and positive cash flow (Seeger and Ulmer, 2001). Entrepreneurs cannot always make decisions that are right on all dimensions. Yet, as those tough decisions are made successfully, a firm grows (Timmons, 1989). Stories about the choices and priorities established by the entrepreneur in making those critical trade-offs become part of the firm’s mythology, its corporate culture—repeating values that become enshrined in the accumulating belief system of the firm and its employees.

How do entrepreneurs make those difficult moral and ethical choices? What is the difference between those choices that help firms grow and those that cause firms to decline? Research is just beginning to probe that question (Teal, 1999; Zimmerman and Zeitz, 2002). In the early stages of a firm’s development, those values have yet to be crystallized. Entrepreneurs must base their decisions on other sources, including their own religious or moral precepts.

Sometimes a new firm is founded as a direct result of a clash between the entrepreneur’s beliefs and val-

ues and the practices in an antecedent firm. Some entrepreneurs create their firms as direct reactions against practices they abhor in the preexisting firm. They disagree so strongly with the values that underlie those abhorrent practices that they take the unusual action of leveling the organization and starting a competing firm with opposite values. Although such a formative process makes those specific values clear, it does not always help with the myriad of other value-based trade-offs that have to occur as the new firm’s operations grow.

—Thomas A. Bryant

See also Creativity; Innovative Leadership; Risk Taking

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ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

Environmental awareness and several environmental movements in the United States, dating back to the country's beginnings and flowering in the nineteenth

century, have derived from the actions and efforts of charismatic and determined scientific, political, and social leaders of both genders and many races and from both private and public institutions. The conservation and preservation movements, the modern environmental movement, and the environmental justice movement, along with and the environmental awareness that prompted them, occurred because of the persuasive actions taken by societal and political leaders like William Penn, George Washington, Henry David Thoreau, Theodore Roosevelt, Rachel Carson, Lois Gibbs, Barry Commoner, Paul Ehrlich, Richard Nixon, Jimmy Carter, Benjamin Chavis, and Bill Clinton. These same environmental movements were also arrested or curtailed by environmental leaders, political leaders, and institutions who did not agree with their opponents' agenda or philosophy and were able to persuade others or the government to move away from their opponents' positions.

All of these individuals were leaders in the classical sense of the word, since they were able to induce by persuasion groups within society or society itself to pursue the environmental objectives and the visions they or the group they represented held (Gardner 1990, 1). They all demonstrated many of the six leadership attributes articulated by academic John W. Gardner in his monograph *On Leadership*, including the ability to think in the long term, to think globally, and to reach and "influence constituents beyond their jurisdictions, beyond boundaries" (Gardner 1990, 4). The local and concomitant global impact of environmental degradation has been a universal and perennial concern among environmental leaders.

EARLY ENVIRONMENTAL LEADERSHIP AND MOVEMENTS

This vision of long-term environmental impact from human activities was first evident under the leadership of William Penn in the Plymouth Colony, who in 1681 set aside 1 acre of land for every 5 acres of land cleared to preserve the region's natural resources. Forest preservation would become an "entrenched principle of colonial management in the seventeenth century" (Switzer and Bryner 1998, 2).

Environmental and ecological concerns continued to be a part of the American conscious, in large part motivated by writings and observations of individuals like the scholar and conservationist George Perkins Marsh and his 1864 book *Man and Nature*, essayist and philosopher Henry David Thoreau's *Walden* (1854), and conservationist Aldo Leopold's *A Sandy County Almanac* (1949). It would be the vision and actions, however, of environmental leaders like John Muir and Gifford Pinchot that would create the impetus for the first environmental movements in the United States: the preservation movement and the opposing conservation movement.

The preservation movement, led by John Muir (1838–1914) during the Victorian era, advocated the use of the environment for "recreation and educational purposes." Muir was a champion of Yosemite Valley and vehemently opposed and "crusaded against the development of the Yosemite's Hetch Hetchy reservoir which he viewed as a misuse of the region's natural resources" (Switzer and Bryner 1998, 5). All parks and forests, for Muir, were off limits for economic development. Muir's environmental philosophy was accepted most by middle-class Americans. Muir promoted the idea of the protection of a "sublime nature" that would energize modern men and women (McGreer 2003, 164). Although the opposing conservation movement had more of an influence at the national level, Muir's preservation movement had a lasting impact on American society. The Sierra Club, which he founded in 1892, became one of the strongest and most influential environmental nongovernmental organizations in the world and continues almost one hundred years later to shape environmental policies around the world.

The success of the conservation movement during the Progressive Era was due to the leadership skills of Gifford Pinchot (1865–1946), who became the nation's "most publicized environmentalist" (Switzer and Bryner 1998, 5). Pinchot advocated the responsible use of natural resources for "efficient economic development" (McGreer 2003, 165). A Yale graduate who trained at the National Forestry School in France, Pinchot became the chief of the U.S. Forest Service (1898–1910). His conservation efforts were



Animal rights and environmental protesters gather in Sydney, Australia, in October, 1986.
Source: Stephen G. Donaldson; used with permission.

supported by President Theodore Roosevelt, a fellow conservationist who became instrumental in turning conservation ideologies into national policies. The zenith of the conservation movement under Pinchot's leadership was the 13–15 May 1908 White House Conference on Resource Management, attended by one thousand national leaders. Roosevelt later created a National Conservation Commission, headed by Pinchot, at the request of the leaders from the 1908 conference. Within one year of the commission's creation forty-one states created similar organizations (Switzer and Bryner 1998, 5). Conservation organizations like the National Audubon Society (1905), the National Parks Association (1919), the Izaak Walton League (1922), and the National Conservation Association (1909) emerged during this era under the leadership or influence of Pinchot.

THE MODERN ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

The planting of the philosophical and ideological seeds that contributed to the emergence of the modern environmental movement is credited to Rachel

Carson and her book, *Silent Spring* (1962), and to Paul Ehrlich's book, *The Population Bomb* (1968). Of the two books, Carson's was considered the most influential in launching the modern environmental movement. Carson (1907–1964), a biologist, was born in Springdale, Pennsylvania, and attended the Pennsylvania College for Women and Johns Hopkins University. She also did graduate work at the Woods Hole Marine Biological Laboratory in Massachusetts. *Silent Spring* convincingly conveyed to a worldwide audience her concern for the potentially devastating ability of pesticide use to severely alter and damage the world's ecosystem.

It was so successful in its objectives that it persuaded President John F. Kennedy to call for a federal investigation into the use of pesticides (Switzer and Bryner 1998, 8). Political scientists Jacqueline Switzer and Gary Bryner point out that Carson's "dire warnings of what might happen if pesticide use was not controlled served to avert the potential ecological disaster she foretold and . . . inspired the environmental protection revolution that followed" (Switzer and Bryner 1998, 8). The first Clean Air Act was signed in 1963, the Water Quality Act in 1965, the Endangered Species Conservation Act in 1966, and the National Environmental Policy Act in 1970. Within ten years of the publication of *Silent Spring* the first national Earth Day was celebrated, on 22 April 1970.

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. AND THE POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN

Although Carson's work called attention to ecological and implied human costs associated with industrial activities and practices, a later phase of the environmental movement—the environmental justice movement—began in the 1980s to focus on people,

their socioeconomic status, and the human environment. The first national leader to address the systemic disenfranchisement of the poor in this country and the concomitant environmental consequences was the civil rights activist and Baptist minister Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929–1968). To address these issues King proposed a multiracial Poor People's March on Washington, D.C., planned for 22 April 1968, two years before the first national Earth Day. A critical issue in the Poor People's campaign was the need to address the problem of the poor living in unsanitary housing conditions. King's commitment to environmental issues impacting the poor and racially marginalized was also apparent when he traveled to Memphis, Tennessee, in 1968 to lend his support to a largely black group of striking sanitation workers. His work, and the Poor People's march, were ended by King's assassination in April 1968.

King's concern over the inequitable distribution of wealth and poverty in the United States and the environmental consequences are still echoed by today's environmental justice activists. By the 1960s isolated researchers discovered that environmental hazards had a disproportionate impact on people of color and low-income people. Activists in the environmental justice movement, which began in the 1980s, continually lament the fact that it is the poor who bear the costs of environmental pollution because they lack the economic power to eliminate or avoid the costs of industrial production in their impoverished communities.

THE TOXICS MOVEMENT AND LOVE CANAL, 1978

Although the cry for environmental justice often invokes images of poor minority communities living on toxic waste sites, class has also been a key factor in citing the cause for environmental inequities. Poor and working-class whites historically have been and still become toxic victims, carrying the brunt of inequitable environmental costs. Like racial minorities, their environmental problems are inseparable from their economic condition. Many scholars believe that the environmental justice movement, begun in the 1980s, actually spun out of the leader-

ship and efforts of the toxics movement, which started on 2 August 1978. This was the day that the CBS and ABC networks first carried news of the effects that toxic waste were having on the health of Love Canal residents. The New York State health commissioner had announced during this month that the landfill over a toxic waste dump created by the Hooker Chemicals and Plastics Corporation carried an extremely dangerous public health threat.

Love Canal was a predominantly white working-class neighborhood in Buffalo, New York, that found itself in an environmental nightmare created by the Hooker Corporation. Hooker had dumped thousands of drums of toxic waste into an abandoned navigation canal, which was filled in 1952. The company then sold the land to the Niagara Falls Board of Education and eventually a school was built and houses erected. After people moved in, alarming health problems and birth defects began to occur. Pesticide residues and other chemicals began bubbling up onto the surface. The residents' children and pets received chemical burns from playing with dirt in the schoolyard and in their backyards. The community had become so poisoned that many of the residents' lawns would not grow and, where plants would grow, people got sick after eating vegetables and fruits grown in their gardens.

Grassroots activism—now so common and characteristic of the environmental justice movement—was critical to the successful resolution of the environmental disaster at Love Canal. This activism was led and personified by neighborhood resident Lois Gibbs, whose three-year-old child, Michael, developed a respiratory illness that was tied to the toxic waste present in the Love Canal development. Gibbs, moved by the illnesses of many children in the community, created the Love Canal Homeowners' Association and took residents' complaints to the state capital in Albany for resolution. This activism led to an investigation by state epidemiologists in 1978 that found abnormally high rates of birth defects, miscarriage, epilepsy, liver abnormality, rectal bleeding, and headaches. Continued activism by Gibbs and her organized community of residents convinced the U.S. government that they should investigate.

By the late 1970s, President Jimmy Carter declared



Lois Gibbs and Love Canal

Lois Gibbs was a mother and housewife who became one of the best-known environmental campaigners of the 1970s and 1980s. She became widely known for her involvement in the Love Canal situation. Below is a chronology of key events, followed by her own account of the campaign.

- Gibbs established Love Canal Homeowner's Association in August of 1978.
- On August 2, 1978, the New York State Department of Health closed the local elementary school, and moved 239 residents out of the area.
- For several days in May 1980, Gibbs and her neighbors held two EPA officials hostage until the state agreed to move all residents out of the area.
- On October 1, 1980, President Jimmy Carter declared an emergency evacuation and moved 900 families out of Love Canal in 1980.
- In 1981 Gibbs formed the Citizens Clearinghouse for Hazardous Waste (which later became the Center for Health, Environment and Justice) to help other communities fight environmental injustice.

Here is a part of her own story:

I decided to go door-to-door with a petition. It seemed like a good idea to start near the school, to talk to the mothers nearest it. I had already heard that a lot of the residents near the school had been upset about the chemicals for the past couple of years. I thought they might help me. I had never done anything like this, however, and I was frightened. I was afraid a lot of doors would be slammed in my face, that people would think I was some crazy fanatic. But I decided to do it anyway. I went to 99th and Wheatfield and knocked on my first door. There was no answer. I just stood there, not

knowing what to do. It was an unusually warm June day and I was perspiring. I thought: What am I doing here? I must be crazy. People are going to think I am. Go home, you fool! And that's just what I did.

It was one of those times when I had to sit down and face myself. I was afraid of making a fool of myself, I had scared myself, and I had gone home. When I got there, I sat at the kitchen table with my petition in my hand, thinking. Wait. What if people do slam doors in your face? People may think you're crazy. But what's more important, what people think or your child's health? Either you're going to do something or you're going to have to admit you're a coward and not do it. I decided to wait until the next day, partly to figure out exactly how I was going to do this but more, I think, to build my self-confidence.

As I proceeded down 99th Street, I developed a set speech. I would tell people what I wanted. But the speech wasn't all that necessary. It seemed as though every home on 99th Street had someone with an illness. One family had a young daughter with arthritis. They couldn't understand why she had it at her age. Another daughter had had a miscarriage. The father, still a fairly young man, had had a heart attack. I went to the next house, and there, people would tell me their troubles. People were reaching out; they were telling me their troubles in hopes I would do something. But I didn't know anything to do. I was also confused. I just wanted to stop children from going to that school. Now look at all those other health problems! Maybe they were related to the canal. But even if they were, what could I do?

Source: Gibbs, Lois. (n.d.). "Love Canal, 1978." Retrieved September 29, 2003, from <http://www.miracosta.edu/home/llane/courses/hist111/pw/docs/gibbs.htm>

Love Canal a disaster area and evacuated its residents. As a disaster area, Love Canal residents were entitled to federal aid that could be used for their relocation and a new start in other communities. By 1980, the government had identified 248 chemicals in the dump site, and today more than 400 have been found. Lois Gibbs's successful environmental activism would eventually be reproduced across the country, with various levels of success, by other female environmental leaders, like Sue Greer, Hazel Johnson, Cathy Hinds, Marie

Sosa, Patsy Oliver, Kaye Kiker, Penny Newman, and Guadalupe Nona.

THE ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE MOVEMENT

Scholars and activists saw the birth of the environmental justice movement in one of the first protests over the location of a hazardous waste site, in Warren County, North Carolina, in 1982. The protest was mounted by African-Americans against "Hunt's Dump," named for North Carolina's governor, James

As I continued going door-to-door, I heard more. The more I heard, the more frightened I became. This problem involved much more than the 99th Street School. The entire community seemed to be sick! Then I remembered my own neighbors. One who lived on the left of my husband and me was suffering from severe migraines and had been hospitalized three or four times that year. Her daughter had kidney problems and bleeding. A woman on the other side of us had gastrointestinal problems. A man in the next house down was dying of lung cancer and he didn't even work in industry. The man across the street had just had lung surgery. I thought about Michael; maybe there was more to it than just the school. I didn't understand how chemicals could get all the way over to 101st Street from 99th; but the more I thought about it, the more frightened I became for my family and for the whole neighborhood.

Everything was unbelievable. I worried that I was exaggerating, or that people were exaggerating their complaints. I talked it over with Wayne. Luckily, he knew someone who might be able to help us—a Dr. Beverly Paigen, who is a biologist, geneticist, and cancer research scientist at the Roswell Park Memorial Institute, a world-famous research hospital in Buffalo. We went to see Dr. Paigen. She is a wonderful, brave person who, like Wayne, had been involved in environmental-pollution fights. She asked us to bring some soil samples so she could do an Ames test. The Ames test is a quick way of determining potentially dangerous effects of chemicals. When bacteria are exposed to mutagenic chemicals, Dr. Paigen told us, they reproduce abnormally.

I continued to go door-to-door. I was becoming more worried because of the many families with children who had birth defects. Then I learned something even more frightening: there had been five crib deaths within a few short blocks

Hunt. The environmental justice movement shifted the argument about natural resources and social justice toward race, from the class-based origins of the modern environmental movement.

Governor Hunt had selected 142 acres of land in Afton, a small black community in Warren County, as the disposal site for 32,000 cubic yards of dirt contaminated with toxic polychlorinated biphenyls, or PCBs. The soil had been removed from 217 miles of North Carolina state highway, where it had been illegally dumped, in fourteen counties, by the

Robert Burns and Ward Transfer Company. Burns and Ward had transported the waste from Buffalo, New York, and dumped it illegally rather than storing it according to federal, state, and local regulations.

Hunt claimed that his reasons for selecting Warren County as the disposal site were based solely on technical reasons, after a survey had been made of ninety-three sites in thirteen counties. This claim was later refuted by the chief of the Environmental Protection Agency's (EPA) hazardous waste implementation branch, William Sanjour, a supporter of Warren County residents. Sanjour argued that the siting decision had been purely political, and that only political pressure would impact the decision. Protests against the locating of the toxic dump in Warren County were organized and led by Afton residents Ken and Deborah Ferruccio. They organized the grassroots activist group Warren County Citizens Concerned About PCBs. Their protest actions included peaceful protests and attempting to physically block the path of over six thousand truckloads of PCB-contaminated soil. The local group was eventually joined by members of nationally prominent civil rights advocacy groups, such as the United Church of Christ (UCC) Commission for Racial Justice and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and by religious leaders, environmental activists, and political officials. Lois Gibbs, Love Canal resident and activist, joined them as well.

Their actions caused Warren County to become a national news story and resulted in the arrests of more than 500 people. Two of those arrested were civil rights activists who would prove instrumental in the national recognition and future of the environmental justice movement: Walter E. Fauntroy, delegate to the U.S. Congress from the District of Columbia, and Reverend Benjamin Chavis, executive director of the UCC's Commission for Racial Justice and later executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

The 1982 protests by Warren County Citizens Concerned About PCBs ultimately did not prevent the siting of the landfill, but they made environmental racism a national concern and influenced future poli-

cies dealing with environmental inequities in communities of color. As the environmental sociologist Robert Bullard noted, “Although the demonstrations in North Carolina were not successful in halting the landfill construction, the protests, brought sharper focus to the convergence of civil rights and environmental rights and mobilized a nationally broad-based group to protest these inequities” (Bullard 1990, chap. 2). Governor Hunt later agreed not to build additional landfills in Warren County and to monitor their well and body water for PCB contamination.

In 1983, Walter Fauntroy persuaded the U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) to study the 1983 siting of hazardous waste landfills in EPA Region IV, which included Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. The resulting GAO report, *Siting of Hazardous Waste Landfills and Their Correlation with Racial and Economic Status of Surrounding Communities*, concluded that African-Americans and ethnic minorities were more likely than the general population to live near a commercial waste treatment facility or uncontrolled waste site. It also found that three out of four landfills were located near predominantly minority communities.

The GAO report and the problems in Warren County spurred the 1987 study sponsored by the UCC Commission for Racial Justice, *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States: A National Report on the Racial and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Communities with Hazardous Waste Sites*. This study concluded that race was the best predictor of hazardous waste site location.

THE 1990S AND BEYOND

In 1990, a group of academics (who came to be known as the Michigan Group) convened at the University of Michigan’s School of Natural Resources and Environment to discuss their most recent findings on the relationship between race and environmental hazards. This conference led to the formation of the Michigan Environmental Justice Coalition. Prompted by their findings, the Michigan Group wrote letters to Louis Sullivan, secretary of

the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, and to William Reilly, head of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). A meeting between Reilly and seven of the professors resulted in the creation of the Work Group on Environmental Equity. Its primary objective was to examine the agency’s negligence or insensitivity to issues of environmental racism.

Meanwhile, environmental justice activists, disgusted by the policies and practices of traditional environmental groups, issued a public challenge in 1990. Richard Moore of the Southwest Organizing Project and Pat Bryant of the Gulf Coast Tenants Organization drafted a letter and sent it to the ten largest traditional environmental groups. The letter, signed by more than one hundred community leaders, accused the traditional groups of racism in their hiring and policy development processes. It created a national media frenzy when an article about it appeared in the *New York Times*. The political stir caused by this event influenced Benjamin Chavis, a signatory of the letter and at the time head of the United Church of Christ’s (UCC) Commission for Racial Justice, to call for an emergency summit of environmental, civil rights, and community groups. The UCC spearheaded the planning of the summit under the direction of Charles Lee, director of their environmental justice program. The summit took eighteen months to plan and involved Lee, Pat Bryant, Moore, Dana Alston of the Panos Institute, the Indian activist Donna Chavis, and the academic Robert Bullard. Their plans led to the historic First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit in Washington, D.C., in October 1991. The summit concluded with a demand for a response from the EPA that would address their environmental justice concerns. Two of the summit’s organizers, Chavis and Bullard, were appointed to President-elect Clinton’s transition team to help formulate national policies concerning environmental inequalities.

Environmental justice leaders have maintained the movement’s momentum since its inception in 1982. Despite the horrific September 11 terrorist attack on the United States in 2001, they organized *The Second National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit*, held 11 years after the first international sum-

mit of 1991. The summit, international in membership and scope, took place October 23–27 in Washington, D.C. It drew over 1000 leaders from countries ranging from Canada, Mexico, Peru, Ecuador, India, and Guatemala gathered together in plenary sessions, workshops, and roundtables to discuss “a wide range of issues facing the [environmental justice] movement including globalization, biotechnology, sustainable agriculture and local food security, indigenous rights, land grants, and the all-important issue of growing the movement and maintaining its grassroots character and impetus in the face of professionalization” (Environmental justice 2002).

This summit concluded with the leaders adopting the “Principles of Working Together” and their initiation to discuss and critique the movement’s historical emphasis on environmental racism and its movement toward proactive measures for sustainability and justice. The leaders at this summit summarily condemned through a resolution the Bush administration’s “War on Terrorism” “as an attack on civil liberties, social justice, and the environment” (Environmental justice 2002).

Within a year of the summit, in the summer of 2003, two historic environmental justice settlements would be made in the United States in Chicago, IL and Anniston, AL. Altgeld African-American communities who had filed lawsuits in the 1990s for PCB contamination stemming from environmental racism would be awarded a total of \$600 million. These lawsuits would be derived from the decades-long activism of grassroots environmental justice leaders like Hazel and Cheryl Johnson of the People for Community Recovery in Chicago’s Altgeld Gardens.

—*Sylvia Hood Washington*

See also Carson, Rachel; Environmental Protection Agency

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ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

Established in 1970, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) brought together under one agency fifteen programs that had previously been scattered among the multitude of federal programs. The new agency included research, monitoring, enforcement, and regulation programs and had a staff of more than 5,700 and a budget of \$1.2 billion. Originally designed to set and enforce pollution-control standards, EPA saw its responsibilities expand during the 1970s as new concerns such as toxic waste arose and made environmental protection one of the more powerful roles of the federal government. It was the only regulatory agency that answered directly to the president.

EPA’s regulatory power derives from legislation that became law before the 1970 establishment of EPA and after. EPA’s mission is determined largely by such landmark environmental legislation as the Clean Air Act (1970), the Water Pollution Control Act (1972), the Federal Insecticide, Rodenticide, and Fungicide Act (1972), the Endangered Species Act (1973), the Energy Policy and Conservation Act (1975), the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (1976), the Toxic Substances Control Act (1976), and the toxic waste cleanup Superfund (1980).

ORIGINS

EPA's establishment was a direct result of growing disquiet among the American people about their environment, a concern that grew out of the student movement of the 1960s and continued throughout the 1970s. In fact, EPA's first Administrator, William D. Ruckelshaus, asserted that without the public's growing concern for the environment, EPA would not exist. Politicians in the late 1960s realized the political prudence of capitalizing on the public's environmental concerns and that to seize the initiative and take control of the movement would pay off politically among a highly concerned public. With that in mind, newly elected President Richard M. Nixon appointed several key committees and commissions in 1969, one of which was the Council on Environmental Quality, which later recommended creating the Environmental Protection Agency.

But EPA was not the beginning of the federal government's role in protecting the environment and regulating its use. Beginning with the 1948 Water Pollution Control Act, the federal government assumed an increasingly larger role in environmental protection. The Water Quality Act (1956) allowed states to set water quality standards, but made them subject to approval by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW). It also created a Federal Water Pollution Control Administration that administered these programs. With passage of the Water Quality Improvement Act (1970), the federal government's role in regulating and protecting the environment grew larger and so did its scope of concern.

Thanks to President Nixon's political acumen, the environment became a central concern of the Federal government, although EPA was not always consistently administered. Nixon realized that to seize the momentum in environmental protection was politically advantageous. Protecting the environment would not only place his administration in a positive light, but it would enable him to remove one more potentially damaging issue from possible presidential campaign opponents in the U.S. Senate. Thanks largely to the work of Nixon aide John Ehrlichman, the Nixon administration became a forceful advocate for the environment until 1973, when Nixon was

safely reelected to the presidency and no longer saw political value in environmental activism. That EPA continued to exist made environmental protection, by many estimates, a powerful function of the federal government.

EARLY YEARS

After winning relatively easy congressional authorization, EPA was formally established by Nixon on 2 December 1970. Finding the first administrator was more difficult. The administration finally settled on a former Assistant Attorney General in the U.S. Justice Department, William Ruckelshaus, after concluding that then-Texas Congressman George H. W. Bush was too closely associated with oil interests. Ruckelshaus had environmental concerns but was also not one to make political trouble for the White House. He made a safe but significant choice for Nixon's first EPA administrator. The key to EPA's success, Ruckelshaus concluded, was to determine exactly what the agency's mission would be and where its responsibilities would lie. Ruckelshaus envisioned EPA assuming the role of the gorilla in the closet to remind states to enforce existing environmental laws lest the federal government intervene and enforce such laws for them. By and large, states had not rigorously enforced such laws because they had competed so fiercely against one another for industrial investment and business development that to enforce environmental law rigorously was to threaten economic growth. To Ruckelshaus, EPA existed to assure that each state enforced environmental regulations equally, thereby removing any competitive advantage gained from ignoring such laws.

EPA was created out of political necessity and it was not immune to national politics. EPA administrators found it difficult to balance the political demands of each presidential administration with concerns of the environment and with the competing interests of environmental groups and industry. Nor did EPA enjoy good relations with the U.S. Congress. Between 1972 and 1974, Nixon's Watergate woes directly affected his administration's ability to govern. EPA was no exception to this difficulty. The relationship between the Nixon administration and

the Congress, and later the voters, turned to one of outright distrust. EPA had not been enjoying a healthy relationship with states or the businesses that it regulated, and Watergate did nothing to better the situation. In fact, the crisis damaged EPA in several ways, not the least of which was that it forced Ruckelshaus to fashion new leadership strategies. It also led to Ruckelshaus's departure from EPA to become acting Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and then Deputy Attorney General. Later, during the Watergate scandal's "Saturday Night Massacre" of October 1973, President Nixon fired Deputy Attorney General Ruckelshaus for refusing to dismiss Special Watergate Prosecutor Archibald Cox.

Assuming leadership of EPA after Ruckelshaus was Russell E. Train, a former member of Nixon's Council on Environmental Quality. Train introduced to EPA a "risk assessment" strategy, whereby EPA focused on the potential risks and costs to human life associated with environmental regulation, versus nonregulation. Framing environmental protection in terms of human life and the quality of life provided EPA with a higher moral plane on which to launch regulation and protection efforts. The most notable by-product of Train's new risk-assessment strategy was the formation of a Cancer Advisory Council that assessed the cancer-causing aspects of certain environmental threats such as toxic waste and polluted water supplies. EPA also formed an economic analysis department to argue the virtues of environmental protection in dollars and cents and provide economic impact data for certain environmental thrusts.

Continuing Ruckelshaus's strategy of making strong stands to make broader points regarding environmental protection, Train's EPA opposed the construction of the Miami Jetport, a huge facility planned for land just north of the Florida Everglades that rested within the Big Cypress Swamp, which supplied Everglades National Park with its water supply. EPA and the Nixon Administration opposed this jetport on the grounds of the environmental, health, and economic impact of destroying the Everglades. As home to dozens of endangered species of animals, the 1.4 million acre park was a national treasure and a major source of tourist visits to

Florida. As planned, the jetport complex would occupy a space of thirty-nine square miles, as large as the combined airports of Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., and New York, and service over 200,000 flights per year. After successfully negotiating relocation of the jetport, the Nixon Administration also supported purchasing most of the Big Cypress swamp and watershed outright in the interests of preserving the water supply for South Florida and Everglades National Park.

SHIFTING FOCUS

The world energy crisis of the late 1970s forced the government to shift its focus from environmental protection to energy development. Under the Nixon and Ford administrations, EPA's budget reflected such a shift in priorities. And so did the difficulty EPA encountered from an indifferent Nixon and a disinterested Gerald Ford after 1974. Train remained administrator through the Ford administration but found that Ford was not as intrigued by the environment as Nixon was. Nixon may have held purely political interests in establishing EPA, but he realized how environmental problems could affect entire economies and economic subsystems. The late 1970s also saw a rise in toxic waste awareness and incidents, which refocused EPA's attention to include toxic waste cleanup and monitoring as well as species and environmental protection.

Another factor forcing a shift in EPA focus was the toxic waste scandal of the late 1970s. Love Canal, Valley of the Drums, and Three Mile Island all made for sensational headlines and for an increased emphasis on waste cleanup and on monitoring those companies that produced it. As a result, Congress enacted the Superfund legislation, which dedicated more than a billion dollars to clean up such notorious sites.

RETREAT FROM PROTECTION

In the 1980s, under the leadership of Presidents Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush, EPA assumed the role of "neutral broker" and became less regulatory. Appointed EPA administrator in 1981,

Anne Gorsuch, a former Colorado legislator with little interest in environmental regulation, took on the task of reducing EPA's visibility and budget. In 1981, EPA's budget was just over \$1.35 billion. By 1982, it had been cut by more than half, with a 1982 budget of just \$515 million and a cut in personnel of almost 25 percent. Under Gorsuch, EPA reduced by half the number of cases it brought against violators of environmental law, allowed timber cutting on federal land, and suspended regulations restricting the dumping of liquid waste in landfills. In a further effort to rein in the power of EPA, the Reagan administration also required that all major regulatory policies first be approved by the president's Office of Management and the Budget (OMB) after a cost/benefit analysis. The administration also returned a number of EPA enforcement responsibilities to the states, which then replicated the problems of nonenforcement of environmental policies and laws that had helped establish the need for EPA.

After Gorsuch resigned in 1983 following her mishandling of toxic waste cleanup funds, William Ruckelshaus returned as the administrator of EPA. Ruckelshaus wasted no time in trying to resuscitate EPA's image in Congress and among the people. He also reintroduced the policy of risk assessment. Under George H. W. Bush, little changed within the federal government with regard to environmental concerns. Reauthorization of the Clean Air Act in 1990, which proved a more powerful and comprehensive piece of legislation than its 1970s predecessor, was one of the few bright spots for EPA during the Bush administration. But as the 1980s concluded, EPA continued to grow to the point of becoming almost unwieldy bureaucratically. This unwieldiness mainly resulted from the large budget and staff and the myriad of regulations that EPA was placing on environmental matters.

Under President Bill Clinton and administrator Carol Browner, EPA attempted to balance its relationship with industry and environmental concerns by promoting partnership over conflict. But much like the two presidents preceding him in office, Clinton shied away from sweeping environmental policy reforms or regulation. Ironically, EPA under Clinton found itself in a position similar to what it had experienced

during the Nixon Watergate era when scandal had damaged the administration's ability to govern.

Continuing in its role as a political soccer ball, EPA found itself under heavy criticism from the Republican-controlled Congress in 1995. A conservative backlash against its large budget, tremendous regulatory power, and tremendous bureaucracy stung the Agency. So too did the fact that only a tiny portion of every dollar in the EPA budget went to actual environmental cleanup. Much like all elements of the federal government except for defense and social security, EPA found itself a candidate for contraction after 1995.

However, by 2002 EPA had grown to become one of the largest and most powerful agencies in the federal government with an annual budget in 2000 of more than \$7.5 billion and 18,000 employees. After the 1994 congressional elections, conservatives targeted "big government," especially EPA, and tried to remove its powers either by not renewing legislation that gave EPA its regulatory authority or by giving the states such regulatory power. The EPA budget for the 1995 fiscal year had declined by more than \$1.3 billion, but following President Clinton's election it grew by more than \$2 billion. Public opposition to scaling back EPA and Clinton's re-election resulted in conservatives backing away from contraction, and the EPA budget returned to pre-1994 levels. Even though the agency's role has varied depending on the presidential administration in office, EPA remains a bastion of environmental regulation and protection in the United States.

—Gordon E. Harvey

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individual characteristics influence people's behavior and values at work, so also do organizational factors such as incentives, information, and the example set by others. The influence of role modeling in organizations, the tendencies of subordinates to defer to authority, and a concentration of ethics policies aimed primarily at lower-level employees are also congruent with this line of thinking. It is clear that organizational factors shaped by management possess great potential to support or undermine ethical actions. Consequently, it is common to hear that a crisis in organizational leadership is at the heart of unethical decisions and behaviors in the workplace.

PAST PERSPECTIVES ON LEADERSHIP AND ETHICS

In modern times, writings focusing specifically on the ethical nature of management begin most notably with the classic 1938 text, *The Functions of the Executive*, by the businessman Chester Barnard (1886–1961). Barnard advocated adherence to personal moral standards and viewed the creation of moral codes for others as an executive's greatest responsibility. By creating a moral code, the executive ensures that the influence of organizational norms will help guide employees who must make decisions within ethical gray areas.

In a similar vein, the business writer William Whyte Jr. (1917–1999) argued in the 1950s that the predominating social ethic in U.S. culture takes the burden of moral judgment and responsibility off the shoulders of the individual and places it on the organization (a social body, it should be noted, more than willing to assume such a role because of the advantages it provides). In acquiescing, the individual puts his or her faith in the organization as moral navigator and becomes susceptible to its influence, ethical or unethical.

Clearly, the moral success of either Barnard's or Whyte's vision ultimately rests on organizational leaders as ethical guides and role models. But do the most moral individuals get promoted to the top of their organizations? Evidence on that score is contradictory.

The psychologist Lawrence Kohlberg (1927–1987) conceptualized individuals as progressing

ETHICS, CONTEMPORARY

On the whole, the swarm of scandals in business and politics in the early 2000s appears to point to systemic, rather than isolated, ethical problems. While

through three levels (preconventional, conventional, and postconventional) of cognitive moral development. According to Kohlberg and his contemporaries, most adults fail to achieve postconventional moral reasoning. Rather, the majority of adults reason at a conventional level in which a viewpoint that supports the norms of the established system (be it organizational, political, or otherwise) defines the roles and rules that guide individual judgment. Consequently, an individual's sense of morality becomes heavily biased by those leaders who shape the system and who are, in turn, just as susceptible to conventional, rather than postconventional, moral reasoning.

RESEARCH ON LEADERSHIP AND ETHICS

In the theoretical realm of ethical decision making, the widely cited frameworks incorporate a combination of individual and situational moderators. The business ethicist Linda Treviño's person-situation interactionist model specifies an individual's cognitive moral development, locus of control, immediate job context, and organizational culture, among other factors, as having moderating effects on the ethical decision-making process. Shelby Hunt and Scott Vitell's general theory of marketing ethics follows similar lines, but with a greater focus on the various environments in which the individual is embedded as well as on the individual's internal evaluations of probability and desirability of consequences and the notion of inherent rights. Finally, the issue-contingent model developed by Thomas Jones, a scholar of management and organization, expands these theories, noting that previous models failed to take into account the various characteristics of the ethical issue to be resolved. Jones proposes that the characteristics of the ethical issue, which determine its "moral intensity," affect every stage of moral decision making and behavior.

Despite the amount of published theory on ethics, empirical research has been hampered for numerous reasons. However, some studies have focused on how reward contingencies, organizational policy, and leadership influence ethical decision making. The results of these studies indicate that ethical or

unethical behaviors recur when rewarded, that employees are more likely to intend to engage in ethical rather than unethical behaviors when organizational leaders espouse ethical values, that those operating at a higher level of cognitive moral reasoning tend to make more-ethical decisions, and that employees exposed to ethical codes of conduct and social cues are more likely to intend to engage in moral behaviors. It should be noted, however, that a drawback to many (but not all) of these studies is that they were conducted in the artificial setting of the lab environment. The question, then, is how these research results compare with the experiences of executives operating in the real world.

HOW ETHICAL ARE MANAGERS?

In 1961 and again in 1977, the *Harvard Business Review* (HBR) published results from surveys that asked the question "How ethical are businessmen?" Respondents to both surveys believed that they were much more ethical in their actions than "average" managers. This cynical view of what others would do was corroborated in the 1961 survey with the result that four out of seven executives reported that businessmen "would violate a code of ethics whenever they thought they could avoid detection" (Baumhart 1961, 19). Similarly, one-half of the executives in the 1977 study felt their superiors did not want to know how their subordinates obtained results as long as they achieved the desired objectives. Conflicts between the various roles executives play caused a number of the ethical dilemmas that were evident in the responses, with the most common dilemma being how to choose between being an "economic man" and an "ethical man."

With respect to ethical codes, the executives felt that codes had been ineffectual in the past mainly due to a lack of enforcement and because the codes tended to have an overly general nature and no specific guidelines. Despite these criticisms, the executives did believe codes were a good thing; it was agreed that codes help to establish the boundaries of ethical behavior on the job.

Since those surveys were conducted, one would be hard-pressed to give wholehearted support to the

statement that executive attitudes toward business ethics have improved across the board; on the contrary, the wave of ethical problems involving Enron, WorldCom, Adelphia, and several others in the U.S. corporate world in the early 2000s appears to signal a continuing (if not escalating) trend in immoral behavior.

RECURRING ISSUES IN THE LEADERSHIP AND ETHICS INQUIRY

In the present capitalist business environment, there exist tensions between immediate pressures and future, but less evident, considerations. The widespread view among U.S. companies that success can be measured by return on investment, quarterly earnings, and stock prices forces those companies to sacrifice long-term intangibles for short-term tangibles. Time and again the problem of placing higher priority on economic rather than ethical value in the workplace resurfaces. Employees often find themselves pressured to achieve as much as they can at the expense of ethically sound decisions.

The development of ethical codes, whether within entire industries or individual organizations, is viewed as a good thing. The common suspicion, however, is that development of such codes will accomplish little if there is no enforcement mechanism. Additionally, the prevalence of decision-making logic at Kohlberg's conventional level of cognitive moral development appears to feed into many of these problems. In doing their best to uphold social order in an established system, many people find themselves caught between the conflicting demands of economics and ethics, particularly when influenced by unethical leaders.

Finally, the complexity associated with ethical decision making and behavior, especially as it applies to leadership and the workplace, makes the construct extremely difficult to research. Measuring an individual's level of ethical decision making is challenging, particularly because the measurement instruments that are available have problems with priming and social-desirability effects; that is, questionnaires or other similar modes of data collection cue respondents to give answers that they believe are



Eight Global Values

Research by Rushworth Kidder and his colleagues with leaders in a sample of nations around the world identified eight core values that seem to be universal. They are:

Love: spontaneous concern for others; compassion that transcends political and ethnic differences.

Truthfulness: achieving goals through honest means; keeping promises; being worthy of the truth of others.

Fairness (justice): fair play, evenhandedness, equality.

Freedom: the pursuit of liberty; right of free expression and action and accountability.

Unity: seeking the common good; cooperation, community, solidarity.

Tolerance: respect for others and their ideas; empathy; appreciation for variety.

Responsibility: care for self, the sick, and needy, the community, and future generations; responsible use of force.

Respect for life: reluctance to kill through war and other means.

Source: Johnson, Craig E. (2001). *Meeting the Ethical Challenges of Leadership: Casting Light or Shadow*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, p. 235.

socially acceptable rather than answers that truly reflect their own actions or opinions. Furthermore, much empirical research to date has been primarily quantitative and relies heavily on deductive logic. Consequently, it is unlikely to have captured the complex nature of workplace ethics and is not yet able to offer a comprehensive explanation of the relationship between workplace ethics, behaviors, and other processes.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD

Because of the difficulties described above, there is reason to advocate for the increased use of qualitative methods and inductive logic in researching ethics and leadership, which will allow researchers to dissect and better understand the depth and detail associated with the topic. In addition, research would greatly

benefit from analysis that takes into account all stages of ethical decision making. Whereas the current state of research emphasizes factors preceding ethical dilemmas and those influencing the specific decision-making process itself, there is little research investigating the link between decision making and behavior, and virtually no research looking specifically at consequences of ethical decision making. And yet it is important to know how those who make courageous ethical decisions (whistleblowers, for example) are affected by their choices. In what ways can we make organizational environments more conducive to such actions when they are appropriate?

It is true that in the current work environment, executives assume a hefty responsibility when they take the reins of their positions. Their decisions, particularly in our increasingly globalized environment, now carry greater consequences than ever before. For their part, researchers face an equally challenging task: to investigate the various factors influencing leadership and ethical decision making in the hope of pointing out how to avoid catastrophes and not repeat history's devastating mistakes.

—Kellan London

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ETHICS: OVERVIEW

Ethics is the study of right and wrong, good and evil, and virtue and vice. Constructing and analyzing arguments about what actions are morally right, what goals are morally good, and what aspects of character are morally virtuous, those engaged in ethical inquiry ultimately seek to determine how we ought to respond to morally relevant features of the world. In this standard understanding of the subject matter of ethical inquiry, there is no meaningful distinction

between ethics and morality. However, there is an important distinction between ethics and values, in the sense that this latter term is commonly used. What people happen to value can contrast sharply with what ethics would have them value. For example, valuing efficiency or gourmet food is significantly different from valuing justice or honesty. It is for this reason that studies of value responses lend themselves better to descriptive analyses in the social and behavioral sciences. Although work in the social and behavioral sciences attends carefully to the beliefs that people hold about morality, the values that motivate them to action, and their readiness to conform their behavior to social norms, such analyses nevertheless stop well short of the prescriptive theorizing that characterizes the core of the field of ethics.

Familiar problems in ethics are made concrete in the exercise of leadership. As in moral evaluation more generally, assessing the ethics of leaders requires that we consider the rightness of their means, the goodness of their ends, and the virtue of their characters and intentions. For example, we might ask whether deception is a morally permissible way to get follower compliance, whether profit is a morally legitimate goal, and whether egoism is a morally acceptable attribute in leaders. But leadership also highlights special moral problems. Many of these problems derive from the central place of power in the relationship between leaders and followers. Whatever the ends of the group, leaders need power to achieve them, giving power a strong claim to being the very currency of leadership. At the same time, power makes it possible for leaders to advance their own interests, sometimes at the expense of the interests of the group. Accordingly, much of leadership ethics is preoccupied with the interplay between the leader's self-interest on the one hand and the group's interests on the other. Because of the risks that power creates for leaders, ethicists who study leadership take the determination of power's proper limits to be one of their fundamental tasks.

THE DEFINITION OF LEADERSHIP

One approach to solving the special moral problems of leadership has been to use ethical considerations

to delimit the subject matter itself. If leadership is moral by definition, unethical behavior by those in power must be something other than leadership. This approach goes back to Plato (428 BCE–347 BCE), who argues that “every kind of rule, insofar as it rules, doesn't seek anything other than what is best for the things it rules and cares for, and this is true both of public and private kinds of rule” (Plato 1992, 21). In this respect, Plato suggests, leadership is akin to shepherding. When a shepherd looks to his own good rather than to the good of the sheep, he is more like a “guest about to be entertained at a feast” or “a money-maker” than he is like a shepherd (Plato 1992, 21). The view that true leadership, like true shepherding, is concerned with the good of the led, not the good of the leader himself, finds twentieth-century expression in the work of James MacGregor Burns. Indeed, Burns goes so far as to deny that Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) was a leader because “leadership, unlike naked power-wielding, is . . . inseparable from followers' needs and goals” (Burns 1978, 19), and Hitler was “an absolute wielder of brutal power” (Burns 1978, 27).

Concentrated focus on any human relationship is grounded in the belief that we have particular moral reasons to care about that relationship, and these reasons differentiate it from other kinds of relationships. Perhaps what advocates of normative definitions of leadership have right, then, is that this particular relationship is distinguished from other relationships by the ethical parameters within which leaders and followers operate. Completely coercive relationships, for instance, fall outside these parameters and hardly count as leadership. Because the behavior of coerced agents is involuntary, the relationship between the coercer and the coerced is closer to the relationship between master and slave than that between leader and follower. That being the case, descriptive analyses of leadership, like analyses of other human relationships, will be constrained by general normative considerations that mark off the domain of inquiry. There is nevertheless a large conceptual gap between this claim and the conclusion that behavior that deviates from morality is not leadership at all. Even if the relationship of leadership assumes significant follower agency, a notion that has substantial moral

content, it would not follow that leadership always shows proper respect for the agency of followers or that leadership always puts it in the service of ethical ends.

Leadership ethicist Joanne Ciulla contends that these definitional approaches to leadership conceal particular normative positions regarding the nature of the relationship between leaders and followers. In effect, they are misguided attempts to specify what constitutes good leadership, where *good* means both “morally good and technically good or effective” (1995, p. 13). This distinction helps us understand what Ciulla calls “the Hitler problem.” Those who contend that Hitler was not a leader exploit the ambiguity in the question of whether he was a good leader. Since Hitler was at most technically good or effective, he can have been a good leader in only one sense of the term. Understanding the Hitler problem is therefore a prerequisite to doing the real work in leadership ethics, namely, articulating and defending particular normative positions regarding this relationship. This is the real problem ethicists faced all along. Simply calling some individuals leaders and others by a different name does not change the fact that people in power sometimes engage in unethical behavior. That is to say, regardless of whether we call them leaders or not, we want to be able to identify unethical behavior and give an argument for why it is morally wrong.

NORMATIVE THEORIES OF LEADERSHIP

Commentators who make their normative commitments explicit by offering recommendations for how leaders ought to behave often identify good leadership with what thinkers from Plato to Burns hold is necessary for leadership itself, namely, concern for the good of followers. Aristotle (384 BCE–322 BCE) distinguishes correct from deviated constitutions on these grounds, claiming that “whenever the one, the few, or the many rule with a view to the common good, these constitutions must be correct; but if they look to the private advantage, be it of the one or the few or the mass, they are deviations” (Aristotle 1981, 189–190). Appealing to God’s exhortation in Ezekiel, “Ho, shepherds of Israel who have been

feeding yourselves! Should not shepherds feed the sheep?” (Ezekiel 34:2, RSV), the theologian Thomas Aquinas (1224?–1274) similarly makes concern for the good of followers both sufficient and necessary for morally good leadership: “If a ruler should direct a community of free persons for the common good of the people, there will be a right and just regime, as befits free persons. And if the governance of a ruler be ordained for the private good of the ruler and not for the common good of the people, there will be an unjust and wicked regime” (Aquinas 2001, 398). Even the political theorist Machiavelli (1469–1527), who is known for the amorality of *The Prince*, defends a historical cycling between good and bad leadership in his *Discourses*, with the former being characterized by leaders who “[put] their own interests second and the public good first” (Machiavelli [1532] 2001, 472).

Contemporary observers of leadership have been no less inclined to make the opposition between concern for self and concern for others the defining distinction in leadership ethics. For example, the essayist Robert Greenleaf recommends a form of leadership on which the leader “is *servant* first. . . . That person is sharply different from one who is *leader* first, perhaps because of the need to assuage an unusual power drive or to acquire material possessions” (Greenleaf 1977, 13). Leadership scholars Jane Howell and Bruce Avolio come to the same conclusion about the ethical use of power by way of an appeal to David McClelland’s distinction between personalized and socialized power motives, suggesting that leaders should be motivated by a concern for the common good. Some leadership scholars believe that such motivations make a leader’s behavior both ethical and effective and, thus, that the Hitler problem is not so problematic after all. According to organizational theorists Rabindra Kanungo and Manuel Mendonca, “leadership effectiveness is ensured only by altruistic acts that reflect the leader’s incessant desire and concern to benefit others despite the risk of personal cost inherent in such acts” (Kanungo and Mendonca 1996, 35).

James MacGregor Burns’s theory of transforming leadership, easily the most influential normative conception of leadership, also holds that leadership

should take us beyond self-interest, ultimately raising leaders and followers to “higher levels of motivation and morality” (Burns 1978, 20). In fact, Burns claims that “the ultimate test of moral leadership” resides in its “capacity to transcend the claims of the multiplicity of everyday wants and needs and expectations” (Burns 1978, 46). However, critics of this theory, especially in its organizational incarnation, charge that the very characteristics that make leaders transformational, “the gifts of charisma, inspiration, consideration, and intellectual strength,” can be “abused for the self-interest of the leader” (Carey 1992, 232). In response to these criticisms and others like them, management scholars Bernard Bass and Paul Steidlmeier fall back on the idea that leaders can choose either to show a concern for self or to show a concern for others. Using this distinction, these authors draw a very sharp contrast between what they call *authentic transformational leadership* and *inauthentic or pseudotransformational leadership*. As Bass and Steidlmeier make the argument, “the exclusive pursuit of self-interest is found wanting by most ethicists. Authentic transformational leadership provides a more reasonable and realistic concept of self—a self that is connected to friends, family, and community whose welfare may be more important to oneself than one’s own” (Bass and Steidlmeier 1999, 185–186).

What these normative theories of leadership have in common with traditional ethical theory is a firm commitment to the conflict between the demands of self-interest and moral requirements that protect the interests of others. To be sure, not all ethicists acknowledge this conflict. Ethical egoists such as Ayn Rand (1905–1982) argue that our highest moral



Selection from *Utilitarianism* by John Stuart Mill

I must again repeat, what the assailants of utilitarianism seldom have the justice to acknowledge, that the happiness which forms the utilitarian standard of what is right in conduct, is not the agent’s own happiness, but that of all concerned. As between his own happiness and that of others, utilitarianism requires him to be as strictly impartial as a disinterested and benevolent spectator. In the golden rule of Jesus of Nazareth, we read the complete spirit of the ethics of utility. To do as you would be done by, and to love your neighbour as yourself, constitute the ideal perfection of utilitarian morality. As the means of making the nearest approach to this ideal, utility would enjoin, first, that laws and social arrangements should place the happiness, or (as speaking practically it may be called) the interest, of every individual, as nearly as possible in harmony with the interest of the whole; and secondly, that education and opinion, which have so vast a power over human character, should so use that power as to establish in the mind of every individual an indissoluble association between his own happiness and the good of the whole; especially between his own happiness and the practice of such modes of conduct, negative and positive, as regard for the universal happiness prescribes; so that not only he may be unable to conceive the possibility of happiness to himself, consistently with conduct opposed to the general good, but also that a direct impulse to promote the general good may be in every individual one of the habitual motives of action, and the sentiments connected therewith may fill a large and prominent place in every human being’s sentient existence. If the impugnors of the utilitarian morality represented it to their own minds in this its true character, I know not what recommendation possessed by any other morality they could possibly affirm to be wanting to it; what more beautiful or more exalted developments of human nature any other ethical system can be supposed to foster, or what springs of action, not accessible to the utilitarian, such systems rely on for giving effect to their mandates.

Source: Mill, John Stuart. (1863). “What Utilitarianism Is.” In *Utilitarianism*, Chap. 2. Retrieved September 29, 2003, from <http://etext.library.adelaide.edu.au/m/m645u/util02.html>

obligation is to act in our self-interest, and, following Rand, leadership scholar Edwin Locke claims that leaders should be selfish, not altruistic. Given the typical connections between leader self-interest and the interests of followers, Locke’s defense of the morality of self-interested behavior by leaders turns out to be more plausible than it might initially seem. But even ethical theorists who allow that morality sometimes makes it necessary to sacrifice self-interest would be reluctant to accept that acting out of concern for followers is sufficient for meeting all the demands of morality. First, acting in the interests of followers does not preclude showing insufficient

moral respect for their agency or, for that matter, for the leader's own agency. Second, acting in the interests of followers can often be consistent with showing less than morally appropriate concern for the interests of outsiders. The arguments for both these claims are located squarely within the field of philosophical ethics.

PHILOSOPHICAL ETHICS: KANTIANISM

Deontological ethical theory holds that only features of actions themselves are relevant to morality. As such, these theories are committed to the view that moral assessment precludes consideration of consequences. Actions are right or wrong independent of their results. For Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), the primary historical exponent of deontological ethics, the feature of an action that determines its morality is its connection to reason. Reason demands that we act only in ways that it would be possible for everyone to act and, moreover, in ways that we would be willing to have them act. In Kant's words, "*Act as if the maxim of your action were to become through your will a universal law of nature*" (Kant [1785]1964, 89). Another way to articulate this demand of reason is to say that we must respect the rational faculties of persons, treating them "*never simply as a means, but always at the same time as an end*" (96). Our moral duties are thus determined not out of concern for their interests but out of respect for the law of reason. In fact, according to Kant, actions have moral worth only when they are done out of this kind of respect, only when they are what he terms autonomous. By contrast, the influences of altruism, no less than the influences of self-interest, make actions heteronomous.

To take an example, Kantian ethics considers deception and manipulation to be morally wrong. First, any attempt to universalize these behaviors gives rise to what Kant calls a contradiction in conception. In a world in which deception and manipulation are the rule, there is no incentive to deceive and manipulate others, because deception and manipulation work only if people generally refrain from these behaviors. Second, deception and manipulation bypass the rational faculties of others, thus

treating them simply as means to an end. Treating others as ends in themselves would entail that they give their consent to being deceived and manipulated, which is not possible with respect to these kinds of behaviors. Of course, despite the purported immorality of deception and manipulation, leaders sometimes engage in these behaviors, most obviously when they are motivated by self-interest. It is worth noting, however, that Kant would not be any more impressed by a leader's use of deception and manipulation if the goal was to advance the interests of followers. Though this kind of behavior can be perfectly altruistic, it nevertheless shows less than morally appropriate respect for followers' agency. In other words, the claim that a leader's deceptive and manipulative behavior was for the good of followers does not answer the charge that the leader failed to engage their rational agency. Accordingly, altruistic motivation does not meet the demands of Kantian morality.

The ethics of altruism is also incompatible with a Kantian commitment to the value of leader agency. Kant holds that we owe ourselves the same kind of respect that we owe others. Again, the moral respect he has in mind is essentially unconnected to any concern for our interests. Although Kant defends a duty to make ourselves happy, this duty is indirect in nature. Since miserable people are fairly poor at attending to the requirements of morality, we should make sure that we are happy enough to discharge our more direct duties, as these duties are defined by reason. Yet Kantian ethics makes plenty of room for the pursuit of our own ends, as well as for our helping others with the pursuit of their ends. Since we invariably need the help of others when it comes to the pursuit of our ends, it would contradict reason to expect this kind of help from others but be unwilling to give it ourselves. That is to say, the duty we have to help others in need, the closest thing to altruism in Kantianism, assumes the morality of pursuing the ends that we ourselves adopt as rational agents.

For Kantian ethicists, normative theories of leadership such as servant leadership pay too little attention to the agency of leaders. The moral risk of making service the defining ethical attitude for leadership derives from the close conceptual con-

nection between serving and servility. While some leaders could certainly stand to do more to advance the interests of followers, adherents of Kant's moral philosophy have good reason to worry about the loss of agency that adopting a stance of servitude implies. This form of leadership may be particularly out of place for members of oppressed communities in which serving and servility, not agency and self-respect, are the norm. For these leaders at least, Kantians would argue that it hardly seems appropriate to ask that they meet the "unrelenting demand that each of us confront the exacting terms of our own existence, and, like Sisyphus, *accept our rock and find our happiness in dealing with it*" (Greenleaf 1977, 11). Even for leaders who are not subject to conditions that encourage complacency, acting exclusively as an agent in service of the interests of others leaves no room for agency in the pursuit of one's own ends. Kant's ethics therefore highlights a tension between servant leadership and the moral idea that leaders and followers are equally deserving of respect for their autonomy.

PHILOSOPHICAL ETHICS: UTILITARIANISM

Consequentialist ethical theory holds that the morality of an action is determined by that action's results. Utilitarianism, as developed by philosophers such as Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832), John Stuart Mill (1806–1873), R. M. Hare (1919–2002), and Peter Singer (1964–), assesses these results in terms of overall happiness or well-being. According to utilitarianism, leader self-interest counts no more and no less than the interests of any particular follower or, for that matter, any other person. But self-interest still figures in the moral calculus, since happiness or well-being—no matter *whose* happiness and well-being—ultimately drives moral assessment. In marked contrast to Kantian ethics, then, most varieties of utilitarianism allow that behaviors traditionally taken to be morally wrong—deception and manipulation, for example—are morally right when the good produced by these behaviors is greater than that produced by refraining from them. Of course, leaders often have good utilitarian reasons not to behave in these ways. Most important among these is

that deception and manipulation can erode the trust of followers, making it difficult to maximize utility in the long run. Nevertheless, considerations of happiness or well-being on the whole decide whether these behaviors are morally wrong for leaders and, in at least some circumstances, would permit them.

On the surface, ethical theories that focus on consequences seem well suited to moral analyses of leadership. After all, leadership is a goal-directed activity, and leaders are assessed primarily in terms of whether and, moreover, how well they achieve their goals. This conceptual connection prompts Joanne Ciulla to note a parallel between the ethics and effectiveness questions and the theoretical divide between deontological and consequentialist ethical theories (Ciulla 2001, 315). However, it is only a parallel. Consequentialist ethical theories such as utilitarianism, no less than deontological ethical theories, tell us what makes an action morally right or wrong, not what makes it technically good or effective. Still, the consequentialist logic of leadership readily lends itself to comparisons between moral rightness and technical goodness or effectiveness, especially when technical goodness or effectiveness is defined in terms of meeting the interests of others. From a utilitarian point of view, however, one moral problem with most examples of leadership is that leaders' ends do not always embody other-regarding aspirations. Leaders' ends are just as often defined in terms of profit and productivity, and the behavior conducive to the achievement of these ends is not particularly likely to conform to the dictates of utilitarianism.

Despite the fact that normative theories of leadership encourage altruistic ends, not even they are immune to utilitarian critique. This is because the altruism championed by such theories typically extends no farther than to the interests of followers. According to Kanungo and Mendonca's ethical analysis of leadership, for example, the others in whose interests leaders should act are "the organization and its members" (Kanungo & Mendonca 1996, 35). However, since utilitarianism counts the interests of all persons equally, it demands that leaders have a much broader moral perspective, one that fully includes the happiness or well-being of others

Leadership is a combination of strategy and character. If you must be without one, be without the strategy.

—U.S. General H. Norman Schwarzkopf

outside of their particular group, organization, or society. Somewhat surprisingly, not even Greenleaf's servant leadership requires that leaders show this kind of concern for outsiders. Like most normative theories of leadership, it looks primarily to the effects on the led, asking whether "those served grow as persons? Do they, *while being served*, become healthier, wiser, freer, more autonomous, more likely themselves to become servants?" (Greenleaf 1977, 13–14). While Greenleaf does say that minimally the least privileged should "not be further deprived" (14), merely sustaining the status quo for these individuals is inconsistent with the dictates of utilitarianism. In particular, it is counter to the view that the least privileged have the most to gain in terms of utility and, as a result, could likely make better utilitarian use of whatever resources might otherwise be expended on insiders.

PHILOSOPHICAL ETHICS: VIRTUE THEORY

The philosophical division between deontological ethical theories and consequentialist ethical theories maps onto an important distinction that James MacGregor Burns makes in his 1978 book *Leadership*. According to the main argument in this work, leaders should attend to modal values such as honesty, trustworthiness, and reciprocity as well as to the end values of liberty and equality. When these two categories of values come into conflict, however, Burns sides with the consequentialists, suggesting that important end values must win out. As he puts it, "Transformational leadership is more concerned with *end-values*" (Burns 1978, 426). However, exactly twenty years after the publication of *Leadership*, Burns's restatement of the values of leadership adds what he calls ethical values, which include "old-fashioned character tests" (1998, x). This third category of leadership values corresponds closely to

the main object of moral assessment in the virtue theory of ethics. As intellectual descendents of Plato and Aristotle, advocates of this theory argue that ethical leadership depends more on developing habits or dispositions to act virtuously than on adhering to general principles for action or on overall utility maximization. Being moral takes precedence over acting according to universal moral requirements.

As compared with Kantianism and utilitarianism, virtue ethics creates considerable moral space for leadership. First, in contrast to the universalism of Kant, the foundational assumptions of virtue theory allow that leaders might be justified in making exceptions of themselves when it comes to generally applicable moral requirements. For example, the philosopher Bernard Mayo argues that "the subordination of exemplars to principles . . . fails to do justice to a large area of moral experience" (Mayo 1958, 214–215). The "'black-or-white' nature of moral verdicts based on rules" conflicts with the fact that qualities of character come in degrees and, as a consequence, does not allow us to "set [heroes and saints] apart from the rest of humanity" (Mayo 1958, 215). Second, in at least some versions of virtue theory, what constitutes an ethical life is highly dependent on context. Virtue for a given individual derives from the particular relations that define the context in which he or she lives and works. One consequence of this feature is that a virtuous leader need not be expected to sacrifice the interests of his group, organization, or country for the sake of overall utility. By rejecting the universalist commitments of utilitarian philosophers, virtue ethics is in a position to embrace the special relations of leadership.

Virtue ethics also rules out attempts at moral compartmentalization that plague leaders who believe that their immorality can be isolated. Because it gives pride of place to habits and dispositions, this ethical theory cannot allow for a sharp differentiation between the private morality that governs "personal conduct" (Burns 1998, x) and the public morality that applies to leadership behavior. Since habits and dispositions are formed by behavior without regard to whether it is private or public, character-affecting action in either realm is bound to spill over into the other realm as well. But this gen-

eral commitment to behavioral consistency does create difficulties for virtue theory when it comes to making sense of the ethical failures of leaders with long records of moral success. If these leaders have developed proper habits and dispositions, how can their virtues ultimately fail them? One explanation questions whether character traits are predictive of human behavior after all. Philosophical critics who draw on experimental evidence in social psychology charge that the moral psychology behind this ethical theory ignores evidence supporting the view that behavior is determined by features of the situation, not by the habits or dispositions of the individuals in these situations. According to this criticism, since virtuous character traits are hardly sufficient for ethical leadership, attempts to rely heavily upon them are recipes for ethical failure.

GENERAL ASSESSMENT

All of the three most highly regarded theories in philosophical ethics are vulnerable to objection. Kantianism lends itself to the charge that it values rules more than people, demanding that leaders adhere to generally applicable moral requirements even when a deviation would greatly advance human flourishing or when conformity would come at a great cost in terms of human suffering. Standard opposition to utilitarianism focuses on a different ethical prioritization. By placing no limits on the utility losses that individuals might be required to withstand for the sake of overall utility, this moral theory is open to the criticism that leaders who tolerate or promote these losses do not accord proper value to the individual. Finally, even if virtue ethics is correct in its assumption that character determines behavior, this moral theory faces the objection that a commitment to role differentiation and contextualism increases the moral risk that leaders will overestimate the importance of their leadership positions and their relations with followers. Still, philosophical ethical theories show that there is more to the ethics of leadership than adjudicating between leader self-interest and the interests of followers. Even leaders who subordinate their interests to group interests can nonetheless fail to show proper respect for moral agency, to advance the legit-

imate interests of outsiders, and to demonstrate virtuous character traits besides self-sacrifice.

—Terry L. Price

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of a hierarchy of human needs, developed the theory of eupsychian (good psychological) management, which creates a work environment conducive to collective psychological health.

After a lengthy study of management and a term as a visiting fellow at Non-Linear Systems, Inc., in California in 1962, Maslow reported in the opening chapter of his journal regarding the experiences that

only recently has it dawned on me that as important as education is, perhaps even more important, is the work life of the individual, because everybody works. If the lessons of psychology, of individual psychotherapy, of social psychology, etc., can be applied to man’s [sic] economic life, then my hope is that this too can be given a eupsychian direction, thereby tending to influence in principle all human beings.” (Maslow 1965, 2)

This philosophical shift was of great importance because it recognized the institutional impact of the workplace on the psychological well-being of the individual. In some ways Maslow’s recognition of this impact stimulated the use of social science in management consulting. Maslow came to believe that “Psychotherapy tends to focus too exclusively on the development of the individual, the self, the identity, etc. I have thought of creative education and now also of creative management as not only doing this for the individual but also developing him via the community, the team, the group, the organization—which is just as legitimate a path of personal growth as the autonomous paths” (Maslow 1965, 3).

Based on Maslow’s reading of management theorists such as Peter Drucker (b. 1909), Rensis Likert (1903–1981), Chris Argyris (b. 1923), and Douglas McGregor (1906–1964), Maslow suggested thirty-six assumptions about people that serve as the foundation for eupsychian management in practice:

1. Assume everyone is to be trusted.
2. Assume everyone is to be informed as completely as possible of as many facts and truths as possible.
3. Assume in all your people the impulse to achieve.
4. Assume that there is no dominance-subordination hierarchy in the jungle sense or the authoritarian sense.

EUPSYCHIAN MANAGEMENT

Abraham H. Maslow (1908–1970), a founder of humanistic psychology most famous for his theory

5. Assume that everyone will have the same ultimate managerial objectives and will identify with them no matter where they are in the organization or in the hierarchy.
6. . . . assume good will among all the members of the organization rather than rivalry or jealousy.
- 6a. Synergy [combined action] is also assumed.
7. Assume that the individuals involved are healthy enough.
8. Assume that the organization is healthy enough.
9. Assume the "Ability to Admire."
10. . . . assume that the people in eupsychian plants are not fixated at the safety-need level.
11. Assume an active trend to self-actualization.
12. Assume that everyone can enjoy good teamwork, friendship, good group spirit, good group harmony, good belongingness, and group love.
13. Assume hostility to be primarily reactive rather than character based.
14. Assume that people can take it.
15. . . . assume that people are improvable.
16. Assume that everyone prefers to feel important, needed, useful, successful, proud, respected, rather than unimportant, interchangeable, anonymous, wasted, unused, expendable, disrespected.
17. Assume that everyone prefers or perhaps even needs to love his boss (rather than to hate him), and that everyone prefers to respect his boss (rather than to disrespect him).
18. Assume that everyone dislikes fearing anyone (more than he likes fearing anyone), but that he prefers fearing the boss to despising the boss.
19. . . . assume everyone prefers to be a prime mover rather than a passive helper, a tool, a cork tossed about on the waves.
20. Assume a tendency to improve things, to straighten the crooked picture on the wall, to clean up the dirty mess, to put things right, make things better, to do things better.
21. Assume that growth occurs through delight and through boredom.
22. Assume preference for being a whole person and not a part, not a thing or an implement, or tool, or "hand."
23. Assume the preference for working rather than being idle.
24. Assume all human beings, not only eupsychian ones, prefer meaningful work to meaningless work.
25. Assume the preference for personhood, uniqueness as a person, identity (in contrast to being anonymous or interchangeable).
26. . . . assume that the person is courageous enough for eupsychian processes.
27. . . . assume non-psychopathy (a person must have a conscience, must be able to feel shame, embarrassment, sadness, etc.).
28. . . . assume the wisdom and the efficacy of self-choice.
29. . . . assume that everyone likes to be justly and fairly appreciated, preferably in public.
30. . . . assume the defense and growth dialectic for all these positive trends that we have already listed above.
31. Assume that everyone but especially the more developed persons prefer responsibility to dependency and passivity most of the time.
32. . . . assume that people will get more pleasure out of loving than they will out of hating (although the pleasures of hating are real and should not be overlooked).
33. Assume that fairly well-developed people would rather create than destroy.
34. Assume that fairly well-developed people would rather be interested than be bored.
35. . . . assume at the highest theoretical levels of eupsychian theory, a preference or a tendency to identify with more and more of the world, moving toward the ultimate of mysticism, a fusion with the world, or peak experience, cosmic consciousness, etc.
36. Finally we shall have to work out the assumption of the meta-motives (the ways in which a person whose lower needs are met pursues the realization of self-actualization and the B-values) and the meta-pathologies (resulting from the lack of meeting the meta-needs), of the yearning for the "B-values," i.e., truth, beauty, justice, perfection, and so on.

(Maslow 1965, 17-33)

These assumptions are reflective of McGregor's Theory Y (a trusting, participative leader-follower relationship) as well as participative, democratic, enlightened, and transformational leadership. However, they are more than simply a reflection of an underlying belief about the nature of people explained by McGregor's theory. For Maslow, the uniqueness of one's humanity is expressed in the individual's pursuit of self-actualization—striving to attain the “pluralism of ultimate values” (Maslow 1965, 119). The ultimate values are a panoply perhaps best represented by a multifaceted diamond in which the whole consists of the sum of various aspects, in this case the B-values or being values: “truth, beauty, wholeness, dichotomy-transcendence, aliveness-process, uniqueness, perfection, necessity, completion, justice, order, simplicity, richness, effortlessness, playfulness, and self-sufficiency” (Maslow 1971, 106). This list was derived from Maslow's research with people after a peak experience. “What you feel and perhaps ‘know’ when you gain authentic elevation as a human being . . . is a coming into the realization that what ‘ought to be’ *is* in a way that requires no longing, suggests no straining, to make it so” (Henry Geiger, cited in Maslow 1971, xvi–xvii). People often experience this state when they “are so involved in an activity that nothing else seems to matter; the experience itself is so enjoyable that people will do it even at great cost, for the sheer sake of doing it” (Csikszentmihalyi 1990, 4).

SELF-ACTUALIZERS AND EUPSYCHIA

When self-actualizing people work together they create eupsychia. Thus, if an organization utilizes its power to develop a good society, to make a commitment to build and maintain a psychologically healthy place for its workforce, the organization can release enormous innovative and productive potential unimaginable in a typical organization.

The most interesting quality of the self-actualizers whom Maslow studied is that each was involved in a cause outside of himself or herself. They all were striving to achieve the good, the realization in the society at large of the B-values through their personal contribution to the common good.

Whereas most people seem mired in desire—the perpetual state of wanting, of feeling inadequate, of not being satisfied, of feeling deficient in something important for their well-being—self-actualizers struggle with expressing a higher part of their capabilities to create a state of being as well as a state of mind that results in the ability to overcome challenges with others. Their goal is not happiness or self-fulfillment in the selfish sense of the terms. Rather, their goal is to contribute to the manifestation of the B-values in the world and to help others do so as well.

To some people eupsychia management is a utopian dream and does not sufficiently reflect the reality of evil, deviousness, fear, destructive competition, deception, Machiavellianism (referring to the theories of the Italian political philosopher Niccolò Machiavelli), the prevalence of office politics in workplaces, and the many varieties of noncooperation and self-serving behavior that interfere with collective success in workplaces.

Although Maslow did not fully grapple with this criticism beyond assuming that organizations will choose healthy employees, several rights of organizations make it possible to create a eupsychian organization. Namely, organizations have the right to choose their employees and can apply psychological screening devices to do so. They may also train employees, reprimand them, and expel them. Because of these rights, organizations can filter the psychologically unhealthy, untrustworthy, unfit, or unwilling. Thus, eupsychian management, although difficult to achieve, is certainly possible.

ORGANIZATIONAL EXEMPLARS

Several organizations, although not eupsychian in name, may be exemplars of the eupsychian workplace in fact. One can consider the lists of the “Best Companies to Work for in America” and “Best Companies to Work for in Europe” published annually by *Fortune* magazine based on research by the Great Place to Work Institute. Reading the narrative and individual company descriptions, one can see that many of Maslow's assumptions are operable and that managers and employees are proud co-partners in the development of their organizations.

Qualities of the Best Places to Work

Fairness, camaraderie, credibility, respect, pride, and—most important—trust characterize the best places to work. Are these workplaces eupsychian? It is hard to say. There is no research on eupsychian workplaces per se. However, SAS, a provider of business intelligence software, has made the top twenty on *Fortune* magazine's annual "The Best Companies to Work For" survey. SAS has not had layoffs in its twenty-seven years of being in business and prospered through the tech bubble. SAS describes its workplace environment this way:

If you treat employees as if they make a difference to the company, they will make a difference to the company. That's been the employee-focused philosophy behind SAS's corporate culture since the company's founding in 1976. At the heart of this unique business model is a simple idea: satisfied employees create satisfied customers. (www.sas.com/corporate/worklife/index.html).

Among its many recent awards SAS was also among the "top 100 companies to work for," according to *Working Mother* magazine.

Another exemplar is Novo Nordisk pharmaceutical company, which is focused on treating and eventually curing diabetes. Its charter reads in part:

Each of us shall be accountable—to the company, ourselves and society—for the quality of our efforts, for contributing to our goals and for developing our culture and shared values.

We shall set the highest standard in everything we do and reach challenging goals.

We shall conduct our business in a socially and environmentally responsible way and contribute to the enrichment of the communities in which we operate.

We shall seek an active dialogue with our stakeholders to help us develop and strengthen our businesses.

Our business practices shall be open and honest to protect the integrity of the Novo Group companies and of each employee.

We must foresee change and use it to our advantage. Innovation is key to our business and therefore we will encourage a learning culture for the continuous development and improved employability of our people.

We will maintain an open dialogue with our stakeholders and comply with international reporting standards.

We will work to continuously improve our environmental performance by setting high objectives and integrating environmental and bioethical considerations into our daily business.

We subscribe to the International Chamber of Commerce's Business Charter for Sustainable Development.

We support the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity.

We will work to continuously improve our social performance by setting high objectives and integrating social, human rights and health & safety considerations into our daily business. We will maintain an open dialogue with our stakeholders and report annually on our social performance.

We support the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (www.novonordisk.com/about_us/about_novo_nordisk/the_charter.asp).

Judging from these business practices and aspirations one can assume that self-actualizing people would find Novo Nordisk a nurturing environment in which to work. Although it does not recognize creating a eupsychian environment as one of its purposes, it is nevertheless doing so.

Another workplace conducive to a eupsychian approach is that of W. L. Gore. The company claims: "We've been in business for more than 40 years, practicing an unusual form of management (some call it 'unmanagement') that has paid off. We believe our unique corporate culture is a key factor in our success. Our workplace lacks the typical barriers of more traditional companies. We've done away with titles and special entitlements. We encourage direct, one-on-one communication. Multi-disciplined teams in clustered plants organize around technologies and market opportunities" (www.gore.com).

This kind of attitude lends itself to taking the next step: deliberately attempting to become fully eupsychian.

Leadership for a Eupsychian Workplace

For a leader in a eupsychian workplace, the challenge is to contain and focus energy, keep required resources available, mediate interpersonal conflicts,

prevent bureaucratic encroachment, ensure that the B-values flourish, and be responsive to the collective mind of the group. Of the available leadership models perhaps Greenleaf and associates' (1998) idea of servant leadership would be best to use with self-actualizing employees. Self-actualizers after all rarely consider themselves employees. They are professionals in service to a larger cause not easily confined within an organization's profit picture or shareholder objective. The leader must emphasize the confluence of interests and show the value and appreciation that the company has for the efforts made to build both a better world and a more effective company.

—John Nirenberg

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This list is provided to assist readers in locating entries on related topics. It classifies entries into nineteen general categories: Arts and Intellectual Leadership, Biographies, Business, Case Studies, Cross-Cultural and International Topics, Domains, Followership, Military, Personal Characteristics of Leaders, Politics/Government, Power, Religion, Science and Technology, Situational Factors, Social Movements and Change, Study of Leadership, Theories, and Women and Gender. Some entry titles appear in more than one category.

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FAMILY BUSINESSES

Family businesses are businesses that are owned or controlled by a family. They are found in almost every country. In industrialized countries family businesses make up 75 to 80 percent of businesses. In some European countries—Germany, France, Spain, Italy, and Scandinavia—and in Japan, this percentage rises to 90 to 95 percent.

Family businesses are important not only because of their pervasiveness but also because of their contributions in terms of capital absorbed, employment generated, and sales and exports generated. For example, in Italy at the beginning of the 1990s, 13 percent of capital, 12 percent of total sales, and 15 percent of employees were in family-controlled businesses.

DEFINITIONS

Such pervasiveness raises several problems of definition. What exactly are family businesses? The definition provided earlier is broad. It can be used to describe a family business with a few employees in which the owners-entrepreneurs take an active role in day-by-day production or an artisan workshop run by a single skilled worker helped by, say, her or his children or even a large integrated business producing and selling goods for billions of dollars all over the world. We can more easily define, for example, a

managerial enterprise as a business run by managers, that is, hired professionals who manage a fraction of the production process, a division, or a function of the enterprise in complete autonomy. Managerialization of businesses dates back to the second industrial revolution, which took place during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, spreading from the United States to Europe. The increase of the average business's size and the rise in capital intensity in industries affected by the technologies of the second industrial revolution took place in the shadow of scale and scope economies (i.e., the diminution of the average cost in front of an increase in the scale of production), which, in turn, brought new business forms. The ownership structures changed as well, accelerating the process of separation between ownership and control, which was described by Adolph Berle and Gardiner Means (*The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, 1932) and later by Edith Penrose and Alfred D. Chandler Jr. This process, however, is determined not only by technology but also by a wide array of institutional and cultural determinants.

The convergence toward a model of business that is run by managers and is publicly owned (which is often implicitly considered more efficient than other forms of business organization) is far from being demonstrated, especially when capital-intensive and technology-intensive industries (the loci of the managerial revolution) are considered. This is particularly

evident for the largest businesses in the most advanced countries. In fact, even if there are considerable differences among different countries and geographical contexts, depending on which definition of *ownership* is used, large family businesses are prevalent in industrialized economies at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Unless we limit the definition of family businesses to those businesses wholly owned and managed by a single family, the issue of control (i.e., the right to make decisions concerning the business's strategies and to allocate the resources at the top decisional level) is more relevant than that of ownership. A business can be, in fact, only partially family controlled or only partially run by managers, and there is enormous variety between the two archetypes of the managerial business and the family business. Many family businesses are family owned but not family controlled; in Europe, even if the family influence is negligible in terms of share ownership, family control and influence over the business's strategies can be noteworthy. Only with difficulty can we provide an exhaustive and exclusive definition of family businesses because huge differences exist across space, time, and institutional contexts. Surely, however, to assess family businesses we must go beyond the traditional dichotomy of family businesses and managerial businesses.

CONTEXTS

To be more precise, we must contextualize the diffusion of family businesses in modern economies. As suggested, the form and the degree of diffusion of family businesses depend on a complex array of forces that explain not only the existence but also the persistence of such an institutional form. From this perspective we see that the degree of diffusion, as well as the form of the family business, is the consequence of a nonexclusively economic motive. Like many other institutions defined and regulated by culture, family businesses are shaped by many elements, which explains the structure and dynamics of family businesses over time as well as their relationships with the rest of the economic, political, and social system.

A relevant issue is the relationship between the degree of diffusion and the nature of the family busi-

ness and the stage of the industrialization process. Since the beginning of industrialization, family businesses have played a relevant role, helping to reduce transaction costs and uncertainty thanks to the close relationships and trust among their members. In many countries, family businesses were prevalent in manufacturing, trading, and finance during the first phase of industrialization. Particularly telling in this respect is Japan, where family-owned conglomerates (the *zaibatsu*) were from the beginning the most relevant actors in modernization. In this respect the family business is an essential device in the first phase of industrialization, alongside other elements such as the state or the financial system, especially in latecomer economies.

In sum, the evolution in organizational structures and the successful separation of ownership and control do not depend on purely economical and technological variables. The presence of family businesses is, in fact, connected to other variables, such as environmental uncertainty and institutional disequilibrium (an uncertain legal framework), as well as local culture and traditions. In other words, the presence of family businesses (namely, big family businesses) is only partially the outcome of particular conditions of backwardness in terms of technologies employed and of the industries involved. We must consider the general climate in which the economic action takes place. This is why family businesses were the dominant form during the first industrial revolution; but we also should understand why, in the late industrializers committed to capital-intensive industries, from Korea to Latin America, family businesses remain one of the dominant forms of industrial organization. The relevance of context in explaining the persistence of family businesses emerges when nonmanufacturing activities are considered; family businesses are extremely persistent. Take, for instance, finance and banking, where social networks are a strategic asset inherited within certain dynasties.

For a complete understanding of the reasons for the persistence of family businesses in particular contexts, we must consider other institutions that can, in turn, influence the strength of family businesses. The structure of the financial market is important and can be considered largely responsible

for the persistence of forms of personal/family capitalism in the most advanced economic systems.

In this respect, Italy is significant. The structure of this country's financial system is historically characterized by a reduced role of the stock exchange and the banking system. However, a firm's main shareholders, mostly families (which according to the Italian tradition usually coincided with the inside directors), succeeded in controlling most of the main businesses with reduced investments but also with a low risk of losing control, mainly thanks to devices such as "Chinese boxes" and pyramids (i.e., chains of holding companies). However, in Germany, as well as in other European countries, we can explain the persistence of large family businesses by the relevant role played by large institutional investors, such as the main universal banks (*Grossbanken*), which found it easier to establish a strict relationship with a single, large shareholder than with the independent management of a publicly owned corporation.

OTHER INSTITUTIONAL DETERMINANTS

Other institutional determinants play a role. Among the most important is the legal framework, from which can derive constraints that can explain the persistence of family businesses. For instance, fiscal legislation more or less favorable toward inheritance duties and taxation can support or obstruct family businesses within certain national contexts. One example is the transformation of British industry into a true corporate economy after the 1950s, in coincidence with a radical restrictive change in the fiscal treatment of inheritance duties.

In other aspects, the relationships between the institutional sphere and family businesses are extremely close. In countries that industrialized more recently, we can detect a strict relationship between private and public interest, the result of which is that the interests of the state and those of some powerful families are so intertwined that we cannot easily distinguish between them. For instance, in South Korea the strict relationship between national political power and a few influential families backed the industrial evolution of the country until recently.

Culture—that is, the common characteristics influencing the behavior of individuals and groups—is relevant as well. Culture can, in fact, help to explain the way in which businesses in a system are managed and the way in which the relationships among the owners, managers, and workers are conceived. This is true, for instance, in many European countries: The diffusion of paternalism is, from a certain perspective, a way to identify the family-like nature of the relationships established inside the business itself. From a certain point of view, all of this can help to explain the way in which authority and power are distributed inside the business, who is in charge of allocating the resources, and the enduring (or not) presence of family members at the top decisional level.

FROM FAMILY BUSINESSES TO MANAGERIAL BUSINESSES

Given all this, the affirmation of the large, publicly owned business of the second industrial revolution challenged the nature and structure of family businesses. The advent of capital-intensive and scale-intensive industries brought a significant dualism between labor-intensive, traditional sectors, still mainly craft based and skill oriented, and the capital-intensive sectors in which large dimensions require large organizations. In many industries, the convergence pattern toward the managerial business has been incontestable. However, much more frequently the continuum between labor-intensive and craft-intensive industries, characterized by the presence of small- and medium-sized family businesses on the one side and the capital-intensive sectors dominated by giant corporations on the other, is populated by different organizational forms, in which strong family control is mixed with managerial authority. The evolution of production technologies and corporate downsizing in capital-intensive and scale-intensive industries (those characterized by large scale of production, high-throughput, and energy intensive processes of production) is, in this perspective, another major force backing the persistence of family businesses and increasing diffusion of family businesses in the most developed economies.

OPEN QUESTIONS

The transition from family businesses to managerial businesses, and the presence of many intermediate forms between the two extremes, stress the important issue of power delegation. The way in which this issue is managed is crucial for the survival of the business itself. The coexistence of family members and hired managers is a difficult and frail equilibrium to maintain; in many cases, a failed managerialization stops the growth of the business, limited by the human resources that the entrepreneurial family makes available.

Leadership transition in family businesses also remains a problematic issue. Many of the medium-sized and large family-run businesses try to handle carefully the issue of internal succession, mainly through training programs designed for the young generations. Nevertheless, the correlation between family businesses and poor business performances in terms of longevity is high.

—*Andrea Colli*

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 **FAMILY LEADERSHIP**

Although families have existed since the dawn of time, only recently have social scientists from the

disciplines of family sociology, family therapy, family and consumer science, and family psychology viewed families as an arena for studying leadership. Using terms such as *family power*, *family decision making*, *family governance*, and *family organization*, these researchers have accumulated a substantial body of knowledge about how leadership emerges and evolves in families.

A DEFINITION OF FAMILY

Traditionally, families were defined as “networks of people who live together over a period of time and who have ties of marriage and kinship to one another” (Burr, Day, and Bahr, 1993, 15). However, current family researchers and theorists tend to emphasize the generational as well as the contemporary aspects of family life. Hence, Carter and McGoldrick (1989) define a *family* as a “small social system made up of individuals related to each other by reason of strong reciprocal affections and loyalties, and comprising a permanent household (or cluster of households) that persists over years and decades and shares a common history of life experiences” (Carter and McGoldrick, 1989, 5). This common history of life experiences is composed of predictable changes—such as children entering a family, growing up, and leaving the household—each of which requires a reorganization of family relationships and responsibilities. In addition, unpredictable stressors experienced by the family—such as job loss, divorce, chronic illness, or the death of a parent—may also demand reorganization of family life.

NATURE OF FAMILY LEADERSHIP

How is leadership demonstrated in families? Like any other human organizations, families are groups of people who must organize and coordinate their activities to deal with the fundamental issues of all human organizations—issues such as continuity and change, tradition and innovation, individuality and group membership, and unity and diversity. A substantial body of research has now accumulated describing how families organize themselves to manage their children during the child-rearing years

and how such organization correlates with positive child outcomes (Avenoli, Sessa, and Steinberg, 1999; Clark, 1983; Dornbush and Ritter, 1992). We have discovered that across ethnic and economic groups, well-functioning children are likely to come from families whose organization is clear and whose relationships between family members are appropriate and well defined. In such families parents assume an active leadership role in forging a strong caregiver alliance with adults inside and outside the family. This caregiver alliance is characterized by clear agreement among family members as to who is in charge and who has what responsibilities and by regular communication among these adults about their expectations concerning their own and their children's behavior.

Furthermore, parents and children have distinctly different role expectations and power differentials. Parents declare themselves in charge and on the top of the power hierarchy and assert their "legitimate right" to set house rules. They demonstrate their ability to delegate role responsibilities for each child, to consistently supervise and monitor the children in the performance of these activities, and to enlist their children's voluntary and enthusiastic adherence to parents' rules, standards, and expectations for responsible behavior. Parents in these families also create opportunities for children to assume responsible leadership roles in which other family members are required to rely on them for assistance. Children may be asked by their parents to assume leadership while engaged in home academic tasks, leisure tasks, or household maintenance tasks. In asking their children to assume a leadership role, parents carefully organize and clearly explain the children's roles and functions for particular activities in ways that the children perceived as legitimate. This type of routine leadership role enactment enables the children to develop greater skill in accepting and meeting adult expectations while learning to adjust to a more expansive variety of role responsibilities. Furthermore, in these families parents give conscious attention to developing orderly and cooperative status relationships among the children of the family by (1) being acutely sensitive as they set role prescriptions for siblings to the individual differences in status and

power among their children, (2) providing evaluations for how a role is being performed by a child, and (3) using their own power to delegate responsibility to their children so as to structure and support the organization of orderly and cooperative status relationships. In addition, parents organize family space and time in predictable ways. They ensure that the family home is clean and organized, that family activities are routinized, and that they provide definite and consistent guidelines to children and actively monitor their children's activities both in the home and outside the home.

FAMILY LEADERSHIP STYLES

Researchers (Baumrind, 1973, 1983; Dornbush and Ritter, 1992) have identified four styles in which parents demonstrate leadership during the child-rearing years. These styles—labeled "authoritative," "authoritarian," "laissez-faire," and "neglectful"—represent various combinations of parental warmth and demandingness characterizing parent-child interactions. In most well-functioning families, parents demonstrate an authoritative leadership style. Parents take the initiative in setting definite and consistent time and space limits on children's behavior while in school and other community settings, yet they also attempt to make these demands reasonable to their children by explaining them rather than demanding blind obedience. Although these parents may wield considerable time-space control—even through the adolescent years—they explain and justify their expectations so that their children understand and respect their parents' perspective and thus feel more compelled to follow parental wishes.

Disputes among siblings or between parents and children are given due process so as to resolve them in a fair and loving way. Parents attempt to get to the bottom of conflicts and trace the source of conflicts to the child's needs. During those times when enforcement of rules is needed to get the child back into line with his or her role responsibilities, parents warn the child of impending punishment and then mete out the punishment in a predictable and consistent way. Hence, the authoritative leadership style requires that parents demonstrate a high level of



A Son's Leadership Responsibilities in the Traditional Korean Family

Under traditional norms the eldest son inherits the largest share of his father's property, and with it the duty of organizing and conducting ancestor rites for his father and for all earlier ancestors to whom he may stand in a direct line of eldest sons. He must also bear the prime responsibility of caring for his parents while they are living and of rearing his younger siblings, *in loco parentis*. He must arrange the marriages of younger sisters and provide an ample dowry, if his parents are dead or too old to do so, and he has some obligation to see that his younger brothers get an amount of education suited to the family's finances and the brothers' intellectual capacities. He must also supervise the selection of wives for his brothers if his parents cannot do so.

The eldest son inherits his father's fields, but is consequently often "bound" to them and "doomed" to spend his life as a farmer. The younger sons are often forced to be more mobile. This is especially true if the family farm is too small to divide in such a way that they receive enough land to support their families after their eldest brother has received the largest share. They may be driven to seek their fortunes outside their local community, and they frequently make their way to the capital, center of the nation's economic life, in search of better opportunities.

Other, more fortunate younger sons may be given a better education than their elder brother to prepare them for a good job away from the farm. These, too, often gravitate to the capital where the greatest opportunities for employment in teaching, government, or other high status roles can be found. Eldest sons, especially those from better-off families, may also become residentially mobile and move away from the family home leaving their ancestral responsibility in the hands of a younger brother, as in the case of the sublineage heir in Pagoda Mountain Village, for example. Their movement appears to be prompted more often by individual opportunity than by any extreme pressure of economic necessity at home.

Younger sons, according to the traditional norms, have no obligation to initiate the ancestor rites for their fathers or other ancestors. They have a duty to be present at such rites, when possible, and to take an appropriate role in them, but their obligation is far less than that of their eldest brother. We feel it safe to say, subject to statistical confirmation, that in most cases the valuation of and concern about ancestor rites on the part of younger sons is generally far less than that felt by eldest son.

Source: Biernatzki, W. E. (1967). *Varieties of Korean Lineage Structure*. Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, Inc., pp. 481-483.

warmth and responsiveness to their children and a high level of demandingness. The authoritative leadership style is characterized by (1) an expectation of mature behavior from the child and a clear setting of standards by the parents, (2) firm enforcement of rules and standards, (3) the use of commands and sanctions when necessary, (4) encouragement of the

child's independence and individuality, (5) open communication between parents and their child with encouragement of verbal give-and-take, and (6) recognition of the rights of both parents and child. Children of authoritative parents demonstrate high levels of independence and social responsibility and perform successfully in academic and social settings (Baumrind, 1973, 1983; Dornbush and Ritter, 1992).

In contrast, in poorly functioning families, parents are either embroiled in a constant "tug-of-war" with their children; they nurture their children but provide little clear leadership, or avoid interaction with their children and leave their children to determine their own direction. Parents embroiled in a constant tug-of-war with their children typically utilize an authoritarian leadership style. They often demand obedience from their children with little consideration of the effect on the children's development. Hence, the authoritarian leadership style is characterized by a high degree of demandingness coupled with a low level of responsiveness and warmth toward children. Authoritarian parents attempt to shape, control, and evaluate the behavior and attitudes of their children in accordance with an absolute set of standards. These parents emphasize obedience, respect for authority, work tradition, and

the preservation of order. Verbal give-and-take between parent and children is discouraged. Researchers report that the authoritarian leadership style is associated with low levels of independence and social responsibility in children and lower levels of academic achievement and personal adjustment than are found in children led by author-

itative parents (Baumrind, 1973, 1983; Dornbush and Ritter, 1992).

The third style, the permissive or *laissez-faire* leadership style, is one in which parents demonstrate a high level of warmth and responsiveness to their children but a low level of demandingness. Parents who use a *laissez-faire* style are tolerant and accepting toward their children's impulses, use as little punishment as possible, make few demands for mature behavior, and allow considerable self-regulation by children. Researchers report that children of parents using a *laissez-faire* style are immature, lack impulse control and self-reliance, lack social responsibility and independence, and demonstrate a poorer record of academic achievement and personal adjustment than do children led by authoritative parents (Baumrind, 1973, 1983; Dornbush and Ritter, 1992).

The fourth leadership style, neglectful (Dornbush and Ritter, 1992), is characterized by low levels of parental warmth and responsiveness to children and low levels of parental demandingness. Parents using a neglectful leadership style do not routinely "take charge" or manage their children's activities, nor are they consistently responsive to their children's needs and demands. These families have few predictable role expectations of how parents and children are to interact with one another. Instead, family patterns of decision making and communication are chaotic and inconsistent. In contrast to the authoritative leadership style of parents in well-functioning families who try to build up their children and treat them with respect as they are correcting them, parents using a neglectful style abdicate responsibility for directing their children's activities.

These reported relationships between various parental leadership styles and child outcomes have held consistently across gender, diverse family structure (that is, for biological two-parent, single-parent, or stepfamily structure), ethnic groups, student age, and family social class. Hence, we can conclude that parents who assume leadership over their children and exercise that leadership by clearly and regularly delineating their standards and rules for their children's conduct and attempting to make these standards reasonable to their children tend to raise chil-

dren who not only understand what to do at home but also more easily understand and follow the instructions and requirements of adults in the larger community.

FACTORS AFFECTING FAMILY LEADERSHIP ACROSS THE LIFE COURSE

Scholars have done considerable theory development to describe who becomes a leader in a family and how a family develops and modifies its leadership structure over time. Some theorists see family leadership as a dynamic phenomenon, whereas others see it as a stable characteristic. Hence, some theorists suggest that families change their leadership structure as they adapt to the increasing competence of their younger members (Aquilino, 1997; Clark, 1983). These theorists believe that a situational model of leadership might be useful for understanding who becomes a family leader. Other theorists (Constantine, 1986, 1987, 1993; Fitzpatrick, 1988; Gottman, 1994; Peplau, 1983) contend that families structure their leadership roles to fit their shared idiosyncratic beliefs regarding the allocation of family work tasks and power relations and that this paradigm (framework) remains relatively constant across the family life course. Constantine (1993), for example, described four family paradigms with characteristically different expectations for leader behavior: (1) the open family, (2) the closed family, (3) the individualistic family, and (4) the synchronous family. The open family values mutuality and expects family leaders to foster it through collaboration and negotiation; the closed family values stability and expects the family leader to promote it by emphasizing obedience and conformity to the family group; the individualistic family values individuality and expects family leaders to manage in a *laissez-faire* style; and the synchronous family values harmony and expects leadership to be exercised through tacit agreement and mutual identification.

Similarly, Peplau (1983) described three role patterns depicting the power relations and the role specialization between the spouses in a family. Although such typologies (classifications based on types) usu-

ally represent “ideal” types, the value of these typologies lies in their attempt to describe how family roles fit together in interrelated patterns and to depict the diversity of family leadership patterns that exist in U.S. culture.

In all likelihood, future theory development and research on family leadership will continue to explore which leadership styles and structure produce the most positive child and family outcomes and which types of family leadership arrangements are associated with particular beliefs about family life and the gendered roles of men and women in families.

—Ellen Amatea

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FARM WORKER MOVEMENT

Early efforts to organize farm workers in the southwest United States were stymied by the migratory and temporary nature of agricultural labor as well as by an inability to bridge cultural and ethnic divides. However, emerging from the Chicano movement (civil rights actions taken to counter racial and economic inequalities directed against U.S. residents of Mexican descent) of the 1950s, the leadership of César Chávez (1927–1993), Dolores Huerta, and Gilbert Padilla provided the vision for a farm worker movement that continues to this day.

The United Farm Workers (UFW) organization was created to build a sense of community that would empower farm workers to recognize their rights as well as allow them to take an active role in the farm worker movement rather than the passive role of following orders from some distant labor leader. Holding tightly to their religious and ethnic Chicano and Mexican heritages, Chávez, Huerta, and Padilla drew upon the organizational skills they had learned from Fred Ross and his Community Service Organization (CSO)—a grassroots program to educate and empower local citizens—and also took cues from successful demonstrations and political achievements of the civil rights movement and Martin Luther King Jr. Although the traditional labor tactic of strike (*huelga*) was often utilized, new tactics of nonviolent protest, national and international boycotts, and hunger strikes were introduced to bring widespread attention to the hardships faced by farm workers. Such attention provided the wellspring of support needed to successfully challenge the economic and political power of agribusiness.

LARGE-SCALE AGRICULTURE

The farm worker movement originated in California. An exception to the egalitarian ideology and the small-farm model of frontier agricultural development, California agribusiness received a head start by emulating the *rancheros* of the Mexican territory. During the late nineteenth century the shift to specialty crop—citrus fruit, grapes, lettuce, sugar beets—production by large-scale estate farms solidified an agricultural system that required a cheap and flexible workforce. The need for a large supply of manual labor was reinforced by the fragility of the specialty crops; such crops rarely withstood the abuses of machine processing. As a result, profits to the growers were realized through “sweating” the labor by forcing competition for jobs.

A virtual army of docile laborers willing to work for low wages and in undesirable conditions could be found in the socially marginal groups within the Chinese, Filipino, Mexican, and Japanese communities. The growers quickly learned to keep the farm laborers migratory—following the harvest season across the California countryside—and isolated to discourage attempts at collective action. They also learned the tactic of playing ethnic groups against one another to keep labor costs low. Economic downturns for the country were beneficial for the growers because they could then utilize Anglo workers to undercut migrant workers and effectively drive down wages.

Even with the rise of labor movements in the early twentieth century, the lack of power among farm workers was exemplified by their exclusion from the worker benefits and protections established under the Wagner Act of 1934, the Social Security Act of 1935, and the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. By contrast, the political influence of the growers was readily apparent in the development of the *bracero* (a Mexican laborer admitted to the United States) system. With U.S. involvement in World War II, the growers successfully argued that the uninterrupted production of their crops was necessary for national security. Working with the U.S. Department of State and with Mexico, the growers were able to draw upon a new labor force consisting of Mexican work-

ers allowed to enter United States to work the fields during harvest season on condition that they return to Mexico at the end of the season. *Braceros* were ideal in that they had no ties to the local communities, were available on short notice, and provided the cheap and docile labor sought by the growers. *Braceros* who complained or sympathized with striking domestic farm workers were labeled “undesirable,” sent back to Mexico, and not allowed to return to the United States. Even after the end of the war in 1945, the growers were able to extend the *bracero* program for another twenty years.

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s attempts to unionize farm workers met with limited degrees of success. The National Farm Labor Union (NFLU) found initial support among Anglo workers, mostly “Okies” (Oklahoma migrant workers) from the Depression era, who held permanent positions crating the produce in the packing sheds located on the various farm operations. The division of labor among farm workers as well as language barriers resulted in Mexican field workers continuing to harvest crops despite walkouts and picketing by packing shed employees. Later, translators were used to broaden the base of worker support; subsequent strikes were often broken through the growers’ ability to utilize local law enforcement to intimidate the pickets as well as the ability to draw upon *bracero* labor to cross picket lines. With the demise of the NFLU, new efforts at farm worker unionization were taken up by the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC). Cultural barriers remained problematic for the AWOC. However, the main reason for the inability to achieve widespread collective action lay in the organization’s emphasis on the wage strike. Although at times successful, the wage strike yielded only short-term gains, leaving workers without extended contracts and benefit guarantees. The AWOC strike against Coachella vineyards in 1965 marked a shift in the effectiveness of farm worker efforts.

CÉSAR CHÁVEZ AND *LA CAUSA*

The roots of the farm worker movement are intertwined with those of the civil rights and Chicano movements of the 1950s. Social change was being



César Chávez, founder of the National Farm Workers Association, talks with strikers in Delano, California, during the 1980s grape-pickers strike.

Source: Ted Streshinsky/Corbis; used with permission.

effected throughout California's urban centers as a result of collective action sparked by the Community Service Organization (CSO). César Chávez began his career as an organizer in 1952 after meeting Fred Ross and becoming a community leader for the CSO. With the rhetoric of empowerment calling upon individuals to build their communities from the ground up rather than rely on change to filter down from the bureaucracies of state and local government, Ross's words resonated with Chávez. Through his involvement with Ross and the CSO, Chávez came to know other community organizers such as Dolores Huerta and Gilbert Padilla.

As Chávez refined his organizational skills, he turned his attention to the plight of farm workers. In addition to facing wage exploitation, farm workers

lived under deplorable conditions while on the farm site, were not covered under the Social Security Act, and had no benefits to cover health care, which was much needed, given both the hazardous nature of the work and the chronic conditions associated with repetitive tasks. Many factors—the structure and seasonality of agribusiness, the power and influence of the growers, misuse of the bracero system, ethnic divides among farm workers—led many people to conclude that the workers could not be brought together for collective action. Chávez believed the contrary; however, repeated attempts to garner support from the CSO for programs to aid farm workers met with rebuke because the concerns of rural workers were not seen as relevant to the plans of urban programs. Leaders in the CSO felt that farm workers should better themselves by leaving the fields and not by seeking to reform conditions in the fields. Realizing that farm workers were marginalized even within minority communities, Chávez left the CSO in 1962 to establish the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA).

Chávez selected Delano, California, as the location for the headquarters of the new association because the community was centrally located among numerous farm operations. Thus, workers in the area were more established, having to travel only nominal distances to harvests rather than having to follow the crops around the countryside of the southwestern United States. For Chávez, this location was ideal for an organization that would be built by farm workers. Using lessons learned from the CSO, Chávez laid the foundation for a community of action. Sharing the vision that power and change are most effective when they emanate from within the community rather than from a distant bureaucracy, Dolores Huerta and Gilbert Padilla joined Chávez in Delano.

After only six months of organizing, the time was right for a convention to formalize the NFWA. In September of 1962 Chávez was elected president of the new association; Huerta, Padilla, and Julio Hernandez were elected vice presidents. Although the structure of the association mirrored that of a union, the word *association* was used for fear that farm workers would have a negative reaction to the word *union* in light of past failures to achieve substantive

collective action. Relatively steep monthly dues were set for association members to help fund burial programs and establish a credit union. Unlike a union, the association had no local chapters, thereby allowing migrant farm workers to register grievances and seek assistance no matter where they were working at the time.

Chávez knew that a strong organization would take years of nurturing and that a solid foundation must be built with resident farm workers before the association could have any hope of finding support among migrant farm workers. The leadership of the NFWA realized the importance of gaining the trust of skeptical individuals, and there was no better way to gain trust than by the sharing of experiences. The association relied mostly upon volunteers who lived and worked with farm workers. For the association to be successful, the volunteers had to understand the needs of farm workers, and they could not do this by working a normal eight-hour day and then returning to the comforts of a middle-class home.

In September 1965, the NFWA had to prove the effectiveness of its organizational efforts and its mettle as an association. Earlier that year, AWOC organizer Larry Itliong had headed a strike of Filipino farm workers against grape producers near Coachella. As the harvest season progressed northward, Itliong called upon his past associate, Dolores Huerta, to ask Chávez for NFWA support in a strike against grape producers in the Delano area. Although Chávez felt that it was too soon for the NFWA to become involved such a large mobilization, the farm workers of Delano did join the cause of the Filipino workers. This decision exhibited the charisma of Chávez to the nation and showcased the power of the NFWA.

NEW STRATEGIES FOR SUCCESS

Chávez, Huerta, and Padilla were well aware that wage strikes, the mainstay strategy of labor unions, are rarely successful in gaining any long-term benefits for farm workers. Short harvest seasons, the ease with which striking farm workers could be replaced, and little or no financial support from national organizations for strike funds all conspired to make this strategy ineffectual. An astute observer of social

movements, Chávez learned from the accomplishments of the civil rights movement and drew upon the undercurrent of social activism that ran throughout the country at the time to successfully challenge the control of the large growers in California. Given that the grape strike was already engaged, Chávez demanded that the NFWA take a position of nonviolence. As the nation came to see the intimidation and violence perpetrated against farm workers, the farm worker movement gained support from the Catholic church, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), other labor unions, and student organizations. SNCC organizer Marshall Ganz joined the NFWA campaign and became a longtime member of the association.

Drawing attention to the plight of the fieldworkers (*la causa*) was paramount for the success of the farm worker movement. Emulating the civil rights demonstrations in Alabama, Chávez utilized marches to capitalize on media coverage and to present a show of strength to the California state legislators in Sacramento. More than mere political spectacle, the marches were considered *perigrinación* (a pilgrimage) and came to symbolize the solidarity of those fighting against injustice; the penance of grueling marches embodied the commitment and sacrifice required to affect social change. The dedication to *la causa* can be seen in the importance that Chávez placed on the marches. Each night Chávez would mark the spot where he stopped for the day, and each morning he would locate the exact spot to continue the march; there were no shortcuts in his mission.

Ironically, the exclusion of farm workers from the protections guaranteed by the National Labor Relations Act allowed the NFWA to utilize strategies unavailable to labor unions. Boycotts were initiated to take the message of *la causa* worldwide in attempts to apply pressure to those large growers seemingly unaffected by strike efforts. The NFWA sent hundreds of association members across North America—Jessica Govea to Toronto and Montreal, Huerta to New York City and the East Coast, Padilla to Texas and the Southwest—to elicit support for the farm worker struggle. As the public became aware of the injustices and violence inflicted upon the



Selection from the 2000 Annual Report on Labour Rights: Agricultural Workers

The success of the Farm Workers Movement in the United States has encouraged similar movements around the world. The following text is from a report issued by the World Federation of Agriculture, Food, Hotel, and Allied Workers.

Women Workers and Agriculture

The role of women workers in the rural world is crucial. Rural women workers are responsible for half of the world's food production. In third world countries, they produce between 60 percent and 80 percent of food output.

According to the FAO, women farm workers are mainly responsible for the production of staple foods, such as rice, wheat, and corn, which represent 90 percent of the food consumption among poor people living in rural areas.

In spite of the existence of the ILO Convention, which establishes salary equality between men and women, the latter almost always receive wages inferior to those of men. In most countries, this convention is infringed. Minimum wage rates in the agricultural sector are different between men and women who perform the same tasks. Wages for women are always lower.

Farm women workers sow, apply fertilizers and pesticides, recollect and thresh. They also work on secondary crops, like legumes and vegetables.

The knowledge women have on the genetic resources applied to agriculture make them special guardians of biological diversity.

In the livestock sector, women feed and milk large animals, raise fowl and other small animals like sheep, goats, rabbits, and guinea pigs.

Once the harvest is done, women also participate in storage, manipulation, elaboration and trading.

Although women farm workers are evermore important in agriculture, they remain an unprivileged minority. Due to military conflicts, male migration to urban areas in search of jobs, and increasing mortality caused by AIDS, the number of families led by women is growing in developing countries.

Despite the fact that women are significant producers and suppliers of food, they are considered as "invisible" associates. Women possess valuable knowledge regarding the importance of genetic resources and its use in agriculture and food.

In the sub-Saharan Africa, women cultivate up to 120 different vegetable species within open spaces right next to commercial crops planted by men.

In the Andean regions of Colombia, Bolivia and Peru,

women keep seed stockpiles in order to guarantee food production.

In Rwanda, women are the main producers of beans, also known as "the meat" of the rural areas. Beans supply a fourth of the calories consumed by the population and half its protein intake.

A phenomenon known as the "feminization of agriculture" is becoming a trend in many areas of the world. The role of women in agriculture is becoming more crucial, as men keep leaving this economic sector.

For example, in Africa, male population in rural areas is descending rapidly, whereas female population remains relatively steady. In Malawi, rural male population decreased 21.8 percent between 1970 and 1990. During that same period, female population only declined 5.4 percent.

According to several studies, women who are the head of their families are usually younger and less educated than their male counterparts. Often, women have less farmland, financial resources and additional labor force to harvest.

Due to the lack of labor force and capital, female heads of families are forced to modify their harvesting systems. These adjustments have caused the reduction of agricultural output and, in some cases, the adoption of less nutritional crop varieties. Therefore, it is no surprise to find these families undernourished and more food insecure than other families.

In most developing countries, farmers in general do not have access to adequate resources. Women, however, have even less access than men, due to traditional sociological and cultural factors.

Union Martyrs

Many female unionists have lost their lives because of their union activities.

Lidia Madariaga, who belonged to the Nicaraguan Autonomous Trade Union Movement (Movimiento Sindical Autónomo de Nicaragua—MOSAN), from the administrative district of Leon, in Nicaragua, was murdered on April 22, 1966.

Florinda Soriano Muñoz, a union leader also known as Mamá Tingó, was assassinated on November 1, 1974, in Gualey, Dominican Republic for defending her freedom of association.

picketers, support for the boycotts grew. However, it was the “secondary boycotts”—a threat to the distributors, wholesalers, retailers, and restaurants—that began to tip the scales for the movement. Ultimately, the mere threat of calling for a boycott would be enough for the NFWA to bring growers to the bargaining table. The ability to mobilize so quickly and effectively, coupled with the charisma of Chávez, established the NFWA as the dominant organization in the farm worker movement. In 1966 the AWOC and NFWA were combined to form the UFW. Although recognized and supported by the AFL-CIO, leaders of the UFW agreed that the association would not officially join the national labor organizations but rather would remain a grassroots effort.

With violence escalating along the picket lines and at association offices, some farm workers believed that the strikes and boycotts were ineffective and that the nonviolent position of the UFW should be set aside. Frustrated by these beliefs, Chávez in February 1968 began his first hunger strike. Lasting twenty-five days, the initial hunger strike drew much national attention to *la causa*, but more importantly it illuminated the charisma of Chávez as well as his sacrifice to the movement. This sacrifice galvanized the association members in their pledge to peaceful action. During his time with the UFW, Chávez’s hunger strikes became longer and more life-threatening, and although the growers and the nation became less interested in them, each hunger strike would reinforce the solidarity of association members.

As the political mood of the country changed throughout the 1970s and the 1980s, so did the strategy of the UFW. Adopting the position of a political action committee, the UFW fought the growers in Congress and the courts. For Padilla and other UFW members, this change was antithetical to the original goals of the movement. In 1981, tensions arising over which direction the UFW should pursue—bureaucratic or grassroots organization—led Jerry Cohen, Ganz, Govea, and Padilla to resign from the association. Chávez regrouped with the tried and true strategies of the farm worker movement and focused national attention on the use of hazardous pesticides

and the deplorable living conditions of undocumented farm workers.

FEMALE LEADERSHIP IN THE UFW

Dolores Huerta may be the most recognizable female leader of the UFW, and her early organizational experience as a lobbyist for the CSO helped her to become one of the most effective negotiators for the association. Like Chávez, Huerta was tireless in her dedication to *la causa*. Yet, she saw the farm worker movement as only one part of the mass organization to build a moral social consciousness. Her nontraditional role in the union movement set her apart from other women; however, the success of the movement would not have occurred without the efforts of women such as Huerta.

The struggles of Chicana farm workers are worsened by the double standard of the overarching patriarchy that permeates the Chicano culture. Little consideration is given to the contradiction that women working in the fields are regularly discouraged from participating in the decision-making processes of the association. Assuming a more traditional role in the movement, César’s wife, Helen Chávez, supported her family by returning to work in the fields and by participating in the picket demonstrations. Only at the behest of César did Helen reluctantly accept an appointment as manager of the association credit union.

The traditional and supportive roles that Chicanas played in the farm worker movement should not be taken lightly. The strategy of nonviolent activism promoted by the UFW often resulted in women being placed at the front of the picket lines. During times of confrontation the women were subjected to battery from the fists and clubs of job foremen and Teamster members. Although the sacrifices made by these women to *la causa* garnered respect from male members of the movement, the sacrifice of moving one’s family across the nation to organize boycotts was not as respected. The experiences and dedication of women such as Jessica de la Cruz, Jessica Govea, Hope Lopez, and Juanita Valdez were vital to carrying the spirit of *la causa* to the public.

NEW CHALLENGES

Arturo Rodriguez became the second president of the UFW after the death of Chávez in April 1993. Holding to the visions of the original leaders of the movement, Rodriguez is carrying on the efforts to ban pesticides, combat deplorable living conditions, and restrict the use of child labor. The changing demographics of farm workers are leading the UFW to forge new alliances with other movements and ethnic associations, highlighting the continued commitment of a grassroots organization interested in the concerns of all individuals.

Although the UFW remains a formidable advocate for the rights of farm workers, it is unclear what effects the global economy will have on the farm worker movement. Importation of specialty and other crops presents a significant threat to the jobs and wages of domestic and undocumented farm workers. The boycotts of the 1960s and 1970s had support from international unions in the form of European dock workers refusing to off-load California grapes. Although the boycott remains a powerful tool for the UFW, only time will tell if labor movements are strong enough to marshal international collective action to weather the storm of globalization.

—Matt Lammers

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 **FILM INDUSTRY**

There are two things you always hear about Hollywood from people who work in Hollywood: 1) There are no rules, only success and failure, and 2) Hollywood is high school with money.

While somewhat flip, these clichés accurately describe a volatile environment created by a group of individuals who are continually chasing the intersection of commerce and fantasy. Any discussion of leadership within this industry requires first a brief history of the business, as well as an overview of modern Hollywood. Once an historical context is provided, one is able to analyze the different spheres that exist in Hollywood as they pertain to leadership.

BRIEF HISTORY OF HOLLYWOOD

The original leaders of the film industry who created the Hollywood system—Carl Laemmle, Adolph Zukor, William Fox, Louis B. Mayer, and Benjamin Warner—developed the first film studios, which still

operate today (Universal Pictures, Paramount, Fox, MGM, and Warner Brothers respectively).

Although they did not know each other before arriving in Hollywood, it is striking how much they had in common: they were predominantly Jewish immigrants or sons of recent immigrants of Eastern European origin. They describe themselves as coming from unstable and dysfunctional homes with weak or absent fathers. Most of their relatives were in retail businesses so that they had some basic familiarity with the concept of public taste, merchandising, market swings, and competition. They were eager to assimilate in an anti-Semitic and xenophobic post-World War I American climate.

Something drove them to a ferocious, even pathological, embrace of America. . . . [and] to deny whatever they had been before settling here. . . . within the studios and on the screen, they could simply create a new country—an empire of their own, so to speak—one where they would not only be admitted, but would govern as well. They would fabricate their empire in the image of America as they would fabricate themselves in the image of prosperous Americans. They would create its values and myths, its traditions and archetypes. It would be an America where fathers were strong, families stable, people attractive, resilient, resourceful and decent. This was their America, and its invention may be their most enduring legacy. (Gabler 1998, 4–6)

From the beginning, leadership was connected to perception in Hollywood. When the studio founders successfully projected the image they sought on the screen, it somehow reflected back to them. They began emulating the world they created on film: lavish homes, glamorous cars, and parties. Creating a perception of power often became as good as having the real thing. This notion holds true in contemporary Hollywood as well.

OVERVIEW OF CONTEMPORARY HOLLYWOOD

Hollywood is a nexus of commerce, art, entertainment, and wish fulfillment. Making films is a collaborative art form involving hundreds, and sometimes thousands, of people.

In addition, there is usually a huge amount of

money at stake every time a feature film is made. In the modern age of the blockbuster (each with a production cost of from 75 to 200 million dollars), feature-length filmed entertainment is responsible for roughly 35.5 billion dollars a year or 0.4 percent of the U.S. gross domestic product (GDP). If one were to include all entertainment media and ancillary markets (television, DVD/VHS, publishing, music, etc.) the number would exceed 5 percent of the GDP. As a result, commercial and financial interests increasingly influence the filmmaking process, determining everything from subject matter, to budget, to actor choice. This leads to an inevitable conflict between commercial and artistic interests.

It is, as with all consumer industries, difficult to predict what will connect with audiences and therefore constitute a hit. Studio executives are desperate to capitalize on the newest trend and replicate success (e.g., a slew of teen horror movies went into development after the success of *Scream*, Westerns were snatched up after *Unforgiven*, and *Gladiator* prompted every studio to focus on historical epics).

LEADERSHIP SPHERES IN MODERN HOLLYWOOD

There are three primary spheres within contemporary Hollywood that are pertinent to a discussion of where and how leadership exists within the industry. The first is the business itself: the studios (which finance and distribute many of the world's feature films), producers, and talent agencies. The leaders in this sphere are individuals who have proven to have a combination of good instincts regarding material and ways to “package” that material with writers, directors, and actors. They also have financial acumen, an instinct about how much to spend on a given project given its potential yield. They have consistently made money as a result.

The second arena involves the talent/artists: the writers, directors, and actors who regularly think up ideas for films and are responsible for putting them on screen. Even though they often have no intention of being leaders, these people can become leaders in the community because of their innovation and/or integrity as artists. They do not seek or necessarily



This publicity photo taken in the late 1950s shows two major forces in the film industry: director Alfred Hitchcock at the wheel and the MGM Studio.

Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

acknowledge their followers but they have followers nonetheless.

The third is the film set whose hierarchy places the director at the top. Whether or not this director actually is or remains the leader of typically between two hundred to three hundred people for the duration of production (typically anywhere from 45–120 days) largely depends on his/her leadership abilities and how much power the movie stars, the studio executives, and the producers have. Aside from his or her talent, a director's passion, clarity of vision, and ability to make decisions (even if they turn out to be wrong decisions) are perhaps the most important traits when it comes to inspiring and leading on the set. Combined with a certain level of diplomacy, these qualities are helpful not only in earning the crew's trust, but also in negotiating the many egos and obstacles to creativity that arise during the course of the production.

BUSINESS SPHERE

Hollywood is a fickle and fluid environment in which people are frequently fired and recycled within the studio system. It is not uncommon for someone to lose and regain success several times

within a single career. Some well-known Hollywood failures and rebounds include the career of Jeffrey Katzenberg, who was famously ousted from his role as Disney's studio chief and then went on to cofound DreamWorks SKG with Steven Spielberg and David Geffen. Michael Ovitz was also publicly forced out of his stint at Disney following a long, successful run at talent agency CAA. He then bounced back with his creation of a successful new management company named AMG (which later fizzled). Another notable example of the Hollywood rebound is Robert Evans, who took the leap from struggling actor to head of Paramount Pictures in the 1970s, where he revitalized the fledgling studio, only to lose it all amidst drug charges. He later returned as a producer and most recently as a modern-day film legend, having written a popular autobiography and narrated the book's adapted documentary, *The Kid Stays in the Picture*. It is difficult to maintain success steadily. Those who manage such success, however, are not always effective leaders.

Even though much of the business has changed with the advent of new technologies (video, digital FX, DVDs, and satellites) and even though most studios are now owned by huge conglomerates (e.g., Sony and AOL/Time Warner), the infrastructure within the day-to-day operations of any given studio remains the same as it has for seventy-five years. There are a chairperson, a president responsible to him/her, copresident(s), several vice presidents subordinate to the copresident(s), creative executives, and so on.

These are institutionalized positions of power. Whether or not a person merits the position by virtue of his or her skills and talent, he or she can exert enormous influence and lead—with varying degrees of success—hundreds (sometimes thousands) of people for the duration of a job tenure.

For example, Peter Guber and Jon Peters were considered hugely successful film producers when they were hired to run Sony Pictures in 1989. They had just produced *Batman*, the largest grossing film of all time for Warner Brothers, and had their names on Academy Award-winning films such as *Rain Man* and *The Color Purple*. Yet their ability to win fans and attract followers was already in question.

It was known within the industry that Steven Spielberg “had a provision in his contract explicitly barring them from the set of *The Color Purple*” (Griffin and Masters 1996, 127). They only visited the set of *Rain Man* once. During that now infamous drop-by, Peters reportedly asked Dustin Hoffman, “Are you playing the retard or the other guy?” (162).

Regardless of their reputations as hands-off producers, Sony hired them to run the studio and agreed to pay them the largest compensation package that had ever been negotiated. “For five years, Sony executives in New York and Tokyo would stand by while the studio lost billions and became a symbol for the worst kind of excess in an industry that is hardly known for moderation. There were box office bombs, lavish renovations, extravagant parties against a backdrop of corporate intrigue, expensive firings and even a call girl scandal” (Griffith and Masters 1996 9–10).

As a result of the frequent turnover in executives, it is often an executive’s ability to survive over time that earns them the respect of their peers and affords them the opportunity to have a real impact on the industry. Sherry Lansing is one such executive. In 1980, she was a pioneer as the first woman to be made head of production in Hollywood. She ascended the ranks at Twentieth-Century Fox and is, today, the longest ranking female chair of a studio (Paramount Pictures). She was promoted to that job in 1992.

Lansing is a legend already for her remarkable endurance. One of the reasons she is so well liked in the community is that she remains true to herself and her personality. She did not imitate conventionally male behavior in order to get to the top. Nor did she feel the need to deny her femininity once she was there. She is famous for giving “the nicest no in the business” (Sellers 1998) and for being supportive and nurturing to filmmakers. She championed many controversial projects, including female-themed, contentious films that ultimately succeeded, such as *The Accused*, *Fatal Attraction*, and *Sleeping with the Enemy*. She has also always made a point of consistently using her position of power to raise money for countless charities and fundraisers.

There are also certain entrepreneurs who, rather than merely assuming responsibilities in a preexisting structure (i.e., a studio), have devised a novel business concept and successfully motivated others in pursuit of that idea. They built huge and profitable companies from the ground up because the ideas combined with their personalities allowed them to flourish. Walt Disney was one such person; Mike Ovitz was another.

Mike Ovitz had a “new” idea for a talent agency and had the leadership qualities to pull it off. Unlike the traditionally competitive environment created in most talent agencies, Ovitz built his Creative Artists Agency on a Japanese model, creating a system in which no single personality became so powerful as to threaten the good of the whole group. He formed teams of agents responsible for managing the careers of their clients so no one agent could become indispensable to the actor.

In addition, he became the first agent to “package” movies successfully. In other words, he would coordinate his clients such that a writer, director, and movie stars, all represented by CAA, would be attached and sold as a single package to a studio. Thereby he became the controlling entity, the most powerful person in the equation.

Mike Ovitz was a superb leader. And smart. He knew the secret that great leadership is predicated on great followship. He knew how to pick people that needed that. . . . Ovitz made everybody feel special and just a little bit insecure at the same time. His whole thing was “You are the chosen people and I am your magnanimous leader. You are all on a train. You don’t know where that train is going, but that’s not what’s important. What’s important is that you’re on the train for a reason, because you’ve been selected, because you’re the very best.” (Rensin 2003, 256)

TALENT

It is difficult to get any movie made, much less a good movie. There are filmmakers who persevere in spite of huge odds. These role models provide inspiration for the legions of others who need to be reminded to hang onto their artistic convictions despite industry pressure.

When Orson Welles made *Citizen Kane*, he intended it to be both controversial and groundbreaking. The movie was a thinly veiled attack on newspaper magnate William Randolph Hearst. Hearst tried relentlessly to kill the project. The film combined many elements and filmmaking techniques that nobody had imagined could be used in concert. Welles sampled from all of the major film movements: Surrealism, French Impressionism, German Expressionism, Soviet Montage, and Classic Hollywood Style.

He used a technology called deep focus camera (all of the images in the frame were in focus rather than distant and very close objects being fuzzy). He used documentary reel newsreel introduction, flashbacks, and deep space imagery (where there are many things happening in the background and foreground as well as where the main action is taking place). He utilized sound technology to create abrupt changes in sound (e.g., echoes to mimic vast spaces in the Kane mansion in the film). The film also used ambitious tracking shots (when the camera moves independently of the characters) to set up sequences in the film (Erickson 2003). For years to come, his film stylistically influenced thousands of filmmakers worldwide including Brian de Palma, Martin Scorsese, and Steven Spielberg.

Like Welles, Spike Lee uses controversy to his advantage. It adds luster to a larger-than-life personality. Lee shot his first film *She's Gotta Have It* in ten days in 1985 for \$175,000, raising money from every possible personal source. Films with African-American actors about race issues were hardly in vogue. He had to prove to white financiers that there was an audience for his films, and that both black and white people would appreciate them. In the early twenty-first century, Lee's films are accepted as both financially and artistically viable projects. He is largely responsible for changing the contemporary film community's understanding of and interest in films by and about African-Americans. He has made many independent films as well as studio films and is one of the few who has credibility in both worlds.

In addition to making films with and about black characters, Lee makes a point of hiring African-

Americans behind the scenes on his film crews. He has inspired a legion of young black filmmakers and recognizes the influence he has.

I just try to lead by example. . . . I remember at the first LA premiere of *She's Gotta Have It*, a skinny black kid walked up to me and said, "Hi, my name is John Singleton (*Boyz in the Hood*) and I'm in high school now but I'm going to make movies just like you." For me, that's where the reward is, though that is not to say that I am the father of black cinema. I'm just going down the same road that Ossie Davis, Oscar Micheaux, and Melvin Van Peebles went down. Their success made it easier for me, and every success I have makes it easier for others. Young black kids need concrete examples of people like them who make films, because until you see someone like you doing something, you can never imagine yourself doing it. (Verniere and Fuchs 1993, 82).

George Lucas was also an innovator who changed filmmaking through technology. He created the first blockbuster with visual effects when he made *Star Wars*. He met with extreme opposition in trying to get the film made. Nobody could decipher the thirteen-page treatment he had written. It had no precedent, no sci-fi epic genre to fall back on. Finally, Alan Ladd Jr., who was running Fox at the time, agreed to make the film simply because he believed in Lucas, not because he understood the concept for the film any better than anybody else. It was Lucas's passion and skill as a filmmaker, which he exhibited in his first two films (*American Graffiti* and *THX 1138*), that gave Ladd the confidence to support the young director.

Lucas developed the technology needed for his film. And because the movie was such a success, he simultaneously created a marketplace—an appetite—for the kind of film he was capable of delivering. He parlayed his innovative technology into several technology companies: ILM, Skywalker Sound, LucasFilm, and a digital film editing company.

Lucas also asked for an unprecedented deal, especially given that he had only made two films. He wanted his own company to produce the film, he wanted final cut, merchandising rights, publishing rights for any *Star Wars* books, music rights, and most importantly, sequel rights. He got some, though

not all, of these requests. But it was the first time anybody had ever envisioned the future of the blockbuster and all its ancillary markets.

By many accounts, Lucas is a near recluse who lives in Northern California with little or no interest in traditional Hollywood. However, he changed the face of both movie making and deal making for talent. He had tremendous vision and perseverance. He had a seismic effect on Hollywood and is a leader as a result.

FILM SET

A film set is a world of its own. It is a traveling city, complete with the drama, conflicts, chaos, and triumphs of its people. The director is supposed to be in charge, but his/her personality and charisma play a large part in whether that person maintains control over hundreds of people or not. Roman Polanski, a director of films such as *Rosemary's Baby* and *Chinatown*, says:

Directors are like generals, political dictators, aggressive people. You don't have to be aggressive in a malevolent way, in a hostile disagreeable way. Actually, you have to be the opposite way. You have to be a real leader. That's to say you have to let those who are doing their work do their work. You are a guide, and you're a "tell it to," and you're a prophet, and you're a boss and you're a slave, and, in the end, it's your fault. And everyone in the film is always grateful if you tell them what to do. (The Film Director 2003)

To complicate matters, movie stars make more money than anyone else on a movie (the superstars make 20–25 million dollars per film). They can refuse to do a scene, lock themselves in their trailer, or otherwise profoundly affect the mood on a set. In Sidney Lumet's (*Dog Day Afternoon*, *12 Angry Men*, *Network*) book, *Making Movies*, he talks about the kinds of tests that actors occasionally give to directors on the first or second day of production. Usually, it is only the most powerful and highly paid actors who feel entitled to engage in this manner in front of an entire film crew. Nonetheless, the extent to which the director passes or fails determines whether or not the director remains in charge of his

or her set and earns the respect of the actor and/or the rest of the crew.

What Brando does is to give you two apparently identical takes. Except that on one, he is really working from the inside; and on the other, he is just giving you an indication of what the emotion was like. Then he watches which one you decide to print. If the director prints the wrong one, the "indicated" one, he's had it. Marlon will either walk through the rest of the performance or make the director's life hell, or both. (64)

Lumet wrote that he rarely leaves the set while the crew is lighting as it is "good for the crew morale. They work harder" (Lumet 1995, 111). It is a smart and special kind of director who understands that the more you respect and support the people on your crew the harder they will work. There are other successful methods of directing: intimidation and fear can get the job done and is a common tactic for many directors. But this leadership style does not cultivate a willing, enthusiastic, and loyal crew and/or group of actors.

Luck, persistence, and talent play equal parts in one's ability to flourish in Hollywood. It is far easier to have power than it is to be a leader in Hollywood. This is because perception (both inside and outside of the Hollywood community) plays such a large role in success or failure (e.g., Guber/Peters), similar to high school. If you are perceived to be the hot new director of the moment (even if you have directed nothing) you can wield influence and yet achieve nothing concrete. Luck can carry a director toward success. Talent without persistence, however, will get a director nowhere.

The bottom line is that it is incredibly difficult to get movies made. Because of the cost, movie stars' being in favor one minute and out favor the next, and the studios' ever changing appetite, making any movie is a challenge. Therefore, anybody who is able, on a regular basis, to get movies made (let alone get good movies made) is a success story in the industry. They have managed to do something that everybody else is merely trying to do.

To be a real leader in Hollywood is to have an impact on the industry, to change it in some meaningful way. Leadership means fostering innovation in a business in which it's difficult to have a lasting

influence. A leader in this community has a combination of qualities that cannot be separated from one another:

1. unusual passion and instinct, like the founding leaders of Hollywood, who had a sense for what the public wanted while simultaneously being driven by a burning personal wish fulfillment;
2. the ability to persevere;
3. the charisma and ability to persuade a large group of people to believe you for long enough such that you can get what you want; and
4. the ability to consistently identify and capitalize on opportunity and good fortune.

—Jenno Topping

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FOLLOWER-ORIENTED LEADERSHIP

Leadership is a symbiotic relationship between those who choose to lead and those who choose to follow. Any discussion of leadership must attend to the dynamics of this relationship. Strategies, tactics, skills, and practices are worthless unless the fundamental human aspirations that connect leaders and their constituents are understood (the word *constituents* is preferred to *followers* because the former connotes a greater sense of engagement and commitment than the latter term). What leaders say they do is one thing; what constituents say they want and how well leaders meet these expectations is another. For a balanced view of leadership, one must consider the expectations that people have of their leaders: What do they look for and admire in a person they would willingly follow?

WHAT PEOPLE LOOK FOR AND ADMIRE IN THEIR LEADERS

We began our research in the early 1980s on what constituents expect of leaders with surveys of several thousand business and government executives. In response to the open-ended question “What values (personal traits or characteristics) do you look for and admire in your leaders?” more than 225 different values, traits, and characteristics were identified. Subsequent content analyses by several independent judges reduced those items to twenty categories (each with a few synonyms for clarification). In current surveys respondents select the seven qualities that they “most look for and admire in a leader, someone whose direction they would *willingly* follow.” The key word in this question is *willingly*. What do they expect from a leader whom they would follow not because they have to, but because they want to? The results of these studies—now numbering over 75,000 respondents around the globe—have been striking in their regularity over the years.

A person must possess several essential characteristics before others are willing to grant that individual the title *leader*. Table 1 shows which characteristics respondents chose in three different years as most crucial for a leader. Because we asked respondents to choose seven characteristics, the totals add up to approximately 700 percent.

What is most striking about the results summarized in the table is that only four characteristics have continuously been chosen by more than 50 percent of the respondents. In order for them to follow someone willingly, it appears that the majority of constituents want the leader to be honest, forward-looking, competent, and inspiring. Not only is this finding consistent over time, it is consistent across continents, as shown in Table 2.

To gain further insight into people’s assessments of follower-oriented leadership, we conducted a series of additional studies. Respondents’ answers to questions about leaders with whom they had had personal experience gave us actual examples of the actions of admired leaders, information on the affective nature of leader-constituent relationships, and details about the types of projects or programs involved.

Table 1. Characteristics of Admired Leaders

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Percentage of Respondents Selecting Each Characteristic</i>		
	<i>1987</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>2002</i>
Honest	83	88	88
Forward-looking	62	75	71
Competent	67	63	66
Inspiring	68	68	65
Intelligent	43	40	47
Fair-minded	40	49	42
Broad-minded	37	40	40
Supportive	32	41	35
Straightforward	34	33	34
Dependable	33	32	33
Cooperative	25	28	28
Determined	17	17	24
Imaginative	34	28	23
Ambitious	21	13	21
Courageous	27	29	20
Caring	26	23	20
Mature	23	13	17
Loyal	11	11	14
Self-controlled	13	5	8
Independent	10	5	6

Note: Respondents came from North America, Asia, Europe, and Australia, but the majority were from the United States.

Table 2. Cross-Culturally Desirable Characteristics of a Leader

<i>Country</i>	<i>Percentage of Respondents Selecting Each Characteristic</i>			
	<i>Honest</i>	<i>Forward-Looking</i>	<i>Competent</i>	<i>Inspiring</i>
Australia	93	83	59	73
Canada	88	88	60	73
Japan	67	83	61	51
Korea	74	82	62	55
Malaysia	95	78	62	60
Mexico	85	82	62	71
New Zealand	86	86	68	71
Scandinavia	84	86	53	90
Singapore	65	78	78	94

The studied attributes reveal consistent and clear relationships. When leaders are performing at their peak, they are doing more than just getting results. They are also responding to the expectations of their constituents, underscoring the point that leadership is

a relationship centered on service to a purpose and service to people. It is worthwhile to take a closer look at the four top-ranking attributes of a leader.

A Leader Should Be Honest

In almost every survey, honesty has been selected more often than any other leadership characteristic. It emerges as the single most important ingredient in the leader-constituent relationship. The percentages vary, but the final ranking does not. It's clear that if people are to willingly follow someone—whether it be into battle or into the boardroom, into the front office or onto the front lines—they first want to assure themselves that the person is worthy of their trust. Constituents want to know that the person they are following is truthful, ethical, and principled. They want to be fully confident of the integrity of their leaders, whatever the context. Nearly 90 percent of constituents want their leaders to be honest above all else.

How do constituents measure a characteristic as subjective as honesty? Focus groups and in-depth interviews indicate that the leader's behavior provides the evidence. In other words, regardless of what leaders say about their own integrity, people wait to be shown; they observe the behavior. Consistency between word and deed is how someone is judged to be honest. Employees' perceptions of their managers' honesty has been demonstrated to have considerably more impact on organizational profitability than more traditional measures like employee satisfaction and commitment. For example, a recent survey of over 7,000 employees from 76 hotels (ranging from economy to upper mid-price range) showed that perceptions of their managers' integrity—both keeping promises and demonstrating espoused values—was strongly linked with the hotel's profitability (Simons, 2002). An increase of just one-eighth of a point, on a five-point scale, could be expected to improve the hotel's annual profits by over 2.5 percent (for an average full-service hotel, that translates into over \$260,000 to the bottom line).

Honesty is strongly tied to values and ethics. Constituents appreciate people who take a stand on important principles. They resolutely refuse to fol-

low those who lack confidence in their own beliefs. Confusion over where the leader stands creates stress; not knowing the leader's beliefs contributes to conflict, indecision, and political rivalry. Constituents simply don't trust people who cannot or will not reveal their values, ethics, and standards.

A Leader Should Be Forward-Looking

More than 70 percent of the recent respondents selected the ability to look ahead as one of their most sought-after leadership traits. Leaders are expected to have a sense of direction and a concern for the future of the organization. Whether this ability is called a vision, dream, calling, goal, or a personal agenda, the message is clear: Leaders must know where they're going if they expect others willingly to join them on the journey.

Other surveys over the years have reinforced the importance of clarity of purpose and direction. For example, more than a decade ago, executives rated "developing a strategic planning and forecasting capability" as their most critical concern. When asked to select the most important characteristics in a CEO, these same senior managers ranked "a leadership style of honesty and integrity" first and "a long-term vision and direction for the company" second (Korn/Ferry International, 1989). We recently asked several hundred executives these same questions and their responses were nearly equivalent. By the ability to be forward-looking, people do not mean the magical power of a prescient visionary. They mean something far more down-to-earth: the ability to choose a desirable destination toward which the company, agency, congregation, or community should head. Vision is the magnetic north that provides others with the capacity to chart their course. Constituents ask that a leader have a well-defined orientation toward the future. They want to know what the organization will look like, feel like, and be like when it arrives at its goal in six months or six years. They want to have it described to them in rich detail so that they will know when they have arrived and so that they can select the proper route for getting there.

One significant finding about the quality of being

forward-looking is that the impact of this characteristic varies by organizational level. Around 95 percent of senior executives, but only 60 percent of frontline supervisors, desire their leader to be forward-looking. This wide gap indicates an important difference in expectation that is clearly tied to the breadth, scope, and time horizon of the job. Senior people see the need for a longer-term view of the future more so than managers at the front lines of operations. Moving up in organizations clearly requires a broadening of perspective, in terms of both time-span and strategic focus.

A Leader Should Be Competent

To enlist in another's cause, constituents must believe that the person they will follow is competent to guide them. Leaders must be capable and effective. When constituents doubt the leader's abilities, they are unlikely to enlist in the cause. *Competence* refers to the leader's track record and ability to get things done. Competence inspires confidence that the leader will be able to guide the entire organization, large or small, in the proper direction. It does *not* refer to the leader's abilities in the core technology of the organization. In fact, the type of competence demanded seems to vary more with the leader's position and the condition of the organization. While people demand a base level of understanding of the fundamentals of the industry, market, or professional service environment, they also know that leaders cannot be expected to be the most technically competent in their fields. Organizations are too complex and multifunctional for that ever to be the case. This is particularly true as people reach senior levels.

For example, those who hold officer positions are definitely expected to demonstrate abilities in strategic planning and policymaking. If a company desperately needs to clarify its core competence and market position, a CEO with savvy in competitive marketing may be perceived as a fine leader. But at lower levels in the organization, where people expect guidance in technical areas, these same strategic marketing abilities will be insufficient. A leader on the line or at the point of customer or client contact will typically have to be more technically competent

And when we think we lead, we are most led.

—Lord Byron

than someone less engaged in providing services or making products. Yet it is not necessary that even the frontline leader surpass his or her constituents in technical competence. Much more significant is that the leader takes the time to learn the business and to know the current operation.

A Leader Should Be Inspiring

People expect their leaders to be enthusiastic, energetic, and positive about the future. They expect a leader to be inspiring—a bit of a cheerleader, as a matter of fact. It is not enough for a leader to have a dream about the future. A leader must be able to communicate the vision in ways that encourage people to sign on for the duration. When leaders breathe life into dreams and aspirations, people are much more willing to enlist.

In his book *Working*, the writer Studs Terkel quotes Nora Watson, an editor: "I think most of us are looking for a calling, not a job. Most of us . . . have jobs that are too small for our spirit. Jobs are not big enough for people" (Terkel, 1974, xxiv). Her words underscore how important it is to find some greater sense of purpose and worth in the day-to-day routines of working life. While the enthusiasm, energy, and positive attitude of a good leader may not change the content of work, they certainly can make work more meaningful.

Not only does an inspiring leader fulfill people's need to have meaning and purpose in their lives, an inspiring leader offers people hope. This is crucial at any time, but in times of great uncertainty, leading with positive emotions is absolutely essential to moving people upward and forward. When people are worried, discouraged, frightened, and uncertain about the future, the last thing they need is a leader who feeds those negative emotions. Instead, they need someone who communicates in words, demeanor, and actions that she or he believes in a better future. Emotions are contagious, and positive

emotions resonate throughout an organization and into relationships with other constituents. Enthusiasm and excitement are essential, and they signal the leader's personal commitment to pursuing a dream. If a leader displays no passion for a cause, no one else is likely to, either.

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER: CREDIBILITY IS THE FOUNDATION

Constituents' desire for honest, forward-looking, competent, and inspiring leaders has remained constant during two decades of growth and recession, the surge in new technology enterprises, the birth of the World Wide Web, the further globalization of the economy, and the expansion and burst of the Internet-based enterprises. While the relative importance of the most desired qualities has varied over time, there has been no change in the fact that these are the four qualities people want most in their leader.

Taken together, these characteristics bear a striking resemblance to those communications experts use for determining what they call "source credibility." In assessing the believability of sources of communication—whether newscasters, salespeople, physicians, or priests; whether business managers, military officers, politicians, or civic leaders—researchers typically evaluate people on three criteria: their perceived trustworthiness, their dynamism, and their expertise. The more highly one rates on those dimensions, the more one is considered a credible source of information.

Those three dimensions comprise three of the top four characteristics constituents desire in their leaders. The conclusion is inevitable: Follower-oriented leadership requires leaders who are credible. Credibility is the foundation of leadership; above all else, people must be able to believe in the people they follow. They must believe that the leader's word can be trusted, that the leader will do what he or she promises, that the leader is personally excited and enthusiastic about the direction in which the organization is headed, and that the leader has the knowledge and skill to lead. The quality of being forward-looking is what transforms a credible individual into a leader; it adds to credibility a sense of direction and intentionality.

The significance of leaders' credibility and its impact on organizational performance has been well documented. Studies show that when they perceive their immediate managers as credible, employees are significantly more likely to be proud to be part of the organization, feel attached and committed to the organization, feel a strong sense of team spirit, have a sense of ownership of the organization, and see their own personal values as consistent with those of the organization. When people perceive their manager to have low credibility, on the other hand, they are significantly more likely to produce only if they are watched carefully, are motivated primarily by money, say good things about the organization publicly but criticize it privately, consider looking for another job if the organization experiences problems, and feel unsupported and unappreciated.

The credibility of an organization's leaders influences not only the loyalty of employees but also that of customers and investors. At the center of loyalty, say researchers, "Whether it be the loyalty of customers, employees, investors, suppliers, or dealers—is the personal integrity of the senior leadership team and its ability to put its principles into practice" (Reichheld, 2001, 6).

In analyzing and practicing leadership, an appreciation of the perspective of constituents underscores the fact that leadership is a relationship. This relationship builds upon the character and actions of leaders in meeting and responding to the needs, expectations, and aspirations of their constituents. The most effective leaders cherish this relationship, realizing that the work of the organization rests in the hands, minds, and hearts of their constituency.

—James M. Kouzes and Barry Z. Posner

See also Leader-Follower Relationships; Learning Organization; Upward Influence

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influence over a larger number of people on a continuous basis. Most theories and concepts of leadership exclude from this definition instances of coercive influence, when people are forced to follow a ruler or a superior. The term *leadership* is reserved for instances that involve voluntary followership. Therefore, leadership depends on followership. Hence, to understand the leadership process one must understand the motivation to follow.

Why do people follow leaders? Leadership theories provide several answers to this question, here classified according to different follower motivations: position-based followership, calculated followership, safety-based followership, meaning-based followership, and identity-based followership.

POSITION-BASED FOLLOWERSHIP

In some cases, followers are motivated to accept the leader's influence simply because of the leader's position in some social institution. Thus followers comply with the requests or orders of kings, heads of families or tribes, ministers, mayors, managers, and army officers because of those people's position in the relevant institutional hierarchy. The voluntary motivation to follow in these cases is based on followers' acceptance of the legitimacy of the institution and its hierarchy. If they accept the hierarchy as legitimate, they also accept that the leader will make requests and issue instructions within certain limits, and they regard their compliance with these requests and instructions as part of their roles as subordinates in the social system. The scholars John French and Bertram Raven, who discussed several bases of power in social relations, referred to the power of leaders over followers in this case as legitimate power.

The pioneering sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920) suggested that followers' acceptance of the legitimacy of the institution and hence their compliance with the leader's requests or orders may rest on two bases: a traditional base and a rational-legal base. In some societies, kings, heads of tribes, or priests are leaders by virtue of tradition. Individuals who have been socialized in these societies have internalized the legitimacy of the tradition and consequently accept the leader. In other cases, individu-

FOLLOWERS, MOTIVATION OF

According to most definitions, leadership is a social-influence process. It exists when an individual or a small number of individuals have disproportionate



Morality, Loyalty, and Reasons for Following

The following text describes the motivation of followers to follow political leaders in Thailand. It shows how personal loyalty and ties to a person who represents the moral and social order is the key element of the leader-follower relationship.

Apart from the role of individual moral awareness, keeping society in good order is definitely the task of the government, culminating in a personalized leader, a "man of prowess" capable of dominating the external world. He enforces desirable order, and what is good for him, as a father, should be good for all. It is, therefore, loyalty to him, and the collectivity he stands for, that is far more important than law as a means of maintaining good order. Consequently, the seeking of patronage defines political behaviour, while the group "nation, state, region, country, people" is seen and defined in moral rather than in legal terms; society is a moral construct.

Trust in hierarchy and loyalty to leadership are basically moral acts that agree with the highly personalized image of social life, in which the unknown areas of the external world are somewhat alarming and definitely awe-inspiring. In a way, it is like nature, filled with mysterious forces and spirits, but also a field of opportunity; socially it is the arena of competition for power and position of the grandees and bosses, often rather violent, where an unobtrusive little man may also appropriate an occasional prize.

It is this understanding of the external, "public" world that provides the matrix in which the ideas of democracy and human rights must be localized. The identifying marks of that world appeared to be that it is not seen as a public trust but rather as a field of opportunity where people are concerned with their personal interests first of all. There the high and mighty claim their "rights" and function as patrons vis-à-vis those in lesser positions. This "personalizes" the external world, and makes it moral; it is seen in the familial terms of basic inequality and the ethics of

place. Before we can dwell on the transformations this matrix causes to the ideas and practice of democracy and human rights, we should briefly consider the premises of the latter two.

Premises of Democracy and Human Rights

In their self-proclaimed "new world order," the Americans apparently push to institute "free and fair elections" in all the countries of the world as a sign that democratic government prevails. Yet, democracy is part of a complex set of ideas; some of its related procedures are easily adopted at the same time as its spirit and participatory practices fail to acquire local meaning.

The ideas of democracy and human rights stem from an environment that grounds morality in equality: individual people matter, they have a right to their opinion, are morally autonomous, and equal before the law; they have the right, and the duty, to be informed and to partake in the public discourse. Practically, this highlights the role and function of a free press, and implies the freedoms of expression and association, alongside the right to vote.

As a means of regulating wider society, democracy involves the people, thus making that society the public world. It sees that world in a sociological manner "as an abstract structure of institutions and power relationships, of conflicting interests and ideas, that are subsequently discussed in a frank fashion and that can be influenced by policy decisions and the implementation of law." Society is neither static, nor merely subject to contingent forces, but governable and constructable, most often in the name of the public interest or common good.

Source: Mulder, Niels. (1996). *Inside Thai Society: Interpretations of Everyday Life*. Amsterdam: The Pepin Press, pp. 167–169.

als may accept the legitimacy of an institutional hierarchy because they view the institutional structure as rational. For example, citizens may regard democracy as a rational form of government. They therefore accept the authority of democratically elected leaders even if they did not vote for them. Similarly, organizational members may regard the organizational hierarchy as a rational method of coordination. In a company, for example, they will regard it as rational that a higher-level manager will issue

requests and instructions to a lower-level employee; in the military, they will accept that an higher-ranking officer will issue orders to a lower-level soldier. If they occupy a subordinate position in these systems, their motivation to follow the leader is based on this rationality. In many cases, the rational order is backed by laws or formal regulations; hence the term *rational-legal* that Weber coined.

Many theories regard leadership as influence that does not stem from the formal position of the leader.

These theories exclude position-based followership from the domain of leadership, and regard it as falling under such domains as managership or rulership or headship. However, since many—perhaps most—leaders do occupy a formal position, and since position-based followership is not based on coercion, it is important not to forget this type of motivation to follow.

CALCULATED FOLLOWERSHIP

Individuals may follow a leader because they expect the leader to help them achieve their goals, or provide them with desired rewards. Thus people may elect a politician and support him or her because they believe he or she will reduce crime or improve educational standards in their community. Similarly, subordinates may obey their boss because they believe the boss will reward them with a bonus or a promotion. The basis of followership in such instances is an explicit or implied deal between the leader and the followers, according to which the followers agree to follow the leader in exchange for certain outcomes that the leader promises to deliver. Accordingly, this type of relationship has been called transactional leadership by such scholars as James MacGregor Burns and Bernard Bass.

Several leadership theories are based on this notion of exchange between leaders and followers. For instance, the path-goal theory of leadership assumes that followers have certain goals they wish to achieve. However, there may be some obstacles in their path. The role of the leader, according to this theory, is to remove those obstacles and thus assist the followers in achieving their goals. When the leader removes the most relevant obstacles, followers will be motivated to follow him or her, and he or she will become an effective leader. For instance, if the followers' task is unclear, a leader will be most effective if he or she provides directive leadership that clarifies the task and the action required. Similarly, if the work is stressful or boring, a leader will be most effective if he or she provides supportive leadership to the followers. In both cases, the leader's influence is based on followers' expectations that the leader will help them achieve their goals.

*It is not the horse that draws the cart,
but the oats.*

—Russian proverb

Another theory that is based on exchange is the leader-member exchange (LMX) theory, which describes the development of leader-member relationships in several stages. In the first phases, both sides have calculated the advantages of participating in the relationship: The leader needs support, assistance, and compliance from the followers, who in turn depend on the leader for various rewards. The leader makes requests of the followers, who comply with these requests because of the leader's formal role and because the leader controls desired rewards, such as better task assignments or financial bonuses. The motivation of followers at these early stages is self-interest. According to LMX theory, other motivations develop at later and more mature stages of the relationship.

When the motivation to follow is based only on followers' calculated assessment of what will be most advantageous to them, the leader's influence is limited. Followers who are motivated by expected rewards comply with the leader only to the extent that is needed to gain those rewards; they have no reason to invest any extra effort or resources to support the leader or the leader's cause. Furthermore, the leader's influence is restricted to behavioral compliance, because followers do not need to change their values, attitudes, thoughts or beliefs to gain the expected rewards.

In calculated followership, the power of the leader over followers depends on the leader's ability to provide the desired outcomes to the followers. French and Raven called this type of power "reward power." In some cases, individuals may follow leaders not because the leaders control material rewards but rather because the leaders have special expertise or control privileged information; French and Raven termed this type of power "expert power." It should be noted that the motivation to follow experts is also calculated. Followers let the expert lead them because they believe he or she knows better than they do how

to achieve certain goals. When followers achieve the same level of expertise or the same access to knowledge, their motivation to follow is reduced.

SAFETY-BASED FOLLOWERSHIP

Individuals may follow leaders in order to satisfy their need for safety or security. When people feel insecure or threatened, they may associate themselves with a leader in order to reduce their anxieties. This motivation could be included in the calculated followership discussed above, because as in the case of calculated followership, followers' compliance is based on the expectation that the leader will satisfy some need, in this case their need for safety. However, calculated followership is largely rational and at least partially realistic. In contrast, safety-based motivation is often irrational, less calculated, and less realistic.

When individuals feel insecure or threatened, as in times of war or economic crisis, they seek comfort from an association with a person who seems to be particularly strong or knowledgeable. According to psychoanalytic theories, this tendency is an extension of small children's instinct to turn to their parents or other significant adult for protection and safety. This motivation to follow may be irrational, in that it involves unrealistic perceptions of the leader. Small children's perceptions of their parents' qualities are often exaggerated; they often attribute to the parents more power and knowledge than the parents actually have. Similarly, followers who are motivated by a need for safety often attribute to the leader qualities that the leader does not possess. Therefore, in contrast with exchange-based followership, which is usually calculated and limited, a safety-based motivation to follow may result in unlimited acceptance of the leader's influence and blind followership.

MEANING-BASED FOLLOWERSHIP

Some theorists assume that the desire for order and meaning is a fundamental human need. According to these theorists, people fear chaos and need to have a coherent view of the world around them in order to

feel that their existence has some meaning. They may therefore follow a leader whom they perceive has the ability to provide that order and meaning. For instance, people may follow religious or spiritual leaders because those leaders present a coherent view of the world that gives meaning to people's existence and activities. A rabbi or a priest may be perceived to have the answers to questions of meaning because of his or her special learning or training or due to a degree of devotion that has brought him or her closer to God. Similarly, a guru or an ideologue may be perceived as someone who has developed such answers through learning and reflection. In all these cases followers are motivated to follow the leader because the leader presents them with answers to their existential quest for meaning.

The management scholars James Meindl, Sanford Ehrlich, and Janet Dukerich have presented a version of meaning-based followership that is based not on the existential quest for meaning but rather on a more mundane motivation. According to this version, individuals feel they need to make sense of their often complex and ambiguous environment if they are to have some sense of control over that environment. Therefore, individuals tend to explain events and circumstances in their environment by attributing them to the actions of leaders, thus gaining a simple explanation for complex events. Members of organizations, for instance, tend to credit (or blame) the organization's leaders for the success (or failure) of the organization. This perspective, known as the romance of leadership, has some radical implications. According to this view, leadership is a totally follower-driven phenomenon: In most cases, those salient individuals will be the formal leaders of the organization.

IDENTIFICATION-BASED FOLLOWERSHIP

Related to both security-based and meaning-based followership, but more specific, is identification-based followership. Individuals tend to identify with other individuals as well as with groups and larger collective entities. Every person needs a sense of identity, and this identity is derived in part from one's self-definition in relation to other individuals

(personal identification) and larger social entities such as groups, organizations, and movements (social identification).

Several leadership theories attribute the motivation to follow to the needs for personal and social identification. Psychoanalytic theories see people's identification with leaders as an extension of children's identification with their parents. According to these theories, identification with the parents is a mechanism for combating the feelings of helplessness and inferiority the child experiences. Similarly, by identifying with leaders and other powerful or attractive figures, such as star athletes, individuals may enhance their sense of power and self-esteem. In a similar vein, social-identification theory, which focuses on identification with groups, explains this identification on the basis of its benefits to the individual in terms of an enhanced sense of potency and self-esteem.

People may therefore follow leaders because the leaders appear powerful and attractive, and the followers want to be associated with them. According to French and Raven, when people are influenced by a leader for this reason, the leader has "referent power" over the them. People may also follow a leader because the leader represents the group with which they identify. According to a theory presented in 2001 by the psychologist Michael Hogg, this is the primary mechanism for the emergence of leadership. Hogg suggests that when individuals identify with a certain group, they are likely to be attracted to the most prototypical member of the group, the one who embodies the aspirations, attitudes, and identity of the group. This individual will be endorsed by the group and imbued with the prestige and status of a leader.

The self-concept-based theory of charismatic leadership put forward by the scholars Boas Shamir, Robert House, and Michael Arthur states that individuals want to express their self-concept, including their cherished values and identities, and enhance their self-esteem and self-worth. A leader's charisma depends on behaviors that link members' self-concepts to himself or herself, the mission, and the group or organization. When followers view the leader, the group, and the mission as representing important components of their self-concepts, espe-

cially their values and identities, followers have a particularly high motivation to follow, which is evidenced in a high level of internal commitment to the leader and the group and a willingness to make personal sacrifices for the leader and the group.

IMPLICATIONS

Followership is an act of faith. The followers accept the leader's influence and comply with his or her requests or instructions because they believe in the leader. Therefore, all motivations to follow a leader depend on followers' trust in the leader. Position-based followership is based on followers' trust in the institution that the leader represents and in its mechanisms for appointing leaders. The other motivations depend on followers' attribution of ability, benevolence, and integrity to the leader.

Leadership is a relationship that is jointly produced by leaders and followers. One implication of this statement is that leaders cannot fully control the motivation of their followers. Leaders can influence followers' motivation in various ways, and many leadership theories are concerned with that aspect of leadership. However, this discussion of followers' motivations suggests that followers bring their own motivations to the leadership relationship, and some of those motivations are outside the leader's influence. For instance, followers may reject a leader and choose not to follow him or her because they do not accept the legitimacy of the institution that the leader represents, or because they do not accept the leader's values and identities. Followers may also be inspired and influenced by a leader when the leader is absent (for example, when he or she is in exile or in prison), and in extreme cases even when the leader is dead, when clearly the leader no longer has any control over their motivations.

Another implication is that followers' motivation may influence the leader and determine the leader's effectiveness. For instance, when followers' motivation is based on identification with the leader and the group, followers are likely to share the group values and identity. Leaders may feel more comfortable to include such followers in their decision-making processes than to include followers whose motiva-

tion is largely based on calculated self-interest. Furthermore, followers are likely to participate in decision making more effectively when they identify with the leader and the group and share their values.

While the motivations to follow discussed in this chapter are not independent of one another, and while many leadership relationships are based on more than one type of motivation, it is important to separate them not only for analytical purposes but also because they have different implications. We have already noted that calculated followership is likely to be more limited than other types of followership. Another implication concerns the partial responsibility of followers for the nature and consequences of the relationship they develop with the leader. For instance, followers whose motivations are based on the need for safety or personal identification with the leader may be more inclined to tolerate unethical behavior on the part of the leader and to follow the leader blindly, sometimes with harmful consequences to themselves and the organization or movement. Followers whose primary motivation is calculative or based on social identification are more likely to exercise independent judgment and follow the leader only as long as he or she fulfills his or her promises and represent the values and identity of the group. The consequences of leadership thus depend not only on who the leader is and what he or she does, but also on the nature of followers' motivation.

—Boas Shamir

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FOLLOWERSHIP

The concept of followership and its relationship to leadership was popularized by the business professor and management consultant Robert Kelley in his 1988 *Harvard Business Review* article “In Praise of Followers” and his 1992 book *The Power of Followership*. These works thrust followership center stage into what had previously been a leader-centric world.

DEFINITION

Followership is active engagement in helping an organization or a cause succeed while exercising independent, critical judgment of goals, tasks, potential problems, and methods. In an organization, star followers have the ability to work cooperatively with a leader to accomplish goals even when there are personality or workplace differences. They are key players both in planning courses of action and in implementing them in the field. Followers as thus defined contrast sharply with the common negative stereotype of followers as passive sheep in need of a strong leader to motivate and direct them.

The word *follower* has its etymological roots in Old High German *follaziohan*, which meant “to assist, help, succor, or minister to.” This parallels the Old High German root of *leader*, which meant “to undergo, suffer, or endure.” In the original meaning, followers helped take care of leaders; the relationship between them appears to have been a symbiotic one between equals.

Over time, *follower* came to mean “to go or be full in number,” as in a crowd. If someone, a leader perhaps, was issuing an edict, appearing in a public forum, or traveling a distance, the people in attendance were called followers. This did not denote any inferior standing; on the contrary, to be a follower was an honor. Christ chose his disciples, just as King Arthur chose the knights for his Round Table. In these cases, the follower gained prestige rather than lost it.

Only in the last hundred years or so have the terms *leader* and *follower* taken on their current connotations. Kelley ascribed the “great person” leadership notion to the British philosopher Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881). He and other proponents of a leadership-centric world believe that leaders create or shape the events and institutions that define society. Without leaders, the (negative) status quo

would continue until entropy pushed society into chaos.

As for the negative stereotype of the follower, it is attributed to social Darwinism. Survival of the fittest pits contenders against one another; to struggle and compete is natural, good, and right. The winners, by definition, are leaders; the losers are everyone else. For example, Kelley found that when he asks training seminar participants whether they would rather be a follower or a leader, most quickly choose leadership. The result is a hierarchical social topography, as if only leaders matter, while the remaining 90 to 99 percent of the world is inferior and not worth mapping.

And yet, that assessment makes no sense when one considers that followership and leadership are a dialectic. Just as there can be no front of an object without a back, there can be no leaders without followers and no followers without leaders. Each depends on the other for existence and meaning. They can never be independent. But unlike front and back, it is not always so easy to sort out who is leading and who is following.

FOLLOWERSHIP STYLES

Just as there are different leadership styles, there are different followership styles. In Kelley’s model, illustrated in Figure 1, followership style is determined by how one performs in two behavioral dimensions. The first is independent, critical thinking; the second is a

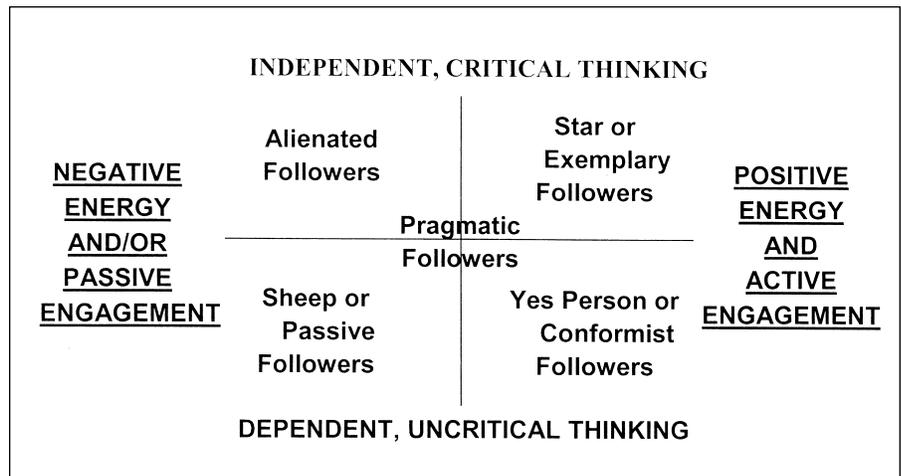


Figure 1. Followership Styles
Source: Robert E. Kelley; used with permission

ranking on an active-positive, passive-negative scale. Depending on a person's performance, he or she will fall into one of five separate styles of followership. Keep in mind that these labels categorize how one carries out the followership role, not one's personality traits. A person may use one followership style in one situation and different style in another.

Star Followers

These followers think for themselves and actively engage with the leader to make the organization a success. Star followers do not follow blindly, but when they disagree with the leader, they do so constructively, with the organization's best interest at heart. They carry out their assignments with great energy, paying attention to the implications current actions have for the future and to the details of implementation. Star followers are self-starters and creative problem solvers; they use their talents for the benefit of the organization even when confronted with bureaucratic inanities or nonproducing colleagues. Because they have these qualities, they get consistently high ratings from peers as well as leaders.

Star followership brings enthusiasm, intelligence, and self-reliance to the implementation of an organizational goal, while less effective followers are more passive, withholding their best thinking or efforts. Star followers are those who can take on a project with minimal preparation. Leaders trust them enough to turn their attention elsewhere; they rely on star followers to do the job in the best way possible (even if it's not the way the leader originally had in mind). A leader who has a star follower on staff doesn't need to worry about hands-on supervision, time-consuming explanation of assignments, or being visited with problems along the way to implementation. Star followers are independent and responsible members of the team, and they recognize that they add as much value to the organization as anyone in upper management.

Alienated Followers

These followers are critical thinkers and very independent in relations with leaders, but they are pas-

sive or negative in the workplace. They have a personal dislike for leaders in the organization or they are unhappy with their work situation. Alienated followers are often cynical and skeptical. They tear down what the leader is trying to build up. Their energy is channeled into fighting against the leader or organization rather than toward their work or a mutually desired future.

Kelley found that many alienated followers begin as star followers. Some negative experience or event alienates them; they become angry and withdraw from those around them. Some see themselves as victims; others project themselves as the conscience of the group battling against unfair organizations, power-hungry leaders, mindless yes-followers, and stupid ideas. However, their negative attitudes and actions often create a cycle of resentment or retaliation that engenders further negativity.

Sheep, or Passive Followers

These followers are passive and rely on others to think for them. These people are often viewed as rudderless and mindless; they need to latch on to a leader. In the extreme, passive followers may have a herd instinct, like sheep. However, unlike sheep, passive followers can require substantial motivation and direction from their leader.

Yes-People, or Conformist Followers

These followers are also in the negative section of the critical-thinking chart. They are more enthusiastic and involved than their sheep coworkers, but they are aggressively dependent on leaders for direction. They will do whatever the leader says, but they need the leader to say it.

Yes-followers are all too eager to take orders, to defer to the leader's authority, and to yield to the leader's views or judgment. They assume that the leader's position of power entitles her or him to obedience and accommodation from the subordinate. Yes-followers know their place and do not question the social order. They find comfort in structure and in having someone above them. This can create a follower-leader dynamic in which followers tell lead-

ers what they want to hear, not what they need to know. Although in some cultures (both outside of and within the United States), this style of followership is emphasized, expected, and rewarded, it has led to many fiascoes when the followers give up their capacity for independent, critical thinking.

Pragmatic Followers

In the center of Figure 1 are the pragmatic followers. Sometimes these are capable subordinates who eschew their independence for political expediency. Sometimes they are system bureaucrats who carry out directives to the letter, even though they might have valuable ideas for improving them. Sometimes they are gamespeople who manipulate others and the system to their benefit. They avoid taking a strong position that crosses powerful people. They are constantly monitoring the wind direction, and their motto is “better safe than sorry.” They keep conflict to a minimum and always have a ready excuse with a corresponding paper trail for any failure. They manage to survive even the most sweeping changes in the workplace.

CHOOSING FOLLOWERSHIP: THE VARIOUS PATHS

Why would anyone of perseverance, spirit, and intelligence slow a career before reaching the top or choose not to strive for the top in the first place? How did Aristotle (384–322 BCE) choose to follow Plato (c. 428–348 BCE)? What led Ellen Gates Starr (1859–1940) to



Francis Bacon on Followers

In this excerpt from his essay “Of Followers and Friends”—written in the late sixteenth century—Francis Bacon alerts his readers to be watchful of certain types of followers.

Costly *Followers* are not to be liked; Lest while a Man maketh his Train Longer, hee make his Wings Shorter. I reckon to bee Costly, not them alone, which charge the Purse, but which are Wearisome and Impertune in Sutes. Ordinary *Followers* ought to challenge no Higher Conditions, then Countenance, Recommendation, and Protection from Wrongs. Factious *Followers* are worse to be liked, which Follow not upon Affection to him, with whom they range Themselves, but upon Discontentment Conceived against some Other: Whereupon commonly ensueth, that Ill Intelligence, that we many times see betweene Great Personages. Likewise Glorious *Followers*, who make themselves as Trumpets, of the Commendation of those they Follow, are full of Inconvenience; For they taint Businesse through Want of Secrecie; And they Export Honour from a Man, and make him a Returne in Envie. There is a Kinde of *Followers* likewise, which are Dangerous, being indeed Espials; which enquire the Secrets of the House, and beare Tales of them to Others. Yet such Men, many times, are in great Favour; For they are Officious, And commonly Exchange Tales. The *Following* be certaine *Estates* of *Men*, answerable to that, which a Great Person himselfe professeth, (as of Soldiers to him that hath been employed in the Warres, and the like,) hath ever beene a Thing Civill, and well taken even in Monarchies; So it be without too much Pompe or Popularitie. But the most Honourable Kinde of *Following*, is to be Followed, as one that apprehendeth, to advance Vertue and Desert in all Sorts of Persons. And yet, where there is no Eminent Odds in Sufficiencie, it is better to take with the more Passable, then with the more Able. And besides, to speake Truth, in Base Times, Active Men are of more use, then Vertuous. It is true, that in Government, it is Good to use Men of one Rancke equally: for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them Insolent, and the rest Discontent; Because they may claime a Due. But contrariwise in Favour, to use Men with much Difference and Election, is Good; For it maketh the Persons Preferred more Thankfull, and the Rest more officious; Because all is of Favour. It is good Discretion, not to make too much of any Man, at the first; Because One cannot hold out that Proportion. To be governed (as we call it) by One, is not safe: For it shewes Softnesse, and gives a Freedom to Scandall and Disreputation: For those that would not Censure, or Speake ill of a Man immediately, will talke more boldly of Those; that are so great with them, and thereby Wound their Honour. Yet to be Distracted with many is Worse; For it makes Men, to be of the Last Impression, and full of Change. To take Advice of some few Friends is ever Honourable; *For Lookers on, many times, see more than Gamesters; And the Vale best discovereth the Hill.* There is Little Friendship in the World, and Least of all betweene Equals, which was wont to be Magnified. That that is, is between Superiour and Inferiour, whose Fortunes may Comprehend, the One the Other.

Source: Bacon, Francis. (1907). “Of Followers and Friends.” In W. Aldiss Wright (Ed.), *Bacon’s Essays*. London: Macmillan and Co., pp. 198–200.

follow the social reformer Jane Addams (1860–1935) in the establishment of Hull House, an internationally recognized achievement as a settlement center for Chicago's poor immigrants?

Understanding why people follow is important to leaders and followers alike. Knowing these motivations, one can design organizational environments to attract, accommodate, and retain followers. Leaders who understand their followers' motivations can respond to those motivations and avoid losing their followers.

Misunderstanding motivations can lead to disaster even when leaders have good intentions. For example, too many leaders believe that people follow a leader because of his or her charisma or vision. Thus, leaders will often expend great effort in trying to become charismatic or in shaping a vision. In reality, only some followers look for these characteristics. Others are motivated by their own personal vision, and many are wary of charisma. Instead, they prefer their leaders to be fellow adventurers who facilitate the achievement of a goal.

Why do people decide to forgo the leadership role? The followership paths people choose are characterized by different sets of motivations. As shown in Figure 2, a follower chooses one based on his or

preferences on two points: first, whether the follower prefers self-expression or self-transformation, and second, whether the follower puts more emphasis on relationship bonding or on personal goals.

Followers choose certain followership paths in order to express themselves. Individuals who choose these courses are generally comfortable with their talents, lifestyle, and personal accomplishments. They are motivated by a desire to contribute their skills toward organizational goals.

Other paths help followers transform themselves. People who choose these routes are not satisfied with who they are; they want to become different and better people. For example, G. I. Gurdjieff (c. 1872–1949), the Russian philosopher and teacher, kept himself open to new ideas and belief systems so that he could continually transform himself. He traveled throughout Asia and Europe in search of teachers from whom he could learn, viewing rebirth as an essential part of living that should happen continually rather than as a onetime event.

Some followers appreciate the interpersonal involvement of followership. People who value these bonds follow people rather than goals or dreams. Others are more inwardly focused; they see followership not primarily as a relationship with others, but as a vehicle for achieving personal dreams. Many of the early NASA engineers worked together for ten years to put a person on the moon. But the goal, not their relationships with the leader, motivated them to follow.

Based on these two pairs of dimensions, seven major followership paths emerge: The apprentice's path, the disciple's path, the mentee's path, the comrade's path, the path of loyalty, the dreamer's path, and the life-way path. Each person is likely to follow one or more of these paths during life; indeed, a person can travel

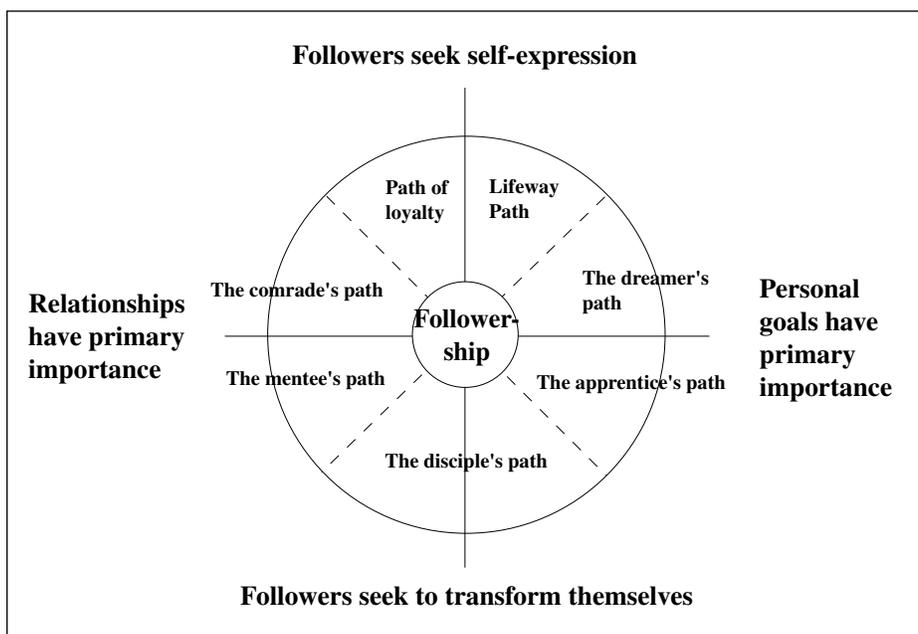


Figure 2. *The Seven Paths of Followership*
Source: Robert E. Kelley; used with permission.

down some of them simultaneously. The paths are not mutually exclusive.

The Apprentice's Path

Perhaps the most easily identified path is the one chosen by those aspiring to be leaders. They understand the need to learn the ropes and pay their dues. By proving themselves in the follower's role, they hope to win the confidence of peers and superiors. They accept the value of doing a good job in the role, studying leadership from the followers' perspective, and polishing followership skills, such as teamwork and self-management, that will always stand them in good stead. Many women residents of Jane Addams's Hull House, for example, saw Hull House as a community center where they could learn the professional skills necessary to launch careers in government, industry, and universities.

In his *Politics*, Aristotle observed that Greece's would-be leaders, like many graduating students today, wanted to start at the top rather than work their way up. Decrying their power lust, Aristotle insisted that training as a nonleader was a necessary part of growing to leadership. He advised those who wanted to lead to learn first how to obey and to experience being a subject before becoming a ruler. In fact, most large bureaucracies treat followership as apprenticeship. In China's civil service, which dates back to the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE), the candidate's ascent to leadership depended upon their performance in lower ranks. China's civil-service system became a model for other large bureaucracies that would follow it in history, indirectly influencing the U.S. military, where future leaders must spend time in the ranks, learning what it is like to be directed and commanded, before they are allowed to issue their own orders.

The Disciple's Path

Discipleship is seldom discussed in today's secular world, except when celebrity cults spill across the media headlines or religious fanaticism results in political fiascoes (as when the confrontation between the U. S. government and the Branch Davidian reli-

Never follow the crowd.

—Bernard Baruch

gious group in 1993 in Waco, Texas, resulted in the deaths of eighty-two Davidians). Nowadays associated almost exclusively with religion, discipleship conjures up images of crowds gathered at a master's feet, hanging on every word. Yet some remarkable followers in the secular world began as disciples. For example, having read Plato's dialogues, the seventeen-year-old Aristotle left his hometown for Athens to study in Plato's Academy. For the next twenty formative years, Aristotle worked and studied with a brilliant group of disciples under Plato's leadership.

The word *disciple* comes from the Greek. Its original meaning was "one who is learning from a teacher." Generally, it involved intellectual, not emotional or spiritual, development. Nor did it involve indoctrination in any set of beliefs. Although Aristotle clearly loved and was greatly influenced by Plato, he felt free to criticize him, and did.

Over time, discipleship took on another dimension. It moved beyond learning to mean "one who believes." It implies an act of conversion to a certain viewpoint. This conversion moves beyond intellectual judgment to an emotional commitment and obedience, where one breaks old ties and adheres exclusively to the new. It also leads to witnessing—that is, spreading to others what has been learned.

Although discipleship is generally placed in the context of religion, it permeates many fields. For example, Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) attracted disciples to his psychoanalytic theories and practices, and disciples of John Maynard Keynes (1883–1946), a champion of social welfare economics, argue with the disciples of Milton Friedman (b. 1912), a proponent of free-market economics. Disciples often represent the leader, serving as missionaries who carry the message to others.

The psychology behind this form of followership is identification. Followers want to bond with and emulate the leader. They are willing to become a part of something that is bigger, better, or more important than they are individually. Disciples give up their

current persona to take on a new one—one that the followers feel enlarges them.

The Mentee's Path

Mentoring is different from apprenticing in that it involves an intensive one-on-one relationship between mentor and follower, which enables the follower to mature. Mentees entrust themselves, emotionally and developmentally, to someone who perhaps perceives them as a “diamond in the rough.” The mentor helps shape the diamond so that it sparkles. The mentor in this case often directs the mentee’s talents toward goals that will bring him or her great satisfaction.

The psychological readiness of an individual to benefit from this form of followership depends upon the individual’s ability to surrender to the mentor’s influence. Often, some experience in life—the death of a loved one, getting fired from a job—triggers this readiness.

Like apprentices, mentees choose to be followers so that they can transform themselves. Whereas the goal of apprenticeship is mastery of skills, however, the goal of mentoring is personal maturation. People who follow a mentor do so for personal benefit. But the followers who seek out mentors are not always trying to become leaders. They may simply see the mentoring relationship as a way of bettering themselves. Mentees hope to be better people, which will then allow them to be better contributors.

The Comrade's Path

Sometimes being part of a community shapes followership. The reason for following may have nothing to do with getting ahead, personal growth, or intellectual development. Instead, it may be about the intimacy and social support that develop when people bond.

Comradeship is found in any endeavor that requires the effort and talents of more than one person, whether sports, orchestral performances, or the construction of a supercomputer. People also band together as a way of coping with stress. The bonds formed in study groups that help members get

through the first year of law school last long after graduation. In these situations, people follow for mutually reinforcing reasons: your feeling of goodwill toward the group and the belief that survival is more likely if you collectively share and watch out for one another.

Nor is comradeship forged only during stressful times. Sometimes it happens when people are working together for a good cause. For example, Jane Addams, Julia Lathrop (1858–1932), and Florence Kelley (1859–1932) formed the inner circle of Hull House during the early years. Unlike the disciples and apprentices who gathered around Addams, Lathrop and Kelley were comrades-in-arms. They addressed each other in their letters as “Dear Sister” and developed a sense of camaraderie, of dedication to an ideal that was based on respect, commitment, and love.

The psychology behind comradeship is one of intimacy that comes from belonging. Once you feel part of something, you transcend feelings of isolation and even feelings of self. This explains why people follow rather than seek personal glory, and why they give their all so that their comrades can succeed.

The Path of Loyalty

Some people follow out of personal loyalty to the leader. Leonard Peikoff (b. 1933), the protector of objectivism, the individualistic philosophy of Ayn Rand (1905–1982), proudly described himself as the “feudal serf” of Ayn Rand’s cause.

For some, this loyalty is an inherent obligation of existence. Fierce loyalty was expected of Japan’s samurai. In the code of Bushido—the “way of the warrior”—loyalty is of paramount importance. Chinese Confucian ethics made obedience to parents the primary human duty, but Japanese Bushido gave precedence to loyalty to the leader.

The path of loyalty, like that of comradeship, requires emotional commitment to another. Deep within, you choose to follow this leader. You give your word. Unlike comradeship, the bond is one to one—follower to leader. Unlike in mentoring relationships, the follower motivated by loyalty is not concerned with personal maturation. The primary characteristic of the path of loyalty is commitment,

willingly given and unshakable from the outside. Only the two people can tear it asunder.

The Dreamer's Path

Many of the best followers are committed to their personal dream rather than to a particular leader. They are so focused on achieving their dream that it does not matter whether they are in the leader or follower role. These people may follow a leader not because of who the leader is but because the leader embodies the idea or the cause. David Newell, a longtime follower of Fred Rogers, the creator of the children's television program *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood*, summarized the reason that he and others there followed.

"Most people think we're in the TV business. But we're not. We're in the child development business. Our goal is to help children and families grow. Everything we do has the message at its core. That's what has kept me here for so long. If Fred or this organization ever moved away from these, then that's when I'd probably leave" (Kelley, 1992, 75). This follower is interested in the message first and the leader second. The dream is the guiding force.

William Broyles describes how, during the Vietnam War, the Viet Cong saw the war with the United States as the transcendent challenge. In their mind, they were fighting for a great goal, one worth dying for. They had traded in the rice paddy and were riding on the wind of history.

When people follow because of their dream, the psychology is called internalization. Followership occurs because individual goals are the same as the organization's or leader's goal. In other words, follower and leader believe in the same thing and want to make the same things happen. These followers control their ego drives and accept another's authority in their overriding desire to accomplish the goal. However, when the bond created by the dream withers, these people cease to play the follower role and the leader has no power over them.

The Lifeway Path

A final type of followership is taken by those who follow out of a conviction that no other lifeway is as

rewarding. These people follow out of personal preference or because followership is compatible with their personal make-up. For example, they may be inherently altruistic or naturally skilled at following. Or, the follower role may be most consistent with their outlook on life.

For some, following is a way of serving, harking back to the original definition of the word follower. Unlike followers who are pursuing a particular dream, these followers make helping others their goal. Today's Peace Corps volunteers, who are trying to be of service to their Third World neighbors, are examples of the latter; their predecessors, who were following the dream articulated by John F. Kennedy, were examples of the former. Of course, someone could have a dream of having a lifeway of followership, but for the most part, these are different paths. Kelley has related this "servant followership" to "servant leadership," as described by Robert Greenleaf (1904–1990), the founder of the Center for Applied Ethics (now the Greenleaf Center for Servant-Leadership).

Others consciously decide that they are better suited to play the follower role all or part of the time. They are uncomfortable being leaders. They don't like being the one that everyone looks to for a vision, for inspiration, or for the final judgment. Being Number Two suits them much better than being Number One. It is the doing, not the directing, that they enjoy.

An intriguing subset of lifeway followers are those who have leadership instincts and skills but choose the follower role in certain circumstances. They may be leaders in other fields who do not have the time or emotional energy to take on a new leadership role but who still want to contribute. Some are leaders who know how important star followership is to them, and so they return the favor when they follow. In some cases their leadership talents are simply not suited to a particular situation, as when a corporate leader feels out of place in government meetings. These individuals are followers because they have rationally decided that following is what they want to do. They realize that they will be happier and the outcome will be more positive if they complement rather than compete with the leader.

EXTERNAL FACTORS AFFECTING FOLLOWERSHIP

As described above, followership style is highly affected by personal motivation and skill set. However, at least three external factors also come into play: leadership styles, rewards, and culture.

Leadership Styles

When the political theorist Bertrand de Jouvenal (1903–1987) said that a nation of sheep will bring about a government of wolves, he expressed dramatically how leadership and followership styles interact with each other, with cause and effect going in both directions. Autocratic leaders direct their followers without consulting them. They give orders that are not to be questioned, only implemented. Autocratic leaders are most likely to attract or encourage those followership styles that look to the leader for thinking and guidance, namely, the yes-people and the sheep. Likewise, those types of followers will either search for or elicit autocratic leadership. In essence, they demand it, even if the leader might prefer a different leadership style.

In a similar way, leaders can interact with the follower's chosen path. For example, appeal to those followers seeking transformation, such as those following the disciple's, the mentee's, or the apprentice's paths. If followers and leaders understand each other's styles and motivations, then they are more likely to understand their own behavior and more likely to pair off correctly

Rewards

Followers, like leaders, respond to rewards. If yes-follower behavior is expected by the leader and rewarded by the organization, then people are likely to fulfill the followership role using that style. It is not unusual for organizations undergoing difficult economic times to lay people off. In the face of this economic uncertainty and sense of betrayal by the organization—essentially the removal of rewards—many followers migrate to the pragmatic style.

Culture

The terms *follower* and *leader* carry strong cultural connotations. Various cultures view them differently and have different expectations for them. In the United States, leadership is considered better than followership. The U.S. culture encourages leadership development from a very early age, and sends negative signals about followership. In other countries, such as Japan, followership is strongly reinforced, while leadership is given less societal weight.

ETHICS OF FOLLOWERSHIP: COURAGEOUS CONSCIENCE

In the traditional leader-follower dynamic, the leader makes the decisions and sets the ethical framework for the group, while the follower is expected to do as told. But that is not how it works with the best followers. Instead, star followers spend considerable time and effort worrying about the ethics of their actions.

In some cases, leaders are forced to choose from among a series of bad options. Or, they are forced to make their decisions under enormous pressures that followers don't have. In such situations, ethics is seen as just one of many factors that must be considered in the final decision; it may get short shrift. But that is precisely why conscience is included in the range of skills that make up star followership. Even though there are times when it can be very inconvenient, leaders need their star followers to act as ethical watchdogs. The organization's future can depend on how effectively followers heed their consciences.

Star followers exhibit courageous conscience. Having courageous conscience means they have the ability to judge right from wrong and the fortitude to take steps toward what they believe is right. It involves both conviction and action, often in the face of strong pressures to abstain from acting.

Some followers are faced with a leader who asks them to do something they believe is wrong or to stop doing something they believe is good for the organization. In most cases are the request will not be extreme; it will not jeopardize people's lives or con-

stitute a gross legal violation in which millions of dollars are at stake. Rather, it will be something more ordinary, like altering a time sheet, withholding relevant information from another department in the company, padding a customer's bill, or producing products that have not been thoroughly tested for safety. Or they may have been working on a product to they were personally committed, only to have the boss kill the project and reassign them to something else.

Under these circumstances, the best followers follow the dictates of their courageous conscience. When people talk about ethical conduct, they first think of one side of the ethical coin—avoiding or correcting existing wrongs. So, when the boss asks subordinates to do something unethical, star followers take steps to help the leader see that it is wrong or, failing that, will refuse to carry out the order. But the courageous conscience goes beyond acknowledging and correcting wrong. The flip side motivates them to make positive contributions—for example, championing a new idea in the face of strong organizational resistance, dealing with a problem before it grows into a crisis, or arguing for the reinstatement of a worthy program that has been cut. Their courageous conscience may put their position at risk, but it is risk required of star followers.

THE CHANGING CONTEXT OF FOLLOWERSHIP

In 1977 a review of literature on followership turned up only three articles on the topic. In 2003, a Google Internet search on the term *followership* produced 10,589 hits, and *followership research* produced 3,930 hits. While not all of these hits will be completely relevant to the topic, it is still clear that in a little over twenty-five years, the field has changed substantially. Followership is now considered an important part of the followership-leadership equation.

—Robert E. Kelley

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FORD, HENRY (1863–1947)

Pioneering American industrialist

Henry Ford did not invent the automobile, he democratized it, bringing it within reach of millions of workers. At Ford Motor Company in the early years of the twentieth century Ford devised a new kind of commercial enterprise—the large-scale, mass-production industrial factory—and with it new modes of labor, organization, authority, and control. Ford played a critical role in bringing forth a new capitalist culture based on mass production, large-scale organization, and mass consumption of low-cost industrial goods. Fordism, a system of work and social organization typified by rationality, economies of scale, efficiency, and division of labor, became the mark of modernity in the twentieth century. Ford's promise of liberation—"Man plus the machine," he said, "is a free man"—came to be seen by critics as a curse and a shackle, tying men to the assembly line and dehumanizing the experience of labor for millions of industrial workers.

Henry Ford grew up on a farm near Dearborn, Michigan, obsessed with mechanical toys, clocks, and machines. His mother died when he was twelve, leaving his home, as he recalled, "like a watch without a mainspring." At sixteen, Ford walked to Detroit and found work as a mechanic's apprentice. Over the next twenty years, he juggled increasing responsibilities as an engineer (rising to become chief engineer at Edison Illuminating Company) with his passion for tinkering, to which he gave rein during his leisure time. Ford built his first automobile, the Quadricycle, in 1896, and attracted \$150,000 in capital to start the



The 15-millionth Ford Model T coming off the assembly line in Dearborn, Michigan, on 26 May 1927.

Source: Corbis; used with permission.

Detroit Automobile Company in 1899. The company failed within a year. Undaunted, and determined to have greater control over his next venture, Ford attracted enough investors to open Ford Motor Company in 1903.

For the infant automobile industry, it was an age of wild growth. The Duryea brothers had built the first gas-powered American automobile in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1889. In 1903, alongside Ford Motor Company, fifty-six other new car companies started up—and twenty-seven failed, as well. Ford's innovation was less technological than cultural: "I will build a motorcar for the multitudes," the young Ford boasted. His vision was the same rationalist dream as that of Elias Howe and Eli Whitney a century earlier, and of Adam Smith before them—the rational division of labor to maximize efficiency, the transformation of a craft into an organized process. "The way to make automobiles," Ford said in words that echoed the famous opening of Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, "is to make one automobile like another automobile, to make them all alike, to make them come through the factory just alike, just as one pin is like another pin when it comes from the pin factory." When Ford hit on the Model T in 1908, he had achieved his dream—a sturdy, powerful, reliable, and inexpensive car for the masses. By 1913,

Ford produced almost half the cars sold in the United States.

It was in 1913, with the innovation of the assembly line, that Ford hit his stride. Within a year of the installation of the assembly line at Ford's Highland Park factory, the time required to build a Model T dropped 90 percent, from 12.5 hours to 1.5 hours. Such a radical reformulation of work produced massive stress among workers, and in 1914, in response to chronic absenteeism and high turnover, Ford doubled the company's minimum wage to a famous five dollars a day. Daily absenteeism dropped from 10 percent to less than .05 percent. To many, Ford's cheap machines and high wages seemed to offer a utopian solution to the ancient clash of capital and labor.

Ford himself was a man of paradox, equal parts visionary and crank, radical and antiquarian, populist and tycoon. He built the mightiest industrial complex the world had ever seen, the River Rouge plant, where more than forty thousand workers toiled in a fantasy of control almost pharaonic in its grandeur—and next to this vast industrial conurbation he built an idealized museum town, Greenfield Village, to capture the lost Jeffersonian America of his youth and dreams. His youthful vision and tinkering spirit gradually hardened into a rigid, backward-looking authoritarianism, so that he clung to his great invention, the Model T, until 1927, long after it had lost its luster. He threw himself into lawsuits and politics, launching a Peace Ship to Europe in 1915 and a Senatorial campaign in 1918, and then as quickly abandoned those efforts. Perceiving himself a self-made man and a friend of ordinary Americans, he disdained bankers and financiers, a mistrust that soured into a conspiratorial, splenetic anti-Semitism he trumpeted on the pages of his newspaper, the *Dearborn Independent*.

Ford's mode of control, always impulsive and authoritarian, became increasingly dictatorial after he bought out his minority stockholders in 1919 and became the sole master of his industrial empire. He fired those who challenged him. His relations with his son Edsel were a psychodrama of manipulation and control. The company developed a Byzantine power structure and a virtual cult of personality around the tycoon the *New York Times* called "an

If you think you can do a thing or that you cannot do a thing, in either case you are right.

—Henry Ford

industrial fascist—the Mussolini of Detroit.” Ironically, the supremely rational enterprise, weakened by its success, turned increasingly irrational. By the 1920s Ford, disdainful of research, innovation, and marketing, began to be passed by GM and other competitors more sensitive to the complex appetites of car buyers.

Ford’s relations with his workers had always been uneasy. The democratic promise of the Model T was counterbalanced by the brutal pace and numbing conditions of the assembly line, as depicted in films like Chaplin’s “Modern Times” (1936) or the recollections of an auto worker: “If you were to think about the job itself, you’d slowly go out of your mind” (quoted in Terkel, 1972, 160). Early on, Ford’s paternalistic Sociological Department had investigated the character and home lives of workers, part of a constant effort to measure and control every work input and output. For years, the company held out against the logical response to the factory environment, unionization. In 1937, Ford goes brutally attacked union organizers and sympathizers handing out literature outside the River Rouge plant. Photos of the bloody assault excited national attention. Finally, in 1941 Ford workers voted to join the CIO.

Fordism, the set of ideas that Henry Ford characterized as “power, accuracy, economy, system, continuity, speed and repetition,” today drives not only industrial behemoths but also firms as diverse as Wal-Mart (retail sales), Hallmark (greeting cards), and Novartis (pharmaceutical and genetic research). Even so-called post-Fordism, with its emphasis on flexible production, lean inventories, and total quality management, represents only an evolution of Ford’s basic ideas: the harnessing of machines (even computers and emerging nano-technologies), economies of scale, and the ceaseless quest for rational control of work.

—Michael Harvey

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🌐 FREE PRESS IN PANAMA, CREATION OF

The editors are privileged and pleased to include in this encyclopedia the following entry on the creation of the free press in Panama, written by the man who created it, I. Roberto Eisenmann. Mr. Eisenmann showed uncommon courage and extraordinary leadership in the establishment of La Prensa (“The Press”). His story highlights the importance of vision, strategy, and execution in enabling groups to accomplish their goals.

—George R. Goethals, Georgia J. Sorenson.

I believe I have a unique, multidimensional experience and vision with regards to journalism and its frontline position in the continuing battle for democracy. I would like to share the Panama experience, which I believe may prove useful in countries where democracy is nonexistent, at risk, or stable but where independent journalism as a cornerstone of freedom of expression is at peril.

I entered the profession of journalism in 1979 at a mature age, totally unaware of what it encompassed, motivated simply by my overpowering desire to turn the light on in my country—which had been living in total darkness—and by the profound conviction that freedom of expression and information is the root of all other freedoms and, as a consequence, the front line in the battle to reclaim a democratic system of government in the face of a prolonged military dictatorship.

We of the founding group of *La Prensa* looked for the best people in every area of the profession. We traveled to meet with them wherever they happened

to be and told them what we sought to accomplish, namely, to create a world-class newspaper in the midst of dictatorship, despite lacking money and experience, and with the specific mission of creating democratic infrastructure and becoming—in five years’ time—Panama’s leading newspaper. We asked them to teach us the ropes, and listened. Our ignorance became an asset as we listened and learned from the best, with no preconceived biases, allowing our “maestros” to suggest every possible new and modern idea, something almost impossible to do in well-established and entrenched media organizations.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

First, allow me to describe the situation in Panama in 1979. We had been living under the military dictatorship of General Omar Torrijos (1929–1981) for eleven years. There were four daily newspapers (all under the regime’s control) and two television stations that were indirectly controlled by the regime, as were all radio stations. Political parties had been legally dissolved. “Enemies of the regime” (as anybody with an opposing view was labeled) were killed, “disappeared,” or arrested and expatriated. I, as a businessman critical of the regime and active in intermediate organizations of my sector, was one of the fortunate “enemies,” for after being arrested while driving my children to school, I suffered no more than some roughing up before being put on a military aircraft—with twelve others—and dropped in Guayaquil, Ecuador. There I started the first of what would be two forced exiles of three-and-a-half years each—seven years’ exile in total. At this time in Panama’s history negotiations over the Panama Canal treaty were starting; Carter was the U.S. president at the time. Once the treaty documents were initialed, President Carter started an uphill battle to have them ratified by the Senate. Votes were hard to come by, and for the “human-rights president,” Panamanian political exiles running around the halls of Congress were very inconvenient. Carter therefore persuaded Torrijos to announce an *apertura*, or opening, allowing the return of all Panamanian exiles; I was in that group.

THE IDEA FOR A NEWSPAPER

It was on that very emotional flight back home that I thought to myself, “Now what? I’m on the list of ‘enemies of the state’; I will not get off it. How can I put my entrepreneurial talents to work for the return of democracy in my country?” The answer came to me immediately: I must establish an independent and free press.

Upon return I shared the idea with family and a few close friends. All were excited, as all previous (and unsuccessful) attempts had been made by intellectuals with no business experience. We made a few important decisions:

- The founding group, or board, would be small; no more than five people.
- The board would have to be courageous, of the highest personal integrity, willing to risk their lives for the project, and representative of all democratic political movements so as to avoid political labeling of the paper.
- They would have to be willing to contribute one-half day’s work, every day, to the project.
- Each would have to put up or collect \$5,000 as seed capital to start the project.

With this profile, I set out to talk with a selected few and formed the founding board of directors with a Social Democrat, a Christian Democrat, a Democratic Socialist, and two independents. We collected the \$25,000 in seed capital and started traveling to find our “maestros.” Carlos Castañeda, from El Nuevo Día of Puerto Rico, agreed to design our paper, and Armando Gonzalez of the Miami Herald gave us a tour of the Herald (our first visit to a newspaper; it was an overpowering experience). Armando promised us a feasibility study with an estimate of the capital we would require, and we started discussing and deciding the important elements of our project. We chose the name *La Prensa* for our paper as it evoked the memory of previous antidictatorial examples in journalism in Latin America. We decided to make the paper a broadsheet, as serious journalism in Panama has traditionally been published in that format.

Armando’s feasibility study determined that we

would require \$1 million to get our paper under way. The figure floored us, but we came up with an idea: Instead of looking for “heavies” to put up the money (as was traditionally done in Panama), we would have many people put up small amounts, with a maximum investment of \$5,000 (and no minimum). This way the paper wouldn’t be owned by one person or group, but by many, thus guaranteeing editorial independence and, more importantly, making it impossible for the dictatorship to kill the project by targeting a few owners. Furthermore, because no one would have invested a large sum, the paper would be able to hit the dictatorship hard without owners incurring personal risk. Collecting the money would be an enormous task, as every potential shareholder would have to be approached individually in a semiclandestine way, but we decided to go ahead with the plan.

STARTING UP

We refined the numbers in the feasibility study, arrived at an estimate of an initial eighteen months of projected operational losses, printed our model “Number 0” in Miami, brought it to Panama inside our suitcases, made up a list of people each one of us would visit, made up our sales pitch and went to work, meeting every day to compare notes and deposit checks. In pitching the paper to potential investors, we stressed that we were not asking them to do anything that we ourselves had not already done—we pointed out that we had all put up \$5,000 already. Rather than playing on any sense of moral obligation to contribute to the project, we stressed that we intended to create a world-class paper. Finally, we promised that if we had not raised the necessary capital in six months, we would return all the investors’ money, with interest. In the meantime, all money would go into an escrow account. To our great surprise, in four months we had raised the complete amount needed from 1,300 small shareholders.

We then set out to pre-sell advertising and home delivery subscriptions (a first for Panama), while making up charts and timetables of what we would need when in terms of buildings, equipment, paper, staff, and so on. We planned to open on 4 August

1980, exactly one year after having put the idea together. We were able to meet all our own deadlines.

During the process we had many scares from the regime; it is impossible to discuss them all in this entry, but it is important to answer the logical question of why the dictatorial regime allowed us to open at all. Our information is that Torrijos had a few meetings with his advisers on what to do with us. At a certain point in the discussions he asked how much the regime, which owned three newspapers that were the sole recipients of all government advertising dollars, was losing per year. Upon hearing that the government was losing a million dollars a year, the general decided to let us open, no doubt thinking that we would go broke within the year, while at the same time he would be able to boast of allowing freedom of expression in the country. He did not know that we had enough money to cover eighteen months of losses or that with our pre-sold advertising and home delivery, we projected breaking even on Month 19—a goal we actually achieved.

SUCCESS

We thought about how we should open. In our criticism of the regime, should we start warm and increase the heat as we went along, or should we open with guns blazing from the start? We decided on the second approach. Did we ever ask ourselves if publishing this particular story or that one might bring a violent reaction that could close us? That thought never crossed our minds; as mentioned earlier, no single person had that much at risk. As for editorial independence, there was no “owner’s line,” no prohibited subjects, no favorite subjects or persons. We had a code of ethics that we made public, and we asked our readers to hold us accountable. We started Panama’s first investigative journalism team, which uncovered massive regime corruption to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars.

We endured many life-threatening situations, physical attacks, arrests of our journalists, closures, and destruction of our equipment, but every attack boosted our circulation and the support from the community. As we had planned, in five years we were the nation’s leading newspaper, with a circula-

tion three times that of the regime's papers, and we had definitely become the most important democratic institution in the country.

In 1989, the U.S. invaded Panama and arrested General Manuel Noriega (b. 1938), at that time the de facto ruler of Panama. Our paper had been closed by Noriega and its offices occupied by his troops, and most of our plant was destroyed. With the help of many we were back in print in a week's time, at double our normal circulation.

Most of the new government's positions were filled by people who had been at *La Prensa*. The logical question was, Do you now become a pro-government newspaper? Our answer was no; our mandate, from our many small shareholders, was to be an independent news organization, and independent means first and foremost independent from any government. We held to our mandate, then faced the hardships of a free press critical of a democratic government. This brought on a proxy fight to oust me, promoted by a cabinet minister and founder of *La Prensa*, but fortunately a great majority of our 1,300 small shareholders voted for continued independence, and the paper continued, with a strengthened resolve to carry out its original mandate.

In 1995, after fifteen years running the paper, I did not submit my name for reelection and retired from the paper, though I still write weekly op-ed pieces. The institution, now under the leadership of its fourth publisher, is still by far the dominant media organization, owned by the community and all its employees, and it continues to be a financial success. Shareholders receive dividends that have reached 50 percent per year on their original investment, and employees have received profit-sharing bonuses of up to eight months' wages, making journalism not only an honorable but also a well-paid profession. As a consequence of *La Prensa's* example, all other media have become more independent, and Panama has a vibrant free press.

WIDER APPLICATIONS

What we must ask ourselves is whether this experience has possible applications in other countries, or whether it is unique, for some reason, to Panama.

Personally, I feel it is definitely possible to transfer *La Prensa's* success to other countries with dictatorial regimes, be they military or "elected" autocracies. But taking it further, I believe the formula is even possible in countries such as the United States, where freedom of the press is alive, but not well, as media outlets have become properties owned by large multimedia corporations and dominated not by community needs but by the bottom line as dictated by the stock market. Most U.S. cities are now one-paper cities where the dominant paper is resented by large portions of the communities they serve and is constantly facing dropping circulation and advertising numbers.

I wonder if the time is not ripe for *Prensa*-like new media outlets widely connected to their communities to give the giants a run for their money, regaining the independent journalistic values that the United States showed the world, but that today many U.S. journalists are deeply concerned are on the wane.

—I. Roberto Eisenmann, Jr.

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FREUD, SIGMUND (1856–1939) *Physician and psychoanalyst*

Sigmund Freud was the most prominent and visible leader of the psychoanalytic movement. More than sixty years after his death, he remains the individual most closely associated in the public mind not just with psychoanalysis but with psychiatry in general.

Sigmund Freud was born in Frieberg, Moravia (now the Czech Republic), on 6 May 1856. (Freud shortened his name to Sigmund in 1877.) Freud's father, Jacob, was a lower-middle-class, Jewish wool merchant. Freud was the first of eight children born to Jacob and his third wife, Amalia Nathansohn Freud. The family moved to Vienna, one of the most cosmopolitan cities in Europe, when Freud was four, hoping that anti-Semitism would be less severe there

than in the countryside. The family recognized that Freud was a brilliant student and supported his education. He earned a medical degree in 1881 from the prestigious University of Vienna and pursued a career in psychiatry after anti-Semitism prevented him from finding a position in neurology. Throughout his career Freud regarded himself as a scientist and viewed psychoanalysis as a science. He first worked with hysterics—physical disorders such as paralyzed limbs that had no physical cause—and was introduced to hypnosis and the “talking cure” by the Austrian physician Josef Breuer and French neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot. In 1886 Freud married Martha Bernays, and the couple had three sons and three daughters. Their youngest child, Anna, was analyzed by Freud and became his most loyal follower and strongest advocate later in his life. In 1891 Freud moved to Berggasse 19 in Vienna and opened his private practice. The house became the Freud Museum Vienna in 1971.

Freud developed his initial theories and method of treatment, which he labeled “psychoanalysis” in 1896, using a unique methodology that combined self-analysis and dream interpretation with analysis of several key patients, followed by discussions in his home with a small circle of fledgling analysts. By 1906 the circle included William Stekel, Alfred Adler, Otto Rank, Abraham Brill, Eugen Bleuler, and Carl Jung, and later Sandor Ferenczi and Ernest Jones. In 1908 it became the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society. This society served as an organizational mode for local and regional psychoanalytic societies in Europe, Great Britain, and the United States.

Over the course of his lifetime, Freud and his colleagues amplified, revised, and added to their initial insights and extended psychoanalytic theory to encompass virtually all elements of the human experience, including jokes, accidents, religion, creativity, and even civilization itself. Freud and his followers also set forth guidelines for the conduct of psychoanalysis that have been revised substantially by others over the years. Freud was not tolerant of dissent, and Adler and Jung were forced to leave the group and went on to lead psychoanalytic schools of their own, with Jung’s being especially popular in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Later, Freud

also broke with Otto Rank. In the 1930s and 1940s, subsequent generations of analysts such as Karen Horney, Harry Stack Sullivan, and Erich Fromm were labeled neo-Freudians in that they followed many of Freud’s basic ideas but added new insights that often considered social factors in personality formation and relationships to them.

In 1923 Freud, a lifelong cigar smoker, was diagnosed with cancer of the jaw. Over the next sixteen years, he endured thirty-three operations and radiation treatments and had to wear a prosthetic device that made it difficult for him to speak clearly. (He was nursed by his daughter Anna, who also became his professional assistant and then colleague.) Freud’s fame protected him and his family when the Nazis first came to power in Germany and Austria, but in 1938 the family was forced to flee to London. Freud died on 23 September 1939 in his home at Marshfield Gardens, which became the Freud Museum London in 1986.

“A CLIMATE OF OPINION”

Upon Freud’s death, the British poet W. H. Auden noted that Freud was no longer a single person but rather now a “whole climate of opinion” that influences how people conduct their lives. Auden’s remark was hardly an overstatement as many social commentators place Freud among the top four individuals whose ideas most influenced life in the twentieth century. The other three who often make this list are British naturalist Charles Darwin, who developed the basics of biological evolutionary theory; German political philosopher Karl Marx, one of the founders of communist thought; and German-American physicist Albert Einstein, best known for his theory of relativity.

Sigmund Freud developed psychoanalytic theory as an explanation of human behavior, personality, and society, and he developed the psychoanalytic method of treatment for emotion problems and disorders. Always seeing himself as a scientist, Freud was a brilliant, insightful, and creative thinker whose ideas about the structure and function of the mind, human emotional development, social relations, religion, and other matters changed how people viewed

themselves, raised their children, and related to one another. Freud's ideas and methods, first developed in Vienna, Austria, in the late nineteenth century and then expanded and reshaped for some forty years, were and remain highly controversial. There seems to have never been much middle ground about Freud and his ideas; one is either with him or against him. To some extent, this was a situation that Freud himself created, for as the leader of the psychoanalytic movement he had little tolerance for those who disagreed with him. As mentioned, those who publicly differed with him such as Alfred Adler and Carl Jung found themselves expelled from his Vienna circle of followers and off on their own, in their cases to found alternative psychoanalytic movements.

FREUD AS INFLUENCER AND LEADER

Like much else about him, his life, and ideas, Freud's relationship to leadership is a complex topic and one open to considerable interpretation. Freud was the founder and leader of a major intellectual movement, leader of small group of followers, leader of his family in patriarchal Viennese society, developer of a theory of personality with implications for leadership study, and initiator of the method of historical study called psychohistory. His influence went far beyond psychology and psychiatry and stretched deep into education, anthropology, history, and literary and film theory.

Freud was considered one of the leading public intellectuals of the first third of the twentieth century. His ideas were closely followed in the liberal intellectual circles of the United States and Britain, and not a few intellectuals and wealthy patrons sought to undergo psychoanalysis with him in Vienna. His open discussion of sexuality and his preference for explanation through science rather than religion were attractive to many liberal thinkers and social reformers of the time.

Freud was not shy about sharing his ideas and he did so through a never-ending progression of lectures, articles, papers, and books. His collected written works fill twenty-four volumes. He spoke and wrote in German, but his works were soon translated into English and French by followers. As a result,

psychoanalysis became popular in England, France, and the United States. Freud considered his book *The Interpretation of Dreams* (written after his self-analysis) to be his most significant work. He delayed actual publication until the year 1900 as he viewed it as a pathbreaking work and wanted it to be associated with the new century. Many experts agree with his evaluation of this work. His rich collection of writings has created a cottage industry that continues in the twenty-first century, populated by supporters, critics, and more impartial biographers and commentators who continue to debate his ideas and methods in particular, and his life and psychoanalysis in general.

Freud's methods and ideas were controversial from the beginning. His open discussion of sexuality shocked many in Victorian Europe, and his approach to understanding and treating emotional illness was rejected at first by the medical establishment. It became widely popular only in the second decade of the twentieth century when his ideas were brought to America, Britain, and other nations of Europe. Although the United States became and remains a center for psychoanalysis (although less so now than in the past), Freud visited America only once—when he gave five lectures at Clark University in Massachusetts in 1909.

Since the 1950s, Freudian theory and method and Freud himself have been the objects of continuous criticism and also numerous defenses. These criticisms have emerged in the context of gross changes in the methods and theories of psychology and the treatment of mental illness. Behavioral, cognitive, genetic, neurobiological, and chemical approaches have to a significant extent displaced psychoanalytic and psychodynamic ones, and many emotional disorders and problems are now treated with psychoactive drugs. To his credit, Freud expected that his theories would be replaced eventually with a broader and deeper biological explanation of such disorders, and it appears that there is movement in that direction.

CRITICAL VIEWS OF FREUD AND HIS WORD

There are several major criticisms of Freud and his ideas and methods. First, and most telling is the



Betty Friedan on Freud

Freud, it is generally agreed, was a most perceptive and accurate observer of important problems of the human personality. But in describing and interpreting those problems, he was a prisoner of his own culture. As he was creating a new framework for our culture, he could not escape the framework of his own. Even his genius could not give him, then, the knowledge of cultural processes which men who are not geniuses grow up with today.

The physicist's relativity, which in recent years has changed our whole approach to scientific knowledge, is harder, and therefore easier to understand, than the social scientist's relativity. It is not a slogan; but a fundamental statement about truth to say that no social scientist can completely free himself from the prison of his own culture; he can only interpret what he observes in the scientific framework of his own time. This is true even of the great innovators. They cannot help but translate their revolutionary observations into language and rubrics that have been determined by the progress of science up until their time. Even those discoveries that create new rubrics are relative to the vantage point of their creator.

Much of what Freud believed to be biological, instinctual, and changeless has been shown by modern research

to be a result of specific cultural causes. Much of what Freud described as characteristic of universal human nature was merely characteristic of certain middle-class European men and women at the end of the nineteenth century.

For instance, Freud's theory of the sexual origin of neurosis stems from the fact that many of the patients he first observed suffered from hysteria—and in those cases, he found sexual repression to be the cause. Orthodox Freudians still profess to believe in the sexual origin of all neurosis, and since they look for unconscious sexual memories in their patients, and translate what they hear into sexual symbols, they still manage to find what they are looking for.

But the fact is, cases of hysteria as observed by Freud are much more rare today. In Freud's time, evidently, cultural hypocrisy forced the repression of sex. (Some social theorists even suspect that the very absence of other concerns, in that dying Austrian empire, caused the sexual preoccupation of Freud's patients.) Certainly the fact that his culture denied sex focused Freud's interest on it. He then developed his theory by describing all the stages of growth as sexual, fitting all the phenomena he observed into sexual rubrics.

Source: Friedan, Betty. (1963). "The Sexual Solipsism of Sigmund Freud." *The Feminine Mystique*. Retrieved September 30, 2003, from <http://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/us/friedan.htm>

argument that Freud's methods were hardly scientific and that psychoanalytic theory is unscientific and unsupported (even unsupportable) by scientific research. Specific criticisms point out the few patients Freud used in developing his ideas, biases on his part, the continual revision of theory to fit new facts, the rejection of contrary evidence, and the fuzziness of such a general theory that claims to explain everything.

Second, there is much evidence dating to the 1950s that psychoanalysis is not an effective treatment. Psychoanalysis was never a treatment for the average person (it takes too much time and money for that) and is now typically entered into by people who are free of major emotional problems as a vehicle for self-exploration and personal growth.

The third major line of criticism comes from feminist scholars and others who describe Freudian theory as a patriarchal one that displays minimal under-

standing of women and their lives. Despite his openness in discussing human sexuality, Freud's ideas about women are imbedded in the intellectual and moral values of late-nineteenth-century Victorian Europe. But, some defenders note that women played a key role both as patients and research subjects—and also as analysts. Key early women analytic pioneers included Anna Freud, Melanie Klein, Helen Deutsch, and Karen Horney, although the last three were neo-Freudians who developed ideas of their own that went beyond traditional Freudian theory.

A fourth line of criticism goes beyond Freud's ideas and methods to attack him personally: that he deliberately misrepresented data to support his theories, had a family life that was less fulfilling than he claimed, had an affair with his wife's sister, was cold and distant, and was dictatorial and could not accept criticism from colleagues.

One recent public manifestation of the debates

about these criticisms was the controversy surrounding the October 1998 exhibit at the Library of Congress about Freud's influence. The exhibit was delayed for several years by critics who wanted to see criticisms as well as praise exhibited.

FREUD AND LEADERSHIP STUDIES

Within modern leadership studies, Freud today garners little attention, his theories never really competing with more recent behavioral, cognitive, and contingency models. While still popular with the general public, the psychohistorical approach to understanding leaders that he pioneered with his study of Leonardo da Vinci has lost favor in academia.

Freud's *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (1921) is his one work that has attracted some attention in leadership studies. A key point of the book is that strong leaders and their ideas have a major and lasting influence on groups and followers. Freud saw a leader's influence as being based on emotion. The idea of emotional ties between leaders and followers as a key element of leadership is now widely accepted by leadership scholars. Freud also emphasized that a leader's continuing power often rests on all followers believing that the leader loves each of them equally. Freud's work on narcissism has also drawn some attention, especially in a revised form in which at least some narcissistic traits, such as wanting to change the world, are seen as positive traits in leaders. Others, however, see narcissism in leaders as a form of dysfunctional leadership.

FREUD'S LEGACY

Freud's ideas—and psychoanalysis—continue to have significant influence in contemporary life. Perhaps Paul Kline best explained Freud's continuing popularity when he noted that Freud's ideas about many matters make sense to many people because many of his ideas fit with people's own life experiences and insights. Part of Freud's legacy is that many concepts and terms from psychoanalysis—unconscious, ego, superego, id, castration anxiety, Oedipus complex, denial, repression, talking cure,

and Freudian slip—are now part of the lexicon of daily life in the United States and elsewhere.

—David Levinson

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FRIEDAN, BETTY (b. 1921)

U.S. feminist leader

Betty Friedan helped begin the second feminist movement in the United States in the 1960s by writing *The Feminine Mystique* and cofounding the National Organization for Women (NOW).

Born Bettye Naomi Goldstein in Peoria, Illinois, on 4 February 1921, the future feminist displayed formidable intelligence and strong opinions in an era when beauty mattered most in girls. After graduating summa cum laude from Smith College in 1942, Friedan pursued graduate study in psychology at the University of California at Berkeley.

RUMBLINGS OF DISCONTENT

In 1943, Friedan won the prestigious Abraham Rosenberg Research Fellowship, the largest grant available at Berkeley and one sufficient enough to last through the end of her doctoral studies. Rather than being overjoyed, she regarded the award with conflicting emotions. Noting that most women with doctoral degrees remained single, Friedan feared that accepting the fellowship would end her hopes of a family life. Adding to the pressure, Friedan's boyfriend reminded her that he would never win such an award and pushed her to decline the honor. She did so but would later use this episode in *The Feminine Mystique* as an example of the hostile forces weighing down women struggling to reach their full potential.

Moving to New York City in 1943, Friedan found work as a labor journalist with the left-wing Federated Press. In 1946, the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers hired her away as a reporter for their official house organ. In June of the next year, she embarked on a tumultuous marriage to Carl Friedan, an entrepreneur and advertising executive. In 1952, the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers fired Friedan, then pregnant with her second child. In 1956, she would bear her third and last child.

A community activist in her suburban New York City neighborhood, she spent the 1950s employed as a freelance author for mass-circulation women's magazines. Plagued by guilt that she had not lived up to the glorious future forecast for her, she sought a reason as to why so many of the best and brightest women of her generation also felt dissatisfied.

BIRTH OF THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT

Friedan's experiences of gender-based discrimination combined in 1957 to lay the groundwork for *The*

Feminine Mystique. In this year, her Smith College class held its reunion and Friedan distributed a detailed questionnaire for classmates that would become the germ of the book. Most of the alumnae professed to be happy with their lives, but 60 percent did not find fulfillment in their role as homemaker. Friedan had discovered what she would term "The Problem That Has No Name," the deep-seated and confused dissatisfaction her classmates felt but could not fully articulate. *The Feminine Mystique*, so named because it challenged the myth of feminine fulfillment, appeared in print on 19 February 1963.

With a focus on white, middle-class suburban women, Friedan provided a coherent explanation for the routine belittlement that such women had experienced all their lives. She argued that the feminine mystique required women to renounce their brains and deny their senses, retreat to a childlike state, and immolate themselves on the altar of their family's needs to find satisfaction in life. A distinctive aspect of the book was Friedan's use and gendering of contemporary psychology, particularly the theories of Abraham Maslow. She took what psychologists had written about men and turned it to feminist purposes by arguing that people developed a healthy identity not through housework but through commitment to purposeful and sustained effort.

The book became an instant bestseller. For years afterward, women would tell Friedan that reading it had changed their lives. But society as a whole did not receive Friedan's message warmly. Interviewers focused on her appearance, her personality, and her life story to trivialize her findings. Partly in response, she became defensive and combative.

LEADER OF THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT

In 1966, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) treated women's complaints about sex discrimination as a joke and instead focused on the problems of black men. Convinced of the need for an organization to fight on behalf of women's concerns, Friedan helped cofound the National Organization for Women (NOW). Already the public face of feminism, she served as the president of NOW until 1970. To make an impact, NOW needed



Selection from *The Feminine Mystique* by Betty Friedan

When *The Feminine Mystique* was published in 1963, Betty Friedan gave voice to a generation of women who felt that something was inexplicably wrong with their lives. In this excerpt from the "The Problem That Has No Name," the first chapter of the book, Friedan spells out the nature of the problem women were facing.

The suburban housewife—she was the dream image of the young American women and the envy, it was said, of women all over the world. The American housewife—freed by science and labor-saving appliances from the drudgery, the dangers of childbirth and the illnesses of her grandmother. She was healthy, beautiful, educated, concerned only about her husband, her children, her home. She had found true feminine fulfillment. As a housewife and mother, she was respected as a full and equal partner to man in his world. She was free to choose automobiles, clothes, appliances, supermarkets; she had everything that women ever dreamed of.

In the fifteen years after World War II, this mystique of feminine fulfillment became the cherished and self-perpetuating core of contemporary American culture. Millions of women lived their lives in the image of those pretty pictures of the American suburban housewife, kissing their husbands goodbye in front of the picture window, depositing their station wagons full of children at school, and smiling as they ran the new electric waxer over the spotless kitchen floor. They baked their own bread, sewed their own and their children's clothes, kept their new washing machines and dryers running all day. They changed the sheets on the beds twice a week instead of once, took the rug-hooking class in adult education, and pitied their poor frustrated mothers, who had dreamed of having a career. Their only dream was to be perfect wives and mothers; their highest ambition to have five children and a beautiful house, their only fight to get and keep their husbands. They had no thought for the unfeminine prob-

lems of the world outside the home; they wanted the men to make the major decisions. They gloried in their role as women, and wrote proudly on the census blank: "Occupation: housewife."

For over fifteen years, the words written for women, and the words women used when they talked to each other, while their husbands sat on the other side of the room and talked shop or politics or septic tanks, were about problems with their children, or how to keep their husbands happy, or improve their children's school, or cook chicken or make slipcovers. Nobody argued whether women were inferior or superior to men; they were simply different. Words like "emancipation" and "career" sounded strange and embarrassing; no one had used them for years. When a Frenchwoman named Simone de Beauvoir wrote a book called *The Second Sex*, an American critic commented that she obviously "didn't know what life was all about," and besides, she was talking about French women. The "woman problem" in America no longer existed.

If a woman had a problem in the 1950's and 1960's, she knew that something must be wrong with her marriage, or with herself. Other women were satisfied with their lives, she thought. What kind of a woman was she if she did not feel this mysterious fulfillment waxing the kitchen floor? She was so ashamed to admit her dissatisfaction that she never knew how many other women shared it. If she tried to tell her husband, he didn't understand what she was talking about. She did not really understand it herself.

Source: Friedan, Betty. (1963). "The Problem That Has No Name." *The Feminine Mystique*. Retrieved September 30, 2003, from <http://www.h-net.org/~hst203/documents/friedan1.html>

Friedan's boldness and disdain for rules, but once the organization had matured it no longer tolerated her temper and histrionics.

In 1969, men trying to make abortion legal for doctors to perform invited Friedan to a meeting in hopes that her fame would bring publicity to their movement. At the founding of the National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws (NARAL—later called the National Abortion Rights Action League), Friedan suggested that the right of a

woman to control her body lay at the heart of abortion rights movement and persuaded the men to change their focus to a woman's choice. However, she was not subsequently active in NARAL.

The qualities of independence and combativeness that enabled Friedan to shatter societal presumptions about the proper place of women also made it impossible for her to work collaboratively to sustain her leadership of the women's movement throughout the 1970s. She managed to offend virtually everyone

with whom she worked. Other women's leaders, notably the more photogenic Gloria Steinem, assumed leadership of the movement as Friedan lost followers.

By the 1980s, Friedan had returned to her journalistic roots. Her 1981 book, called *Second Stage*, focused on working collaboratively with men to better the world. *The Fountain of Age*, about the myths of growing old that prompt some people to withdraw from life, made the bestseller list in 1993. *Beyond Gender: The Real Politics of Work and Family* appeared in 1997. Still enormously active, Friedan published her memoir *Life So Far* in 2000.

Friedan had the vision and determination to establish the women's movement. The mother of American feminism, she gave women the opportunity to choose the direction of their lives and encouraged them to reach their full potential.

—Caryn E. Neumann

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FRIENDSHIP

For the ancients, friendship was “the happiest and most fully human of all loves; the crown of life and the school of virtue” (C. S. Lewis, 1960, 69). Today, by contrast, it is seen as just another interpersonal relationship. Exclusively located in the private sphere, its significance in relation to ethics, justice, and public affairs is seldom discussed. Despite its vital contribution—for better or for worse—to the working atmosphere of groups, teams, and even whole organizations, friendship seldom features in textbooks or training courses—or on the agendas of management meetings.

Several major historical trends have served to make friendship seem at best irrelevant to organizational life, or, at worst, a threat to order and efficiency. These include Fordism and Taylorism, bureaucracy,

utilitarianism, individualism, and the influence of the romantic movement. In contrast to these, the contribution of friendship to our understanding of leadership is precisely that it emphasizes the relational over the technical, connectedness over separation and individualism, and truth over power and control.

For example, a pivotal leader in the history of Western society is David, the king of Israel, who became the model for both Jewish and Christian leadership. His leadership is contrasted with that of Saul; the key difference between them being the friendship between David and Jonathan, Saul's son. Where Saul attempted to rule on the basis of power alone, David's leadership was modeled on friendship. Because friendship has its own order, it is also effective as an organizing principle for leadership (French & Moore, 2004).

The classical tradition describes different levels of friendship. The most basic is friendship based on *utility*, an exchange relationship, where both sides have something to gain. In turbulent times—and our own may be a case in point (Pahl, 2000)—friendship has acted as a kind of “glue” to hold together unstable social and political structures. Following the death of Alexander the Great, for example, the new monarchies of Egypt, Macedonia, and Greece lacked a traditional aristocracy on which they could rely. Instead, leaders chose from among the most able men around them a group of close advisors to support them in the day-to-day running of their kingdoms, a kind of inner cabinet. These were called “The Friends.” To think of such alliances as a form of friendship, rather than as micropolitics or “networking,” can shed a different light on one's own behavior or motivation, as well as that of others. However, the emphasis in our day on the democratization of the workplace and on equality of opportunity, has led to a deep suspicion of elitism, favoritism (nepotism), and “patronage,” with which such alliances can be associated.

The second level of friendship is pleasure. To enjoy the company of friends, people will choose a career, stay in a job they do not like, move location, or start up a new enterprise. The pleasures of friendship can also be fraught with danger, however, as is clear from the gossip columns of newspapers and



Samuel Johnson on Friendship

British writer Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) commented on a vast range of subjects, including marriage, money, virtue, and vice. Here he discusses the nature of friendship.

Life has no pleasure higher or nobler than that of friendship. It is painful to consider, that this sublime enjoyment may be impaired or destroyed by innumerable causes, and that there is no human possession of which the duration is less certain.

Many have talked, in very exalted language, of the perpetuity of friendship, of invincible constancy, and unalienable kindness; and some examples have been seen of men who have continued faithful to their earliest choice, and whose affection has predominated over changes of fortune, and contrariety of opinion.

But these instances are memorable, because they are rare. The friendship which is to be practiced or expected by common mortals, must take its rise from mutual pleasure, and must end when the power ceases of delighting each other.

Many accidents therefore may happen, by which the ardour of kindness will be abated, without criminal baseness or contemptible inconstancy on either part. To give pleasure is not always in our power; and little does he know himself, who believes that he can be always able to receive it.

Those who would gladly pass their days together may be separated by the different course of their affairs; and friendship, like love, is destroyed by long absence, though it may be increased by short intermissions...

No expectation is more frequently disappointed, than that which naturally arises in the mind, from the prospect of meeting an old friend, after long separation. We expect the attraction to be revived, and the coalition to be renewed; no man considers how much alteration time has made in himself, and very few enquire what effect it has had upon others. The first hour convinces them, that the pleasure, which they have formerly enjoyed, is for ever at an end; different scenes have made different impressions,

the opinions of both are changed, and that similitude of manners and sentiment is lost, which confirmed them both in the approbation of themselves.

Friendship is often destroyed by opposition of interest, not only by the ponderous and visible interest, which the desire of wealth and greatness forms and maintains, but by a thousand secret and slight competitions, scarcely known to the mind upon which they operate. There is scarcely any man without some favourite trifle which he values above greater attainments, some desire of petty praise which he cannot patiently suffer to be frustrated. This minute ambition is sometimes crossed before it is known, and sometimes defeated by wanton petulance; but such attacks are seldom made without the loss of friendship; for whoever has once found the vulnerable part will always be feared, and the resentment will burn on in secret of which shame hinders the discovery...

Friendship has other enemies. Suspicion is always hardening the cautious, and disgust repelling the delicate. Very slender differences will sometimes part those whom long reciprocation of civility of beneficence has united. Lonelove and Ranger retired into the country to enjoy the company of each other, and returned in six weeks cold and petulant; Ranger's pleasure was to walk in the fields, and Lonelove's to sit in a bower; each had complied with the other in his turn, and each was angry that compliance had been exacted.

The most fatal disease of friendship is gradual decay, or dislike hourly increased by causes too slender for complaint, and too numerous for removal. Those who are angry may be reconciled; those who have been injured may receive a recompense; but when the desire of pleasing and willingness to be pleased is silently diminished, the renovation of friendship is hopeless; as, when the vital powers sink into languor, there is no longer any use of the physician.

Source: Welty, Eudora, & Sharp, Ronald A. (Eds.). (1991). "From The Idler, No. 73." *The Norton Book of Friendship*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, pp. 94–96.

magazines. Rumors of the abuse of friendship, or its "descent" into a sexualized relationship, and the envy of those who see others enjoying friendship, mean that all organizational members must behave with care. This can contribute to the sense of isolation that often accompanies the role of leader.

However, the ancient world understood friendship as more than for utility and pleasure. Rather than just a relationship, it was seen as a disposition; that is, as the state of mind from which relationships flow, an attitude toward the other, and indeed toward all creation. By *disposition* (Greek, *hexis*), Aristotle indi-

cated an inherent aspect of human nature. Rather like the capacity for language, a *hexis* is something all humans are born with, which develops with use, but can also shrink with neglect. Hence appears the link between virtue and friendship, suggested by C. S. Lewis: It is by practicing friendship and following its disciplines that we learn to live well as human beings. At this, the highest level of friendship, one lives for the sake of the other and in full identification with the other's needs. This level of commitment allowed Jonathan to support to the death his own father as king, while, at the same time, giving up his own claim to the throne for the sake of his friend. Through the eyes of friendship, he could see David was more suited to lead than he was.

Friendship as a disposition toward self and others is an idea that for leaders is of particular significance. It defines friendship in impersonal—or transpersonal—terms. It can enable one to treat others *as if* they were friends, even—in an extreme formulation—where one does not actually like them. Thus, with or without affection, the disposition of friendship ultimately means treating others as a part of oneself, being unable to see them as the means to an end, but only as an end in themselves. An organizational culture of friendship, therefore, is not necessarily dependent on the kind of intimacy normally associated with friendship. Instead, is based on the disciplines of friendship: hospitality, generosity, mutuality, support, respect, trust, and self-knowledge.

Central to these disciplines, in the classical friendship tradition, was the notion of *parrhesia*, that is, frankness of speech or “fearless speech” (Foucault, 2001). This is the fulcrum around which the organizational implications of friendship revolve. The last thing leaders need is flatterers. They need critical friends, prepared to point out flaws in their thinking and behavior, even at risk to their own position and

safety: “Better be a nettle in the side of your friend than his echo” (Emerson, [1841] 1992, 103). The development of a mature culture or ethos of *parrhesia* depends on three elements. First, there is the ability, readiness, and, not least, courage of organizational members to talk frankly to leaders—to “speak the truth to power” (an often-quoted Biblical admonition). Then, there is the leader's capacity to discriminate between flattery and the honest criticism, which is the mark of a friend. Crucial to both, however, is the leader's readiness to reject flattery, and his or her commitment to listening to uncomfortable truths, spoken in friendship: As the poet William Blake put it ([1790] 1972, 157), “Opposition is true friendship.”

—Robert B. French

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 **GANDHI, MOHANDAS K.**
(1869–1948)

Leader of independence movement in India

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, leader of Indian nationalism and the most prominent advocate of non-violent resistance, was born in 1869 in the small princely state of Porbandar in Gujarat, where British influences were slight. His father, Karamchand, served as prime minister to the Rajah. While Gandhi's father provided a model of political integrity, his devoutly Hindu mother, Putlibai, introduced him to religious and moral principles including religious fasts and nonviolence (*ahimsa*). Although Gandhi subsequently abandoned his faith in orthodox Hinduism, he retained his mother's insistence on self-control, absolute truth, and abstinence from tobacco and alcohol throughout his life. His childhood heroes were drawn from Hindu paragons of truthfulness, filial duty, and self-sacrifice.

CHILDHOOD AND FEELINGS OF INADEQUACY

The young Gandhi was shy and diffident. He entered school and by most accounts, including his own, was a mediocre student. Gandhi believed that in addition to having a sluggish intellect he was a coward who was afraid of the dark. However, the feelings of per-

sonal inadequacy coexisted with an iron will, a desire to serve his parents and reform others, and an unbending commitment to truth. He married at the age of thirteen to Kasturbai, and in the first years of the marriage was overwhelmed by the joys of sex with his child bride. He also went through a brief phase of adolescent rebellion. Gandhi made friends with an outgoing Muslim classmate who introduced the vegetarian Gandhi to eating meat and smoking, and even took him to a brothel, although Gandhi changed his mind once there. When Gandhi later wrote, "I wished to be strong and daring and wanted my countrymen also to be such, so that we might defeat the English and make India free," he made the first of many connections between his personal problems and those of India.

One day during his father's fatal illness in 1884, Gandhi left his father's side and went to have sexual intercourse with his wife. While he was with his wife, Gandhi was informed his father had died. The "shame" of allowing "carnal lust" to get the better of his duty to study and his "devotion to my parents" strongly influenced his ideas about the need for self-control.

A new stage in Gandhi's life began when his family decided to send him to England to be trained as a lawyer in order to assume family duties as prime minister of Porbandar. In going he ignored the opposition of his caste council, which feared travel

overseas would break caste, but promised his mother not to indulge in wine, women, or meat.

STUDYING LAW IN ENGLAND

Arriving in England in 1888, Gandhi assimilated new sets of ideas that provided the foundations for a broader conception of public duty and offered a modern rationale for some of his traditional beliefs. At first, he sought to escape his feelings of unworthiness by adopting the traits of an English gentleman. He took speech lessons, studied the violin, wore fashionable clothes, went to teas, and played cards, but he discovered the orthodox British persona did not fit and was too expensive for his budget. Visits to vegetarian restaurants soon introduced him to the company of English nonconformists, pacifists, and vegetarians. He found philosophic support for vegetarianism, read the *Gita* for the first time, and was exposed to Western critiques of modern industrial society.

He returned to India as a lawyer in 1891, but was so shy that he became almost inarticulate when presenting evidence. A failure in India, in 1893 he accepted an invitation to go to South Africa on behalf of an Indian firm.

GANDHI IN SOUTH AFRICA

The twenty years Gandhi spent in South Africa were the turning point in his life. The transformation began when Gandhi was thrown off a train in the middle of the night for refusing to give up his seat in a first-class coach. As a British-trained lawyer and someone who had not experienced racial discrimination in England, Gandhi reacted sharply to these and other racial affronts to his personal dignity. In the process he became a leader in the community's fight for justice and refashioned his own identity. In June 1894, he decided to remain in South Africa in order to lead the opposition to a bill to disenfranchise Indian voters. He unexpectedly became an effective political organizer with an ability to personally impress friends and foes alike. In the following years he established a permanent organization modeled on the Congress Party in India, organized petitions, and led demonstrations. Gandhi appealed to the common people by his per-

sonal example, by his willingness to go to jail for his beliefs, and by encouraging pride in Indian culture. The shy failure in India had become a highly successful lawyer and undisputed leader of the Indian community's continued fight against discrimination for another two decades. His limited successes confirmed his faith in the power of reason and law as well as the good intentions of the British Empire. During the Boer War and the Zulu War, he even formed an ambulance corps on behalf of the British.

SATYAGRAHA, NONPOSSESSION, AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Meanwhile, Gandhi's personal and spiritual life was evolving. He read widely in Christian, Muslim, and Hindu texts, seeking the truths in each religion. Religion became the basis for his life; he treated religion as a way of life and a search for Truth. In the process, he began to abandon a concern for material possessions and markers of superior social status. The dapper young man with an annual income of £5,000 a year and who dressed in careful English fashion changed into a self-reliant man who wore Indian clothes and did his own laundry. As part of his experiments in simplifying his life, he established a communal farm, Phoenix. There a small number of families, including Europeans, shared in the manual work and agreed to a strict Spartan existence, including vegetarianism and sexual abstinence.

In 1906–1907, Gandhi discovered the technique of civil disobedience as the ideal means for seeking justice. When the Transvaal government demanded the registration and fingerprinting of all Indian residents, he initiated his first “nonviolent resistance” campaign in which Indians deliberately violated “unjust” laws. He adopted the term *satyagraha*, or the “truth force.” For Gandhi, *satyagraha* was a total program of existence, which included proper food, dress, vegetarianism, celibacy, and sanitation, not just a political technique.

GANDHI IN INDIAN POLITICS

In early 1915, Gandhi returned to India where he intended to spend his remaining years in an ashram,

the Hindi term for a religious community, conducting constructive social work to regenerate India. His travels through India had convinced him that foreign rule and the degeneration of India had left Indians cowardly, divided by caste and religion, and lacking a sense of public duty. Instead he found himself drawn in to local political causes. In 1917, peasants invited him to Champaran, where he led a successful nonviolent campaign against English indigo planters who had made the peasants into virtual slaves. At Kaira he had his followers harvest onions from a field confiscated by the British. At Ahmadabad Gandhi resorted to the use of fasting to strengthen the flagging will of the strikers.

In 1919, Gandhi moved onto the national stage to become the most important leader of the Indian National Congress. He reshaped the ideology of the nationalist movement, reorganized the party, and brought mass mobilization to unparalleled heights. His calls for nonviolent resistance refuted the British stereotype that the Indians were childish, physical cowards, effeminate, and passive by showing that reliance on nonviolence and nurturing was morally superior to violence. Indians responded to his courage, his adroit use of cultural symbols, his call to action, and their sense that he possessed special spiritual powers. At the age of thirty-seven, after fathering children, he became a *brahmacharva* (a celibate). His dress, vocabulary, and an ascetic lifestyle emphasizing celibacy, vegetarianism, and self-control convinced many followers that he was a spiritual guru. They flocked to him for *darshan*, the miraculous blessings that derived from seeing a holy man or visiting a holy shrine.

In 1919, Gandhi launched his first national satyagraha campaign. In response to passage of the



As a protest against British rule, followers of Gandhi in India raid British salt works. On horseback is a soldier loyal to the British who seeks to disperse the crowd by attacking demonstrators with a lathi (nightstick).

Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

Rowlatt Bill, which extended wartime powers of arbitrary arrest, Gandhi called for a *hartal* or day of fasting and prayer, which amounted to a general strike. Days later in Amritsar, British troops fired repeatedly on a crowd without warning, killing 379 people and wounding more than a thousand. This convinced Gandhi that the time to end British rule had come.

REORGANIZATION OF THE CONGRESS PARTY AND THE NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

Prior to 1920, the Congress Party had been a relatively small organization dominated by Anglicized elites. Gandhi transformed the organization into a political party capable of leading mass movements. He established provincial Congress committees based on linguistically homogeneous areas and conducted meetings in the local languages to enable non-Western-educated groups to participate in Congress politics. The move to agitational politics and the use of Hindu-oriented symbolism made the Congress a formidable force, but it led many in the

Muslim community to see the Congress Party as Hindu dominated.

From 1920 to 1922, Gandhi directed a national “Non-Cooperation Movement” to promote Indian independence. Since Gandhi believed that the continuation of British rule was based on the cooperation of the Indians, he proposed to oust the British by withdrawing their cooperation. The Congress launched a series of noncooperation activities, including resignation from the army and bureaucracy and the boycott of foreign cloth, elections, law courts, and government schools.

The agitational techniques of the Congress had a remarkable impact on the general Hindu population. People came in increasing throngs to see, hear, and touch him. Introduction of the spinning wheel and homespun cloth as symbols of self-reliance and determination to free India from dependence on foreign imports captured the imagination of millions. Bonfires of foreign goods and the hand spinning of cloth swept across India. Gandhi always harbored doubts whether Indians were ready for his message and feared that violence was inevitable. When at Chauri Chauraa a mob led by Congress volunteers killed twenty-two Indian police constables, Gandhi immediately ended the civil disobedience campaigns. Many in the Congress felt that Gandhi had given up at the moment of success.

Noncooperation coincided with agitation among the Muslims of India, who feared the dissolution of the Turkish Empire and the disestablishment of the caliphate. Gandhi, believing that this was “such an opportunity of uniting the two communities as would not arise in a hundred years,” urged the Congress to support the Khilifat movement on behalf of a unified Indian nationalist movement. However, Muslims continued to see the Khilifat as a Muslim cause, and the movement itself collapsed when the Turks abolished the caliphate themselves.

THE SALT MARCH

Gandhi was sent to jail 10 March 1922 for two years. Although some of his followers expected him to fly out of jail through supernatural powers, he remained incarcerated until May 1924. Upon his release,

Gandhi turned from politics to what he considered the more important “constructive work” in his ashram. If the ashram could be emulated, he thought, India would experience a bottom-up revolution that would free individuals from Western-style exploitation and return India to its roots.

When Britain rejected the Congress’s demands for dominion status, the Congress scheduled a civil disobedience campaign for 1930. For Gandhi, the problem was how to agitate against the Raj without encouraging violence. With a stroke of genius he decided to focus civil disobedience on the insignificant issue of the salt tax. Many were bewildered by identifying a national struggle with salt, but understood it could become a potent symbol.

On 12 March 1930, the Salt March to the sea began with Gandhi leading the march in almost biblical style with staff in hand, drawing massive crowds. As he marched through the countryside, Gandhi called for the resignation of the village headmen. Large numbers of educated women joined the march. The Salt March itself concluded on 6 April, when Gandhi picked up some salt from the shore. Once again Gandhi’s personal charisma elicited a mass response that went far beyond the members of the Congress Party. Tens of thousands of Indians followed his example, making their own salt or purchasing homemade salt from Congress volunteers. The most dramatic of these protests was the march on the Dharasana Salt Works where police charged the protesters with metal-tipped nightsticks, injuring hundreds. On 4 May 1930, the government arrested Gandhi, but protests continued with tens of thousands going to jail.

In response to the success of civil disobedience, Gandhi and the other Congress leaders were released from prison to go to London for negotiations. Nothing came of these or further meetings, partly because the Muslims and untouchables rejected his claim to speak for all India and demanded their own separate electorates.

When Gandhi returned to India, the government arrested him and many of the Congress leaders. Sporadic noncooperation efforts languished in face of this repression and were finally officially ended by the Congress in 1934. Released from jail in 1933,

Gandhi again retired from politics to continue his search for moral improvement and social reforms on behalf of the untouchables. But even from his ashram he continued to serve as a mediator, intervening to hold together the divergent wings of the Congress.

THE PARTITION OF INDIA

By the outbreak of World War II, Gandhi's commitment to nonviolence had become more absolute. He opposed efforts to cooperate with the British war effort in return for promises of independence, and recommended the Jews of Germany respond to Hitler with nonviolent resistance. In March 1942, following British military failures against Japan, he demanded the immediate British withdrawal from India, thereby prompting the British to arrest him and other Congress leaders.

The last years of Gandhi's life were spent watching the disintegration of his hopes for a united, independent India. During World War II, the Muslim League under M. A. Jinnah (1876–1948) had taken advantage of the Congress to establish mass support that it hitherto lacked. In 1946–1947, the British announced their intention to leave India. In the midst of complex negotiations between the Congress and the Muslim League over future constitutional arrangements, communal riots between Hindus and Muslims spread. Gandhi was sickened by the slaughter and remained convinced that a single Indian identity was possible, but ultimately he was ignored by Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964) and other colleagues in the Congress Party who concluded that partition was inevitable. As the communal conflict intensified, Gandhi traveled the country trying to bring the slaughter to an end. Twice his fasting ended riots in Calcutta and Delhi, but many in the Hindu community now regarded him as a traitor to Hindu nationalism and an appeaser of Muslims. On 30 January 1948, Gandhi was shot by Nathuram Godse, a Hindu nationalist associated with paramilitary organizations.

GANDHI AS A LEADER

For much of his adult life, Mohandas Gandhi combined the roles of political leader, social reformer,

We must become the change we want to see.

—Mohandas K. Gandhi

and religious leader. Political activity was but one part of a larger effort to regenerate Indian society and to find God. His insightful critique of British rule and of the structure of modern society met the psychological and political needs of his day. But his conservative, antimodern vision had little room for a strong state, industrialization, or radical change based on legal or physical coercion. Nor did his political colleagues believe that the new India could be built on the ideals of the ashram. They did not share his hostility to modern industrial economics or his conviction that the path to social justice lies primarily in morality and controlling passions. Many of those whose interests he championed, women and the untouchables, found that he insisted on defining their grievances and how to redress them according to his own standards of judgment.

Many factors contributed to Gandhi's capacity to remain the dominant leader over two decades. His personal charisma and ability to communicate with the common people through emotions and through rational argumentation made him indispensable during periods of all-Indian mass mobilization. He was a shrewd politician who could manipulate Indian National Congress factions and invoke committee rules to ensure the outcome of a proposal. His personal warmth and nobility of spirit drew individuals and factions to him, even if they did not share his views. When necessary he used moral coercion, although he always denied it was coercion. When Gandhi threatened to fast to death, his opponents usually gave way even if unconvinced by his arguments.

Gandhi channeled Indian nationalism into nonviolent directions and inspired a new generation of leaders such as Nelson Mandela and Martin Luther King, Jr. However, his antimodernism, puritanism, and moralistic approach could not easily be institutionalized within a modernizing state and a conventional party system. Even before his death, it had become clear that his successors would not adopt his

vision for regenerating India, while more recently the Indian leadership has looked to a more “masculine” or assertive version of national identity.

—Arthur Lewis Rosenbaum

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GANGS

The growth of street gangs across the United States has focused attention on the prevention of new gang membership and on intervention with existing gang members. This entry reviews current definitions of gangs and describe the historical context in which gangs in the United States have grown. It then examines the links between gang membership and involvement in crime and delinquency, particularly violent crime and drug sales, and concludes with a discussion of gang processes and the correlates of gang membership.

DEFINITIONS OF GANGS

One of the key features of gangs is that there is no accepted definition of what a gang is. However, every definition includes some reference to a group. That said, since most delinquent acts or crimes committed by juveniles are done in groups, it is important to distinguish between groups and gangs. Unlike most groups, most gangs also have symbols of membership—for example, distinctive clothes, hand signs, and ways of wearing certain clothes. While many groups of young people come and go with great fluidity, gang membership also includes some level of permanence. Most definitions of gangs also require that a gang be in existence over a prolonged period of time, generally a year or more. A number of definitions of gangs also include turf- or gang-identified territory as a part of the definition. A key element used to distinguish a gang from a group is involvement in crime. Without this feature, a gang resembles many other groups, such as Boy Scouts or a fraternity.

THE EVOLUTION OF GANGS IN THE UNITED STATES

Gang development in the United States has been more cyclical than linear in that gangs have tended to come and go rather than be a constant feature of society. In the late 1800s, youth gangs emerged in the slums of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, and Pittsburgh during periods of

rapid immigration. These gangs roamed the streets of their neighborhoods engaging in petty forms of property crime and small conflicts with members of rival gangs. Gang activity declined between the turn of the century and the 1920s.

However, youth gang activity increased during the 1920s. These gangs were very different organizationally from the adult gangs of the Prohibition era, though many organized crime figures (including Al Capone) were members of delinquent youth gangs before moving into organized crime. During the Depression and World War II, gang activity declined. When gangs reemerged in the 1960s, they included large numbers of African-American, Puerto Rican, and Mexican-American youths. In addition, levels of violence were higher than in previous periods of gang activity, which can be attributed to the presence of guns and automobiles.

The 1980s saw dramatic increases in gang activity. At the beginning of that decade, gang problems were recognized in only a few large cities, particularly in Chicago and Los Angeles. However, by the end of the decade, gangs appeared in large and medium-sized cities as well as in many rural areas. Levels of violence were much higher than any previous wave of gang activity, and as in the 1960s they were made worse by the widespread availability of automobiles and firearms. The recent spread of gangs has been attributed on the one hand to the emergence of an urban underclass and on the other hand to the effects of a popular culture that makes gang symbols, clothing, and language commodities available almost anywhere in the United States.

THE LINK BETWEEN GANGS AND CRIME

Gang members are heavily involved in a large number of serious delinquent and criminal acts. The distinctions between gang-related crimes, other crimes committed by gang members, and crimes committed by non-gang members are important. We know that gang members are responsible for greater levels of crime and delinquency than their non-gang counterparts. Studies also demonstrate that involvement in crime increases while an individual is a member of a gang and declines once the individual leaves the gang.

The 1927 book by Frederic Thrasher, *The Gang*, found that gangs emerged from the spontaneous group activity of adolescents and that their patterns of association were strengthened by their conflicts over time. In its earliest stage, the gang Thrasher describes was not very well organized, had little leadership, and was short-lived. Conflict with other gangs played a notable role in helping to define group boundaries and strengthen the ties between members, uniting them in the face of threats from rivals. In the 1960s, while working in Chicago, Jim Short and Fred Strodbeck distinguished the following three factors as important influences on the degree to which gangs varied in their level of conflict orientation: community context, relationships among gang members, and the social characteristics of gang members. Two concepts central to their perspective on gangs were threat and status, and both contributed to gang crime. Because gang members faced threats on the street they formed groups that developed cohesion over time. In addition, belonging to the gang conferred status on the members.

Working with gangs in Los Angeles in the 1960s, Malcolm Klein found that delinquency increased among gang members who received the most group-oriented services, and that solidarity among gang members seemed to increase as a result of the attention paid to the gang by street workers. Based on these results, he concluded that gang intervention programs might actually make the problem worse. Interventions seemed to increase the attractiveness of gangs, and therefore they increased their cohesion. Most importantly, Klein found that the offending of gang members was what he termed “cafeteria-style”—gang members rarely specialized in committing certain forms of crime; instead, they generally committed a variety of offenses, picking car theft one time, burglary the next, assault yet another, and drug sales on another occasion.

Joan Moore and Diego Vigil examined both the role of Chicano culture and the position of Mexican-Americans in the cultural and institutional life of East Los Angeles to explain gang formation and activities in the 1970s. They saw the detachment of Chicano culture from mainstream social and political life as the foundation of gang life and criminal

involvement. Vigil emphasized the role of Chicano culture in the formation of gangs, pointing to *choloization*, the process by which Chicano youth are marginalized from mainstream society. From this perspective, the street provides an alternative socialization path for these youths, although it is a path that leads to increased involvement in crime and delinquency and cuts them off from other social institutions.

Gangs emerged in many Midwestern cities in the 1980s. Milwaukee was one such city, and John Hagedorn explained the origin of Milwaukee gangs by noting that most of them emerged on a more or less spontaneous basis from groups of young men who hung out together in their neighborhoods. Other gangs emerged from dancing groups that experienced physical threats and fighting, which strengthened their alliances. The formation of these gangs was greatly affected by the presence of an underclass in which young men were cut off from legitimate institutions such as jobs and schools.

In St. Louis, another Midwestern city, gangs emerged in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Scott Decker and Barrik Van Winkle conducted a field study of gang members in St. Louis in the early 1990s. They described gang structures and processes that combined local neighborhood dynamics and the national-level diffusion of gang cultures. St. Louis neighborhood rivalries that dated back for decades and contemporary friendship networks were transfigured into a system of conflict structures that bear the names and symbols of California's longstanding conflict between the Bloods and Crips, with occasional symbolic manifestations of Chicago gang culture. Decker and Van Winkle's research underscored the cafeteria-style offending patterns of gang members, while emphasizing the ever-present violence of gang life. In their research, the threat of violence is a crucial factor in the formation of gangs as well as in the levels of violence between gangs.

Gang homicides have received considerable attention from researchers. Cheryl Maxson, Margaret Gordon, and Malcolm Klein examined Los Angeles police and sheriff department records. They found that gang homicides were more likely to involve minority males and automobiles, take place

in public places, involve the use of firearms, and use a large number of participants. Richard and Rebecca Block used Chicago police department data to study patterns of lethal and non-lethal gang-related violence over time. They found that (1) gang violence is more likely to be turf-related than drug-related; (2) the patterns of violence of the four largest established street gangs and smaller less-established gangs were different; and (3) guns were the lethal weapons in practically all Chicago gang-related homicides between 1987 and 1990.

One of the most important sources of information about the link between gangs and crime has been surveys of populations of at-risk youth. High school students and dropouts were interviewed by Jeff Fagan and his research team in Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Diego. They found that gang members committed more delinquent acts and more serious offenses than non-gang members did. In a longitudinal survey of at-risk youth in Denver, Colorado, Finn Esbensen found that while gang membership was rare among the Denver respondents, gang members reported two or three times as much delinquency as non-gang members. From longitudinal survey results on a representative sample of Rochester, New York, youth, Terry Thornberry and his colleagues found that gang-involved youths were significantly more likely to report involvement in violence and other delinquency. Their analysis showed gang involvement to be a transitional process with delinquent activity increasing during gang involvement and declining afterward.

GANG PROCESSES

The gang experience is a dynamic process that is highly variable over time and across individuals. This variability includes issues such as joining the gang, being initiated into the gang, advancing in rank, and exiting the gang.

Joining the Gang

One of the important things to understand about gangs is how individuals come to join them. Most young people who are pulled into membership have

been attracted to a gang by the promise or expectation of friendship, opportunities to make money, or the ability to provide something for the neighborhood. Most of the available evidence supports the view that individuals are pulled toward their gang because of what they see as the positive features of gang involvement such as friends or the need to affiliate. A number of observers report that a gang may also be a magnet for prospective members because it offers the prospect of making money. Cultural pride or ethnic identification may also play a role in the decision to join a gang.

Initiation

The initiation into a gang is the clearest point of demarcation between gang members and non-gang members. Most gangs have some sort of an initiation process, though these processes can vary between different gangs and within the same gang. Most initiations have few formal aspects to them and involve some form of violence, typically by current members of the gang directed against the initiate. The most common form of initiation reported is that of being beaten. In other circumstances, a recruit will be required to go on a "mission" against a rival gang. While this can take a variety of forms, it typically requires the recruit to fight or shoot a rival gang member, or to conduct a crime such as robbery in rival gang territory. Most observers of the female gang scene report that females tend to be initiated in the same way that boys are, through beating, often by both boys and girls. A number of highly publicized reports document rapes of prospective female gang members. However, there is not widespread support for this as the typical way girls are initiated into their gangs.

Roles in the Gang

Youth gangs tend not to have a strong organizational structure, although there are usually distinctions within a gang between the status and functions of different members. While a few gangs in chronic gang cities like Chicago have well-defined distinctions between roles, this is not generally the case in most cities. The process of acquiring rank is based

primarily on length of time in the gang, blood relationships with current leaders, and level of criminal activity. In emerging gang cities, gangs tend to have fewer roles, and those roles are not very well defined.

Participating in Gang Violence

Understanding the role of violence in a gang is one of the keys to understanding gangs. Not only are gang members active as perpetrators of crime, they are also victims of high levels of crime. Some cities (Chicago and St. Louis) report that about one in four homicide victims are gang members; Los Angeles County reports that nearly half of its homicide deaths are gang members. Homicides committed by gang members are more likely than other crimes of violence to involve firearms, particularly handguns. And the victims of gang homicides are likely to be of the same race, age, sex, and neighborhood of residence as the people who kill them. Violence helps to hold the gang together. Most studies of gangs conclude that the sources of gang solidarity are usually external to the gang and almost never come from inside the gang.

Leaving the Gang

A large number of individuals leave their gangs every year, and not just as a result of death or a prison sentence. However, a large mythology exists that claims that it is not possible to leave a gang. Most of the available evidence dispels this myth and documents a considerable number of ex-gang members. Few of the individuals who leave a gang report that they faced physical consequences for doing so, though some are threatened with violence. The obligations that come with growing older, such as a job, becoming a parent, or getting older, are the key reasons cited for ending a relationship with a gang.

CORRELATES OF GANG INVOLVEMENT

One of the strongest correlates of gang membership is age. While gang members range across a wide variety of ages, typically they are teenagers. It is not easy to pinpoint a single age as the average age of



Gang Leadership in Chicago

In his famous study of the Vice Lords in Chicago in the 1960s, anthropologist R. Lincoln Keiser outlines the leadership structure of the gang.

Formal offices are found in various branches, age groups, and sections of the Vice Lord Nation. Before the latest reorganization, there were seven named offices, although all were not found in every subgroup. These offices are: president, vice-president, secretary-treasurer, supreme war counselor, war counselor, gunkeeper, and sergeant-at-arms. The information I was given concerning these offices can be summarized in the following manner:

The president conducts meetings, in some cases makes the decision whether or not to fight another group, and is responsible for leading successful raids. He symbolizes the group's power, and in feuding and warfare his injury is the prime objective of enemy force.

The vice-president is the president's assistant. He has few formally recognized duties. When the president has been arrested, or otherwise cannot or will not fulfill his duties, the vice-president succeeds to the office of president.

The war counselor is the president's main assistant when the group is involved in fighting. He is specifically charged with the responsibility of deciding whether or not to begin a fight in a confrontation between two rival groups. No one is supposed to begin fighting until the war counselor throws the first punch, or, as the case may be, fires the first shot. In the Albany Midgets there are three war counselors: a supreme war counselor and two regular war counselors. The war counselors, along with the president, form a war council which decides whether or not the group will fight when one of its members has been attacked by individuals outside the group. All decisions have to be approved by a majority of the council. If a decision to fight is made, the supreme war counselor organizes and leads the raid. Much of the fighting that informants discussed followed accidental encounters between enemy cliques, and in such cases war counselors have no institutionalized responsibilities.

Source: Keiser, R. Lincoln. (1969). *The Vice Lords: Warriors of the Streets*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., p. 17.

gang members, but a number of studies identify seventeen or eighteen as the average age of members in their sample.

Racial and ethnic minorities are overidentified as gang members, largely as a consequence of the use of police data to identify gang members. National surveys of police departments indicate that racial and ethnic minorities, particularly African-Americans and Hispanics, are the majority members of gangs. However, school survey data reveal higher percentages of white gang members.

Just as official statistics underestimate the level of

gang involvement among whites, they also underestimate the level of gang involvement among females. The conventional view has been that females comprise about ten percent of all gang members. However, school-based surveys show that the correct figure may be closer to thirty percent. Regardless of the number, female involvement in gangs and gang activities appears to be increasing.

It is not surprising that the majority of gang members come from the lowest socio-economic groups in American society because this was also the case in the three earlier gang cycles. The current cycle of gangs began in cities and neighborhoods with large concentrations of urban poor, often the urban underclass. This observation seems a logical consequence of the historical characteristics of gangs, but the emergence of gangs in suburbs and rural areas now presents a challenge to the view that gang members are drawn exclusively from the poorest members of society.

CHARACTERISTICS OF GANG ORGANIZATION

There are two competing views of the nature of gang organization.

One view holds that gangs are vertically organized and have a formal structure that enforces rules and acts in the same ways that a business may act. The alternative view argues that most gangs are horizontal and lack the formal-rational character of organizations with established leadership structures and well-defined roles and missions. Most of the research supports the latter view.

Like most groups, most gangs have leaders. However, in most cases gang leaders are less likely to resemble corporate executives and more likely to be like the captain of a sports team, a role that can

change from one circumstance or one day to another. Most organizations need rules, and gangs are no exception to this. A relatively small number of gangs have written sets of rules and created constitutions; most gangs simply have a set of rules that are understood among the members.

There are also distinctions between different members of the gang. In the least organized case, this distinction is only between core and fringe members, with the former participating more fully in decisions about what activities to pursue. A final aspect of gang organization is what happens to the money made in gang-involved crime. In some cases, all the money is reinvested in the organization so that it can grow. In other cases, the money raised by individual members of an organization is kept for their own use. The first model is the corporate model, and the second is a model of individual entrepreneurship. With few exceptions, gang members function as individual entrepreneurs, selling drugs or committing crimes for their own benefit, and rarely, if ever, reinvesting their profits into the larger gang.

SIGNS OF CHANGE

There is considerable diversity among gangs with regard to their nature, origin, and activity. They are also dynamic, changing in their structure, membership, and activities over time. This entry has highlighted these features of gangs and gang members in the United States. We noted that gang definitions include a common set of elements, such as involvement in crime, permanence of membership, a group context, and the use of symbols. Gang membership increases not only involvement in crime and delinquency but also the seriousness of such involvement. When individuals leave their gangs, their level of crime decreases significantly. Historically, gangs have been associated with cities, particularly with ethnic minorities in economically disadvantaged positions. However, there is evidence that this may be changing. Gang structure and organization are variable, though there is little evidence to suggest that gangs are well organized anywhere but in a small number of cities.

—Scott H. Decker and G. David Curry

See also Youth

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GENDER AND AUTHORITY

The consideration of gender's relationship to authority is important because aspects of gender overlap with the location of authority in society. It is important in the context of leadership because leadership incorporates concepts of authority as well as characteristics associated with gender. Although all cultures and societies have had and continue to have authority figures of both genders, there have traditionally been more male authority figures than females in most cultures at most times. In general, males have held authority in the public arena, whereas if females did hold authority it was in the domestic realm (as mothers), the field of education (as schoolteachers), and in the literary world.

GENDER AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF GENDER ROLES

The researchers Eleanor Maccoby and Carol Jacklin write, "the simple fact that a child is, and is known to be, a boy or girl sets powerful forces in motion" (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1987, 283). They argue that gender classification is one of the two major and most primitive bases for classification among human beings (the other is age). If differential treatment of children according to gender begins at birth and is established in early childhood, as many argue, then this is a highly significant factor in children's developing leadership attributes and choosing authority figures. Walter Mischel, a social learning theorist, believes that sex-typed behavior is learned, like any other behavior through a combination of reward, punishment and models ranging from mothers and fathers, siblings, teachers, peers, television and book characters, to state leaders.

The researcher Carol Martin identifies gender

schemata that individuals use to help organize incoming information and filter out what they will not process: The resulting gender knowledge consists of gender stereotypes and the attributes associated with females and males. Gender knowledge is used in different ways depending on its salience, the values of the individual concerned, and situational demands.

A gender stereotype is one in which categorized ideas of the individual are based on their gender. Female stereotypes include being compliant, caring, soft, and relational; male stereotypes include being strong, powerful, dominant, confident, and authoritative. Gender stereotypes teach children that boys are generally the authoritative ones in the public sphere.

WHAT IS AUTHORITY?

Authority is the power to influence or command thought, opinion, or behavior. Authority is possessed or seen in relation to others; it has to be made legitimate by others. People gain authority in modern Western society through occupying roles or positions, by dominating the media, and through having expert knowledge. They might be an authority in a subject area or in an organization. To be a figure of authority one requires and gains power. Factors such as culture can play an important role in how authority is interpreted. An example of this is the concept of *mana* (a concept of the Maori of New Zealand), meaning power, prestige, or spiritual essence. For the Maori all things have *mana*, irrespective of gender.

Traditionally, positions of authority have been gendered; in Western cultures members of police forces, priests, and military commanders, for example, have been male. Women have been allowed to be leaders in the home, but being "authoritarian" carries negative connotations for a woman. The scholar and novelist Carolyn Heilbrun remarks, "Unfortunately power is something that women abjure once they perceive the great difference between the lives possible to men and to women and the violence necessary for men to maintain their position of authority" (Heilbrun, 1988, 16). The poet Adrienne Rich

suggested that authority implies a stereotypically male style of relating to others.

Among the early voices resisting women's relegation to the domestic realm was Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797), an essayist who wrote passionately on the rights of women. She confronted and resisted gender stereotypes, and in her writing she attacked the tendency to treat women as perpetual children. For over two centuries, her arguments have been appropriated by women as a means of speaking about their own confrontations with social prejudice and political authority. From the 1980s on, a number of theoretical approaches have extended her work.

NANCY CHODOROW'S SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY OF GENDER

The sociologist and psychoanalyst Nancy Chodorow argues that women's female gendered personality is the result of girls' relation to their mothers, which leads girls to develop a sense of self in relation, whereas boys' relation to their mother leads them to develop a sense of self that denies relatedness. This psychoanalytic analysis asserts that boys emphasize separation, difference, independence, and individual autonomy, while girls emphasize sameness, continuity, merging, dependence. The result is that females occupy the domestic or private sphere, where qualities such as caring and empathy are important, and males the public domain, with the attendant values of success, status, hierarchy, and autonomy.

It also implies that for a woman to be an authority in public arenas, society must change its attitudes towards mothering and fathering. In the past women have found it difficult to have children and hold down traditional authority positions and either went childless or experienced considerable conflict.

THEORIES OF SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION

The psychologist Mary Gergen writes that people are constructed in the process of their telling their personal history. Gender becomes relevant to this understanding as Gergen shows how men and women tell success stories differently. Heilbrun claims that

scripts for telling life stories (other than reflecting men's stories) seldom existed in the lives of eminent women and that "well into the twentieth century it continued to be impossible for women to admit into their autobiographical narratives the claim of achievement, the admission of ambition, the recognition that accomplishment was neither luck nor the results and generosity of others" (Denzin and Lincoln, 1990, 300).

The philosopher Michel Foucault argues that individual selves are created from the multiple subjectivities arising from the relations between each individual and various discourses. Discourses control and distribute knowledge, direct the individual toward acceptable social positions, and produce desires, goals, and values. The driving force is power. Foucault argues that power is not a commodity or the possession of an individual, a group, or a class; rather, he argues, it circulates through the social body and is exercised through a netlike organization in which we are all caught. It is through relations of power and knowledge that human beings are transformed into subjects in modern society. Whereas traditional theory and common sense might assume that in taking up a position in society a person is the creator of that position, in Foucault's view structures such as occupational roles, clan positions, and so on have created the position. This argument implies that there is nothing essential or biological about gender and authority relations.

A FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

A feminist perspective recognizes that women's worldviews and experiences are positioned in a different social structure from men's, and that women have not had the automatic authority associated with being male. The psychologist Carol Gilligan has shown that questions used in research on children's moral development were gender biased and foreshadowed the outcome. By altering the questions she revealed that rather than being behind boys in moral development, girls were just as morally sophisticated, but different. Girls were relational in their approach to moral decision making rather than theoretical and absolutist. Boys tended toward general



Gender and Authority in West Africa

The following report is based on research among Asante women traders in Ghana. These women command considerable authority compared to women in many other societies due in part to their role as traders in the largest market in Ghana.

The Asante lineage and chiefship system provided for some respected leadership roles for women, but fewer than for men. Each level of community organization had a female leader, a male leader, and a council of male elders. The woman leader or *ohemma* (conventionally translated as queen mother) had important powers and influence not dependent on the male leader, or *ohene* (conventionally translated as chief). Both were chosen from the same royal family, and each nominated the successor when the other died or was removed from office (*destooled*). Those at the village and town levels were located precisely within a hierarchy that culminated in the *Asantehene* and *Asantehemma* for all of Asante. Each male chief presided over a council of male elders to handle routine public affairs, such as land allocation and civil disputes. The *ohemma* was present at these meetings, but elder women did not attend, although they were respected and consulted on major decisions.

Gender boundaries in these hereditary offices were less absolute than in the appointive bureaucratic offices. The town of Juaben had a renowned succession of women occupying its male *ohene* office, while another woman occupied the *ohemma* office. They kept their female names and identities in office. In contrast, Manuh reports that women occupying male chiefships in Nzima, an Akan area on the Ivory Coast border, take men's names in office and wear men's clothing and behave like men when performing chiefly duties (Manuh 1992).

Besides these rare exceptions, women still gained as Asantes from the military and diplomatic initiatives that extended Asante influence.

Source: Clark, Gracia. (1994). "Onions Are My Husband: Survival and Accumulation by West African Market Women." Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 94.

principles such as justice, which seemed authoritative, while girls tended toward narrative-based, particularized responses.

In 1979, Adrienne Rich suggested that education for women has been based on a male view of the world, that Western education presents how men have perceived and organized their experience, their history, and their ideas about social relationships. More recently, however, multiple-gendered positionings for females have become possible. In 1993, the scholar Bronwyn Davies looked at the nature of femininities and masculinities as they are experienced by primary school children and concluded that "There is not one masculinity or one femininity but many ver-

sions of each both within and across class and cultural boundaries and that the observable failure of women to make their way forward in the public world need no longer be explained in terms of their own individual shortcomings" (Davies, 1993, x).

INFLUENCES ON WOMEN GAINING AUTHORITY

In addition to convention, there are a number of factors that influence a woman's perception of herself, her attitudes toward authority and leadership, and hence whether she appropriates authority for herself. In a patriarchal world, the father-daughter relationship is relevant. Some scholars have suggested that fathers' expectations of their daughters may influence female achievement. These scholars emphasize the importance of girls' identifying with their fathers so that they learn important achievement traits such as independence and self-esteem. Fathers' gender-stereotyped expectations of girls and women (particularly domineering and authoritarian fathers) appear to have a negative

effect on girls' achievement.

The father's view of women and the way in which he relates to his daughter defines her view of the male "other." Thus, the father-daughter relationship has the potential to free a daughter from the constraints of a traditional gender role. A daughter with an encouraging, open-minded father is free to find out and pursue what is meaningful for her in the world and attain a high level in her particular talent area. She is able to compete in the public sphere unhampered by a subconscious sense of a "glass ceiling" limiting women's achievements.

Howard Gardner quotes Margaret Thatcher as saying, when selected to be the United Kingdom's

prime minister in 1979, “Well of course I owe almost everything to my father. He brought me up to believe all the things that I do believe, and they’re just the values on which I fought the election.” And of her mother, “We had nothing to say to each other. It wasn’t her fault she was weighted down by the home” (Gardner, 1996, 227).

For some women, however, mothers are extremely important. In a 1997 interview study of U.S. feminist intellectual world leaders, including Marilyn French, Gloria Steinem, Betty Friedan, Alice Walker, Kate Millett, and Germaine Greer, among the common themes expressed was the importance of their mothers in their lives.

Some women also credit single-sex schools for giving them an opportunity to gain confidence and develop leadership abilities, because in that setting girls are seen to be in positions of authority and possibly freed from the limiting forces of boys’ views of girls.

Women leaders may see their leadership as outside the authoritarian or hierarchical model. For example New Zealand’s prime minister, Helen Clark, stresses that she “emerged” from the group as its leader, rather than being given authority. Women’s favored style of leadership also seems different from that of men, with much more emphasis on leading by example and playing down power differentials.

THE FUTURE: WILL AUTHORITY BE GENDER NEUTRAL?

In the future, authority may not be as directly linked to gender as it is today. Even now women occupy many more positions of authority and are able to get access to those positions with less opposition than in the past. Now we have female bishops, female surgeons, and female CEOs of major companies. Although there are still cultures where authority is very clearly gendered, the relation of gender to authority is changing, and preconceptions underlying gendered imbalances in leadership are changing and being challenged.

—Shirley Anne Gillett

See also Women and Men as Leaders; Gender Stereotypes

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GENDER GAP

Gender gap is a catch-all phrase that refers to the existence and significance of gender differences in a variety of areas. Scholars, researchers, and analysts

speak of a gender gap in employment and earnings, in education, in workplace authority, in leadership, and in opportunities available over the course of one's life, not to mention attendant social attitudes. This article identifies the social construction and interpretation of gender differences in one sphere in which leadership plays a highly visible role: politics.

BRIEF HISTORY

The term *gender gap* came into currency in the United States in the 1980s, with particular reference to electoral and partisan issues. Despite the political enfranchisement of women in the United States in 1920s, for the rest of the century women had less political power and fewer political leadership positions, but higher rates of political participation and policy preferences that differed from those of men.

The 1980 presidential election brought voting women's political agenda to public and scholarly attention. Specific issues included the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), the politics of the Republican Party, and the increasing feminization of poverty during the 1970s, as women became more dependent on and more supportive of social-welfare programs. Efforts to ratify the ERA in the states after congressional passage in 1972 witnessed intensive statewide electoral strategies throughout most of the decade. Pollsters to begin to cross-tabulate voting results by sex, and this became an important consideration henceforth.

The notion of a "women's vote," a gender difference, was about to be taken seriously. Kathy Bonk, who has written on the gender gap, noted in "The Selling of the Gender Gap: The Role of Organized Feminism," a chapter in Carol Mueller's 1988 *The Politics of the Gender Gap*, that Ronald Reagan's 1980 presidential victory was characterized by an 8 percent gender gap: Women were almost equally divided, with 46 percent for Reagan and 45 percent for Carter, whereas men were 54 percent for Reagan and 37 percent for Carter. In looking to describe the difference in attitudes of men and women, the notion of a gap between men and women came to mind. The term first appeared in a U.S. newspaper in the *Washington Post*, on 16 October 1981, when the

columnist Judy Mann wrote, "Last November there was a gender gap of 8% in the *New York Times*/CBS exit poll in the presidential election" (Bonk 1988, 89). By mid-1982, the National Organization of Women (NOW), the nation's largest and most active women's advocacy group, began regularly using the term to describe gender-based differences in voting behavior. The organization started releasing a monthly column, *Gender Gap Update*.

Scholars and journalists continued to watch the gender gap, attributing it to Reagan's opposition to abortion and the ERA, which, they theorized, made women less likely than men to vote for him. Bonk noted that as Reagan's second-term campaign went into gear, one-third of all men stated they had a lot of confidence in Reagan's ability to provide leadership, whereas only 22 percent of women expressed similar confidence. An effort to widen the gender gap in favor of the Democrats became a major goal of the 1984 campaign, and the Democratic Party chose a female candidate for vice president: Geraldine Ferraro. But the expected gender landslide did not happen, perhaps because Americans cast their votes on the basis of presidents, not vice presidents. In addition, the Reagan Administration had made some symbolic actions, such as nominating Sandra Day O'Connor for the Supreme Court and filling several cabinet positions with women, which may have swayed some women voters.

The gender gap continued to be present in electoral and partisan participation in the subsequent decades. Women have voted at higher rates than men in every presidential election since 1984. Not only is voting behavior different, but the partisan gap continues to exist as well. As recently as November 2002, *Business Week* reported that the gender gap is "fast becoming a gender chasm" (Dunham, 2002), as the stalled economy has produced more uncertainty in women, who are more likely to reject Republican social conservatism.

It is an oversimplification, however, to say that more women vote Democratic and more men vote Republican. It is true that many studies of the gender gap have focused on the greater attraction the Democratic Party holds for women than for men. However, there is more complexity than meets the



Small-Wins Strategy Promotes Gender Equity

PALO ALTO, Calif. (ANS)—While women have made progress in achieving positions of responsibility and leadership, subtle biases still keep them from high-ranking jobs in many organizations, says a study in the current issue of the *Harvard Business Review*. But, adds the study, there may be a strategy to overcome this.

Biases favoring men generally include company attitudes about leadership and what it takes to get ahead, ways of identifying talent, and definitions of competence and commitment.

Changing these ingrained biases is difficult, but easier when a “small-wins” strategy is employed, researchers said.

“Our research shows that the small-wins strategy is a powerful way of chipping away the barrier that holds women back without sparking the kind of sound and fury that scares people into resistance,” said Debra Meyerson, who co-authored the study with Joyce Kubiak Fletcher, both Simmons Graduate School of Management professors at Stanford University.

The small-wins technique, modeled after the principles in 1930s community activist Saul Alinsky’s book “Rules for Radicals,” relies on small but meaningful changes individuals can make toward a larger cause. “Each small win is a trial intervention and a probe for learning, intended not to overturn the system, but to slowly and surely make it better,” Fletcher and Meyerson wrote.

While the small-wins technique used in a company works best with the support of upper management, it also can work if co-workers band together. The first important step is to get together with other women and share experiences.

“It is important to differentiate what is you and what is bigger than you,” Meyerson said. “This is a reality check. . . . It is helpful to know that you are not alone and not imagining things.” Informal meetings with co-workers over lunch or

coffee help to identify the problem and possible solutions.

“It’s surprising how quickly people can come up with ideas for small wins—and how quickly they can be put into action,” Meyerson said. Small wins are not formulaic, and each organization is unique in the way it expresses gender inequality. Most of it is unintentional, she noted, but simply rooted in the culture.

For example, in one case study for the report, the finance department of a large manufacturing company had a habit of overdoing work. Even when upper management wanted a back-of-the-envelope answer to a question, an analyst felt compelled to provide a full-scale report.

Analysts feared that asking “How much detail do you want?” might look like a way to avoid working late. This was particularly hard on women analysts, who, in an industry dominated by men, felt they had to work extra hard to demonstrate their competence and commitment. Many women with families found it difficult to stay late at the drop of the hat because of responsibilities at home.

To address the problem, the analysts designed a one-page form that asked senior managers to describe the parameters of each request. “The form simply took the onus off individuals to ask taboo questions, relieving women of the fear that they might appear less than committed and allowing all the analysts, not just women, to use their time more productively,” the authors noted.

“This technique requires patience,” Meyerson said. “Things won’t change overnight. But what we are talking about is chipping away at many of the foundational processes going on in an organization that discriminates against women. It’s not just the ceiling that’s holding women back, but it’s the foundation, the beams, the walls, the air. . . . Small wins is about ferreting out the hidden barriers to inequality and effectiveness one by one.”

Source: “Small Wins Can Shatter Glass Ceiling for Women,” American News Service, February 24, 2000.

eye. First, there are regional differences in the gap which mitigate against a straight male-female divide. Partisan preferences have been greater in the South than in the rest of the nation, so the gender gap may have some special quirks there. Second, men have a greater tendency than women to self-identify as independents rather than as members of a political party. The political scientist Barbara Norrander discovered that an independence gap, in which men are more likely to consider themselves

political independents and women are more likely to identify as partisan, averages six percentage points. Thus, women could be more prevalent in political party affiliation, but this majority in absolute terms would need to take into account the male independents and independent leaners.

Similarly, the political scientist Daniel Wirls, writing in the mid 1980s, suggested that the gap could be explained not by women’s rejection of Ronald Reagan, but as the result of unequal rates of male and

female defection from liberal values and the Democratic Party. From this perspective, the greater movement by men toward conservative positions and the Republican Party produced the gender gap and, consequently, the Republicans were not the victims of the gender gap but in fact beneficiaries of it.

THE GENDER GAP IN POSITIONS OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

There is no question that a gender gap in positions of political leadership exists: Women do not hold office in numbers that reflect their percentage of the population; women face different challenges in campaigning; and there is debate over whether women lead differently or set different priorities from men once they win office. Whether those differences are the result of institutional barriers, long-held stereotypes, or women's personal choices, the fact remains that women are underrepresented.

Increasingly, however, since the time of 1984 campaign of Geraldine Ferraro, more women candidates have run and secured state and national office. The researcher Barbara Burrell noted in her 1994 book on women who successfully campaigned for the U.S. Congress that in 1966, women accounted for 2 percent of congressional membership, while two decades later, in 1991–1992, they accounted for 6.6 percent. She further noted that globally, women on average made up 11 percent of democratically elected national parliaments.

The year 1992 was a significant historical moment with reference to gender and political leadership. The year was popularly referred to as the Year of the Women, and the climate was a favorable for women candidates because a pool of experienced female politicians existed at local and state levels, and more female candidates were running for elected office. Nineteen women won major party nominations to run in California's fifty-two congressional districts. Significantly more women than men voted for the women candidates who were running in 1992. Burrell noted that the number of congressional women in California went to 11 percent and the number of women in state legislatures increased fivefold from 4 percent in 1971 to

20 percent in 1993. Yet despite these gains, the numbers remain low.

Why the gender gap in public office? Stereotyped gender roles reaffirm that women's place is in the home. Politics has been regarded as a male domain and political leadership as a masculine endeavor. Political leadership is often considered antithetical to women's roles, so female candidates have to persuade the public that they have the same leadership qualities as men, or else they have to transform public notions of leadership. A generation of studies show that public "support for the idea of women in public office has grown, [but] that gender-based stereotypes have not faded away" (Burrell, 1994, 16).

If we consider political leadership only at the level of office-holding, however, we would be failing to take into account other aspects of gender-differentiated political behavior. Some scholars explore in depth how the gender gap in political activity has been exaggerated by the emphasis on particular modes of participation. Early findings that there are gender differences in political participation and activity indicated that men were more likely than women to take part in political life, but that finding should be viewed critically, because some of the studies failed to take into account factors such as access to political resources, lower levels of education, and less money or free time to devote. In addition, those early studies often failed to question the very definition of political involvement, overemphasizing office holding, for example, in which men are significantly more represented, and underestimating grassroots community activity, in which women have always taken part to an equal or greater degree than men

THE GENDER GAP IN POLITICAL VALUES

Is there a gender gap in political values and policy preferences? Although women's influence ebbed and flowed during the twentieth century, the agenda that differentiated women's political behavior from men's showed a strong pattern of continuity around two broad concerns: equality for women and humanitarian social reform. Robert Shapiro and Harpreet Mahajan analyzed twenty years of data in "Gender

Differences in Policy Preferences: A Summary of Trends from the 1960s to the 1980s,” published in 1986 in *Public Opinion Quarterly*. Their analysis reveals persistent differences in attitudes toward issues involving the use of force, and growing differences toward policies concerning regulation, social welfare, and traditional values. The increasing conservatism of men and women’s greater support for so-called “compassionate” government programs may explain why men have become more attracted to the Republican Party while women feel more comfortable remaining within the Democratic Party.

Here too, the gap must be interpreted in ways that take into account its complexity. Some entertain the notion that women take a nurturing, caring stance, whether because of intrinsic biology or because of women’s traditional roles as mothers. Instead of seeing this as a source of inadequacy, some scholars, such as Carol Gilligan, argue that women could be the source of higher-order values for society.

That approach, however, is controversial and open to debate. The feminist scholar Pamela Conover argues that there is no significant difference in value orientation between men and women when it comes to the principles of egalitarianism, individualism, and symbolic racism; however, women do differ from men in having, on average, greater sympathy for the disadvantaged. Conover suggests that the gap between men and women is really a gap between men and *feminist* women. “When men are compared to feminist women, there is a significant gender gap on every type of issue: however, on most foreign policy issues and many domestic issues, this gap evaporates when men are compared to non-feminist women” (Conover, 1988, 1005). Thus, there are enough feminist women to create the appearance of a gender gap. The finding assumes that feminism is associated with distinctive values and policy preferences that both men and women can identify and can identify with; that feminism “awakens in both men and women support for a woman’s perspective that consists of egalitarian values and generally liberal policies” (Cook and Wilcox, 1991, 1120).

Other scholars have pursued this line of thinking and found only a limited gender gap in basic politi-

cal values. Elizabeth Cook and Clyde Wilcox report in “Feminism and the Gender Gap: A Second Look,” that on policy issues, women were significantly more liberal than men on policy issues, women were more liberal than men on certain items, but the differences were relatively small. Gender differences were largest on support for spending to aid the unemployed, and on war and peace issues. In a study of gender-specific reactions to the 1991 Gulf War, Pamela Conover and Virginia Sapiro concluded that gender orientations toward war and foreign policy are more complex than many feminist and other theorists might have supposed. In the abstract, the authors say, “women are more afraid of the prospects of war and more wary of foreign involvements” though given justifications, they are as willing as men to ponder the use of force (Conover and Sapiro, 1993, 1095). When moved from the abstract to the concrete, an actual war, women reacted more negatively on every measure. The authors warn, however, that while the differences are important, they are not large enough to warrant sweeping statements differentiating women and men into stereotypic camps.

Understanding a gender gap in political values as well as partisan and electoral issues needs to be viewed also within the light of differences across groups defined by their race or ethnicity. For example, Burns noted that issues connected to civil rights are higher priorities among African-American and Latino men than they are for women as a whole. Men and women’s agendas for political action were also differentiated along socioeconomic lines, and cleavages of class, race, family status differentiate women’s and men’s experiences within gender categories.

SOURCES OF THE GENDER GAP IN POLITICS

As the sections above have indicated, gender gaps do exist in electoral behavior, partisan preferences, and political leadership. While the gaps’ existence has become a permanent fixture of our country’s political, economic, and social landscape, the significance and explanation of the gender gap differences remains contentious. There is no agreement as to the



The Leadership Gender Gap

Although women's advancement to positions of leadership has been increasing in recent decades, women in top leadership roles are still very much the minority. As of the year 2000, in more than 190 nations of the world, only thirteen were headed by female prime ministers or presidents. Within these countries, there were nine other major women leaders in government, including vice presidents, governor-generals, and opposition leaders. Some 14.5 percent of the members of national parliaments and 7 percent of the world's total cabinet ministers were women. These ministers tend to be concentrated in social areas of work in the government (14 percent) more than the executive (3.9 percent), political (3.4 percent), economic (4.1 percent), and legal (9.4 percent) branches.

In the economic and business sector, women's participation in leadership has been on a rapid increase since the early 1970s, especially in the last two decades of the twentieth century. Yet, not many women can be found in the highest levels of economic decision-making: Only five women have become CEOs in Fortune 500 corporations, and a mere 1 percent of the world's assets are registered under the name of women. Approximately 33 percent of women are serving in managerial and administrative posts in the developed world, 15 percent in Africa, and 13 percent in Asia and the Pacific. Although the numbers have doubled over the past twenty years in Africa and Asia, women still remain under-represented in the more competitive and influential sectors of work.

—Kisuk Cho

Source: WomenWatch: The UN Internet Gateway on the Advancement and Empowerment of Women. Retrieved October 16, 2003, from <http://www.un.org/womenwatch>.

sources of gender differences on many of these issues. In fact, there is no single explanation for the varied sources, experiences, and manifestations of gender differences.

One approach to understanding value differences between the sexes takes as its basis biological differences and gender socialization. This would include the notion that women are biologically more cooperative than men (with the hypothesis being that this trait is evolutionarily desirable for the sex that bears children), and that the biological difference is reinforced by traditional socialization that goes along

with women traditionally having primary responsibility for children. The result, according to supporters of this approach, is that women have a greater concern with preservation of life and a stronger tendency toward cooperative decision making than men. Gilligan, for example, posits that men and women have dissimilar conceptions of justice and that men are more oriented toward rights while women are more concerned with caring. Proponents of this view hold that men and women's political behavior will remain different even after controlling for other economic, cultural, and political variables. Certainly it is widely accepted that the fact that men and women are socialized differently has an impact on men and women's values.

Another explanation for gender gap differences is that socioeconomic status partially explains gender differences in political opinions and electoral behavior, in that women tend to earn less than men and are more likely to live in poverty. In other words, their situational constraints might explain why women and men differ on policies and values. The increasing number of women in the workforce and continued inequality of wages and employment may affect political attitudes.

A third explanation combines socioeconomic and gender variables and posits that women who are the most autonomous from men tend to differ the most from men in their political attitudes. Thus, women with higher education and occupational status, as well as unmarried women at all socioeconomic levels, diverged the most from men in their attitudes and voting behaviors. Relatedly, some explain the gap as connected to the growth in feminist consciousness—the growing awareness of inequalities and collective action to address these grievances. The argument here is that feminism increased to such a degree in the 1980s that there came to be noticeable gap, because feminist women were more liberal than men. The causal relationship in this explanation is difficult to determine, because it is unclear whether feminism exists prior to issue orientation or whether issue orientation is what leads to feminist consciousness. However, Conover and others do document that the gender gap is greatest between feminist women and all men.

However one explains it, the gender gap in partisan leanings, political leadership, and values orientation does exist and has become a factor in the civil, political, and economic life of the United States. In the future, it will be important for scholars and students of the gender gap to continue to probe in which nations and among which women and men this gap is most evident, and in what life circumstance those men and women find themselves, and at what historical moment.

—Laurien Alexandre

See also Men and Women as Leaders; Women, Stereotypes of

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GENDER STEREOTYPES

Preconceived notions regarding who a leader is and who should be an effective leader often impact the leadership process, perhaps determining who becomes a leader, how the leaders are perceived, and how they are evaluated. The low number of women in leadership and decision-making positions, as compared to the figures for men, have been associated with traditional thinking (United Nations 1999) and presence of gender stereotypes (Bethion Antal and Izraeli 1993; Heilman 2001). With the influx of diversity in the workforce, people in positions of leadership now come from a variety of social and cultural groups. Those who interact with them view these leaders through the filter of their stereotypes, expectations, and implicit theories (Ayman 1993).



It is both reality and stereotype that many women spend much of their time in the role of mother. Here, a young woman with twin babies in Shanghai, China, in May 1996.

Source: Stephen G. Donaldson; used with permission.

IMPLICIT THEORIES AND STEREOTYPES

An implicit theory is an unspoken assumption regarding the world and others (Ashmore and del Boca, 1979). An individual's implicit theories affect their expectations and their interpretations of the world around them. Stereotypes are a subset of implicit theories that are used to organize expectations of others (Wegner and Vallacher 1977). Stereotypes are usually overgeneralized attributes that differentiate groups of people. Although stereotypes often have negative connotations, stereotypes can be positive or negative and they may be accurate or inaccurate (Aries 1996; Glick and Fiske 1999).

Stereotypes effect both an individual's perceptions and their subsequent reactions toward others. For example, when an individual first meets another person, the individual assesses the new person—as a means of self-protection—to determine whether the new person should be considered a friend or a foe (Fiske and Ruscher 1993; Henley 1975). Stereotypes allow people to infer quickly, if not always accurately, another person's attributes and whether they should be considered trustworthy (Glick and Fiske 1999). Individuals who respond automatically to stereotypes are not always aware of their action or its cause.

As implicit theories and stereotypes are developed within their social and cultural milieus, individuals vary in the content of their stereotypes and

their use (Aries 1996). However, research demonstrates some degree of agreement regarding gender stereotypes and the characteristics and expectations associated with them, especially in the realm of leadership.

GENDER ROLES, NORMS, AND STEREOTYPES

Women have traditionally been stereotyped as more socially sensitive and interpersonally capable than men (Korabik 1999). In various studies, the traditional stereotype of women included attributes such as being less competent and less effective in tasks that are required for jobs outside the home (Glick and Fiske 1999), nurturing, compassionate, considerate, weak, and subservient (Bem 1974), and emotional, subjective, tactful, aware of other's feelings, and having feelings that are easily hurt (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, and Rosenkrantz 1972). Stereotypes associated with men, on the other hand, typically included traits such as leaders, dominant, aggressive, independent, objective, and competitive (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, and Rosenkrantz 1972).

These gender stereotypes extend into almost every facet of daily life for both men and women. People interpret communications and speech characteristics through the filter of gender stereotypes (Carli 1990; Hawkins 1988; Kramer 1977; Orcutt and Harvey 1985; Siegler and Siegler 1976; Tannen 1990, 2001). Research has demonstrated that gender stereotypes regarding communication patterns and styles develop early (Andersen 1986; Edelsky 1977; Fillmer and Haswell 1977) and continue on through adulthood (Hawkins 1988; Orcutt and Harvey 1985; Siegler and Siegler 1976). Other aspects of interpersonal interactions are subjected to gender stereotypes. Others also interpret interpersonal persuasion methods or strategies through the lens of their stereotyped expectations (Burgoon, Dillard, and Doran 1983; Carli 1990, 2001; Johnson 1976). In addition, gender stereotypes regarding interpersonal interaction have proven to be relatively stable over time (Fecteau, Jackson, and Dindia 1992; Heilman, Block, Martell, and Simon 1989; Spence and Buckner 1998).

Some theorists have posited that stereotypes can be prescriptive or descriptive (Glick and Fiske 1999). Prescriptive stereotypes describe what group members *ought* to be like. Descriptive stereotypes merely *suggest* what group members are like. These distinctions are important when discussing gender stereotypes in leadership because women in leadership roles tend to deviate from the prescriptive stereotypes that have historically affected women, yet they are often viewed negatively based on descriptive stereotypes (Heilman 2001).

IMPLICIT LEADERSHIP THEORY AND WOMEN

Implicit leadership theory (Eden and Leviathan 1975; Lord and Maher 1991) contends that individuals have expectations associated with leaders. The extent to which one individual perceives another as a leader depends upon the perceiver's expectations about the characteristics and behaviors of leaders, and the degree to which the person being observed possess those characteristics.

Research has demonstrated that these implicit leadership theories can impact the perception that others have regarding a leader's behavior (for review see Ayman 1993; Chemers 1997). A series of studies in the 1980s showed that when observers have expectations regarding a person's behavior, they tend to report behaviors that match their expectations. For example, if they are told a leader is effective, they describe that leader as engaging in behaviors they would associate with an effective leader, even if their description of the leader does not match the actual behaviors of the leader (for more detail see Lord and Maher 1991). Studies on implicit leadership theory established that observers report perceiving behaviors that match their implicit leadership theory.

To establish a presence of implicit leadership theories, several studies have explored this phenomenon by examining the similarity between the expectations for different categories of leaders (Lord, Foti, and DeVader 1984) and those traits that were associated with leaders versus non-leaders (Lord, DeVader, and Alliger 1986). Although different leaders activate different expectations in the mind of the respondents,

across studies the traits that had the highest association with individuals who were leaders were identified as intelligence, masculinity, and dominance. These traits seem to fit the traditional stereotype of a man more than that of a woman.

Furthermore, over the last thirty years, research in the area of implicit leadership theories and expectations of managers within the United States has predominantly yielded a masculine image of leaders (Schein, Mueller, Lituch, and Liu 1996). This research demonstrated that the typical description of men and the typical description associated with managers were more similar than the typical description of women and the typical description that was associated with managers. These descriptions of managers included terms such as *aggressiveness*, *rationality*, *self-confidence*, *independence*, and *competitiveness*. Research in the last quarter of the twentieth century has substantiated those findings across age, gender, culture, and experience (Ayman-Nolley, Ayman, and Becker 1993; Schein 1973, 1975; Schein, Mueller, and Jacobsen 1989; Schein, Mueller, Lituch, and Liu 1996). More recently, Schein (2001) and Ayman-Nolley, Ayman, and Becker (1993) found that across ages, although observers associate a male image with leaders, women tend to be more open toward woman leaders. Therefore, women in leadership positions are likely to find they do not fit the implicit leadership theories of men, in particular. This perceived lack of fit would likely affect how they are perceived in the leadership position and how others evaluate them. Leadership emergence and the perception as well as the rating of women leaders are two main areas that can be influenced by gender stereotypes.

GENDER STEREOTYPES AND LEADERSHIP EMERGENCE

Eagly and Karau (1991) demonstrated that overall, men were perceived as being more competent and were more readily accepted as leaders when they acted in a confident and assertive manner. Although the nature of the task moderated this relationship, men were more likely than women to be thought of as leaders and emerge as leaders (Eagly and Karau

1991). For women, the same qualifications of assertiveness and confidence could be detrimental when they are faced with traditional gender stereotypes. Carli and Eagly (1999) in their summary of the research on influence and leadership emergence highlighted the double bind that faces women in leadership. Studies conducted in the United States have demonstrated that self-efficacy and self-promotion are advantageous in hiring and promotion practices for men. However, both men and women consider women who engaged in these behaviors as undesirable (e.g., Rudman 1998). It seems that the only time it is socially appropriate for a woman to boast without repercussion is when the task is seen as traditionally feminine.

In task groups, Mullen, Salas, and Driskell (1989) summarized their meta-analysis by stating that frequency of participation in groups is strongly related to leadership emergence. Carli and Eagly (1999) further clarified this; stating that when an individual's contributions are related to the group's task, the previous findings are supported, but when a person's contributions are related to social issues, the relationship between the amount of contribution and leadership emergence is weaker. Research has also demonstrated that, in general, women's task contributions are more likely to be ignored and potentially lead to negative reactions. Butler and Geis (1990) demonstrated that team members provided more negative and unsupportive responses to women solo leaders, than men who were solo leaders or women who co-led. Therefore, gender stereotypes play a critical role in limiting the opportunities for women to emerge as leaders—decreasing women's access to leadership roles and increasing the obstacles they must overcome in order to become leaders (Eagly and Karau 2002).

GENDER AND LEADERSHIP STYLE AND EFFECTIVENESS

Once in leadership positions, women leaders confront questions both about the similarity of their style to that of men in same situation and about how effective they are as leaders. The distinction between these two questions has not always been clear in

leadership research. Leadership style refers to the occurrence of the leader's behavior. Observers' implicit leadership theories affect what they see or remember when they evaluate a leader's leadership style. Leadership effectiveness is concerned with the evaluation of the leader's behavior or the outcomes against an expected standard. Thus, in this situation, the implicit theories and the norms of effectiveness are activated when an observer assesses the leader. Many performance appraisals are behaviorally worded, so the line between leadership style and leadership effectiveness can become indistinct. However, a critical distinction between these two different approaches is that in studying the style, researchers ask about the frequency and occurrence of leadership behaviors. In measuring leadership effectiveness, investigators ask how well the leader performed leadership behaviors.

Gender Stereotypes and Leadership Style

The literature and research on leadership behavior and style is quite extensive and incorporates multiple paradigms. Three main paradigms of leadership behavior that have received attention are the Ohio State two-factor model of leadership behavior (Bass 1990), the decision-making model (Vroom and Yetton 1973), and transactional and transformational leadership model (Avolio, Waldman, and Yammarino 1991; Bass 1998). The leader behavior approach focuses on two categories of behaviors: (1) task-related behaviors (i.e., initiating structure) and (2) behaviors that maintain the relationship between the leader and the subordinates or the team members (e.g., considerate behavior). These behaviors are also presented in contingency models of leadership such as path-goal theory and situational leadership (Ayman 2004). The decision-making model focuses on the leader's choice of decision-making strategies—it is only critical to acknowledge that this model refers to two categories of decision-making styles: autocratic ones and participative ones (Ayman 2004). Finally, the more recent paradigm in the study of leadership styles is the transactional and transformational model of leadership behaviors. The transactional model focuses

more on an exchange relationship between the leaders and the subordinates or team members, and the transformational model centers on developing a relationship between the leader and the subordinates or team members.

When women and men leaders' behaviors and styles are assessed, typically one of these paradigms is employed. Eagly and Johnson's (1990) meta-analysis included studies that had been conducted with the first two models mentioned above. The findings demonstrated that across studies, no difference was found in the perception of men and women leaders engaging in considerate behaviors or initiating task structure behaviors. However, they did report a slight but significant finding in which women leaders were perceived as being more participative than their men counterparts. They also highlighted that the source of the perception (self or subordinates) may have an impact on the results. In addition, factors such as the gender of the study's author, the type of study (laboratory vs. field), and the date of the study had some moderating effects for the results. The aforementioned study demonstrated that in more traditional settings, where the male stereotype was more dominant, gender differences were more pronounced. Thus, studies that were conducted earlier showed more differences between men and women leaders. Also, in studies conducted in the field, where the women participants were handpicked or self-selected, the differences were noticed less.

More recently, Eagly and colleagues have augmented this classic work (Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt 2001) and reported meta-analytic results regarding the role of leader's gender in transactional and transformational leadership styles (Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, van Engen, and Vinkenburg 2003). These studies found that women leaders, when compared to their male counterparts, were perceived as slightly (but significantly) more likely to engage in transformational behaviors and contingent reward behaviors. They also found that men leaders, when compared to women leaders, were perceived as more transactional leaders. Specifically, they avoid giving direction and changing the status quo when performance goals are being met.

Therefore, one could conclude that men and



Extract from *Little Women* by Louisa May Alcott

More than a century ago, author Louisa May Alcott balked at stereotyped gender roles in her classic novel Little Women (1867), said to be based on her own family. Jo March, the heroine of the novel, bitterly resents having to act the part of a "young lady," as this exchange between Jo and her sisters Meg and Beth indicate.

"You are old enough to leave off boyish tricks, and to behave better, Josephine. It didn't matter so much when you were a little girl, but now you are so tall, and turn up your hair, you should remember that you are a young lady."

"I'm not! And if turning up my hair makes me one, I'll wear it in two tails till I'm twenty," cried Jo, pulling off her net, and shaking down a chestnut mane. "I hate to think I've got to grow up, and be Miss March, and wear long gowns, and look as prim as a China Aster! It's bad enough to be a girl, anyway, when I like boy's games and work and manners! I can't get over my disappointment in not being a boy. And it's worse than ever now, for I'm dying to go and fight with Papa. And I can only stay home and knit, like a poky old woman!"

And Jo shook the blue army sock till the needles rattled like castanets, and her ball bounded across the room.

"Poor Jo! It's too bad, but it can't be helped. So you must try to be contented with making your name boyish, and playing brother to us girls," said Beth, stroking the rough head with a hand that all the dish washing and dusting in the world could not make ungentle in its touch.

Source: Alcott, Louisa May. (1867). *Little Women* (Ch. 1, "Playing Pilgrims").

women are perceived somewhat differently due to the presence of traditional gender stereotypes. To ascertain if these findings have any bearing on women's professional lives or their success as leaders, a critical question remains, "Are men and women equally successful?" Logic would dictate that if transformational leadership is an effective style of leadership (Lowe, Kroeck, and Sivasubramaniam 1996), then it is reasonable to assume that because women tend to engage in this style more often than men, women should also be considered

more effective. However, is this the conclusion that studies on leadership effectiveness present?

When reviewing the research findings on leadership effectiveness, one should keep the following methodological facts and their consequences in mind. The majority of these studies describe the behaviors of women leaders and men leaders through the eyes of their subordinates. Thus, if the observers are more traditional in their stereotypes of women, this could cause them to perceive men and women behaving dissimilarly. Also, in conditions where traditional male roles are dominant, more differentiation between genders is likely. For example, Becker, Ayman, and Korabik (2002) compared women and men leaders in a managerial environment to those in a school administration environment. In the managerial environment, women who tried to act according to the norms of management faced more disagreement with their subordinates on how they behaved than women in the school administration environment. So, the answer to the question, "Are men and women leaders behaving similarly or differently?" may be contingent upon the eyes of the perceiver, who is influenced by his or her stereotypes, expectations, and the social norms around them. The perceivers of these women leaders are faced with challenges of their mixed expectations regarding gender stereotypes and implicit leadership theories (Ayman 1993; Eagly and Karau 2002), which could affect their memory.

Gender Stereotypes and Leadership Effectiveness

Leadership effectiveness is an evaluation process. The scope of the question can be general such as, "How effective is the manager?" or very specific such as, "How well does he or she do in specific activities and show specific competencies?" The results of two meta-analyses have addressed these questions and demonstrated that women are rated slightly less favorably as leaders than their men counterparts in situations that are more traditionally dominated by men (Eagly, Makhijani, and Klonsky 1992; Eagly, Karau, and Makhijani 1995).

The Eagly, Makhijani, and Klonsky (1992) meta-analysis included both field studies where the

respondents observed the leader in action and studies that used paper-people, where respondents rated leaders described in a vignette. They found gender differences in evaluations of leaders when the task of the group was more masculine, when the majority of raters were men and when the leaders were perceived as acting with agentic qualities (e.g., decisive, resilient, proactive, strategic) rather than engaging in interpersonal and communal behaviors (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Specifically, they found only a small tendency for subjects to evaluate women leaders less favorably than men leaders. However, this tendency was more pronounced in situations when men evaluators rated women occupying male-dominated roles, such as in college athletics, business, and manufacturing (Eagly et al. 1992).

The Eagly, Karau, and Makhijani (1995) meta-analysis examined studies where the respondents assessed leaders in leadership roles, predominantly in organizational settings. The results determined that gender differences existed in leader effectiveness when the leader functioned in a male-dominated or gender-balanced organization. This meta-analysis demonstrated that men and women leaders were equally effective leaders on the whole (Eagly, Karau, and Makhijani 1995). Yet, men leaders were evaluated as more effective than women leaders in roles that were defined in more masculine terms (military settings, settings dominated by men, roles congruent with their gender), and women were evaluated more effective than men in roles that were defined in less masculine terms (social service settings, settings dominated by women, roles congruent with their gender) (Eagly et al. 1995).

Therefore, in examining the performance of a woman leader, the salience of her noticeable characteristics should also be considered. The salience of a woman leader's physical appearance is dependent on the uniqueness of her physical characteristics within context of the environment. In a situation where a woman leader is performing her job among leaders who are mostly men, or the woman leader is in an organization where traditionally men have occupied leadership roles, the woman's physical characteristics will be salient. However, in gender-balanced organizations, where neither gender has been tradi-

tionally dominant (Ayman 1993; Eagly, Makhijani, and Klonsky 1992), the salience of a woman leader's physical appearance is less likely to be an issue. When women leaders are working in settings where men and women have been present equally, the chances that her physical appearance will be considered is diminished. Thus, the likelihood that her behavior would be considered out-of-role is reduced when compared to a situation where a woman leader is the only woman in a position of leadership throughout the organization.

In measuring leaders' effectiveness, particularly when dependent on subjective measure, the gender stereotypes held by the rater and the traditional nature of the setting is a concern. In one study, women leaders in business and manufacturing organizations showed less agreement between how they rated themselves and how their subordinates rated them compared to women leaders and their subordinates in traditionally gender-balanced organizations and men leaders and their workers regardless of the organization (Speron, Ayman, and Korabik 2000). It appears that women are out of touch with the expectations of their raters when the setting has masculine factors.

NEW TRENDS

One of the key evolutions in leadership and leadership development is self-awareness. Many scholars have acknowledged that 360-degree feedback is a great source of information that allows leaders to improve their skills and abilities (Atwater and Waldman 1998; Atwater, Waldman, and Brett 2002; London 2002; Day 2000). Therefore, women leaders can benefit from this method of assessment to become more in tune with the existing expectations from various constituencies.

In addition, this technique of leadership measurement and development is dependent on the popular multirater approach in assessing leaders. Initially it was assumed that women leaders would be more sensitive and responsive to others' perceptions than men leaders. However, early-twenty-first-century studies of men and women leaders found that high-self-monitoring women in traditionally male envi-

ronments experienced less agreement between their self ratings and their subordinate ratings than did their low-self-monitoring women counterparts. Compared to the low-self-monitoring women, the high-self-monitors saw themselves as more effective on expressive competencies (e.g., interpersonal and listening skills) than their subordinates viewed them (Speron, Ayman, and Korabik 2000). Becker, Ayman, and Korabik (2002) found that when compared to men leaders, women leaders who were high-self-monitors in business organizations (i.e., traditionally masculine) were more likely to disagree with their subordinates regarding the frequency in which they, the leaders, engaged in task-related behaviors. However, subordinates and women leaders were more likely to agree regarding the frequency of their considerate behaviors when compared to their men counterparts (Becker, Ayman, and Korabik 2002). These findings suggest that women's psychological characteristics and the gender type of the organization can moderate the effects of stereotypes.

Furthermore, the use of multirater approaches has received attention from psychometric researchers. They have explained that when measures are used to assess differences between different groups of individuals (e.g., self versus others ratings or women versus men), it is important to establish measurement equivalence (Raju, Laffitte, and Byrne 2002). In studying women and men leaders effectiveness based on multirater approach, the preliminary findings suggest that neither source (self or subordinate), nor the leader's gender affected the stability of the instrument (Frame, Ayman, Raju, and Goff 1999). These preliminary findings give more credence to any gender effects found in the styles and performance.

REFLECTIONS

The ability to effectively lead people has traditionally been a highly prized skill. Leadership ability is typically rewarded with higher pay and additional benefits. Historically there have been women leaders who have been both effective and popular (Leon 1995, 1997). Until the 1970s, leadership had been the province of men, and even now men dominate the highest positions of leadership in U.S. organizations.

The important thing is not what they think of me, but what I think of them.

—Queen Victoria

Much has been written regarding the “glass ceiling” that holds women back from leadership positions, the career progression of women, and role of gender stereotypes in leadership (e.g., Ayman 1993; Catalyst 1998; Eagly and Karau 2002; Heilman 2001; Lyness and Thompson 1997; Schein 2001), yet de facto conclusions have not been reached.

We notice two issues about gender stereotypes and leadership. First, subordinates perceive women leaders as acting in a more participative and transformational manner than male leaders. Second, women leaders are rated as being less effective than male leaders when these women are rated by men, when the women are leaders in masculine settings, and when they are engaged in agentic behaviors (those displayed by an agent). The presence of traditional gender stereotypes affects our society’s perception and evaluation of women leaders. Stereotypes of women and their effect on the perceptions of subordinates and leaders on female leadership roles, will affect women’s access to leadership positions, particularly in nontraditional fields.

Expectations, however, are changing for leaders. In the past, leadership was assumed as masculine, with emphasis on dominance as an attribute. The number of self-help books for women exhorting them to become more assertive and to learn men’s ways of leadership and management are numerous. The result of this movement, coupled with equal employment policies and affirmative action in selection, may have increased the number of women in leadership positions and created a norm that dictated that women leaders had to be tougher than their men colleagues.

Beginning in the late twentieth century, research showed a backlash for women who are perceived as agentic (Rudman and Glick 1999, 2001; Rudman 1998). One explanation for this backlash could be gender-role spillover (Guteck, Morasch, and Cohen 1982). Gender-role spillover occurs when women act like men and are perceived as being out-of-role.

These out-of-role behaviors could be an impetus for an unfavorable rating (Eagly and Karau 2002). Another explanation of this backlash could be that the world of work has endorsed transformational leadership as an effective leadership style. This leadership style gives credence to and emphasizes interpersonal sensitivity and mentoring in leadership. This could be the beginning of a significant change in the image of effective leadership. Therefore, the image of a decisive, domineering leader is being replaced with the image of a leader who balances decisiveness with relationship building and caring for his or her team members.

It appears that the role of leader is becoming more acceptable for women and friendlier toward some of the feminine values held by women’s culture (Yonder 2001). Men, however, can engage in extreme behaviors, and although most may agree that radical behavior is not appropriate, such men are not likely to be condemned for it. For women leaders to succeed, they must choose from among a very narrow range of behaviors in order to be accepted. This is a state of transition—new sets of expectations are evolving with new norms. Gradually the old norms and expectations are being challenged, and all participants—women and men leaders and their observers—will benefit from not making automatic responses and from reexamining their reactions.

Researchers and theorists concluded that while gender stereotypes have an impact on leadership, that relationship is more complex than first hypothesized. Gender stereotypes are still prevalent partly due to the diverse roles women fulfill within organizations and society as a whole. From the traditional generic stereotype of women, relatively new subtypes of stereotypes have developed. The obvious barriers, which used to confront women leaders, are diminishing, yet the subtle effect of stereotypes and implicit theories are still present. Leaders should be chosen and evaluated based on their ability to lead rather than on stereotypes based on their gender.

—*Roya Ayman and Mark C. Frame*

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GENDER-BASED STRUCTURE OF WORK

In the pre-industrial period, most people—women, men, daughters, and sons—worked in homes, small workshops, and on farms close to home. Although tasks were divided along age and gender lines, nearly everyone was considered a worker. Beginning in the 1820s in the United States (earlier in Britain and France, later in Germany and Italy), paid labor markets developed on a large scale, as businesses increasingly separated from homes and new types of employers sought new sources of labor—people who were free to work for wages. In general, since industrialization, labor markets have been divided, structured, or segmented along gender and racial-ethnic lines. Labor markets are “rife with hierarchical distinctions between different categories of work and different groups of workers” (Figart 2003, 379).

In the United States, some of the earliest wage workers were young, single, white daughters of

farmers, since they could be spared from the farm. In factories, they often performed work that they had been doing in the home, such as spinning thread. But with the development of so-called “heavy” industry (iron, steel, railroads, and oil refining), paid employment was increasingly considered a male domain. Being a breadwinner became central to (white) men’s identity. White women, if they could afford to, were expected to focus on home and family. Marriage bars, or employer policies or practices that terminate women’s employment upon marriage, remained common up through the 1930s and helped to enforce the norm that married women should focus on home and family care.

In large part, this cultural mandate never applied to married working-class women, many of whom were recent immigrants or the daughters of immigrants. Nor did the dominant ideal of male breadwinner and full-time homemaker reach African-American women, either working class or middle class. The scholar Jacqueline Jones has effectively shown that black women typically began paid work as teenagers, remained in the paid labor force when they married and had children, and worked through middle age. Few African-American men earned a family-sustaining wage.

GENDER-BASED JOB SEGREGATION IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Over the course of the twentieth century in the United States, women of all racial-ethnic groups, but especially white, married women, increased their participation in the labor force. Yet most work, both paid and unpaid, is still segregated along gender lines, and many specific race and ethnic groups can also be found in specific clusters of jobs. Overall, women and men remain clustered in distinct sets of occupations and industries. In fact, six out of ten women are employed in female-dominated occupations, while eight out of ten men work in male-dominated occupations. Those occupations that are integrated on the surface, like management, become less so as specific jobs titles and tasks are examined.

A job is typically considered female dominated if at least 70 percent of the incumbents are female.



A New Spin on "Women's Work"

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M. (ANS)—Magdalena Garcia has endured her share of low-wage jobs. But today, the future is looking up for the domestic worker. Now a certified childcare provider, Garcia takes care of three children half the day. The other half, she earns money as a worker-owner of a women's cleaning cooperative.

"This work has allowed me and my family to progress," said Garcia. "I now have a stable income."

Founded almost three years ago, La Mesa Cooperative provides full- and part-time work for Garcia and 10 other immigrant women. The members charge customers \$12.50 per hour to clean homes, offices and yards. The cooperative advertises its services by flyers and word of mouth.

La Mesa is one of a growing number of business cooperatives established by immigrants in New Mexico and other parts of the United States during the past few years. Although cooperatives enjoy a long history in the United States, especially in rural areas, the enterprises started by urban immigrants in the 1990s represent a relatively new phenomenon.

"It's a community that has one of the most serious income needs," said Claudia Isaac, professor of community and regional planning at the University of New Mexico. "Co-ops create a space to create different economic relationships." Isaac, who has studied cooperatives worldwide, advises members on networking, planning and marketing.

Typically, a cooperative is incorporated as a for-profit business, but some groups are discovering that by incorporating as a nonprofit, tax-exempt 501(c)3 organization, they are eligible to receive foundation grants for training purposes, an important goal of many immigrant cooperatives.

Martha Dominguez, who coordinates the newly formed Self-Help Cooperative here, advises several different groups who are in the process of forming landscaping, urban gardening, catering and auto mechanics businesses. Dominguez, who first gained exposure to cooperatives in her native Honduras, said the business model is meant to transmit more than just money.

"People become leaders and learn all the aspects of the business. There are no managers above. People run things," said Dominguez.

"I think that if people are in a place in their lives where they're in poverty, they can become leaders in the community by becoming members of the cooperative. And the kids are watching the parents doing something that is demonstrating leadership skills."

Still, like any other business in today's competitive economy, cooperatives require top-notch administrative skills and marketing savvy. Producing a service or product is one thing; convincing the public to purchase it is quite another.

Women in Action, another small cooperative that began

here three years ago, found out the hard way that teaching victims of domestic violence how to make ceramic items wasn't enough to set them on the road to financial independence away from abusive spouses. Finding the ceramics market saturated, the group was left with a pile of unsold pottery piggy-banks.

But instead of folding, Women in Action went back to the drawing board and came up with a new product: food to go. For the past several months, the group's kitchen has simmered with the aromas of chile and other spices used in the tamales and Mexican food the women cook.

Eva Varela, a young woman with two small boys, said the project helped her break away from a violent husband. She now wants to drive the truck the six-member cooperative is planning to purchase and turn into a mobile food stand to peddle food at area parks and sporting events.

Varela said her involvement with Women in Action has not only taught her how to prepare new kinds of foods but, more importantly, given her a new sense of self-worth. "I would like to continue in this program because it helps women a lot," she said. "It helps them emotionally and it helps them learn new things."

Business cooperatives are also grooming a new generation of community leaders. Garcia of La Mesa Cooperative is a case in point. Once trapped in a dead-end cycle of poor-paying jobs and substandard living arrangements, she is now satisfied with her work and the modest apartment she shares with her family. What's more, she is taking an active role in the cooperative movement.

At a recent meeting of Albuquerque co-ops, Garcia sat down with others to analyze how their businesses could better prosper. She now passes her days figuring out how her cooperative will attract new customers, maintain a quality service and equitably divide up the income.

One common feature of Albuquerque's new cooperatives is that they were developed by immigrants themselves after a host of community-based organizations and public agencies that went into schools and neighborhoods with broad goals of creating self-empowerment around civil rights, day care and health issues. In the course of meeting, the immigrants themselves identified their most pressing needs, economic development being on top of the list. Accordingly, cooperatives have spun off from other initiatives.

Women in Action, for example, began as a group of women meeting under the auspices of the University of New Mexico's Family Development Program. Originally funded with a grant from the Netherlands-based Van Leer Foundation, the UNM program gathered low-income, immigrant women together to discuss common concerns such as domestic violence and a lack of day care.

Claudia Medina, program manager of family support services for the Family Development Program, said the women suggested some kind of income-generating business to learn skills and achieve a degree of financial freedom. Medina then contacted churches, the Salvation Army and any other individual or organization that was willing to donate ceramics-making equipment.

The goal, said Medina, was to create a new group autonomous from the parent organization. "Even though it was created by this program, [Women in Action] makes its own decisions," she said.

Besides marketing, seed financing is probably the other great problem facing cooperatives. Many are looking to the growing microlending movement in the United States for funds and assistance with business training and planning. One institution that meets such needs is Accion International, an organization that began in Latin America and now counts branches in Albuquerque, San Diego, El Paso, San Antonio, Chicago and New York City. Its American base is Somerville, Mass.

As in New Mexico, the demand for nontraditional loans is likely to grow in the coming years. Immigrant-based cooperatives are also appearing in places such as Chicago, where a group of Latino construction workers is active.

Like the immigrant cooperatives themselves, microlending outfits spread to this country partly because of the achievements of the movement elsewhere. "Interestingly, it's been because of the success of programs in the developing world," said Marisa Barrera, Accion New Mexico's lending officer. "We usually think of technology transfer as coming from here, but this has been the other way around."

Nonetheless, cooperatives aren't for everybody. Often operating on the margin, co-ops with minimal cash flows and maximum meeting times could prove frustrating for many individuals. But for some, cooperatives are a real solution to a vexing problem.

Take, for example, Lola Gaytan. Exhausted by fieldwork and family responsibilities, Gaytan joined with several other women in the small community of Columbus, N.M., and founded Women in Progress. Assisted by the nonprofit Colonias Development Council, the group began taking care of children for free in members' homes.

Ultimately, Women in Progress seeks to open a day care center with a formal educational program. Currently a network of state-certified day care providers receive reimbursement for food expenses from the federally funded Community Action Agency. A portion of the money is saved and spent on bottled water, high chairs and other necessities.

"My biggest challenge is to move ahead in life. I know I can do it," said Gaytan. "I want to be someone special in life. That's why we're trying to open the day care center."

—Kent Paterson

Conversely, an occupation is male dominated when 30 percent or fewer of the incumbents are female. Integrated occupations contain between 30 percent and 70 percent women. Private household work, for example, has remained well over 90 percent female for the past century. Clerical work, previously done mainly by men, who were called clerks, became increasingly female-dominated secretarial work over the course of the twentieth century. Blue-collar work in the skilled trades—electrical work, plumbing, painting, and carpentry, for example—has remained a male domain; trade work is still less than 10 percent female. Management and the professions are integrated when the general, aggregate category is considered, but many specific managerial and professional jobs are performed predominantly by men or women, with, for example, more women than men being English teachers and more men than women being engineers.

In addition to limiting an individual's opportunity to pursue the work that may be of greatest interest to him or her, segregation in the labor market affects pay and promotion prospects, with members of socially disadvantaged groups generally working in less appealing jobs and earning less. Studies have shown that as the percentage of an occupation's incumbents who are female rises, the average wage falls, even when controlling for other factors affecting wages. Thus the gendered structure of labor markets can refer just as much to the structure of pay in the labor market as to who works where. In the twentieth century, women have frequently challenged the tendency for women's jobs to have lower pay, and advocates have developed the concept of comparable worth, also pay equity, as shorthand for the demand that women's jobs not be devalued because women do them. Advocates of comparable worth argue that jobs should be compared on the basis of the skill, effort, and responsibility they require as well as the working conditions under which they are performed, and pay should be set accordingly, rather than by custom or tradition, which likely incorporates the effects of discrimination on pay rates.

One of the most puzzling aspects of the gender-based wage gap and job segregation in labor markets is that they remain strong despite enormous eco-

conomic changes. Entire occupations and industries come and go, competition increases on a global scale, labor markets are continuously changing and restructuring, yet the phenomena of segregation and the wage gap remain, re-forming themselves in new labor market conditions. In fact, both white women and women of color have often entered professional and technical fields as those fields were changing. Women of color became computer operators for large mainframe computers as those were being phased out and computing was moving to individual desktops; similarly they became telephone technicians as more of that work became automated. White women increased their representation in medical schools and law schools in the 1970s, just as autonomy in these professions began to decline. A major study by Michael Carter and Susan Carter, published in 1981, documents how large law firms, medical and legal clinics, and health maintenance organizations (HMOs) tend to push out sole practitioners, reducing their autonomy and profit margins. Men retain the best positions in the profession (partnerships at Wall Street law firms, for example), while women take the newly open jobs in the less privileged part of the profession. The field of pharmacy also changed as women entered, as large chain store pharmacies employing more women replaced local pharmacist entrepreneurs, who had been mostly men. As many law and medical schools now approach or exceed 50 percent in female student enrollment, men, presumably, are moving on to greener pastures elsewhere.

Within management, men predominate in line positions in financial management and production management, areas on the fast track to the executive suite. Women managers, and especially African-American women, are disproportionately concentrated in specialties such as human resources, public relations, and marketing, fields which lead less readily to the top executive positions. Such intra-occupational segregation is one reason that women have hit a “glass ceiling” in corporate America.

The term *glass ceiling* was coined by two reporters at the *Wall Street Journal* to describe the widespread phenomenon of women getting within reach of the top executive jobs—being situated in the

jobs just below the top tier, where they can see the top jobs, as if through a glass ceiling, but not reach them. According to the 2002 report from Catalyst, a nonprofit organization that issues an annual report on women in top jobs in the Fortune 500 companies, women held only about 1 percent of CEO jobs in those 500 companies; nevertheless even this small number represents a substantial increase from the time of the first study. The glass ceiling has been used to suggest that something, perhaps invisible, is still keeping women from attaining the top spots, years after they have entered the professional and managerial labor force in large numbers and the pipeline has been full of talented women who could have been promoted up into these slots in greater numbers.

Causes

Occupational segregation and wage discrimination can be the result of overt actions by employers or subtle forms of institutional discrimination. Institutional discrimination connotes a situation in which structural features of labor markets and employment practices, while limiting opportunities, are seen as normal. Of course, what is normal in one period can be challenged and changed in another. For example, prior to the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 and subsequent litigation, help-wanted classified ads were routinely listed under the headings “Help Wanted Female” and “Help Wanted Male.” And overt discrimination can be transformed into less overt discrimination, as when women are offered less overtime, less responsibility, or fewer cross-department assignments that would increase their visibility and help prepare them for promotions. According to feminist scholars, discrimination is deeply embedded in social institutions and culture. Indeed the roots of occupational segregation can be seen to predate industrialization. The anthropologist Margaret Mead has famously said that although the jobs women and men do differ from society to society, in all societies men and women do different work and everywhere the work women do is valued less.

The extent of sex segregation and the size of the

wage gap have both fallen since the 1960s. The index of segregation, frequently used to assess women's progress in the U.S. labor market, fell some 15 percentage points, from 68 to 53, between 1970 and 1990. The wage gap, using data from the U.S. Current Population Survey, fell from about 40 percent in 1960 to 23 percent in 2002. (That is to say, women who work full-time, year-round, used to earn 60 percent of what full-time, year-round working men did; now they earn about 77 percent of what men do.) While these declines certainly represent progress for women in breaking out of narrow confines in the labor market, progress has not been steady and may even be slowing down. With the wage gap, for example, far more progress was made in the 1980s than has been since.

Competitive market forces alone are not likely to cause institutional discrimination to evaporate in the long run. In fact, employers may even profit from engaging in discrimination. If discrimination lowers the wages of less powerful groups of workers, rather than (or in addition to) raising the wages of preferred groups, many employers likely profit from the situation and would have to increase the wages of underpaid workers to eliminate pay discrepancies.

Feminist economists and sociologists have advanced several theories of institutionalized discrimination: crowding, queuing, dual labor market, and segmentation theory.

Crowding

In a ground-breaking 1974 article, the feminist economist Barbara Bergmann proposed that discrimination "crowds" women and racial minorities into a smaller subset of occupations. According to the crowding hypothesis, the oversupply of workers in these occupations depresses their wages, due to the competition for limited job openings. Women, especially women of color, are overcrowded into female-dominated occupations; these occupations pay less, on average, than jobs with similar education and experience requirements that are not open to them. White male workers have always had more occupational choices, so they do not face crowding. Since women face barriers to moving into these

jobs, the limited labor supply keeps wages high in the male sector.

Queuing

Queuing theory treats the hierarchy between groups of workers as an institutionalized aspect of the social fabric. According to this approach, employers rank workers by order of preference and workers rank jobs based on their desirability. The workers higher up on an employer's queue get first choice at the most desirable jobs.

Dual Labor Market

According to dual labor market theory, pioneered by the economists Peter Doeringer and Michael Piore in 1971, the economy is divided between a primary sector and a secondary sector that do not allow much mobility of workers between them. The primary sector comprises traditional manufacturing jobs and skilled trade occupations. These jobs are highly unionized and offer promotion opportunities, in a well-organized internal labor market. In contrast, occupations in the secondary sector are low-wage and dead-end. Male workers are concentrated in the primary sector and female workers in the secondary sector, complementing the image of separate labor markets in crowding models. Dual labor market literature is largely inductive, drawing inferences from case studies of specific firms and analyses of the structure of labor markets in the economy of a particular time and place. Other theorists have further distinguished labor market segments as upper primary, lower primary, upper secondary, and local secondary, or similar demarcations, but these observations are still descriptive. While labor markets in the United States have changed significantly since this theory was first developed (the unionized workforce has declined as a share of the labor force, for example), the basic idea of good jobs and bad jobs still provides a perspective for understanding labor markets that appeals to many. Studies of temporary and contingent work (work without job security and benefits), for example, typically point out that women, people of color, and immigrants, often the most dis-

advantaged members of the labor force, hold these jobs disproportionately.

Segmentation

Segmentation theory has been developed to explain why the labor market is divided. Employers are motivated to maintain gender and race hierarchies in order to “divide and conquer” workers. Employers benefit from mirroring the local culture’s race and gender hierarchies and keeping workers divided against one another: Their union densities are less, their wage bills are lower. One strand of segmentation theory implies that white male workers could be better off if they joined with their coworkers to demand higher wages for all. Theorists have also examined the role of alliances between employers and white male workers in the establishment of discriminatory employment practices.

TASK SEGREGATION

Within the social sciences, gender theory has augmented these heterodox, mainly economic, theories by acknowledging the cultural devaluation of female-dominated occupations, the tasks and skills associated with “feminine” qualities, and workers with family responsibilities. These cultural values lead employers to create segregated jobs and informal task segregation. Employers maintain gender and race hierarchies, and thus occupational segregation, because cultural assumptions about women of all races and about men of color shape their economic decisions. Many of these processes occur, and can be observed, at the level of the organization. For example, even if women and men are employed in a position with exactly the same job title, employers may structure their work differently by task. This is task segregation.

Studying clerks in supermarkets, the sociologists Martin Tolich and Celia Briar uncovered informal forms of discrimination that do not show up in hiring statistics or paychecks, but do result in differential promotional opportunities and quality of working life. Male supermarket clerks, they found, have more freedom of movement on the job; they leave the

checkout lanes to restock products and clean the aisles. Access to more varied tasks is the gateway to a possible promotion. Female supermarket clerks, on the other hand, are more tied to their registers and more often assigned to the “express lane.” Employers treat the male and female clerks differently not because it is necessarily profitable or divides their work force. They simply carry, and act out, unspoken assumptions about men’s impatience with staying in one place, women’s greater emotive skills, and which employees need to be cultivated for promotions.

GENDER-RELATED WORK PREFERENCES

Increasingly in the labor economics and business literature, women’s and men’s preferences and private decisions about family care are cited as the main causes of segregation and other differential outcomes observed in the labor market. Suppose women want to work fewer hours, travel less, or have less responsibility on the job because they want to have more time and energy available to take care of children, other family members, homes, and communities? If women prefer less demanding positions on average, then are employers discriminating when they assume all women want such positions and structure their personnel decisions accordingly? And since much preparation for the labor market takes place before people enter the labor market, especially in schools and colleges, are employers responsible for there being few male nurses and few female engineers in the United States today? Questions such as these suggest that many aspects of the gendered structure of labor markets are influenced by what happens outside the labor market, yet employers cannot be excused from the roles they play in perpetuating stereotypical ideas through employment policies and practices. Just as what women do in the workplace may be conditioned by decisions made elsewhere, what happens in the workplace can affect women’s and men’s decisions concerning how to divide their energies between paid employment and family care. Lower pay for women in the labor market, a lack of publicly funded child care and paid family leave, and income tax policies that discourage second earners in families all help steer many men

and women toward decisions regarding work and family care that support the status quo.

SOLUTIONS

Like the causes, the remedies needed to reduce the gendered structure of labor markets and to increase opportunities for women are many and intertwined. Active enforcement of antidiscrimination and equal-opportunity laws in both employment and education is essential. Access to many jobs is still essentially denied to women. New laws to encourage comparable pay in women's and men's occupations would more fairly compensate women for working in traditionally female jobs and at the same time encourage more men to take those jobs. Subsidized child care, paid family leave, and flexible work arrangements would all help families to mesh work and family demands and to divide family care more equitably. Tax policies that treat dual-earner and single-earner couples more equitably are also needed. In short, the gendered structure of labor markets results from both internal and external factors, and both need to be addressed for change to occur. While much remains to be done if the labor market is to provide equal opportunity for everyone, social changes as profound as increasing gender equity can be expected to take a long time. In the United States, women organized actively for seven decades before gaining the vote, and by 2003, they still have only about 14 percent of the seats in the U.S. Congress. Looked at from the long-term perspective, a surprising amount of change has occurred in the labor market in a relatively short time period.

—Deborah M. Figart and Heidi I. Hartmann

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GENGHIS KHAN (1162–1227)

Mongol conqueror

Genghis Khan merged several warring tribal confederations in the steppes (level and treeless land in southeastern Europe and Asia) of Mongolia and united Mongolia into a single nationality, establishing the largest contiguous empire in history. He received the title of “Genghis Khan” first as the khan (leader) of his own tribe, the Mongols, and then as the emperor of all the tribes of Mongolia after almost twenty years of conflict. In the process, Genghis Khan avoided the traditional method of building a tribal confederation built solely on kinship ties as well as promises of plunder and wealth

and instead forged a new identity for the nomadic tribes. Rather than remaining individual tribes, they were reorganized into one huge tribe known as the “Yeke Mongol Ulus” (great Mongol nation). With this unity, Genghis Khan led his tribesmen into northern China and then into central Asia and Persia (Iran), accumulating more conquered territory than any other leader. His successors continued the conquests until the Mongol empire stretched from the Pacific Ocean to the Carpathian Mountains and Mediterranean Sea. Yet, Genghis Khan’s achievements off the battlefield are perhaps an even greater legacy.

EARLY LIFE

Genghis Khan—or Temüjin, as he was known in his youth—assumed leadership early in his life. After the murder of his father, Yesügei, who was also a tribal leader, in 1175, the Mongol tribes abandoned Yesügei’s family. Scholars are unsure whether the ten-year-old Temüjin was the logical successor because he had two half-brothers from Yesügei’s second wife, Ko’agchin, who may have been older. Nevertheless, none of Yesügei’s children held enough seniority to lead the Borjigin clan of the Mongols. Still, a power struggle did ensue between the sons of Ho’elün, the mother of Temüjin, and those of Ko’agchin. The result of the struggle in 1180 was that Temüjin and his brother Jochi Qasar murdered Bekhtar, the eldest of Ko’agchin’s sons, but spared Belgütei, the younger son. Scholars think it likely that the murder was the result of the power struggle for leadership in the family of Yesügei. In 1180 Temüjin reached the age of fifteen, essentially attaining his majority (typically males aged fifteen to sixty fought in warfare, thus a fifteen-year-old would be considered a man and not a boy).

Temüjin gradually won the loyalty of others and increased his following. In addition, he became the vassal (a person under the protection of a feudal lord) of Toghriq Ong-Khan, the khan of the Kereit tribal confederation. Through his relationship with Toghriq, Temüjin gained a reputation for respecting merit over heredity and status as well as rewarding loyalty.

UNIFICATION OF MONGOLIA

Because tribal society tended to be fairly fluid, Temüjin gained supporters from other tribes. One method by which he gained supporters was dividing plunder from warfare among all of those who participated. He ordered that anyone who stopped to gather booty during a raid would be punished. Temüjin insisted that all fighters should continue fighting until victory was secured. Traditionally, plunder tended to be divided among the leaders, who then distributed it among their men. Thus, in order to gain a better share, fighters had incentive to take what they could on a raid and not necessarily fight. Although the immediate companions of Genghis Khan and his commanders received a larger share of the plunder, this practice of waiting until the battle ended to plunder ensured that there would be more plunder to divide among all involved in a battle. The creation of a rigid system of discipline among the Mongol troops gave them a decided advantage over their enemies.

Although Genghis Khan remained loyal to Toghril for several years, tensions built as Genghis Khan's influence and power increased. In 1203 the two former allies clashed, with Genghis Khan's army emerging victorious. With Genghis Khan's defeat of the Kereit, the Mongols now controlled eastern and central Mongolia. The only significant force that remained in Mongolia was another tribal confederation known as the "Naiman."

Initially the Naiman sought to defeat the Mongols by invading their territory. Genghis Khan, however, led his army into western Mongolia and defeated the Naiman in 1204. This conflict was perhaps the most significant of Genghis Khan's career. If he had been defeated by the powerful Naiman, he would have been unlikely to regain power or maintain the cohesion of his following.

The victory over the Naiman gave Genghis Khan complete control over Mongolia. In 1206 a *quriltai* (congress) was held at the Onan River; the Mongols declared Genghis Khan the supreme ruler of the steppes. At this time, Genghis Khan organized his newly won empire in a more formal manner. He assigned commanders to the military units *mingans*

(thousands) and *timens* (ten thousands). Furthermore, he established the *keshik* (a ten-thousand-man bodyguard). The *keshik* also served as a military academy and training school for men who later became the generals and upper-level officials within the empire. Not all who went through the *keshik* became officers, though. In one instance, Genghis Khan noted that one warrior was tireless, felt neither cold nor hunger, and could ride and fight for days on end, surpassing all others. Yet, because of the attributes that made him a great warrior, he could not become an officer because he could not understand the sufferings of other men.

Just as the army was organized in a decimal fashion, so, too, was society. In order to maintain unity among the various tribes a new supraentity—a new identity given to a number of preexisting policies or groups in order to unite them under a common name—had to exist. Thus, Genghis Khan created the Yeke Mongol Ulus. Tribes that had been loyal to him through the years maintained their integrity. Those whom he had defeated, however, were divided up and dispersed throughout the new military units.

WORLD CONQUEROR

With the unification of Mongolia, Genghis Khan turned his attention to outside the steppes. Some people think Genghis Khan launched a campaign of conquest and world domination out of megalomania and greed; however, this notion is inadequate. The reasons for his expansion beyond the steppes are more complex.

Indeed, Genghis Khan's expansion had more to do with leadership strategies than desire for world domination. With the exception of his invasion of central Asia, Genghis Khan's wars were more to maintain power than to achieve conquest. His initial invasions of central Asia and the medieval kingdom of Xi-Xia (northwest China) were motivated by his pursuit of tribal leaders who had taken refuge outside of Mongolia. As Genghis Khan had learned, security in the steppes was ephemeral while a viable alternate leader remained. While these threats of an alternate leader remained, they served as rallying points for discontented elements in Mongolia.



The Power of Genghis Khan

The History of the World Conquerer, completed by the Persian historian Ata-Malik in 1260, chronicled the reign of Genghis Khan (Chingiz-Khan). The excerpt below is from the chapter "Of The Laws Which Chingiz-Khan Framed and the Yasas Which He Promulgated After His Rise to Power."

God Almighty in wisdom and intelligence distinguished Chingiz-Khan from all his coevals and in alertness of mind and absoluteness of power exalted him above all the kings of the world; so that all that has been recorded touching the practice of the mighty Chosroes of old and all that has been written concerning the customs and usages of the Pharaohs and Caesars was by Chingiz-Khan invented from the page of his own mind without the toil of perusing records or the trouble of conforming with tradition; while all that pertains to the method of subjugating countries and relates to the crushing of the power of enemies and the raising of the station of followers was the product of his own understanding and the compilation of his own intellect. And indeed, Alexander, who was so addicted to the devising of talismans and the solving of enigmas, had he lived in the age of Chingiz-Khan, would have been his pupil in craft and cunning, and of all the talismans for the taking of strongholds he would have found none better than blindly to follow in his footsteps: whereof there can be no clearer proof nor more certain evidence than that having such numerous and powerful foes and such mighty and well-acquainted enemies, whereof each was the *faghfur* of the time and the Chosroes of the age, he sallied forth, a single man, with few troops and no accoutrement, and reduced and subjugated the lords of the horizons from the East unto the West; and whoever presumed to oppose and resist him, that man, in enforcement of the *yasas* and ordinances which he imposed,

he utterly destroyed, together with all his followers, children, partisans, armies, lands and territories. There has been transmitted to us a tradition of the traditions of God which says: "Those are my horsemen; through them shall I avenge me on those that rebelled against me," nor is there a shadow of doubt but that these words are a reference to the horsemen of Chingiz-Khan and to his people. And so it was that when the world by reason of the variety of its creatures was become a raging sea, and the kings and nobles of every country by reason of the arrogance of pride and the insolence of vainglory had reached the very zenith of "Vainglory is my tunic, and pride my cloak," then did God, in accordance with the above-mentioned promise, endow Chingiz-Khan with the strength of might and the victory of dominion—"Verily, the might of the Lord is great indeed"; and when through pride of wealth, and power, and station the greater part of the cities and countries of the world encountered him with rebellion and hatred and refused to yield allegiance (and especially the countries of Islam, from the frontiers of Turkestan to uttermost Syria), then wherever there was a king, or a ruler, or the governor of a city that offered him resistance, him he annihilated together with his family and followers, kinsmen and strangers; so that where there had been a hundred thousand people there remained, without exaggeration, not a hundred souls alive; as a proof of which statement may be cited the fate of the various cities, whereof mention has been made in the proper place.

Source: Juvaini, Ata-Malik. (1958). *The History of the World Conquerer*. John Andrew Boyle (trans.). Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press. Reprinted in McNeill, William H., & Waldman, Marilyn Robinson (Eds.). (1973). *The Islamic World*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 253–254.

Additionally, the raids that Genghis Khan made outside of Mongolia served as a release for his newly organized army. Having the majority of adult males under arms in a highly organized and disciplined army made them effective; however, they were potentially a powder keg. By sending them outside Mongolia to chase rival leaders or merely to raid, Genghis Khan kept his army and his generals trained and occupied in other matters.

In 1205 Genghis Khan invaded the kingdom of Xi-Xia. The Mongols raided Xi-Xia several times before they conquered it in 1210. Xi-Xia, however,

was not fully incorporated into the empire until 1227, after the Mongols put down a rebellion led by its Tangut leaders. Prior to that Xi-Xia served as a vassal state that provided the Mongols with tribute as well as troops; yet, the Mongols made little effort to govern Xi-Xia as long as it fulfilled its duties as a vassal state.

The Mongols also invaded northern China, then ruled by the Jin dynasty. As with Xi-Xia, Genghis Khan did not attempt to conquer northern China, at least initially. His invasion had as much to do with economics as with vengeance for past grievances. In

the past the Mongols and the Jin had warred on several occasions. After 1206 Genghis Khan no longer viewed himself as inferior to the Jin emperor. Beginning in 1211 the Mongols raided the Jin on numerous occasions. Only over time did the Mongols begin to hold the territory they conquered as more groups within the Jin empire sought the protection of the Mongols. However, before the Mongols could complete the conquest of northern China, Genghis Khan's attentions were directed toward central Asia.

As part of their effort to destroy potential rivals, the Mongols acquired much of what is now Kazakhstan at the same time that one individual, Güchülüg, had taken refuge in the Qara Qitay empire and eventually usurped power. The Mongols invaded and pursued Güchülüg to his death in 1218. With the acquisition of the Qara Qitay territories, the Mongols now came into contact with the Khwarazmian empire, which dominated much of central Asia, Afghanistan, and Iran. Initially the Mongols only sought trade with the Khwarazmian empire; however, greed and perhaps ambition ended commercial activity just as the Khwarazmians massacred a Mongol-sponsored caravan in the city of Otrar. Muhammad Khwarazmshah II, ruler of the Khwarazmian empire, then rebuffed diplomatic efforts of the Mongols to settle the dispute peacefully, perhaps believing that he could plunder Mongol-sponsored merchants while Genghis Khan campaigned in China.

Genghis Khan, however, left his lieutenant Muqali in charge of a small army of Mongols while Genghis Khan led the bulk of the Mongol army to central Asia, over 1,600 kilometers away, in 1219. The actions of Muhammad Khwarazmshah II could not be ignored. If Genghis Khan could not protect officially sponsored caravans, then his vassals on the periphery of the empire might also have doubts about the extent of Mongol control. Thus, in a brilliant campaign Genghis Khan conquered the Khwarazmian empire in a relatively short time, finishing in 1224 before returning north to deal with his rebellious vassals in Xi-Xia. The Mongols, however, did not attempt to occupy territory south of the Amu Dar'ya River, thus holding only a fraction of the former Khwarazmian empire. Nevertheless, Muhammad Khwarazmshah II

died in flight, and the remnants of his empire no longer threatened the Mongols.

ACHIEVEMENTS

Although Genghis Khan's conquests certainly gained him recognition among historians as a military and organizational genius, perhaps his cultural achievements transcended his military achievements. Indeed, he played a major role in five significant achievements in the development of Mongolian society. The first was that he united the tribes of Mongolia into one nation. The second was that he introduced a writing system into Mongolian society and forced the Mongolian nobility to become literate. The last three achievements were institutions that he imposed on the Mongols that lasted well beyond his death. The first of these three was the *Yasa* (law code), which he imposed over the empire. The second was creation of an army with absolute discipline out of the unruly tribes. With this army he was able to forge an empire that stretched from the coasts of China to the shores of the Caspian Sea in his lifetime. The empire continued to grow after his death, a phenomenon in nomadic empires. The third cultural achievement was an administration to govern his empire.

In regards to the writing system, Genghis Khan, although illiterate, recognized the importance of writing. The writing system that he adopted—one adapted from the Uighur Turks of central Asia—came from the Naiman. Its script is still used today in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region of China.

Although scholars debate the content of the *Yasa* (law code) of Genghis Khan as well as to whom it applied, a law code of some form did emerge. Much of what it contained pertained strictly to the nomads of the empire because the settled regions tended to be governed by their existing laws, whether secular or religious. The *Yasa* continued to affect the nomadic world after the death of Genghis Khan and indeed after 1260, when the Mongolian empire split into four smaller empires.

The administration of the empire developed by Genghis Khan evolved in a curious fashion. Genghis Khan did make appointments in 1206 after the

unification of Mongolia was completed. These appointments included commanders of regiments and divisions but also civil appointments. In addition, Genghis Khan recognized the talents of various administrators of the empires he conquered, whether they were from China, central Asia, or Persia. He used these individuals to run his empire, a practice that was perfected by his successors.

LEGACY

The impact of Genghis Khan's leadership is less obvious than it should be in the twenty-first century. The most obvious impact is the country and nationality of the Mongols. Prior to his ascension to power, tribal confederation rose and fell in cycles. However, Genghis Khan's family remained the aristocracy of the nomads of Mongolia into the twentieth century. Furthermore, even after the Mongolian empire declined, rulers such as the Turkic conqueror Timur (Tamerlane) and even Ivan IV of Moscow attempted to establish a connection between their rule and Genghis Khan in an attempt to legitimize their claim to power. The establishment of the Mongolian empire also opened the door for intercontinental trade on a grand scale. Merchants could travel from Europe to China and points in between on an unprecedented scale. Although one should not believe that it was a glorious period for all, the safety given to merchants opened the doors for exchanges in science and science. Today Genghis Khan is still revered as the founding father of Mongolia, and a religious cult in his honor exists in Mongolia and Inner Mongolia.

—Timothy May

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GLOBALIZATION

Few current topics are more contested than globalization—its definition, causes, and economic, political, social, and moral implications. Some critics maintain that globalization is a faddish term that encompasses too many ideas to be coherent. Yet it is

hard to deny that some kinds of global interaction are taking place that are significantly reshaping life for many human beings. Debates swirl around how globalization can be most efficiently and equitably steered or constrained, if indeed it can be guided in some way. At whatever level (local, national, and international), leaders in various sectors face effects of globalization.

Globalization is better understood as a set of processes—sometimes competing; sometimes complementary—than as a unified process. It refers to economic, political, technological, social, cultural, and ethical developments. The term is most often employed in relation to developments after 1980, even though many scholars now assert that earlier periods of history also contained elements of globalization. In general, globalization refers to the incorporation of the global level into activities or frames of reference that would otherwise remain local, national, or regional in scope.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS

Although globalization can and does entail a variety of dimensions, the term commonly refers to economic links and processes. Economic globalization concerns the expansion of production, trade, consumption, savings, and investment to markets beyond national and regional ones. Although trade has always crossed national boundaries, from spice routes to the East, to trade in the Roman Empire, to international shipping between Europe, Africa, and the Americas, the level of international trade has skyrocketed since about 1980.

With strong encouragement from leaders in private enterprise, political leaders have pushed for the reduction in tariffs on the trade of goods and service across national lines. The Uruguay round of trade talks (1986–1994) of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT, established in 1947), created the World Trade Organization (WTO). The WTO, which began officially in 1995, is an international institution consented to by various partner countries. It has the power to enforce agreed-upon treaties and to mediate trading disagreements among member countries. Critics maintain that the WTO governance

is not democratic and privileges an ideology of the free market over social values. In this view, economic globalization that promotes free trade and growth of production comes at the expense of weaker economies and nations (who consent to membership out of a very limited set of options), the rights and protections of laborers, and environmental health.

The increased international flow of commodities is a visible form of globalization, but the rise in global financial markets dwarfs the markets in goods. With the technological developments discussed below, trillions of dollars change hands every day electronically. In unprecedented ways, global capital and currency markets have reshaped economic investment. This is not to say that investment across national lines is new; foreign investment as a share of total investment is not larger today than it was in the pre–World War I period. Concerned about speculation as well as seeking to finance a global infrastructure, some economists, activists, and policymakers have called for a tax (like the so-called Tobin tax) to be levied upon global financial transactions.

Globalization has not occurred as readily for human labor as it has for capital. On the labor front, political questions of national sovereignty confront globalizing economic trends. A number of nations have addressed the labor issue through legalized migrant- and guest-worker programs. Some permit immigration and offer citizenship to persons who can fill certain kinds of gaps in the national labor force. Yet, the majority of persons are not able readily to move their labor power across national lines, as they would be able to do in a fully globalized society.

TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGES

Late-twentieth-century technological innovations are a major component of globalization. A series of developments in the telecommunications and computer industries has made immediate, coordinated, and sustained communication possible among multiple geographic locations in the world. The cost of a one-minute phone call from New York to London has dropped precipitously, by about 99 percent, over the

past seven decades (United Nations Development Programme 1999, 30). Cell phone technology promises to make communication to remote areas affordable; entire nations appear poised to skip a generation of wired technology and adopt wireless communication systems.

The Internet, developed as a way of communication within the military and university sectors, has made instant interaction and a common pool of information potentially available to persons around the world. Internet access and usage vary by country and socioeconomic status, but at its best, the Internet promises a cheap and reliable medium for global interaction. Critics call attention to the downfalls of this sort of interaction, including inequalities of access and influence, the over-commercialized use of the World Wide Web, and the lack of genuine, personal human-to-human communication.

The decline of prices of international air travel, in addition to contributing to the global trade of time-sensitive products, has increased international tourism. Persons who can afford this form of travel comprise a global tourist industry. Yet, the cost of a standard coach-class seat on a round-trip transatlantic flight exceeds the average annual per capita income of almost half of the world's nations.

AN EMERGING GLOBAL INFRASTRUCTURE

A different kind of globalization, of a political nature, has taken place more slowly and less directly than the economic and technological dimensions. Market structures can readily transform themselves from a national to an international level, but a political system based on national sovereignty will, by definition, face structural issues in international contexts. The founding of the United Nations (UN) in 1945 offered the promise of a global community of nations working together to address the social ills and, at a minimum, to reduce the probability of conflict on a global scale. The UN charter did not usurp national sovereignty—indeed, it was built upon it. Although the Security Council, whose five permanent countries hold veto power, ensures that a set of dominant countries has undue influence, the UN structure is still more democratic and participatory

than international financial institutions such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and World Trade Organization. The UN's efforts to forge global peacekeeping alliances and to avoid political-military conflict have had mixed results. The current Secretary General, Kofi Annan, of Ghana, has questioned the absolute right of national sovereignty when it comes to issues of the violation of human rights within national boundaries. The degree to which his leadership efforts will erode national sovereignty, however, remains to be seen.

The UN has had some success in its promotion of human rights. The UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the Security Council in 1948 and now ratified by at least 140 countries, set the stage for a series of human rights conventions and treaties, including international statements on civil and political rights; economic, social and cultural rights; and the rights of women, racial minority groups, and children. A group of nongovernmental human rights organizations, including Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, endeavors to protect human rights around the world. Scholars now discuss the emergence of a global culture and structure of human rights.

Other multinational efforts have contributed to a global political and juridical order. The formation of an International Criminal Court, despite objections by the United States, is reshaping the understanding of justice across national boundaries. International treaties and protocols, relating to the environment, military weapons, fishing, and so on, contribute to a global order. Some of these international efforts have resulted not from a formal political structure, but through the leadership of persons in nongovernmental organizations that are committed to addressing a particular issue. The awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Jody Williams and the International Campaign to Ban Landmines is a recent example of such citizen leadership that seeks to create a global order.

The globalization of human rights and international treaties is distinct from economic understandings of globalization that focus on the growth of production and the expansion of trade and investment. Yet a set of economic institutions has played a

prominent role in an emerging global infrastructure. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, or the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have become highly influential international financial institutions (IFIs) in the emerging international order. These institutions were envisioned at the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944 (and organized the following year), under enlightened leadership of the economist John Maynard Keynes, who believed in the importance of building an improved economic system in the post-war period.

The World Bank is charged to provide development assistance through loans for development projects and the IMF is directed to provide emergency assistance to national governments for macroeconomic stability and structural adjustment loans to make national economies more market oriented. Even beyond these important roles, these IFIs wield significant power in the shaping of national economic development strategies, and their evaluations influence commercial banks in their own lending decisions. As mentioned in the discussion of economic globalization above, the World Trade Organization also has become increasingly significant as an IFI; its critics point out that its policies affect not only production and trade of goods and services, but also environmental, labor, and social policies.

One intentional leadership effort to shape a global economy has been the World Economic Forum (WEF), an independent organization that brings together elite financial, political, and social leaders to address issues related to globalization that arise because of the discontinuities, gaps, and flaws in the global order. This organization does not claim to be representative or democratic in its processes; rather, it provides a forum for discussion among persons who are powerful in their own sphere but might otherwise not communicate with one another. Some observers are critical (or suspicious) of the very effort of economic and political elites to get together, since they might create a global infrastructure that favors persons already in power and give corporations additional public influence. In intentional opposition to the WEF's elite approach, the

Forum Social Mundial, or World Social Forum (WSF), has organized open international meetings in Porto Alegre, Brazil, for scholars, activists, and policymakers who see the economic dimensions of globalization as a process of exclusion of poor and marginalized persons.

CULTURES AND GLOBALIZATION

Some commentators understand cultural difference to be a significant barrier to any form of global community. Samuel Huntington's thesis about a clash of civilizations has received significant attention. Huntington asserts that a set of civilizations—no longer national boundaries or Cold War alliances—has created and will maintain the fault lines of the global order. These so-called civilizations—the West, Islam, Confucianism, and so on—are not easily reconciled, integrated, or transcended via any global political or economic process. A particularly important tension, Huntington maintains, is between the West and Islam. Respondents have questioned his framework, particularly the simple categorizations of civilizations, the assumption that cultural difference necessitates (often violent) conflicts, and the thinly veiled preference for “Western” civilization.

A second significant discussion of culture and globalization centers around Benjamin Barber's thesis that two forces—“McWorld” and “Jihad”—are undermining democracy around the world. McWorld, as Barber describes it, is the process of creating a global “monoculture” based upon consumer values and practices. McWorldization is driven by U.S. commercialism, including the tremendous global influence of multinational corporations like Coca-Cola and Nike, the Hollywood film industry, and media-entertainment conglomerates like Disney and AOL-Time Warner. McWorld threatens the richness and diversity of less powerful cultures around the world. Barber defines Jihad as those movements away from multicultural, multiethnic democracies toward ethnic or religious enclaves of self-determination. Such efforts are aided by the global communications and media technologies of McWorld. Barber thus asserts that globalization, paradoxically, is aiding both Western economic dom-

inance and balkanizing movements around the world, both to the detriment of democratic participation.

GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP?

In addition to tangible transformations on economic, technological, political, and cultural fronts, globalization entails a less visible transition in persons' frames of reference, or ways of thinking, concerning identity and affiliation, time, and geography. The concept of *neighbors* changes as technology and communication make people who are geographically far away become, in real senses, proximate. For many persons, an international or even truly global perspective is added to other frameworks such as family, neighborhood, city, and nation. As leaders seek to address problems—even apparently very local ones—it is important to understand the ways in which the relevant issues have global dimensions. The popular activist slogan, “Think Globally, Act Locally,” captures only some of the complexities of thinking and acting at various levels (see Robertson 1992).

Since the 1970s, moral and political philosophers have renewed an interest in global justice and the rights and responsibilities of a global community. The philosopher John Rawls adapted his famous work *A Theory of Justice* (1971) to identify certain limited transnational duties that are contained in a “law of peoples” (Rawls 1999). Marxist and post-colonial scholars have emphasized the need to understand struggles in various parts of the world as part of a common fight against forces of oppression and for human dignity. Hardt and Negri's book, *Empire* (2000), portrays globalization as a complex movement that creates a hegemonic global order but that also provides opportunities for mass resistance to it. Other scholars, including Martha Nussbaum (1996), Peter Singer (2002), and Hans Küng (1998), have offered “cosmopolitan” visions of moral obligation and global community. In cosmopolitanism, national citizenship has very little relevance to the rights and duties that humans share with and toward one another. Some analysts have retorted that global citizenship is an interesting concept, and perhaps a worthy ideal, but it is only the “global class”—those

who can afford to debate such ephemeral topics—who have the privilege to dream of such a condition.

PROTESTERS OF GLOBALIZATION

Some activists, scholars, and citizens oppose various dimensions of globalization. The most highly visible protests reject current economic processes and, specifically, those international financial institutions seen to be pushing for it—the IMF, the World Bank, and the WTO. High-profile demonstrations have taken place since 1999, outside meetings of IFIs in Seattle, Prague, Quebec City, and Washington, DC. Other protests have disrupted meetings of leaders of the most powerful economies, such as the G-8, or Group of Eight, meetings in Genoa, Italy, in 2001.

These protests, like globalization itself, are multivocal events, bringing together citizens concerned about labor practices, poverty, and the environment. The vast majority of efforts to place social concerns on the public agenda have been nonviolent. At almost every protest, however, a few protesters gain the attention of the media by using violence. Leadership within the “antiglobalization” movement struggles to unite disparate voices concerned about developments that accompany globalization in its current forms. Organizations that are pro-labor, pro-environment, and advocates of impoverished people face the challenge of working together when their short-term interests might not be aligned completely. Although it is difficult to assess directly the success of such efforts, all three of the IFIs have recently (if gradually and to varying degrees) shifted their discourse to incorporate concern for poor persons, social policies, and environmental protection.

Paradoxically, the successful organizing efforts against economic globalization tend to be highly global in terms of technology and communication. That is, leaders in the anti-globalization movement employ the Internet and international networking as principal means for organizing. While some groups of genuine anti-globalizers prefer communal separatism, or autonomy, the majority of organizations embracing the term *anti-globalization* are actually protesting specific forms of globalization (viz., models that are based upon, or perpetuate, existing dis-

parities of economic wealth and political power).

It is important to note an additional aspect of globalization in the current international arena. Terrorist networks such as al-Qaeda purport to be fighting the hegemonic political and economic power of the United States (and its allies). Its leaders claim to resist a global economic system that imposes Western values upon all persons and cultures in the world. The terrorist attack of 11 September 2001, against the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon, targeted the global economy. Yet, even as al-Qaeda fights the forces of globalization, it is itself a profoundly globalized institution, dependent upon the electronic media for its internal communication and dissemination of its message. Thus, even the most radical forms of protest against globalization are also affected by the realities of the phenomenon.

INEQUALITY AND INCLUSION

One of the central issues in globalization debates is the relation of globalization to inequality. Economists debate the question of whether and by how much the process of globalization—specifically, in this case, the expansion of international trade and capital movement—has increased inequality. Although there is no broad consensus, scholars generally agree that technological changes have had at least as significant an impact on inequality as trade. Many economists agree that the level of global inequality increased during the 1970s and 1980s, but the degree of that rise turns on a number of technical factors, including currency conversion rates. There is no consensus about the more recent period—or, importantly, the causal relationship(s) between globalization and equality or inequality.



Selection from the Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organization, 1994

The *Parties* to this Agreement,

Recognizing that their relations in the field of trade and economic endeavour should be conducted with a view to raising standards of living, ensuring full employment and a large and steadily growing volume of real income and effective demand, and expanding the production of and trade in goods and services, while allowing for the optimal use of the world's resources in accordance with the objective of sustainable development, seeking both to protect and preserve the environment and to enhance the means for doing so in a manner consistent with their respective needs and concerns at different levels of economic development,

Recognizing further that there is need for positive efforts designed to ensure that developing countries, and especially the least developed among them, secure a share in the growth in international trade commensurate with the needs of their economic development,

Being desirous of contributing to these objectives by entering into reciprocal and mutually advantageous arrangements directed to the substantial reduction of tariffs and other barriers to trade and to the elimination of discriminatory treatment in international trade relations,

Resolved, therefore, to develop an integrated, more viable and durable multilateral trading system encompassing the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the results of past trade liberalization efforts, and all of the results of the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations,

Determined to preserve the basic principles and to further the objectives underlying this multilateral trading system,

Agree as follows: [The sixteen articles of agreement follow.]

Source: World Trade Organization. Retrieved October 15, 2003, from http://www.wto.org/english/docs_e/legal_e/04-wto.doc

At least one additional relationship is frequently overlooked in these discussions. Even if global inequality did not increase in the past two or three decades, communications and media innovations have broadened the “frame of reference” beyond national borders to see global inequality as a more relevant and pressing issue. Currently, the level of income inequality in the world stands at least as high as inequality in the most unequal nations. Although in earlier eras this fact may not have been acknowledged, today’s increasingly interconnected citizens are more likely to take note of inequality, and its implications, at the global level (Hicks 2001).

One key question of globalization and inequality

concerns who the agents of globalization are. Do common local citizens in the United States, Australia, Venezuela, or India have the ability to influence, even in a small way, the globalizing world in which they increasingly live? The vastness of a global process makes any individual agency seem remote at best, and this is a fact unlikely to increase a person's leadership initiative. To the extent that globalization is disproportionately shaped by political and economic elites, it can neglect (at best) or diminish the agency of local citizens.

Movements on behalf of labor, the poor, and the environment share a concern about the loss of agency by non-elites in the globalization process. Scholars and advocates now speak about *glocalization*, a term that once referred to a kind of marketing (Robertson 1992, 173–174) but now also denotes a process whereby actors at the local level are able to shape their own experience of globalization. “Glocal” leadership, in other words, helps individuals and groups to influence their context, given the wider situational realities of globalization.

LEADERSHIP FOR, AGAINST, AND AMID GLOBALIZATION

Few leaders in political or economic sectors claim to be pursuing (or, for that matter, resisting) globalization intentionally as one of their direct ends. (Exceptions are individuals and organizations such as the WEF and the WSF.) Rather, globalization is a systemic outcome of various actors who are seeking their more limited ends to benefit themselves, their institution, or their constituency. The vast majority of leaders confront global and globalizing realities as contextual factors that they must negotiate in their work: Business leaders adopt an international horizon on their would-be customers, competitors, investors, and potential labor force; political leaders carve out their place in the international order as a piecemeal global infrastructure develops; and leaders of civil society expand their mission to new countries and contexts.

Even as leaders focus on the needs of their followers and constituents, intentional efforts are needed, however, to develop globalization, as possible, in

directions that are effective and ethical. It is clear that the interactions between and among the peoples of all parts of the world will increase in the decades ahead, but it is not clear what the quality of those relationships will be. It remains to be seen whether the leadership processes associated with globalization will be top-down and exclusive or, rather, will include the voice and contribution of many persons and organizations around the world. Determining the meanings of globalization is more than an academic debate about definitions; it requires multifaceted leadership efforts on financial, political, social, and cultural fronts to shape a world in which all persons have the opportunity to be agents of their own lives.

—Douglas A. Hicks

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GLOBE RESEARCH PROGRAM

The GLOBE (Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness) research program is a worldwide multi-phase, multi-method project whose purpose is to explore the relationship between culture and leadership. In the last decades of the twentieth century, globalization of business and technology has resulted in an unprecedented level of peacetime contact among cultures. Globalization of industrial organizations presents numerous organizational and leadership challenges, including how to design multinational organizational structures, how to select leaders appropriate to the cultures in which they will be functioning, how to manage organizations with culturally diverse employees, and how to conduct successful cross-border negotiations, sales, and mergers and acquisitions. Unfortunately, the literature provides little guidance for leaders facing these challenges. One purpose of the GLOBE research program is to correct that problem.

In 1991, Robert J. House, a scholar at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School, came up with the idea of a global research program focusing on leadership, organizational practices, and societal culture. Among the key questions driving the GLOBE project are the following:

- Are there leader behaviors, attributes, and practices that are universally accepted and effective across cultures?
- Are there leader behaviors, attributes, and practices that are accepted and effective in only some cultures?
- How do societal and organizational cultures influence whether specific leader behaviors will be accepted and effective?
- How do societal and organizational cultures affect selected organizational practices?
- How do societal cultures affect the economic, physical, and psychological welfare of their members?
- What is the relationship between a society's culture and its international competitiveness?
- How does a society's culture help determine its conceptions of effective leadership?

STRUCTURE OF THE GLOBE PROGRAM

GLOBE was initially funded in October 1993 by the U.S. Department of Education, with Robert House acting as principal investigator. In addition to House, three co-principal investigators and more than 170 country co-investigators (CCIs) from more than 60 countries representing all major regions of the world are currently engaged in this long-term series of cross-cultural studies.

The CCIs, together with the principal investigators and research associates, comprise the GLOBE community. The CCIs lead the project in a culture in which they have expertise. Their activities include collecting quantitative and qualitative data, ensuring the accuracy of questionnaire translations, writing country-specific descriptions of their cultures, interpreting the results of quantitative data relevant to their culture, and contributing insights from their unique cultural perspectives. In most cases, CCIs are natives of the countries from which they are collecting data and participate in that country's culture. Some of the CCIs have extensive experience in more than one culture. Most cultures have a research team of between two and five CCIs working on the project.

The GLOBE project employs a variety of methods to make cross-cultural comparisons. The primary data are responses of middle managers in three industries—financial services, food processing, and telecommunications—to questionnaires. In total,

over 17,000 questionnaires were collected from middle managers in over 900 organizations throughout the world, with at least three cultures in each major region of the world being represented. The managers' responses taken in aggregate provide measures of the practices and values of their cultures. Empirical assessment of the validity of the GLOBE scales reveals that meaningful patterns of relationships emerge when the GLOBE scales are compared with other cultural indices. For example, GLOBE's Future Orientation values scale is correlated with the World Values Survey indicators dealing with spiritual orientation and Future Orientation practices scale is positively correlated with measures of national savings.

SOCIETAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE

The first significant question addressed by the GLOBE program was how societal and organizational cultures differ. In August 1994 the first GLOBE research conference was held at the University of Calgary in Alberta, Canada. Fifty-four researchers from thirty-eight countries met to develop a collective understanding of the project and to initiate its implementation. Participants agreed to define culture as "shared motives, values, beliefs, identities, and interpretations or meanings of significant events that result from common experiences of members of collectives and are transmitted across age generations" (House, Javidan, Hanges, et al. 2002, 6).

Based on earlier literature in the field of cross-cultural studies, the researchers identified nine different dimensions of culture:

Uncertainty Avoidance. Uncertainty Avoidance in a society or organization is the act or practice of striving to avoid uncertainty by relying on established social norms, rituals, and bureaucratic practices. People in cultures with high levels of uncertainty avoidance actively seek to decrease the unpredictability of future events, as unpredictability is seen as adversely affecting the operation of the organization or society.

Power Distance. Power distance measures the degree to which members of an organization or society

expect and agree that power should be stratified and concentrated in the organization or society's upper levels. The more members of a society agree that power and status should be concentrated in the upper levels, the greater the power distance in the society.

Collectivism I, or Institutional Collectivism. Institutional collectivism is institutional-level encouragement and rewarding of collective action and collective distribution of resources. When organizational and societal institutional practices support collective action and collective distribution of resources, we say that the society or organization is characterized by high levels of institutional collectivism.

Collectivism II, or In-Group Collectivism. This is distinguished from institutional collectivism by its focus on small groups such as family and circles of close friends. While institutional collectivism reflects the extent to which a society's institutions favor collectivism, in-group collectivism reflects the strength of ties within small groups.

Gender Egalitarianism. Gender egalitarianism is the state or condition of minimizing gender role difference and promoting gender equity and equality.

Assertiveness. Assertiveness is the quality of aggressive directness in social relationships. Some societies or organizations encourage it; others discourage it.

Future Orientation. Future orientation is a focus on the future and engagement in future-oriented behaviors such as planning, investing, and delaying individual or collective gratification.

Performance Orientation. Performance orientation is a focus on excellence in the performance of one's tasks or duties. The more an organization or society encourages and rewards group members for performance improvement and excellence, the more it can be said to have a performance orientation.

Humane Orientation. A humane orientation is a focus on fair, altruistic, friendly, generous, caring, and kind behavior. The more organizations or societies encourage and reward individuals for those traits, the more they can be said to have a humane orientation.

For each of these cultural dimensions, the researchers developed two original scales. One scale measured managers' reports of the extent to which a culture has practices that reflect the underlying dimension, while the other scale measured the extent to which the managers believed that the cultural dimension *should* be emphasized. For example, while the GLOBE countries are reported to have a wide range of power distance practices, they all believe that there should be less of a power distance in their countries than there currently is.

A second major question addressed by the GLOBE researchers concerned how these cultural dimensions related to several dependent variables, including life expectancy, educational attainment of citizens, and variables relating to societal economic prosperity (for example, gross national product per capita), as well as overall measures of citizens' psychological and physical welfare and other, additional variables related to the human condition. For example, power distance and in-group collectivism practices are both negatively correlated with various measures of economic success and national competitiveness. A third major question GLOBE researchers asked was how specific characteristics and actions of leaders are viewed in different cultures. Considerable time was spent generating a working definition of leadership, with the result being that leadership was defined as "the ability of an individual to influence, motivate, and enable others to contribute toward the effectiveness and success of the organizations of which they are members" (House, Javidan, Hanges, et al. 1996, 6).

The researchers identified 112 specific leadership attributes that the two GLOBE pilot studies indicated could be useful for identifying leadership scales that differentiated cultures from one another. Middle managers were asked to rate the extent to which each of those attributes facilitate or impede effective leadership. The first round of factor analysis of their responses resulted in 21 basic leadership scales. The second round of factor analysis of the 21 basic scales resulted in the following six global leadership scales. They are called global because they are generated as a result of factor analysis of responses of all managers in GLOBE countries and

they consist of several leadership items from the questionnaire.

Charismatic, or Value-Based. This scale measures the degree to which leadership has the ability to inspire, motivate, and expect high performance outcomes from others based on firmly held core values. This leadership scale includes six subscales that measure leadership's vision, inspiration, self-sacrifice, integrity, decisiveness, and performance orientation.

Team Oriented. This scale measures the degree to which leadership emphasizes effective team-building and directs team members' energies toward a common purpose or goal. This scale includes five subscales that measure leadership's collaborative team orientation, ability to integrate members of a team, diplomacy, malevolence (a reverse-scored subscale), and administrative competence.

Participative. This scale measures the degree to which leaders involve others in making and implementing decisions. Its two subscales measure how much leadership encourages participation and to what degree leadership is autocratic (a reverse-scored subscale).

Humane. This scale measures the degree to which leadership is not only supportive and considerate but also compassionate and generous. Its two subscales measure modesty and humaneness.

Autonomous. This scale measures leadership's independence and individualism. Its single subscale measures autonomy.

Self-Protective. This scale consists of five subscales from the first round of factor analysis. It reflects the extent to which the leader is worried about himself or herself and the extent to which he or she is self-centered and engages in face-saving behavior to protect personal interests. It also reflects the leader's interest in status consciousness, inducing conflict, and following procedures.

The above six global leadership scales comprise what is called the Culturally Endorsed Implicit Leadership Theory (CLT). GLOBE compares countries and cultural clusters in terms of their CLT scores. Furthermore, from among the 112 leadership items,

GLOBE identified twenty-one specific leader attributes or behaviors (for example, integrity) that are universally viewed as contributing to effective leadership and eight that are universally viewed as impediments (for example, irritability). Finally, thirty-five specific attributes or behaviors were found to contribute to effective leadership in some cultures but to hinder it in others. For example, sensitivity is viewed as a positive leadership attribute in the United States but as a negative attribute in Russia. Some of these items are included in the six global leadership scales and others are not.

THE GLOBE THEORETICAL MODEL

The central proposition of the theory guiding the GLOBE research program is that the attributes and entities that differentiate a specified culture are predictive of that culture's organizational practices and leader attributes and behaviors that are most effective in that culture. The integrated theory also incorporates the following propositions:

- Societal cultural values and practices affect leaders' behaviors.
- Leadership affects organizational form and cultural values and practices.
- Societal cultural values and practices also affect organizational cultural values and practices.
- Organizational cultural values and practices also affect leaders' behavior.
- Societal cultural values and practices and organizational cultural values and practices influence the process by which people come to share implicit theories of leadership. Over time, implicit leadership theories are developed in congruence with both societal and organizational cultural values and practices.
- Strategic organizational contingencies (organizational environment, size, and technology) affect organizational form and cultural values and practices. Organizational cultures are influenced by the requirements imposed by organizational contingencies.
- Strategic organizational contingencies affect leader attributes and behaviors. Leaders are selected to meet the requirements of organizational contingencies.
- Relationships between strategic organizational contingencies and organizational form and cultural values and practices will be moderated by societal cultural forces. For example, in low uncertainty avoidance societies (that is, cultures that have a high tolerance for uncertainty), we expect that forces toward formalization will be weaker, and therefore there will be less societal cultural pressure on the organization to formalize practices.
- Whether or not a leader is accepted depends on how well the leader's attributes and behaviors fit with the culturally endorsed implicit leadership theories. The better the fit, the more accepted the leader will be.
- How effective a leader is depends on how well the leader's attributes and behaviors fit with strategic organizational contingencies. The better the fit, the more effective the leader will be.
- Leaders who are accepted by their followers are more effective than leaders who are not.
- An effective leader will, over time, be increasingly accepted because a leader's demonstration of competence improves followers' attitudes toward the leader, resulting in increased acceptance.
- Societal cultural practices are related to economic competitiveness of nations. We expect societies that are high on power distance (hierarchical societies) and low on uncertainty avoidance (societies that tolerate uncertainty) and performance orientation (societies that tolerate poor performance) will be less competitive internationally, because we assume that these dimensions of culture impede competitive performance.
- Societal cultural practices are related to the physical and psychological well-being of their members. Cultures that are high on power distance and low on humane orientation practices will have members who are dissatisfied with life in general.

Aspects of the GLOBE project's findings have been presented in more than eighty conference papers and more than thirty working papers, journal articles, and book chapters. Mark Chadwin, the director of The Weissman Center for International Business at Baruch College, has called GLOBE "the sin-

gle most important piece of cross-cultural research in a quarter of a century.”

—Robert House, Mansour Javidan,
Peter Dorfman, and Paul J. Hanges

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GOLDMAN, EMMA (1869–1940)

U.S. anarchist and feminist

Russian-born Emma Goldman, who immigrated to the United States in 1885, stands as a major figure in American radical and feminist history. As an impassioned advocate and intellectual leader, she used her pen and voice to influence, engage, and inspire others for social change in the early decades of the twentieth century. “Red Emma,” as she was often called at the time, advocated for birth control and women’s sexual emancipation, criticized mandatory conscription into the military during World War I, preached atheism, lectured on drama and the arts, fought for an eight-hour workday, and defended the ideals of anarchism in print and in lecture halls around the country—and around the world. For this she was harassed, imprisoned and ultimately deported.

Perhaps Goldman’s greatest strength as a leader lay in her ability to inspire and influence society’s disenfranchised; her domain was that of the “dissenting groups,” in Howard Gardner’s terminology. While Goldman had limited crossover appeal to society’s more privileged elements, the strength of her indirect leadership through her writing and speaking across the country gave her a reputation as one of the most dangerous women of her time. A visionary propagandist and activist, she promoted ideas aimed at liberating body, spirit, and mind. Her story is one of a woman leader who used her skills, energy, and compassion tirelessly, and in the face of tremendous opposition, to bring forth an alternative vision—and an alternative story—for the “American century.” Emma Goldman used her impassioned writing and



Emma Goldman at age 64 after she was expelled from the United States but allowed to return for a visit of up to ninety days.

Source: Underwood & Underwood/Corbis; used with permission.

speaking to spread a radical vision of a new social order. Her words affected and inspired those who heard her, as well as generations who read her words subsequently. The radical and feminist movements have spawned gifted leaders since her time, but few as influential and notable as Emma Goldman was for her generation and for those to come.

THE EARLY YEARS

Born on 27 July 1869, Emma Goldman lived as a child in a small Russian city of Kovno, now in Lithuania. Her first experiences of injustice can be traced to her family's poverty and the ruthless and omnipresent anti-Semitism of the time. Moreover, her father's violent manner and authoritarian rule prompted Emma's earliest rebellions. At twelve, she moved with her family to St. Petersburg, where she

glimpsed new movements for new social orders—Czar Alexander II was assassinated during Emma's brief stay in the city. She soon left Russia to pursue a "modern" education in Germany, where she developed an appreciation of classical music, drama, opera, and great literature. This early exposure gave her a lifelong appreciation for the role of the arts in elevating the human condition. Although Goldman was to be best known for her writings on behalf of anarchism, she also wrote and lectured extensively on the arts, poetry, and literature. Among the writers she admired were George Bernard Shaw, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Walt Whitman, Anton Chekov, and Henrik Ibsen.

When she returned to Russia several years later, her father sent her to work in a corset factory and began pressuring her into an arranged marriage—whereupon sixteen-year-old Emma and her favorite half-sister, Helena, set sail for the United States in 1885. Like so many immigrants of the time, she looked toward the new land as a place of hope, justice, and freedom. Upon seeing the Statue of Liberty, Emma Goldman was inspired by its symbols of hope and freedom for all. But her high hopes were dashed by the horrific working-class realities of her factory job in Rochester, New York. She also married a Russian immigrant and entered into a brief, unhappy marriage.

THE TURNING POINT

The year 1886 was pivotal in Emma's evolution as an anarchist leader. Labor and radical activists held a rally in Chicago's Haymarket Square to protest the recent police brutality against McCormick Harvester workers striking for an eight-hour workday. A bomb was thrown at the rally, injuring people and killing one police officer. The media and authorities blamed Chicago's anarchist leaders and, amidst the hysteria of the times, condemned seven to death on flimsy evidence. Four were executed on 11 November 1887. Inspired by the stirring defiance of the imprisoned and doomed leaders, the outraged Goldman—still in her teens—became an active anarchist. Six years later, in 1893, the then-governor of Illinois, convinced of the Haymarket defendants' innocence,

pardoned the remaining imprisoned anarchists. Goldman would fight for the rest of her years against the kind of hysteria that had led to the conviction and death of innocent people because of their unpopular political ideas. Indeed, the incident inspired her to a lifelong commitment to freedom of speech and of the press.

With her political development came changes in her personal life as well. Risking the stigma of divorce, she left her husband in Rochester and moved to New York City, joining the anarchist community there. She quickly found a prominent place in the largely male labor and radical movements. Her eloquence and communication skills were soon apparent, and her speaking tours, for which she was known throughout her life, began during this period. She also met and fell in love with Alexander Berkman, a Russian émigré and “chum of a lifetime,” in Goldman’s words; together they vowed to dedicate their lives to anarchism. Although her love for Berkman was profound and public, she also had passionate affairs with other known radical men of the time.

CONTROVERSY FOLLOWS GOLDMAN

In 1892, Carnegie Steel’s manager Henry Clay Frick provoked a bloody confrontation with workers at the company’s Homestead plant in Pennsylvania. Goldman and Berkman plotted to retaliate. When Berkman shot and injured Frick, he was convicted and sentenced to twenty-two years in prison. Although Goldman was involved in the plot, and verbally justified the attempted assassination, there was insufficient evidence to indict her. Berkman spent fourteen years in prison, and Goldman was tireless in her efforts to seek his release. In later years, she denounced political violence.

The imprisonment of her colleague did not stop Goldman from her role as a spokesperson for unpopular ideas. Arrested in 1893 for urging a crowd of unemployed workers to demonstrate rather than rely on the electoral process for relief, she spent ten months in jail. Later, she chained herself to a podium to make it physically impossible for the police to remove her before she finished speaking. When President William McKinley was assassinated by

Leon Czolgosz in 1901, police immediately tried to implicate Goldman because Czolgosz had attended one of her lectures. Although arrested, she was ultimately released, again due to lack of evidence against her.

After a brief withdrawal public life, Goldman re-emerged with a strong presence, writing and editing her free-spirited monthly magazine *Mother Earth* from 1906 to 1917. She wrote and spoke on topics ranging from political theory and her own socialist brand of anarchism to drama and the arts to sexual emancipation. Her words inspired radicals across the country, but enraged and outraged authorities. Anti-radical, anti-immigrant hysteria was reaching a fever pitch.

As the United States moved toward war in late 1916, Goldman and others opposed the government’s military preparations, believing that wars were fought on behalf of the rich at the expense of the poor. *Mother Earth* was Goldman’s forum. However, in a government-sponsored pro-war crusade, *Mother Earth* and other antiwar periodicals were banned. Goldman wasn’t silenced. She pressed on with her antiwar activities and within weeks of America’s entry into World War I, she helped launch the Non-Conscription League to encourage conscientious objectors.

In 1917, Goldman and her comrade Berkman were charged with conspiring against the draft and sentenced to two years in prison. Shortly after her release, she was re-arrested by a then young J. Edgar Hoover, who referred to Goldman as “one of the most dangerous women in America.” On 21 December 1919, Goldman, Berkman and over two hundred other foreign-born radicals were deported and forced to set sail to the Soviet Union.

IN EXILE

Goldman’s remaining years were very difficult. With the exception of a ninety-day lecture tour granted during the Roosevelt administration, Emma Goldman never set foot on U.S. soil again, spending the last twenty-two years of her life in Russia, Sweden, Germany, France, England, and Canada. The years in exile away from family and friends, the estrangement



Emma Goldman on the Right of Free Speech

On 17 October 1893, Emma Goldman was sentenced to one year in prison after being convicted of unlawful assembly. She had planned to give a speech at the hearing, but choose not to do so. The text of the speech was printed in the account of the hearing in the New York World on 17 October 1893. Goldman's original version was lost.

I speak not to defend myself, but to defend my right of free speech, trampled upon by those who have caused the curtailing of my liberty.

I know that the right of free speech was once guaranteed to every man and woman in this land.

What do those who have brought me here understand by the right of free speech? Does it give a right to all to say what appears to the individual good or bad, or has it been granted to permit the expression of only that which to a certain class of the citizens appears right?

Is free speech solely for the purpose and use of the Government and its officers, are individuals prohibited from say[ing] that which is true, even though hardly to the taste of a certain class or portion of the public? Can I only say that in which I do not concur, and must I say it?

I am positive that the men who shed their blood for the independence of this land, and who offered up their lives to secure the liberty and rights of the American people, must have had a very different understanding of the right of free speech than those who to-day represent the Government, and who so interpret the right as to permit the expression only of that which is conducive to their benefit.

According to such an interpretation of the right of free

speech I must call them despots, and as such, without the right to commemorate in celebrations the memory of those who fell in the fight for Independence, for the former deliberately trample under foot the principles of those heroes, and when decorating their graves commit blasphemy.

Why don't the representatives of the State drop the so-called mantle of free speech, discard the mask of falsehood and admit that absolutism reigns here?

Under such a condition of things the American citizen has no shadow of right in pointing the finger of contempt at European institutions and in speaking of the downtrodden hungry of the Old World.

The sorrowful condition of the workingmen of the Old as well as the New World increases from day to day, and it reached a high point in its horizon this very year.

Devoid of all means of sustenance, the workingmen assemble to consult, to devise means to remedy their need. Those who throughout the year utilize the people and gather riches at their cost perhaps feel that it would not go well with them should the workingmen become half conscious of their exigencies, and in their terror the latter seek the aid of government. Innumerable policemen and spies are sent into the meetings of the unemployed, to control all their deliberations, to control the speakers.

Source: *New York World* (1893, October 17), p. 7.

she felt in these countries, and the lack of money and legal rights, weighed heavily on Goldman. While exiled in her native Russia, she was outraged by the authoritarianism and over-bureaucratization of the Bolshevik state, its repression of anarchists, and the limitations it placed on individual freedom. Although she defended the Russian Revolution, she also argued against its excesses, most notably in her books *My Disillusionment in Russia* and *Further Disillusionment in Russia*. Her outspoken criticism of the Soviet state alienated her from many of her European and American radical colleagues. Hoping to secure a place to live with the rights and privileges of British citizenship, she married an elderly Welsh coal miner in the mid-1920s, despite her

principled objections to the institution of marriage. In 1931 she published her two-volume autobiography *Living My Life*, which is still in print and read widely today.

At age sixty-seven, with the promise of an anarchist revolution in Spain, Goldman hurled herself into the Spanish cause. After Franco's triumph in 1939, she moved to Canada where she devoted the last year of her life to securing political asylum for the refugees of the Spanish war. Goldman died in Toronto on 14 May 1940. After her death, the U.S. Immigration Service allowed her body to be readmitted to the United States, where she was buried at Waldheim Cemetery in Chicago near the Haymarket anarchists who had inspired her.

GOLDMAN'S LEGACY

Freedom of speech was a cause Emma Goldman championed throughout her life. As a powerful anarchist orator, she faced constant threats from police and vigilantes. Undeterred, she continued to find the courage of her convictions—but she paid dearly for her outspokenness.

The attempts to suppress Goldman and her unconventional views led many, even those who disagreed with her, to support her right to express her ideas. As a leader for “dissenting” groups, she promoted a broad range of issues and in so doing, influenced those even outside her immediate circle. Emma Goldman was unwavering and fearless; she stood up for unpopular causes and devoted her life’s work to speaking and writing about injustice. Her vision was so profound that it inspired generations of women—and men—decades later. For example, Goldman’s unwavering and fearless commitment to freedom of expression influenced Roger Baldwin, founder of the American Civil Liberties Union, who heard her speak in 1908. Later he told Goldman in a letter, “You always remain one of the chief inspirations of my life, for you aroused in me a sense of what freedom really means” (*The Emma Goldman Papers* 2002, <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/Goldman/Exhibition/freespeech.html>). Emma Goldman’s advocacy in defense of unpopular ideas (and her right to speak her views in public) helped keep secure the right of freedom of speech in the United States by inspiring others to champion free speech causes throughout the twentieth century.

But perhaps it was on issues of women’s emancipation that Goldman spoke and exemplified the most unconventional opinions of the time. As an activist, she placed the personal sphere on a par with the economy, the state, and war. Goldman wrote about passionate love and reproductive freedom, advocating for birth control, which she believed was essential for women’s freedom. She smuggled contraceptive devices into the United States and lectured frequently on the “right of the child not to be born.” Several times she was arrested and charged with violating the Comstock Law, which prohibited the distribution of birth control lit-

erature. In Goldman’s mind, only anarchism could set women free.

For her impassioned intellectual vision, Emma Goldman is also viewed as an influential leader of the feminist movement in the United States. To her is attributed the quote inscribed on the T-shirts of many 1960s young feminists, “If I can’t dance, I don’t want to be part of your revolution.” In reality, as she wrote in her autobiography after being reproached by a fellow radical who felt her dancing was inappropriate for a political agitator (Goldman 1934, 56), “I insisted that our cause could not expect me to behave as a nun and that the movement should not be turned into a cloister. I want freedom, the right to self-expression, everybody’s right to beautiful, radiant things. Anarchism means that to me.”

—Laurien Alexandre

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GOMPERS, SAMUEL (1850–1924)

Leader in the early U.S. labor movement

The founder of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), Samuel Gompers changed the direction of the labor movement by abandoning efforts to organize employees across industries in favor of a craft-based unionism that focused only on skilled, white, male workers. While his policy of “business unionism” helped the labor movement grow, his reluctance to participate in the political process weakened the impact of organized labor in the first decades of the twentieth century.



Samuel Gompers in 1908.

Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

BEGINNINGS

Gompers was born in the working-class East End section of London to Dutch Jewish immigrants Solomon and Sarah Rood Gompers. The family's economic situation meant that as the oldest son Sam could only attend school for four years before being forced to enter the world of work. At the age of ten, he apprenticed as a shoemaker, but soon switched to his father's profession of cigarmaker. Unfortunately, the poor economic climate of the early 1860s led to little demand for luxury products like cigars. The Gompers family continued to struggle and, hopeful of better opportunities, immigrated to New York City on 29 July 1863 with financial aid from Solomon's union, the Cigarmakers' Society.

Gompers initially worked alongside his father rolling cigars in their tenement apartment on New

York's Lower East Side. While others were working in factories, the Gompers were able to work out of their home because Solomon's skill at cigarmaking enabled them to produce cigars without the aid of a mold. By 1865 he had found work in a factory as a skilled cigar roller and he would remain in a succession of shops into the early 1880s. If Gompers had worked in a noisy factory, it is likely that he never would have had the chance to develop his own theories of labor. However, cigar rollers typically took advantage of their quiet work environment by hiring one of their fellows to read aloud the literature and periodicals of the day and by compensating him in cigars. In this manner, Gompers acquired an introduction to current political issues, the conditions of labor worldwide, and the work of such political economists as Karl Marx, Ferdinand Lassalle, Edward Kellogg, and Ira Steward.

LABOR ACTIVISM

The cigar trade changed dramatically in the years after the American Civil War, reflecting the technological advances that would transform the relationship of labor to management. The cigar mold, introduced in 1869, reduced the amount of skill needed to produce cigars and permitted New York manufacturers to switch most production from factories to tenements. The workers typically leased apartments from the manufacturers, purchased supplies to carry home, rolled the cigars in the tenements, and then resold them for credit at the company store. Entire families had to work long hours every day to make ends meet. The Cigarmakers International Union (CMIU), dominated by members in Chicago and Detroit who did not work under the tenement system prevalent in New York, refused to permit the organization of the unskilled cigar makers. As a result, Gompers's local union chapter dropped from hundreds of members to fewer than fifty by 1872.

Determined to maintain a New York union for cigar makers, Gompers continued his CMIU membership but also created a new union, the United Cigarmakers. By forming a new union in a trade where an old one still existed, Gompers violated one of the long-held tenets of trade unionism. He justified his

actions by stressing the importance of the issue, a defense that Gompers would trot out often in subsequent years to excuse questionable actions.

With the United Cigarmakers, Gompers focused on developing a strategy and an organization. He recruited full-time workers while pushing for increased pay and better working conditions. By 1875, Gompers headed the largest cigarmakers local in the United States with 245 members. In that same year, the CMIU agreed to admit all workers and Gompers' upstart chapter joined the national organization as Local 144.

The triumphant Gompers became an official CMIU organizer in 1875. A pragmatic and tenacious man with a stentorian voice that could easily be heard from some distance, he overcame a speech impediment to become a skilful and frequent public speaker. In shops and tenements, he spoke to laborer after laborer. To reach the many immigrant workers in New York, he wrote union pamphlets in English and German that were then translated into Bohemian. All the while, Gompers continued to work a ten-hour day as a cigar maker because he received no pay for his union activities.

Gompers's success with the union made him into a target and, in 1878, employers placed him on a do-not-employ blacklist. After some months, Gompers managed to find work with a renegade factory owner. He remained undeterred by the blacklisting. He regarded every defeat as temporary and took strength from every victory, no matter how small.

THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR

As he advanced in the union ranks, Gompers organized workers in an effort to avoid repeating past mistakes. While he noted that the strikes between 1869 and 1872 against the introduction of machinery failed as did strikes for an eight-hour day and better pay, Gompers focused much of his attention on the Knights of Labor. The first mass organization of the working class, the Knights counted Gompers among their membership thereby allowing the man to observe their rise and fall from an inside position.

The AFL that Gompers subsequently formed had a narrow focus because the failed Knights had a wide

focus. The Knights permitted non-working-class elements to belong to the labor union. This meant that some workers were in the same union as their bosses. As a result, these laborers were frequently deterred from seeking better pay, hours, and conditions for fear of antagonizing their employers and losing their source of income.

The Knights also did not focus solely on getting benefits for their members. The union divided its energies between a range of causes—including temperance—that were only tangentially related to labor. Additionally, the Knights barred only a handful of occupations from membership qualification, thereby allowing intellectuals and reformers of all stripes to join the Knights to push for their vision of America. In Gompers's view, these radicals did not understand that to experiment with the labor movement was to experiment with human lives. He believed that violence and extremism on the part of union members did nothing except galvanize opposition and set back the cause of labor.

BUSINESS UNIONISM

Gompers argued that labor needed to shake off parasites, the political agitators who wanted to antagonize the establishment as a way of pushing society toward a utopian revolution. Accordingly, he booted the socialist faction from his New York Local 144 in 1881, thereby splitting the chapter but strengthening it in the long run by narrowing its focus to job-related issues such as pay and hours. If an idea offered the promise of additional members or victory in a confrontation with business, then Gompers would support it, but he would not embrace notions that had no prospect of immediate gains for labor. He had no desire to restructure society and tried to keep the AFL from getting tied to politics.

Drawing elements from both American and European labor thought, Gompers devised a new type of strategy that would become a crucial element in the rise of trade unionism. Business- or job-conscious unionism addressed only pay, hours, and benefits. To be a success at business unionism, an organization needed to have certain elements in place: the equalization of funds among locals according to the num-



Emma Goldman on Samuel Gompers

Several months after the death of Samuel Gompers in 1924, Emma Goldman published the following article assessing his leadership skills in The Road to Freedom, an anarchist journal.

The numerous tributes paid to the late President of the American Federation of Labor, emphasized his great leadership. "Gompers was a leader of men," they said. One would have expected that the disaster brought upon the world by leadership would have proven that to be a leader of men is far from a virtue. Rather is it a vice for which those who are being led are usually made to pay very heavily.

The last fifteen years are replete with examples of what the leaders of men have done to the peoples of the world. The Lenins, Clemenceaus, the Lloyd Georges and Wilson, have all posed as great leaders. Yet they have brought misery, destruction and death. They have led the masses away from the promised goal.

Pious Communists will no doubt consider it heresy to speak of Lenin in the same breath with the other statesmen, diplomats and generals who have led the people to slaughter and half of the world to ruin. To be sure, Lenin was the greatest of them all. He at least had a new vision, he had daring, he faced fire and death, which is more than can be said for the others. Yet it remains a tragic fact that even Lenin brought havoc to Russia. It was his leadership which emasculated the Russian revolution and stifled the aspirations of the Russian people.

Gompers was far from being a Lenin, but in his small way his leadership has done a great harm to the American workers. One has but to examine into the nature of the

American Federation of Labor, over which Mr. Gompers lorded for so many years, to see the evil results of leadership. It cannot be denied that the late President raised the organization to some power and material improvement, but at the same time, he prevented the growth and development of the membership towards a higher aim or purpose. In all these years of its existence the A. F. of L. has not gone beyond its craft interests. Neither has it grasped the social abyss which separates labor from its masters, an abyss which can never be bridged by the struggle for mere immediate material gains. That does not mean, however, that I am opposed to the fight labor is waging for a higher standard of living and saner conditions of work. But I do mean to stress that without an ultimate goal of complete industrial and social emancipation, labor will achieve only as much as is in keeping with the interests of the privileged class, hence remain dependent always upon that class.

Samuel Gompers was no fool, he knew the causes underlying the social struggle, yet he set his face sternly against them. He was content to create an aristocracy of labor, a trade union trust, as it were, indifferent to the needs of the rest of the workers outside of the organization. Above all, Gompers would have none of a liberating social idea. The result is that after forty years of Gompers' leadership the A. F. of L. has really remained stationary, without feeling for, or understanding of the changing factors surrounding it.

Source: Goldman, Emma. (1925, March). "Samuel Gompers." *The Road to Freedom*, 1, 1-2.

ber of members; a payment fund for strikers; and sickness, death, and traveling benefits for members. The funds for these programs came from high dues. Gompers believed that high dues attracted members because the men could see that small premiums bought comprehensive insurance and that employers were less likely to challenge a strong union with a big strike fund at its disposal.

Local 144 gradually accepted all the aspects of Gompers's business unionism. As a result, the membership in the union jumped dramatically in just a few months. By 1881, Gompers had also persuaded the national union to accept business unionism. As a leading light within the union, he served as the represen-

tative of the cigarmakers at the 1881 National Labor Congress that led to the founding of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions (FOTLU).

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

When a general strike in 1886 against the railroads failed to achieve an eight-hour day, many of the Knights lost faith and changed their allegiance to the AFL. This new union, founded by Gompers and a few others in Columbus, Ohio, in 1886, was an amalgamation of FOTLU and several national unions that had abandoned the Knights. The AFL aimed to be more effective than the old federation by

operating on the principle of controlling job opportunities and job conditions in each craft. It was organized into units of workers who performed the same job and, in the absence of collective action, would have competed against each other to their economic detriment.

The AFL was designed to work for the organization of all workers, skilled and unskilled, male and female, white and African-American. In practice, prejudice reigned and the union never welcomed anyone but skilled, white, male workers. Gompers, displaying an attitude common to men of his class, categorized untrained workers as lacking the intelligence, courage, and vision to be union members and declared that factory employment degraded women. Gompers served as the first president of the union and would be reelected annually (except 1894–1895) until his death in 1924.

The expiration of the Knights made the AFL into the only powerful mass organization of workers in the waning years of the nineteenth century. The union protected its members from termination without just cause, mandatory unpaid overtime, and hazardous working conditions. In its first year of existence, the union had 140,000 members. The roll rose to 264,000 by 1897, to 578,000 in 1900, and to a peak of 1.7 million in 1904. Gompers believed that these numbers gave confidence to the members as well as reassuring outsiders of the respectability of the movement.

To win gains for his members, Gompers depended upon strict discipline by the unionists and the greed of employers. He concentrated his attacks on shops and factories with the lowest paid workers. Such businesses had the most difficulty attracting strike-breakers and provided the stiffest challenge to better-paying competitors who then had little incentive to offer assistance. To prevent indiscriminate wildcat strikes, every strike proposal had to be approved by secret ballot with the shop organization and receive local union approval. This approval would permit the dispersal of funds to strikers. If a wildcat strike occurred, Gompers would punish the rebel unionists by supplying the employer with loyal unionist workers to break the strike.

As this approach indicates, Gompers did not see

strikes as a first resort. He argued that if an employer's action, such as a pay cut, could not be successfully challenged, then a strike or other job action should not be attempted. Any loss would weaken the strength of the trade union movement by dispiriting workers and encouraging employers.

Gompers consistently focused on enrolling members to work for better pay, shorter hours, and better conditions. By the turn of the century, he believed that a worker could achieve all of his social, political, and economic ambitions by winning this trifecta. Distrustful of politicians and suspicious of anything that drew power away from the trade unions, he opposed such legal measures as making employers responsible for worker safety, unemployment compensation, old age pensions, or compulsory health insurance. This refusal to participate in politics resulted in workplace victories that were only temporary and only for AFL members.

CONTRIBUTION

Gompers set the pattern for the labor movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He accepted industrialization as a fact of life and simply wanted to gain a larger share of the benefits from that system for the AFL's membership. His focus on economic matters and exclusion of political concerns allowed the AFL to flourish but not to make any long-lasting gains. The majority of workers, the less-skilled men and women who did not belong to the AFL, did not benefit at all from Gompers's leadership.

—Caryn E. Neumann

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 **GRAHAM, BILLY** (b. 1918)
U.S. evangelical leader

Evangelist Billy Graham has spoken personally to more people—roughly 210 million—than any other individual. He has had relationships with every U.S. president since Truman. Graham has received nearly every major national and international award except for the Nobel Peace Prize. Since the 1950s he has been ranked amongst the top in popular admiration and achievement polls, and in one ranked second to God for achievement in religion. Graham's leadership is something that Graham has not promoted or acknowledged himself, but something that others have recognized. Along with a strong sense of humility, Graham has exhibited a simplicity that communicates real integrity. His life and ministry have coincided with substantial cultural changes: the globalization of war, the advent and growth of mass media, and social turmoil. He was initially promoted through newsprint and has continued on through the growth of Madison Avenue advertising and Nielsen ratings. Graham's response to these changes created an organization that has influenced Christians and their practice of religion around the world.

FORMATIVE INFLUENCES

Billy Graham was born 7 November 1918 as William Franklin Graham, Jr., or "Billy Frank" to distinguish him from his father. Frank and Morrow Graham were conservative Presbyterians who practiced a private faith; however, during Billy's childhood they experienced changes in their faith and the Graham home became one in which the Bible was central and it was applied to all aspects of life. Though the parental home was not stifling, Billy's childhood was a disciplined one and his parents did not shrink from punishing social or personal infractions. Though they adopted a more pietistic faith, the elder Grahams didn't forsake their Presbyterian roots. Billy and his three younger siblings were encouraged to memorize Scripture and to participate in family devotions. By age ten, the children memo-

rized all 107 questions and answers in the *Westminster Shorter Catechism*.

Throughout his childhood, Graham passed through expected religious milestones like church membership, but he didn't allow this to keep him from his own amusements. This eventually led his father to become concerned about Billy's soul. When fundamentalist evangelist Mordecai Ham began a revival in Charlotte, North Carolina, Billy was urged to attend and was brought to Ham's attention as one needing his preaching. After many weeks of attendance and, at times, avoidance, Billy responded to the evangelist's call and recommitted his life to Jesus.

Presbyterians, like the Grahams, believe in an educated clergy. Billy's parents had hopes of his entering the ministry, but Billy worked hard on the family dairy farm, rising early to milk cows before school and returning to that task afterwards, and his grades did not reflect his intellect or aptitude. It didn't help that Billy didn't see the purpose in "science or algebra or all that" (Frady 1979, 61). As a boy, Graham enjoyed reading the Tarzan series for the excitement and adventure; as he grew older the lure of a larger world entered his mind and he began to devour history books and biographies, absorbing tales of the human experience and condition. Before he completed high school he had read Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, which influenced his view of humanity and culture.

After graduation, Billy was off to college. Bob Jones, Sr., had spoken at Billy's high school and his parents were impressed with the biblical focus of his school and had hopes that Billy could receive the necessary training for ministry. After enrolling in Bob Jones College, Graham found nearly every area of his life regulated and the teaching dogmatic and not open to question or dialogue—he did not like being told what to think. Graham left the college—labeled a failure by Jones—and enrolled in the Florida Bible Institute. Here Graham felt the call to preach and practiced it every chance he got. After completing the program, Graham enrolled at Wheaton (Illinois) College. Much to his frustration he received little credit for the work completed in Florida and started in as a second-semester fresh-

man. Despite this setback Graham found Wheaton a spiritual and intellectual turning point.

Graham's youth and education were well entrenched in conservative Protestantism with its emphasis on the Bible, personal religious experience, and a strict moral code. His religious experiences were a product of the revivalism rooted in the tradition of the great nineteenth-century American evangelist Dwight L. Moody and later Billy Sunday. Graham is regularly compared to Moody and Sunday, but he owes his organizational success to the strategies utilized by Moody nearly a century before.

Early in his ministry, Graham was in mainstream fundamentalism following the practices of its evangelists and preachers. His message, delivery, and fund-raising strayed little from its norm. However, after graduation from college while working with Youth for Christ, Graham's travels brought him into contact with a broader sphere of the Protestant community as the line between fundamentalist and evangelical began to blur. Graham continued to erase these lines as his ministry grew, eventually creating an ecumenism that became a flashpoint for his conservative supporters and detractors. Another flashpoint was Graham's support of the *Living Bible*, a paraphrase written in contemporary English. Graham sought to be more inclusive than the fundamentalists, stating, "Fundamentalism has failed miserably with the big stick; now it is time to take the big love approach" (Aikman 1998, 37). Mordecai Ham later noted with remorse that he wished he could restart his ministry and "love people" as Graham had.

Graham's shift in ministry philosophy was evident in his preaching and became a point for contention. Some scholars found his message to be anemic and fostering a civil religion that coupled America with the Christian gospel or left out important doctrines; others complained that his preaching was anachronistic and was simply a refined "old-time religion" that was bland, exploitive, and literal. But, Graham's sense of calling to preach is deep-rooted to the point that it became a burden, even causing him to feel alone during his preaching. Graham feels driven to preach "the *whole* thing *every* night" (Frady 1979, 317) (emphasis his), but over the years he has worked hard at creating a simple style

that integrates headlines and contemporary illustrations. Incorporating the "big love approach," his message emphasizes the pervasiveness of sin versus a particular individual's sins, stressing a broader condition that results in actions—the ultimate versus the specific—and illustrating the adage "hate the sin but love the sinner."

Graham's broad message enabled him to reach across religious boundaries that have divided people for centuries. Casting aside any religious bias without losing his own distinctives, Graham attracted a Catholic following and eventually received support from noted Catholic clergy—causing one writer to say that Graham had done more to heal the wounds of the Reformation schism than anyone in five hundred years.

LEADERSHIP STYLE

Graham's ministry expanded, in part, because of his singular vision. This vision, or calling, was the sole driving force, so much so that diversions into a pastorate and a college presidency were short-lived. His work, and failures, as a pastor and an educator reinforced his sense of calling as an evangelist. Graham transferred this vision to others as he led a multimillion-dollar organization that included *The Hour of Decision*, a weekly radio program broadcast on over nine hundred stations, and the monthly magazine *Decision*, reaching 5 million subscribers, supported by a staff of hundreds.

Despite all outward success, Graham maintains a sense of humility. Graham consistently deflects any praise of his efforts to his staff, which he calls the "team." Graham has stated that he is no great intellectual and that there are "thousands of preachers" (Paul 1978, 4) better than him; he always credits God for his successes. For Graham, success is a matter of perspective: "perhaps the scrubwoman or . . . factory worker . . . serving God in their own way as best they know how may be far more successful than I am" (Frost 1997, 150). Though to some this may seem disingenuous, these remarks display the consistent comments of Graham decade after decade. This consistency is in part due to Graham's acknowledgment of pride's lure—pride is the temptation he struggles

with most. His comments are an ever-present effort to combat this temptation.

Though attached to a massive organizational infrastructure that has been described as a mix of IBM, Sears and Roebuck, Blue Cross, and vacation Bible school, Billy's name has been central throughout its history and Graham's work wouldn't happen without his team. For decades, his core team has consisted of the same handful of men, with his larger team including over two hundred associates. One writer noted his organization didn't exhibit the usual "toadyism" found in some corporations, and "pity the man who tells Billy Graham what he thinks Graham wants to hear" (Strober 1976, 89). Graham's team leadership is also exhibited in the organization and execution of his evangelistic crusades. Graham and his staff work at creating coalitions and building networks at the grassroots level, resulting in his receiving support from nearly 80 percent of the churches in crusade cities.

Along with a team approach, a significant component of Graham's leadership style is his liberality. An outsider looking in may state that Graham's conservative message of salvation in Christ alone is less than liberal, but Graham has worked effectively at broadening his message and his appeal. In college Graham chose anthropology as his major, recognizing that this would help him "obliterate any condescending notions [he] might have toward people from backgrounds other than [his] own" (Graham 1997, 65). His ecumenism has sought to bring people in rather than keep people out and his "big love approach" has sought to affirm rather than denounce. In an age of de jure segregation in the South, Graham threatened to close meetings that weren't integrated.

Graham's ministry has not been without its detractors. Despite numerous attempts to malign his intentions, few have been able to cast even a doubt of suspicion in Graham's direction. Early in his ministry, Graham and his team developed a set of guidelines, informally called the Modesto Manifesto, to provide accountability to their work. Graham recognized that he could be attacked in three areas: finances, morals, and pride—described more crassly as the "three G's: gold, girls, and glory" (Aikman 1998, 30). This manifesto called for open financial

statements, accurate gathering of statistics, and over-protective procedures to avoid accusations of sexual impropriety. Graham's biggest divergence from his fundamentalist past was to cease the practice of "love offerings" (large offerings taken at the end of revivals) and place himself and his team on a modest salary. He resolved to never answer mud-slinging and rarely made efforts to correct misleading or erroneous newspaper reports. All this resulted in the statement by hotel-chain mogul J. Willard Marriott that Graham was "the leading religious man of our time—and he is noncontroversial" (Paul 1978, 3). This is not to say that Graham has been able to abate all controversy, but that he has been willing to adapt when criticism warranted.

In recent years, as research materials emerge from unreleased presidential files and as Graham has transitioned his ministry responsibilities to his son, Franklin Graham, opportunities for criticism have increased. In 1994, with the publication of Nixon chief of staff H. R. Haldeman's diaries, Haldeman charged that Graham had made anti-Semitic comments in his hearing. Because of Graham's long-standing relationship with Jewish leaders and because he was a recipient of the Torch of Liberty plaque awarded by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the charges were seen as unfounded and untrue. Graham denied ever saying anything anti-Semitic, and said the words cited were not his. However, in early 2002, a thirty-year-old White House recording of a private conversation Graham had with President Richard Nixon and Haldeman was released. The recording documented Graham's agreement with Nixon's private statements that left-wing Jews dominated the media, particularly the news media, and that "they're the ones putting out the pornographic stuff." Graham continued to say that if the Jewish "stranglehold" was not eliminated, the country would go "down the drain." He further asked what the Nixon administration could do to reduce it. When this was made public Graham apologized for his comments and stated that he had not recalled saying them. Generally, his apology was accepted.

The religious division that Graham's anti-Semitic statements created has been augmented by his son, Franklin's undeterred promotion of the Christian

gospel and experiences as a leader of two Christian organizations, one an international aid organization, have demonstrated that he is quite different from his father. The younger Graham is less ecumenical than his father, who generally sought to build bridges across religious diversity. After the tragedies of 11 September 2001, Franklin did not shy away from pointing out the differences between Christianity and Islam and highlighting statements in the Qur'an encouraging violence against unbelievers. This brought charges of intolerance. Franklin has demonstrated that he is less uncomfortable with division and discord than his father may have been—preferring to highlight differences rather than ignore or minimize them.

IMPACT

Billy Graham's work and ministry have taken him around the world and given him access to heads of state across the globe. He has met with presidents, kings, queens, generals, and cultural icons. Former Texas Governor John Connally once said of Graham, "he is more than a preacher, more than an evangelist, more than a Christian leader. In a greater sense he has become our conscience," calling him one of the few remaining authoritative personalities (Strober 1976, 42–43). Graham has received numerous honorary doctorates and in 1996 he and his wife Ruth were awarded a Congressional gold medal.

Beyond his over 200 crusades worldwide in over 185 countries, Graham has been a Christian statesman. His efforts at supporting the Christian church globally has resulted in numerous international conferences on evangelism aimed at educating and training the next generation of evangelists. His example has served to change the nature of Protestant evangelism forever. "The test of Graham's soul, indeed, lay not in adversity, but in how he coped with success" (Aikman 1998, 58). Graham with his team has weathered a half-century of ministry with a singleness of heart and vision, never being overcome by the "corrosive effects of hostility of those who refuse to listen" (Gillenson 1967, 23).

—David B. Malone

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GRAHAM, MARTHA (1894–1991)

U.S. dancer and choreographer

Martha Graham was instrumental in founding modern dance in America, and her artistic work ranks as one of the great cultural achievements of the twentieth century. The modern dance movement was part of the avant-garde direction of the arts in the early twentieth century that broke away from traditional, classical forms and stressed the invention of new artistic means of expression. Modern dance aban-

doned the stylization inherent in ballet for freer, more expressive movement of the body. More than any other dancer, Martha Graham captured the spirit of modern dance by uniting her unique technique with her portrayal of emotional power. Her struggle against great odds to create and sustain this new form of dance could only have been possible with strong determination and leadership.

FORMATION OF A DANCER

Martha Graham was born in Allegheny, Pennsylvania (near Pittsburgh) on 11 May 1894. She was the eldest child of George Graham, a physician who was an early specialist in mental health, and Jane (Jenny) Beers. In 1908, she moved with her parents and two younger sisters, Mary and Georgia (Geordie), to Santa Barbara, California. Although her father wanted her to return east for college, she instead attended the Cumnock School, a junior college in Los Angeles, where she studied aspects of the performing arts. Graham had seen a dance concert by Ruth St. Denis, an early modern dance pioneer, and at age twenty-two began to study at the new Denishawn dance school in Los Angeles. She danced and taught with the Denishawn company until 1923, and was known for exotic roles inspired by cultures of Asia and the native Americas—such as the Aztec maiden she portrayed in *Xochitl* (1921).

Her dissatisfaction with the lack of opportunity for artistic development in the Denishawn company led to her departure in 1923 to perform with the *Greenwich Village Follies*, a New York City vaudeville revue. She began to teach dance at several places including the Eastman School of Music in Rochester, New York, and the Neighborhood Playhouse in New York City. She displayed a steadfastness of purpose in her pursuit of a dancing career, and an independent spirit in seeking her own unique path of artistic expression.

CREATING MODERN AMERICAN DANCE

By 1926, Graham began presenting recital performances in New York. She was joined by a small group of women, some of whom were drawn from her dance

classes. These women—“the Group”—became the nucleus of the Martha Graham School of Contemporary Dance. The Depression years of the 1930s were difficult times, especially for a woman advancing a revolutionary new form of dance. Although Martha Graham and her dancers worked long hours in difficult conditions, her belief in her vision was so powerful and compelling that the Group followed her lead almost like religious devotees.

Through teaching and preparation for performances with her all-female dance corps, Martha Graham evolved her new dance technique. In classical ballet the focus of movement is on the arms and legs, but in the Graham technique known as “contract and release,” movement arises from the pelvic area and expands outward, following the exhalation and inhalation of the breath. The Graham technique also claims contact with the floor as an essential element. Graham, who designed and made all of her costumes, accentuated this organic movement with simple garments that stretched and moved with the body. Her dances focused with intensity on the body as a vehicle for expression as it moved through space. Initially, audiences had difficulty understanding this new approach to dance, but gradually its emotive power, elevated by Graham’s sure instinct for spare choreographic design, won acclaim. Her maturing artistic expression was evident in the solo *Lamentation* (1930)—in which the seated dancer’s movement expressed a poignant sense of grief, further articulated through a simple tubular costume of Graham’s own design—and in *Primitive Mysteries* (1931), an ensemble work depicting the spiritual transformation of a virgin.

THE MATURE DANCER AND HER COMPANY

During the 1940s and 1950s, Graham reached the heights of her creative genius. Men became part of her dance company, and their inclusion, along with her wide-ranging literary and intellectual interests, enabled her to explore a wide range of human emotions. She continued a working relationship with the artist Isamu Noguchi, who designed many of her sets, and she choreographed to music by contemporary composers. Her most renowned dance,

Appalachian Spring (1944), with Noguchi's scenic design and music by Aaron Copland, celebrated the freedom and spirit of pioneer life. By the 1950s she turned to the darker side of human character drawing material from Greek myths. This exploration culminated in *Clytemnestra* (1958), a psychological portrayal of the unfaithful Greek queen embroiled in murder and revenge.

As Graham's fame and artistic reputation grew, the demands of maintaining her dance school and performing company multiplied. The intensity of her vision along with her mounting achievements attracted patrons such as Bethsabée de Rothschild, and her dancers remained fiercely loyal to the integrity of her dances. However, Graham's desire for complete artistic control made it difficult for her to delegate authority and sometimes clouded her judgment of character. Fortunately, during this period, as earlier with her reliance on the artistic advice of Louis Horst, people such as her de facto manager Craig Barton handled these increasingly complicated affairs with skill and tact.

By the 1960s, Graham was wrestling with a dancer's body now crippled by arthritis. Her last dance performance was in 1968 in *A Time of Snow*, a portrayal of the medieval monk Abelard and nun Heloise in their old age. For several years in the early 1970s, she struggled with serious illness and alcoholism. When she regained her strength, a new friend and manager, Ron Protas, aided her. From the mid-1970s until her death at age ninety-six on 1 April 1991, she reshaped the Martha Graham Dance Company and continued as choreographer to create works as original as her earlier dances. *Maple Leaf Rag* (1990), a humorous satire on herself and her dance, set to the music of Scott Joplin, was her last work. Again, her personal strength, determination, and the force of her creative spirit were decisive elements in forging the last phase of her career and maintaining her position as a leader of the modern dance movement.

THE MARTHA GRAHAM LEGACY

As long as Martha Graham was living, she used her personal drive to provide the impetus to keep her the-



Three members of the Graham Company perform in 1945.
Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

atrical creations alive. However, just as she had explored through her dances both the light and dark sides of human character, her strongest leadership asset became a liability in preserving her creative legacy for the future. She was ambivalent about making systematic provisions to record or preserve documents about her life and work and to maintain her dance school and company after her death. The U.S. Library of Congress has acquired some of Graham's archives, but much of her work remains entangled in litigation. The legal issue concerns whether the rights to her choreography, which Graham never took steps to protect by copyright, belong to her sole heir, Ron Protas, or to the Martha Graham Center of Contemporary Dance. Court rulings have designated ten of her works, including *Appalachian Spring*, to be in the public domain, and they have awarded property rights of the dances to the two organizations that bear her name, thus enabling the Martha Graham Dance Company to perform her dances. A new generation

will have to take the initiative to preserve the remarkable achievement of Martha Graham, whose legacy of over 180 dances attests to her pioneering leadership in modern dance.

—Karen Gould

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GRANT, ULYSSES S. (1822–1885)

U.S. general and president of the United States

Ulysses S. Grant was born Hiram Ulysses Grant in Point Pleasant, Ohio, on 27 April 1822, into a relatively prosperous frontier family. His father forced his reluctant son to attend the United States Military Academy at West Point, where his name was changed due to an administrative error. He graduated from West Point in the middle of his class and was commissioned into the infantry. He served as an able regimental quartermaster during the war with Mexico (1846–1848), and, despite his position as an organizer of supplies, he saw enough of the conflict to distinguish himself on the battlefield. For more than a decade after this, however, Grant's life sug-

gested that he had no particular propensity for leadership. He grew tired of the tedious life of a peacetime soldier at remote outposts in Oregon and California and resigned in 1854, his reputation tainted by allegations of drunkenness. As a civilian he failed at a number of enterprises, including farming and selling wood in St. Louis, and he barely made enough money to support his young family. In his thirty-ninth year, when the Civil War broke out between the Northern Union states and the Southern Confederacy, he was working as a clerk in his father's leather goods store in Galena, Illinois.

THE CIVIL WAR

In the early stages of the war, Grant helped recruit Union soldiers and muster regiments in Illinois but found difficulty securing a commission for himself. Once given a command in the western theater, however, Grant's rise was meteoric. In both word and deed, he displayed a determination to end the war as soon as possible. He harried his superiors with requests to advance upon the enemy, and he willingly took advantage of any reasonable opportunities to advance against or harm his opponents.

He first came to prominence after the capture of Fort Donelson in February 1862. The surrender of 14,000 Confederate troops provided the Union with its first major victory of the war and brought Grant to the attention of the nation. He suffered a setback in April when attacked at the Battle of Shiloh, but his rallying of retreating troops and stabilizing of officers and men under fire helped stave off the attack until reinforcements arrived the next day and drove the enemy back. Nonetheless, it is Grant's capture of the important Confederate town of Vicksburg in July 1863 that is often regarded as his finest hour. He risked cutting his army off from its supply base and being trapped between two armies to approach his target, but then he defeated one army and forced the other back into Vicksburg, leading to its surrender. This success, combined with his victory at Chattanooga in November 1863, led to Grant's being promoted to the rank of lieutenant general, with the title of general in chief, and put in charge of all the Union armies the following spring. This pitted him against

Robert E. Lee's feared Confederate Army of Northern Virginia in the eastern theater. Unlike his predecessors Grant would not allow his distinguished opponent to get the upper hand. He launched a campaign of simultaneous advances on several fronts, insisting there would be no turning back. Continual pressure forced Lee to retreat south. After a long siege, Lee met Grant at Appomattox Court House to surrender on 9 April 1865.

PRESIDENCY AND FINAL YEARS

With the Republican Party looking for a new candidate to replace Lincoln's successor, the embattled Andrew Johnson, Grant ran successfully for president himself in 1868 and was reelected in 1872. His administration is frequently rated among the lowest of American executives due to corruption, although none of it was ever linked directly to Grant himself. After leaving the White House, he traveled the world with his family, meeting monarchs and statesmen, and also being cheered by vast crowds of less-privileged admirers. It was estimated that 80,000 people crowded to see him in Newcastle, England, alone. Returning home in late 1879, Grant failed in an attempt to secure the nomination for a third term. He was later swindled by a brokerage firm and left bankrupt, and wrote his memoirs to recoup his wealth. He died of throat cancer on 23 July 1885, shortly after completing them.

GRANT AS LEADER

Grant was transformed from an unknown clerk in a small Illinois town, to the most important general in the country, and finally to the president in less than eight years. His career has sometimes been seen as a distinctly American triumph, in that a middle-aged man of modest accomplishments was able to rise from obscurity to lead his country during the most difficult period in its history. Grant's rise to leadership was due more to his own successes than to an



Statue of President Ulysses S. Grant on horseback at the Mall in Washington, D.C.

Source: Stephen G. Donaldson; used with permission.

accident of birth. Considering that it was America's democratic structure that allowed for his ascent, it is fitting, as John Keegan has written, that Grant was himself the ideal democratic leader. He considered himself no better than the men he led, and unlike many of his fellow generals, he recognized the importance of civilian authority over the military. With Grant, there was none of the insubordination and political ambition of George B. McClellan, and he did not rage against the vitriol of the popular (and often partisan) press like his friend William T. Sherman. Joseph Hooker had suggested that a military dictatorship would bring the war to a close, but such ideas were anathema to Grant. A year into the war, he wrote of his beliefs: "I am sure that I have but one desire in this war, and that is to put down the rebellion. . . . If Congress pass any law and the President approves I am willing to execute it. . . . I do not believe even in the discussion of the propriety of laws and official orders by the army. One enemy at a time is enough and when he is subdued it will be time enough to settle personal differences" (Simon 1973, Vol. 5, 264).

He rebuffed talks of being a presidential candidate in 1864 and understood the importance of public opinion in winning the war. Grant certainly did not look like a great leader. He was unremarkable in appearance, was not a man for military pageantry,

and lacked the dash or charisma of some of his contemporaries. He believed he had been controlled by events rather than the other way around and began his celebrated memoirs with the words, “‘Man proposes and God disposes.’ There are but few important events in the affairs of men brought about by their own choice” (Grant 1982, vii). Still, he played a vital part in the Union victory. Grant combined the modesty required to serve his civilian commander in chief with the confidence and ability to fight and defeat the enemy. As Philip Sheridan, one of his cavalry commanders, said (quoted in Smith 2001, 15), “He was the steadfast center about and on which everything else turned.”

—David Deverick

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GREEN PARTIES

Green Parties are political organizations that focus on a wide range of social, economic, and environmental issues in their party platforms. They have grown from a tiny fringe movement into a significant voting block in many parts of the world, though

almost entirely in developed countries. Greens have had the greatest political influence in Germany—although they have suffered dramatic setbacks in the course of reaching a fairly well-established place in the political sphere—largely thanks to the popularity and political acumen of a single person, Joschka Fischer.

In the United States, the Greens remain a fringe party, but they have been able to carve out the possibility of becoming a significant, long-term third party, which would be an achievement in a country dominated by two parties for over a century. They achieved considerable prominence—and notoriety—during the 2000 United States presidential elections due to the candidacy of the well-known consumer rights advocate Ralph Nader. Their critics are as likely to be liberal as conservative, because Greens generally take votes from Democratic candidates and are stridently dismissive of mainstream Democrats. These liberal critics claim that the Greens cost Al Gore the 2000 presidential election by taking crucial votes. The Green Party strongly denies this, insisting that Nader drew voters from across the political spectrum. In any case, the Greens attracted far more media attention in 2000 than ever before because they put forward a nationally known person as the party’s presidential candidate.

Leadership has often been a contentious issue for Greens, and some of the major fractures within the Green Party movement, in the United Kingdom, in Germany, and in the United States, have been connected with widely different views about leadership, the role of prominent individuals, and the structure of the party’s public presence and its spokespeople. The Greens’ belief in grassroots democracy and gender equality has led to the development of internal systems and rules, in Green Parties around the world, to minimize the prominence of individuals.

Some Greens have been explicitly opposed to political involvement, on the basis that the existing political system is corrupt and irreformable. In the United States, the Green movement split over this issue, leaving the pragmatists, who were willing to work within the system, free to establish state Green Parties. This article focuses on the history of Green Parties and on three key events, in three different

countries, in which differing views about leaders and leadership led to conflict.

EMERGENCE OF GREEN PARTIES

Green Parties exist in many countries, but have been more influential in Europe than anywhere else. There is a Mongolian Green Party and, according to the Global Greens website, an African Federation of Green Parties. The first environmental party, called the People Party, began in Britain in 1972. The idea was launched, the story goes, in a Warwickshire pub by a husband-and-wife team of solicitors, Ton and Leslie Whittaker, who had read an article about ecological disasters in *Playboy* magazine. The party was later renamed the Ecology Party, a name it kept until 1986.

The German Greens (*Die Grunen*) were formed later, in 1979, but are considered the mother of all Green Parties because they have had a strong national presence since 1983. Green Parties have generally been more successful in nations where there is proportional representation in parliament (under proportional representation, a party receives a share of seats proportional to its share of the popular vote), and they have had moderate success in European Parliament elections. In the United States, Green candidates have been successful at the local level, and have developed a public presence in Western states in particular, notably in California and New Mexico.

The United States Green movement began in 1984 with the formation of local groups in Maine and elsewhere. By 1989, there was a loosely formed national organization called the Green Committees of Correspondence, after the Committees of Correspondence that organized in the years before the American Revolutionary War.

Green Party Principles

Over the years, local and national gatherings have spent a great deal of time debating the meaning of what became known as the Ten Key Values, which were originally assembled at the United States Greens first national meeting, held in St. Paul, Min-

nesota, in August 1984. The Ten Key Values were originally drawn from the “Four Pillars” of the then West German Greens: Ecological Wisdom, Social Justice, Grassroots Democracy, and Nonviolence. (In 2000, Equal Opportunity was added to the list of Pillars.)

In addition, there are three other sets of principles agreed to by the Greens, each with two related values: respect for diversity and feminist values; decentralization and community economics; and global responsibility and sustainability (or “thinking to the seventh generation”—the idea, said to come from Native American tradition, that our decisions should take into account the effects on our descendants some two hundred years from now). The exact terminology has changed over time. Although the term “Green” strongly connotes environmental concern—the color representing nature and the Party’s symbol being the sunflower—in the 2003 United States Green Party literature, “ecological wisdom” is listed third—no longer first—appearing after “grassroots democracy” and “social justice and equal opportunity.” This broader perspective alarms some, who see the Greens’ unique ecological perspective being diluted, but it no doubt adds to the Party’s potential to become a viable third party in the United States and elsewhere.

“Don’t Beat the Government, BE the Government!”

The transition from a Green movement to a national Green Party was complex and hotly contested over a period of years, and debates were acrimonious. The most drawn-out and bitter fight was between proponents of social ecology and deep ecology. The social ecologists were led by Murray Bookchin, based in Vermont, and the deep ecologists were inspired by Arne Naess, a Norwegian ecophilosopher. Social ecologists believed that it was necessary to liberate human beings—through improved welfare and opportunity—before saving the natural world. Deep ecologists, on the other hand, believed that the human exploitation of nature was a core problem, and that changing the human relationship with nature would lead to the needed improvements in human well-being.

It is not surprising that those who felt most strongly about changing the world by taking political positions from the existing parties would sometimes find themselves in conflict with those who saw social change as dependent on resolving interpersonal problems before moving out into the world. Curiously enough, it was those on the deep ecology side of the debate who took the lead, after a bitter split in 1991, in forming the Green Politics Network, which would eventually help to form the United States Green Party. Social ecologists tended to be anarchists or libertarians, unwilling to participate in the political process. They did not agree with the more mainstream Greens whose slogan became “Don’t beat the government, BE the government!”

Environmental issues continue to be important to Green Party members, but it would be a mistake to see the protection of the natural world as the primary focus of this movement. Social and economic justice has come to dominate the platforms of many Green Parties their political candidates, while organizations focused on the protection of wilderness, energy conservation, and so on, largely direct their lobbying efforts towards the major political parties. Internal debates continue over whether Greens should support capitalism or socialism, reform or revolution. But the argument of the Greens is that the destruction and degradation of the environment cannot be dealt with apart from other pressing human concerns, and that long-term problems require creative, integrated solutions like those proposed by the Greens.

MANAGERIAL TENDENCY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

The first “green” party was born in the United Kingdom, but the United Kingdom Greens did not get the political traction that *Die Grunen* had until the late 1980s. A number of things coincided at that time to bring the Greens—at least momentarily—into the mainstream.

First, a number of environmental disasters—including the Chernobyl disaster in 1986, with fall-out over Britain that had a severe effect on farming in Wales, and the death of half the seals in the North

Sea in 1988—began to attract significant media attention. Second, a book written by a longstanding environmental campaigner and consultant, John Elkington, and his colleague Julia Hailes, the *Green Consumer Guide* (September 1988), struck a chord with people who felt they ought to do something about the environmental threats they were reading about daily.

The *Green Consumer Guide* went to the top of the bestseller list and inspired events like Green Consumer Week and the *Observer* newspaper-sponsored Green Books Fortnight, which ran for several years. At about the same time, Anita Roddick’s Body Shop was setting growth records after a highly successful and highly publicized initial public offering (IPO) in 1984.

The women who had camped at Greenham Common, protesting the United States deployment of nuclear cruise missiles in Europe, got to go home when the United States withdrew, finally leaving Greenham Common in 1992. And Friends of the Earth (FOE), a campaigning organization, had a new lease on life under the leadership of Jonathon Porritt, a former teacher and Ecology Party candidate. Porritt, who had gone to school at Eton and came from an upper-class background, became, and remains, the best-known and most influential of British environmentalists. He was articulate, affable, and reasonable—not characteristics of all Green activists—and, even more importantly, he was politically astute and media-savvy. FOE became a major force, with a huge growth in membership, and its research was widely quoted in the press as scientifically sound.

Meanwhile, the Green Party, too, had savvy, attractive, and personable spokespeople who presented the Greens as a fresh and viable alternative. The co-chairs were David Icke, a well-known figure in Britain in non-Green circles because he had been a BBC football (soccer) commentator, and Sara Parkin, a former nurse with a fine command of policy issues, a forthright style, and a pragmatic attitude about political battles. Her poised 1989 interview on the mainstream political television program “Question Time” was considered a landmark in Green respectability.

As a result, in the 1989 European Parliamentary

elections the Green Party won the highest percentage of the popular vote ever won, in any country, by a Green Party—15 percent (2.5 million votes). A memorable television advertisement (allowed in Britain under strict guidelines as a “party political announcement”) starred former Monty Python actor John Cleese with the theme, “Do you want your world to turn grey? Vote Green.” (As Cleese spoke, gray sludge was poured on his head.)

While observers pointed out that the British didn’t consider a European election of any great importance, certainly not a measure of how they would vote in a domestic election, the major political parties in Britain—the Conservatives led by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, the Labour Party, and the Social and Liberal Democrats (SLD)—panicked. Thatcher called her ministers to Chequers, her country estate, to discuss how to get the environmental vote. All the parties, from Conservatives to Labour to the SLD, began to “green” their platforms—something some Greens see as a victory, while others feel that voters are being misled because social and environmental problems can be solved only by drastic changes.

In 1990, Porritt left FOE to pursue other activities, including popular television programs about environmental issues. It was widely suspected that he would go into politics himself, and his sticking with the Green Party was considered a coup for the party and also a sign of its new strength. He commented on his experiences with the Greens and leadership:

In essence, the Green Party undoubtedly suffered from a chronic case of tall poppy syndrome. The antipathy towards individual leaders originated from two sources: from those who simply had a different model of political organisation, and believed that the Green Party should be an expression of what political organisation in the future would look like. Hence no leaders. On the other hand there were quite a lot of people in the party who simply disliked the idea of anyone else assuming leadership responsibilities, particularly in terms of dealing with the media or the external world. (personal communication, October 2003)

The “tall poppy syndrome”—the tall poppy is in

danger of being cut off—is a British expression that has particular significance for Greens, though it is comical that the international symbol for the Green Party is the sunflower—of all garden flowers, perhaps the one with the largest single head. Leadership had brought the Green Party to a position where it had a fighting chance to become a real force in British politics. But leadership was not a concept that many Greens were comfortable with, and things soon began to fall apart.

First, David Icke’s move away from the mainstream veered into the New Age. He announced that he was a reincarnation of Jesus, the “Son of Mankind,” and appeared on television to explain that his travels with his young personal assistant, during which she became pregnant, were aimed at spiritual healing. (Icke was married and had two sons.) Newspaper articles of the period refer to Icke’s purple and turquoise tracksuits, millennial prophecies (he said the world would end in 1997 unless people changed their ways), and alien lizard fantasies. The United Kingdom Green Party is still haunted by the Icke debacle, which proved—to some—the danger of prominent individual leaders. Today, Icke continues to be controversial with a bizarre mix of New Age and anti-Semitic beliefs.

Sara Parkin, intent on bringing the Green Party to center stage with well-organized internal systems and a clear, practical, and visionary platform, was besieged with questions about her co-chair’s new-found religion and at the same time had to face a movement in her own party aimed at limiting her role. She and Porritt were at first successful with a proposal called Green 2000, securing overwhelming support for organizational reforms that included reducing the twenty-four-member executive committee to eleven people. But after disappointing election results, other Greens took the opportunity to fight back, with endless procedural disputes and counterclaims—similar to some of the wranglings among Greens in the United States—that eventually led to Parkin’s resignation. Parkin and her group were snidely referred to as the “managerial tendency,” an allusion to the extreme wing of the Labour Party known as “Militant Tendency.” The dismissive tone of some Greens toward the idea of



Leadership Issues in the Greens

Ecofeminist Charlene Spretnak, author of The Spiritual Dimension of Green Politics (1986), and physicist Fritjof Capra, author of The Tao of Physics (1975) and The Turning Point (1982), did extensive interviews with German Greens in the early 1980s and identified attitudes toward leadership as a significant issue.

If a Green movement is to become a political reality in this country [the United States], it will have to overcome several initial problems, both internal and external. The first is the issue of who may become a member. . . . Unfortunately, in nearly every country where a Green movement has been established, it has also attracted opportunistic persons from unsuccessful political groups on the right and the left who enter the new movement with hidden agendas and dishonest tactics. . . . One of the first orders of business during the movement's founding stage should be the creation of a statement of principles and goals, more detailed than the "four pillars," to which all members would adhere. Although allegiance to such a declaration would not preclude the possibility of dishonesty, it would clarify the movement's expectations of its members. If infiltration actually occurs, additional means would have to be devised to address it.

A second internal problem is that the movement may be heir to unconstructive personal attitudes that should be addressed. As Green politics attracts a broad spectrum of citizens interested in developing possibilities beyond the limits of left and right constructs, it is important that people actively work at recognizing the positive aspects of all proposals and perceiving the genuine concerns behind them.

A Green movement could avoid a failure-prone posture by tapping the enormous amount of ethical, moral, and spiritual power that is inherent in Green ideals. The struggle is not to smash "bad guys" or to fight for short-term gains for one group or even one class but to effect systemic change that will yield a better life for all people, all our partners in nature, and all the generations that may follow us.

Another destructive attitude might be negativity towards people with leadership abilities. In an effort to find more democratic models than the traditional pyramid structure, many of us experienced the "tyranny of structurelessness" in political groups in the early 1970's where unofficial channels of information, and hence control and power, developed to fill the void. Groups in the feminist, peace, anti-nuclear-power, and ecology movements since then have found small steering committees and well-defined positions—such as facilitator, note-taker, correspondent, agenda-maker and timer, and process-watcher—to be effective. These positions are rotated not to thwart potential monsters in our midst, but to encourage as many people as possible to take a central role and develop leadership skills. Competent leaders are essential for the success of a movement. They should be supported and encouraged at all levels.

Source: Spretnak, Charlene, & Capra, Fritjof. (1985). *Green Politics: The Global Promise*. London: Paladin Grafton Books, pp. 207–208.

management presents a pattern of mixed attitudes towards leadership. Political effectiveness is a much-desired goal, but there continues to be debate about how to achieve it—most recently in 2003 when there was a hot debate about changing the party's current one-male-plus-one-female speaker-ship to a pair of "co-leaders."

In the press, Parkin's resignation was treated as the end of the Green Party's chances to be a significant political force, and much of the extensive coverage focused on Green attitudes towards anyone within the party who gets special attention from the media, and especially towards anyone who is treated as a party leader—rather than just a spokesperson—by those outside it.

SPOILING THE PICNIC IN THE UNITED STATES

The United States Green Party's annual convention in 2002 was held in Philadelphia and included delegates from thirty-four state Green Parties and plans for the development of a system for selecting a presidential candidate for 2004. Ralph Nader's candidacy in 2000 was seen—typically for the Green Party—as both a success and a disaster for progressives, contributing, some claimed, to the seizing of the White House by the Republicans. In another twist typical of the Greens, Nader was not even a member of the party before he became its candidate. (This is not a unique case: Independent candidates in

local elections sometimes negotiate the support of a Green committee and then run as a Green candidate.)

For a time in 2000, it seemed possible that Ralph Nader, the Green candidate chosen by the Greens because of his prominence as a consumer advocate since the early 1960s (not as a social reformer or environmentalist), would get at least 5 percent of the popular vote. This would have meant more than \$10 million in public funding for a Green presidential campaign in 2004. In the end, after an exceptionally close race between Republican George W. Bush and Democrat Albert Gore Jr. (once known, incidentally, as a strong environmental candidate and the author of *Earth in the Balance*), the Greens claimed that many who would have voted for Nader voted for Gore instead. (Nader did, nonetheless, receive 3 percent of the popular vote.)

Critics contend that the Greens are a spoiler in close elections, throwing the vote to the more conservative party by splitting the progressive vote. There are also those who believe that it is more effective to influence parties in power than to work outside the system. Greens—and the many smaller parties that thrive in European and other countries—contend that a two-party system is essentially unrepresentative and, ultimately, undemocratic because it presents such a limited choice to voters. They believe that innovation and reform are far more likely to come from outside the parties in power, and claim a vital role for themselves in a truly democratic, responsive political process.

LEADERSHIP IN GERMANY

The German Greens, *Die Grunen*, have been the most successful Green Party. Arising out of student protests and the peace and anti-nuclear movements, they achieved early success but floundered for a time, in part due to internal leadership issues.

On 22 March 1983, a group of twenty-seven Germans entered political life, as parliamentarians in the Bundestag, for the first time. They were representatives of *Die Grunen*, and their number was based on their percentage of the vote in national elections. Among them was Petra Kelly, an intense and attractive young woman who spoke excellent

English and became the symbol of the Greens for much of the world. Later that year, she visited the United States and appeared on *Meet the Press*, *The Today Show*, and *The MacNeil-Lehrer Report*, and spoke before the Council on Foreign Relations and the National War College as well as at many colleges and universities.

This no doubt inspired the United States citizens who soon formed a Green organization, but back in Germany it presented serious problems. Serving as a parliamentarian for *Die Grunen* was on a rotation system, with parliamentarians rotating out after two years to give other Green Party members a chance. Those in waiting, known as *Nachrücker*, moved to Berlin to act as assistants while waiting their turn to serve, though they had no legal protection regarding the jobs they left, as did other members of parliament. “These positions are rotated not to thwart potential monsters in our midst, but to encourage as many people as possible to take a central role and develop leadership skills” (Spretnak and Capra, 208).

Before the first two years were up, a new Green Party rule allowed original parliamentarians to remain in office if they got at least a 70 percent vote in their home state. This was intended as a compromise between those who believed that effective government depended on having experienced people stay in a position for some time and those who wanted strict rotation. No one seemed happy with the result, but it did enable prominent politicians like Kelly and her companion Gert Bastion to stay in office. (Bastion and Kelly died together in 1992; it is thought that Bastion shot her before killing himself.)

Greens often seem to prefer leadership by committee, and when it is necessary to have individual speakers there are generally two or three at a time. A memorable situation was when one of three appointees, Ott Schily, who was a popular radical Green, proposed that he be the speaker for the *Fraktion* (the Green Party parliamentary group) and that his female co-speakers, Marieluise Beck-Oberdorf and Petra Kelly, be his assistants or vice-speakers. This was, not surprisingly, voted down because it violated Green principles.

In 1983 the *Fraktion* group had a business manager as well as a parliamentary manager, Joschka



Reflections on Leadership in the Green Party in Britain

Jonathan Porritt—chair of the U.K. Sustainable Development Commission and a well-known environmentalist, author, and television presenter—reflects on Green Party leadership in Great Britain.

From my own perspective, in the four or five years that I was effectively party leader (1979 to 1984), the whole thing was “results-based.” If it continued to do the job in terms of increasing party profile, bringing in new supporters and so on, then the level of concern from the ideologues was muted.

On the internal front, it was a little bit more complicated. I think at that time we actually had a system which went under the name of “rotating co-chair.” There was definitely no formal party leader! However, there were a large number of people in the party and on the governing council (or whatever it was called at the time!) who pragmatically welcomed leadership, and a certain element of decisiveness to stop the inbuilt capacity for drift. In that respect, it wasn't so much a question of leadership as of herding cats, playing a variety of different roles: facilitator, mediator, catalyst, inspirer, lightning rod and so on.

But behind a lot of these difficulties were very strong friendships, which meant that the dilemma of leadership was essentially finessed rather than confronted. From my own perspective, as long as there was constant sensitivity to the need for consensus, I never really found it that difficult acting as leader without being leader. For instance, when it was a question of writing the two election manifestos (in 1979 and 1983), the detailed drafting actually fell to me to do on both occasions, despite all sorts of cumbersome policy committees that were really meant to be doing this. It meant a constant process of re-drafting, over many weeks, but in the end it really wasn't that painful—and I suspect no more painful than the process which any other party (with strong leadership inclinations!) would have gone through. Again, friendships helped a lot here.

Source: Porritt, Jonathan. (2003, October 1). Personal communication.

Fischer, who “maintain[s] direct communication with the president of the Bundestag and keeps track of the Greens’ turns to speak there” (Spretnak and Capra 1985, 224). Fischer became Germany’s Foreign Minister and came to international prominence when the German Green Party, which he led (inasmuch as any Green Party accepts the idea of having leaders), won 6 percent of the vote in the 1998 election. He was consequently invited to join a coalition government by the Social Democrats.

As Foreign Minister, Fischer had to deal with the decisions that had to be made after the 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center in New York, including

the war against Afghanistan and, in 2003, against Iraq. Without question the most prominent and mainstream politician ever to have come from the ranks of a Green Party, Fischer had to contend with dissension in his own party, traditionally pacifist, as well as with criticism from those outside it. Although attempts have been made to tar him with his radical past, he remains popular and is seen as a pragmatic, responsible politician by most Germans.

GREEN LEADERSHIP DEBATES

Like the environmental movement in general, Green Party membership, in the United States as well as elsewhere, has been mostly affluent, middle-class, and white. In its early days it was dominated by men, but concerted efforts to address issues of environmental justice and to attract both women and people of color have had some success. Green Party politicians tend to be younger and more diverse than mainstream party politicians, and unlike American politicians in general, relatively few are lawyers by trade. This could, conceivably, be a

significant political advantage.

Consensus decision making, gender balancing, and other organizational rules have, however, provided challenges to the growth of an effective national movement. In 1990, for example, at the Green Gathering in Boulder, Colorado, every small group meeting required men and women to speak alternately. On a practical basis, this presented a great challenge and while perhaps of some long-term social value (encouraging women to speak up and men to listen), it did not facilitate effective—or speedy—decision making. But for Greens, the process has generally been far more important than the outcome.

The successes of United States Greens on both local and national levels may be attributed to the fact that this third party, unlike the Reform Party and others in the past, is connected to an international political movement. This fact, in itself, may be the most important thing about Greens today: While their leadership is regional and national, in the years ahead their international efforts—and perhaps international leadership—may provide unique capacities and a unique appeal to voters.

—Karen Christensen

See also Environmental Justice

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GREGORY I, SAINT (c. 540–604 CE)

Roman Catholic pope

Gregory I, pope from 590 to 604 CE, was distinguished for both his spiritual and temporal leadership and is credited with the conversion of England.

EARLY LIFE

Gregory came from a wealthy and aristocratic background. He was a patrician and at age thirty became prefect of Rome, the highest civil office in the city. Gregory's father was Gordianus, who owned a number of properties, including large estates in Sicily and a mansion on the Caelian Hill in the city of Rome. Similarly, Gregory's mother Silvia came from a patrician family. Gregory's mother and two of his paternal aunts have been named saints.

The years of Gregory's youth were turbulent. The

Goths captured Rome a number of times between 546 and 552. Some writers have attributed Gregory's tinge of sadness and his expectation of a speedy end of the world to these early experiences. Certainly he was a quick student who, according to contemporary accounts, had no peer in grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic. He also appears to have studied law. His home provided him with a profound religious education. His education and innate skills prepared him for a public career in which after holding a number of subordinate offices he rose to the position of prefect of the city of Rome.

Around 575, he felt a vocation to the monastic life. He converted his home to a monastery. This and other houses he owned became Benedictine convents. His Sicilian estates, for example, were used to establish six monasteries. His Caelian Hill home became Saint Andrew's monastery, where he took the cowl of the Benedictine monk. In 578, he became a Benedictine abbot and a deacon of Rome. He served as an ambassador at Constantinople from 579 to around 586. After that he became Pope Pelagius II's chief adviser.

Gregory intended to go as a missionary to England, but he was recalled to Rome. There the Roman people elected him pope by acclamation. He reluctantly accepted his election. Not only did he feel spiritually unworthy, he also suffered from chronic poor health.

PAPACY

The period just before Gregory became pope was one of great disasters. In 589, for example, there were great floods. The Tiber overflowed, destroying buildings including church granaries. Pestilence accompanied the floods. Economic disaster followed. Rome took on the appearance of a ghost town.

Pelagius II died in February 590. At that time, the clergy and people of Rome chose the pope, the bishop of Rome. Gregory, abbot of Saint Andrew's and adviser to Pelagius, was their choice. Gregory refused the honor, preferring his cloister. He asked the emperor not to confirm his election, but the letter never reached the emperor in Constantinople because the prefect of Rome suppressed it.

Gregory filled the duties of pope while expecting the emperor to refuse to confirm his election. He led

a procession that started at each of the seven regions of Rome and joined at the Basilica of the Blessed Virgin. The purpose of the procession was to beg relief from the plague. According to legend the archangel Michael was seen at the tomb of Hadrian, now called Sant'Angelo, sheathing his sword to show that the plague was over.

Six months later, the emperor's confirmation of Gregory's election as pope arrived. Gregory thought of fleeing to avoid serving as pope. The population seized him and took him to the Basilica of Saint Peter, where he was consecrated pope on 3 September 590. Interestingly, Gregory always regretted that he had become pope.

Despite his poor health, Gregory was a dynamic pope. He lived in great simplicity, getting rid of all lay attendants and splendor. He replaced lay attendants with clerics.

Over the course of years, the pope had become responsible for military matters. Additionally, he had to take care of refugees, at the time resulting from the action of the Lombards. He called on the office of alms to feed these refugees from the church's estates in Sicily. In part to provide spiritual solace to go along with physical aid, Gregory instituted the stations of the cross. Gregory was a great preacher and his sermons drew large crowds. In them, he used Scripture to supplement his messages.

In July 595, Gregory called his first synod, or meeting with the bishops. The synod produced six decrees dealing with ecclesiastical discipline. These reformed areas that had grown lax and stressed priestly celibacy. Under Gregory the synod also brought about changes in the way in which the Mass was said.

Gregory was also an excellent estate manager who administered Peter's patrimony well. He brought order to the vast church property, collected fees from tenants, and spent the money wisely, generally for the welfare of the poor and the defense of the areas.

During his papacy, Gregory had two significant accomplishments. He established papal supremacy in the church and the temporal position of the pope. Gregory was a careful administrator. He was ready to interfere outside Italy whenever he deemed it nec-

essary. For example, he worked to end Donatism in Africa (the belief that sanctity was a requisite for church membership and the administration of sacraments) and to combat simony (the buying and selling of church offices) in Gaul. Gregory also would not permit the patriarch of Constantinople to add the title "ecumenical" to his list of titles because the bishop of Rome, the pope, reserved that title for his own use.

When the representative of the Byzantine emperor failed to aid Rome when the Lombards attacked it, Gregory began negotiations himself. By so doing Gregory gave notice that he was ready to become independent of the empire. This led to the role of popes in the defense of Rome, saving it from total barbarian destruction. In spite of his willingness to assume de facto responsibility in the temporal sphere for the safety of Rome, Gregory was a major advocate of divided power between church and state. The pope was Christ's vicar on earth for spiritual affairs and the emperor for secular ones.

It was Gregory who insisted on clerical celibacy for priests in the Western church. He also encouraged monasticism, an action of great importance in European history. Moreover, he fought to keep clergy from being tried by civil courts. In addition, he reformed church music, encouraging the use of the plainsong (Gregorian chant) that bears his name.

LEADERSHIP STYLE AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Gregory displayed his leadership style in the achievement of his major accomplishments. He was responsible for the mission of Saint Augustine of Canterbury to convert England to Christianity. He expanded the secular power of the pope. He popularized monasticism and encouraged its spread. Somehow in the midst of an active career he found time to write numerous letters, a book entitled *Pastoral Care*, and his *Dialogues*, a collection of stories of the saints, miracles, and other tales.

The Roman people elected Gregory against his will in 590. When the Byzantine representative failed to help him defend the city against the Arian Lombards, he found that he had to use food grown on church lands, Saint Peter's patrimony, and find a way to defend the city. In the process, Gregory accom-

plished two things: he not only strengthened the pope's temporal or secular power, he also managed to convert the Lombards from Arianism to Catholic Christianity. Gregory decided to use the institutions of monasticism to renew and strengthen the church. In the confusion of the early Middle Ages, the monastic institutions were the only ones that could provide a foundation for such a design. Learning was still strong in the monastery, as was discipline and the importance of work. For example, Gregory used the monk Augustine to convert England to Catholicism, a goal he had before he became pope.

Gregory had seen some Anglo-Saxons (Englishmen) one day in Rome. He asked who they were; when told they were "Angles," he replied that one day they would be called angels.

In his book *Liber pastoralis curae*, or *Book on the Office of a Bishop*, Gregory provides a key to understanding his leadership style. The bishop is mainly a physician of souls. He is a healer. The bishop must lead a disciplined and ordered spiritual life. Moreover, the bishop is a teacher. He must make tough decisions, admonishing those under his care to do better. Success, furthermore, is a dangerous thing because it tends to hide from the bishop the fact that he is weak. Gregory basically lived what he wrote, putting these guidelines into operation in his own life.

Gregory was not an abstract thinker. He was a Roman lawyer and administrator who became a monk, missionary, and preacher. He shaped the medieval papacy in that image. He was filled with missionary zeal, eager for conversions.

Gregory was a leader who upheld the argument that the church of Rome was preeminent among all the churches. The conversion of Britain was among his great achievements, vital for the success of the medieval church. During his reign he was able to exert his influence not only among the Western churches but also in the Eastern ones. Gregory established the system of appeals to Rome and he freely exercised his right to accept or veto decrees of various synods. He annulled actions of patriarchs and set punishments for those not in conformity with Rome's teachings.

Gregory also exerted his power in temporal or secular affairs. It was Gregory who made the pope

the major power in Italy, filling the gap left by the emperor's failure to act. The various ethnic groups in Italy looked to the pope for guidance and aid. The repercussions of his actions were felt in ways he could not have realized. Gregory's work prevented the early unification of Italy. But, then again, there might not have been an Italy to unite without Gregory's decisive actions. Certainly, the empire had no great desire or means to defend Italy from the various barbarian invasions to which it was subject in the seventh and eighth centuries. Neither did it wish to expend resources in feeding the poor and hungry of Italy, something Gregory organized quite efficiently and expeditiously.

Although not a great theologian, Gregory was a great synthesizer and a systematic thinker. He summed up the works of earlier Church Fathers and brought them into harmony such that the later Middle Ages looked to them for guidance. He was a great system builder. These various talents earned him the title of "the Great." Quite simply put, without Gregory I the papacy of the Middle Ages would not only have been quite a different institution, it is probable that it might not have continued to exist at all.

—Frank A. Salamone

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GROUNDED THEORY

Grounded theory is a method for rigorously and qualitatively analyzing data to generate explanatory

theory. Grounded theory draws upon the epistemological underpinnings of a range of methodologies, including ethnography, phenomenology, social interactionism, hermeneutics, heuristics, and systems theory. The data are usually qualitative, but increasingly from the early 2000s, quantitative data are being analyzed along with qualitative data in grounded theory analysis. However, the analysis is fully qualitative.

Historically, grounded theory analysis has mainly been used in the study of nursing practice and in educational research. Since the 1980s, however, it has been popular in social science research, including research on leadership.

Some components of the grounded theory method, such as open coding, theoretical sampling, and the comparison of categories, are used in much qualitative social science research. However, the full grounded theory method also involves the generation of high-order categories and the emergence of a basic social process and explanatory theory. The generally agreed-on stages of grounded theory analysis are the following:

Initial data collection. This stage comprises interview, observation, participation, documentary, and questionnaire data.

Open coding. The responses are coded into abstract categories (or variables).

Theoretical sampling (sampling patterns and new data sources are determined by the emerging theory, not predetermined) from subsequent iterations of data collection. This stage is ongoing.

Comparison and reduction of categories. For the sake of parsimony and to make the emerging categories as explanatory as possible, lower-level categories are merged and/or replaced by new categories that have greater theoretical relevance. This too is ongoing.

Saturation of categories. This stage is reached when no new properties or dimensions of categories are found.

Theoretical coding. This stage involves seeking the properties of categories and the relationships between them. It is at this point that researchers determine which categories are causes, consequences, contingencies, covariances, intervening conditions, and contexts.

Emergence of high-order categories.

Emergence of basic social processes. This takes place at the highest level of abstraction, where the phenomenon is investigated in its entirety.

Theory generation.

ORIGINS

Grounded theory was developed through the 1950s and 1960s. The seminal work on this method was *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (1967), by the sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss. Glaser and Strauss have been the main authors on the grounded theory method since that time. The two main texts on the use of grounded theory for management audiences are *Grounded Theory in Management Research* (2000), by Karen Locke, a professor in organizational behavior, and *Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide for Management, Business and Market Researchers* (2002), by Christina Goulding, a professor of consumer research.

With emergence of sophisticated software in 1990s, grounded theory analysis became more rigorous. For example, rather than relying on complex files of physical memo cards, researchers could access and interpret data much more quickly and efficiently. A number of software programs help facilitate grounded theory analysis; prominent among them is NUD*IST NVivo. This and other programs help with the accessing, categorizing, and even the modeling of data, although theorizing is still and will always be the task of the researcher.

RELEVANCE TO STUDY OF LEADERSHIP

Leadership has been defined as a social process of influence between people, and grounded theory readily lends itself to the analysis of such processes. The penultimate outcome of grounded theory analysis is the emergence of a basic social process, which is the category (or variable) that explains the leadership processes that are evident in the substantive context being investigated.

Glaser has observed that grounded theory, in particular, is useful to “researchers and practitioners in fields that concern themselves with issues relating

to human behavior in organizations, groups, and other social configurations” (Glaser 1992, 13). Because leadership is a social process of influence within organizations, groups, and other social entities, this implies that grounded theory can have a significant role to play in the study of leadership, and some of the studies outlined in this article illustrate its potential.

When it comes to the study of leadership, while mainstream approaches using quantitative methods tend to generalize across the frequencies of occurrence of predetermined manifest variables, grounded theory tends “to generalize in the direction of theoretical ideas, thus emphasizing theory development rather than testing of a theory” (Hunt and Ropo 1995, 381). The scholars Jerry Hunt and Arja Ropo have noted that grounded theory identifies the processes or forces that give rise to activity, whereas mainstream organizational research methodology concentrates on abstract elements and their relationship to activity, and that, in this regard, grounded theory emphasizes dynamism, whereas mainstream analysis emphasizes a more static structure. Mainstream approaches have a bias toward static, cross-sectional analysis. On the other hand, grounded theory is useful for analyzing processes, and such analyses in turn can enhance our understanding of leadership.

Grounded theory makes significant contributions to well-worked areas of research, and leadership is one such area. Glaser has noted that the contribution of grounded theory to well-worked areas of research is not the generation of a new concept or pattern—since in well-worked areas concepts and patterns are usually plentiful—but a better conceptual grasp of the basic social processes, which might be missing. For example, the traits, behaviors, functions, roles, and outcomes of leadership have been well established by many years of research.

Leadership is a complex interplay between the actions of the leader, the reactions of the followers, and the context within which the influence occurs. Therefore, leadership is more of a phenomenon than a set of traits or behaviors, another fact that makes it a suitable object of grounded theory analysis. Moreover, grounded theory is implicitly longitudinal

because of the iterations associated with the constant comparative nature of theoretical coding. Because leadership, too, is a longitudinal phenomenon, grounded theory analysis is relevant.

Using grounded theory analysis, Lessey Sooklal saw the political leader as a broker of dreams; Ken Parry found that leadership was a matter of enhancing adaptability of both leaders and followers; and Melanie Kan found leadership at times of organizational change to be a matter of identifying paradox.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Several future directions for grounded theory and associated methods of researching leadership and associated phenomena have been posited. The first is to research leadership as not just an organizational phenomenon, but as a wider societal phenomenon. Such work would include greater use of biographical, autobiographical, and historiographical analysis.

Another direction is further data triangulation and methodological triangulation within grounded theory analysis. As an example, the scholars Jay Conger and Ginka Toegel have proposed greater use of qualitative questionnaires to complement quantitative questionnaires as well as the more orthodox data that come from interviews, observation, and participation. Conger and Toegel propose asking respondents to provide two or more adjectives to describe their leader, and to indicate an analogy for their leader (for example, drawing an analogy between their leader and a certain color, food, animal, or object). Those responses could be analyzed in conjunction with ratings against conventional measures of leadership behavior, providing deeper insight into the nature of leadership being manifest.

Susan Herman and Caroline Egri have demonstrated how interactive reflexivity between researcher and subject in the context of grounded theory could bring about a richer explanation of the leadership processes in question. Kan has used the grounded theory method to seek a theoretical explanation of the apparent incompatibilities represented by the very different conclusions drawn from analyses of questionnaires on the one hand and interview and observation data on leadership on the other. The

grounded theory method seeks to resolve such incompatibilities by searching for explanations at a higher level of abstraction. Latent constructs are at a higher level of abstraction than the manifest variables obtained from the initial coding of observational, interview, or questionnaire data.

A third future direction is toward greater use of models to visually represent the hierarchies of abstraction that are generated by grounded theory analysis. Grounded theories have been criticized for being insufficiently visual and overly verbose in their expression; hierarchy-of-abstraction modeling is seen as one way to answer such criticism.

CONTROVERSIES

In the early 1990s, controversy emerged between the two originators of grounded theory. Glaser believed that Strauss was being overly prescriptive and insufficiently emergent in the generation of categories and processes—moving into theory-testing rather than letting the theory emerge from theoretical coding and constant comparison—and the subsequent debate became known as the Glaserian versus Straussian debate. In reality, most researchers view their own work from both perspectives when researching.

Another controversy is that of the use of full or partial grounded theory. Much social science research, including some leadership research, is called grounded theory by its authors, but really only draws upon primary elements of the grounded theory method for analyzing data. Researchers are distinguishing between full and partial grounded theory to resolve this confusion. A final controversy relates to the validity and reliability of grounded theory research. Much of the debate mirrors arguments about the differing approaches to validity and reliability one finds in qualitative and quantitative fields generally. However, in 2002 Parry used questionnaire data and structural equation modeling to partially validate the reliability of grounded theories of leadership. Parry operationalized several grounded theories of leadership in questionnaire format to gauge the manifestation of leadership processes in workplaces, establishing convergent validity with

existing measures of leadership. More importantly, a psychometric hierarchy of abstraction was derived (a visual representation of the relationship between manifest variables at the lowest level of abstraction up through smaller numbers of latent constructs to the highest-order latent construct), which reflected adequately the hierarchy of abstraction that emerged from the grounded theory analyses.

NEW LEADERSHIP VISTAS

So much leadership research has been undertaken through the latter twentieth century, yet so little consensus had emerged. Grounded theory is one tried-and-true research method, borrowed from other research domains, that has and will continue to shed new light on leadership processes through the twenty-first century. It will complement the huge amount of mainstream leadership research already undertaken. Sophisticated software applications will continue to add rigor to the analysis and consequent validity and reliability to the findings.

—Ken W. Parry

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GROUP AND SYSTEMS THEORY

In a description of the first Tavistock Group Relations conference, which was held in collaboration with the University of Leicester in 1957, two researchers wrote:

Professional workers and managers have always had to deal with group problems. During the last few decades, there has been a rapid growth of interest in small face-to-face groups and in the influence such groups exert both on their individual members and on the larger organizations of which they form part. Instead of seeking explanations for social phenomena solely in terms of individual idiosyncrasies it is becoming more common . . . to think also in terms of group characteristics. The group has a reality of its own. To mobilize the resources of groups demands an understanding in many ways different from that required to work with individuals. (Trist and Sofer 1959)

EARLY RESEARCH ON GROUPS

Understanding groups was the principal research preoccupation of the early pioneers of the Tavistock Clinic and the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations, a novel interdisciplinary, action-oriented research organization founded in London in 1946 with the aid of a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. The sociological studies by Elton Mayo in the 1930s demonstrated that productivity in groups rose when group members took responsibility for the

evaluation of their own work and for the standards of the working group. Other studies by Kurt Lewin and his associates showed that authoritarian leadership had a disintegrative effect on the structure of a group and a negative effect on its achievement. Lewin demonstrated that a decision made collectively by a group was of greater effectiveness in bringing about change in the behavior of individual members than was a request from an authority. During the late 1930s and 1940s, Lewin raised to a new level the social psychological study of group behavior. Other contributions to this field of study were Moreno, who introduced the idea of role-playing in 1947, and Bales, who pioneered techniques of interaction recording in 1943.

On the other side of the Atlantic, different kinds of insights into group behavior were developing out of the work of the Tavistock Clinic. This was partly in response to the huge need for psychological treatments of large numbers of discharged wartime soldiers and partly because of the independent advantages gained from creating conditions in which members of groups could together study the relations that developed in the treatment situation. Within British group psychotherapy at that time, an argument raged over whether a group was mainly the forum in which treatment of the individual took place, or whether, in assembling patients for treatment in a group, a deeper understanding was possible of the processes of groups of human beings engaged in common tasks. The most far-reaching formulations, which extended hypotheses about group processes to a level of explanation similar to that of psychoanalysis, were presented by British psychoanalyst Wilfred R. Bion in 1961.

Training programs in the study of group behavior developed along more or less parallel lines in the United States and Britain. In the United States, these occurred at the National Training Laboratory in Group Development at Bethel, Maine; Western Training Laboratory in Group Development at the University of California, and the Research Center for Group Dynamics at the University of Michigan. In Britain, a key role in studying group behavior and its application to the workplace was played by the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations in conjunction

with the University of Leicester through the establishment of a series of residential conferences to study group dynamics, and with the European Productivity Agency, which was concerned with improving industrial training methods. Other organizations, like Ministry of Labour, the National Health Service, the British Institute of Management in the United Kingdom, and the Episcopal Church in the United States, were interested in the new knowledge on group behavior and in applying it to the study of organizations and the wider society.

GENERAL SYSTEMS THEORY

This interest coincided in the 1940s with the emerging general systems theory of Ludwig von Bertalanffy, a biologist, who claimed that studying the smallest elements of phenomena was disadvantageous because that way one lost sight of the whole, which is often greater the sum of the parts. Phenomena could therefore be best understood by using a multidisciplinary approach, with each discipline contributing its own theory, concepts, and formulas. Von Bertalanffy therefore sought meta-concepts that would facilitate the “unity of science.” He also saw that real-world systems are open, that they interact with their environments and acquire new qualitative properties. They evolve. Therefore, rather than reduce a phenomenon to its elements, general systems theory focuses not only how the parts are arranged and what they do, but also on the relations that connect the parts into a whole (holism). He stressed that the organization of the whole defines a system, which in itself as a phenomenon can be considered independently of the physical or conceptual manifestation of its elements. Common concepts and principles of systems underpin and unify a range of disciplines such as physics, biology, technology, sociology, and psychology. Such systems concepts include the following:

- System inputs
- System hierarchies
- The idea of a system-environment
- System functions and processes
- System outputs
- Goal-directed behavior
- A definable boundary
- Information and information flows

Excitement about von Bertalanffy’s ideas lay in the applications of general systems thinking to engineering, computing, ecology, management, and psychotherapy. Systems analysis principles could be applied to decision-making processes and behaviors, identifying, manipulating, optimizing, and controlling systems that may be socio-technical organizations. Systems analysis accounted for multiple objectives, constraints, and resources, and identified courses of action, risks, costs, and benefits.

INDIVIDUAL, GROUP, AND SYSTEM

Since its inception, a core objective of the Tavistock Institute has been to create a unified theory that links knowledge of the individual, the group, the community, and society into a whole that could help to explain the overt systemic and covert or unconscious relationships between them. The early pioneers of the Tavistock Institute understood that the systems theory of organization they were attempting to apply to individual and group behavior was normally used for the analysis of enterprise processes. Their use of such theories would inevitably have to concentrate on the more mechanistic aspects of human relationships, but they hoped that the approach would help them to clarify some of the differences and similarities among individual, group, and systemic behavior. This would have to be accompanied by a discussion on the nature of authority, the role of technology in moderating human systems, and notions of “relatedness,” ideas which were central to the theoretical interests of the Tavistock social scientists. For example, in 1990 the following definition of “relatedness” emerged: “relatedness—the processes of mutual influence between individual and group, group and group, and group and organisation, and beyond that the relatedness of organisation and community to wider social systems, to society itself” (Miller 1990).

The Individual

Group and systems thinking would necessarily start with understanding an individual in terms of “system”—that is, that in order to survive, an individual would need to relate to its environment, taking in

basic resources, transforming them into energy and waste, and then exporting the waste. Later development in terms of engagement with others—first the family, then at school, the wider family, and social networks—would also be defined in terms of sets of relationships that provided gratification and avoided threat. These behaviors, feelings, defenses, values, expectations, beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions as they are aligned internally ultimately come to form the personality.

According to psychoanalytical object-relations theory, these phenomena are regarded as forming part of an individual's internal world which contains, besides the skills and capabilities that have been developed, the primitive inborn impulses and primitive controls over them that derive from the child's earliest relations with authority, together with the modifications and adaptations made in growing up. Object-relations theory holds that no distinction can be made by the as-yet undeveloped infant between what is "inside" and what is "outside" its world. It has no ego that can differentiate feelings and their causes. What the infant feels about an object that is outside becomes an attribute of the object itself. He "projects" his feelings onto it. Insofar as the object gratifies him, it is a "good" object; insofar as it frustrates or hurts him, it is a "bad" object.

Individuals, groups, organizations, society, and systems cannot therefore be regarded as entities with an objective reality; they are ideas or constructs that we hold in our minds and onto which we project aspects of our internal worlds of feelings, attitudes, and beliefs. A particular group or system is a construct substantially shared, explicitly or implicitly, by a number of individuals. Miller puts it very well when he says that "except in the restricted biological sense, the individual too can similarly be conceived as a construct, a reification. Thus the relatedness and the associated tension, is more appropriately conceptualized as connecting not two entities, but two processes—individuation and incorporation—moving towards, but never reaching, individual autonomy on the one hand and submergence in the group on the other" (Miller 1990).

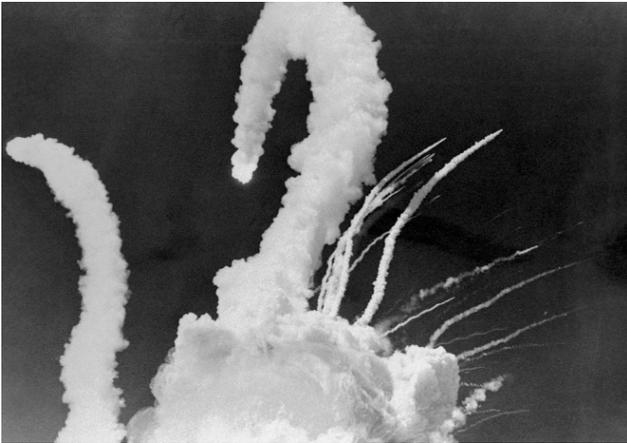
For human beings, the many import-conversion-export processes of enterprise systems cannot be eas-

ily defined, nor is productivity a simple measure of the difference between known intakes and known outputs. But this way of thinking about an individual may help to clarify some of the problems of role taking when we have to consider group and systems processes. The ego-function has to control not only transactions across the individual/environment boundary but also between role and person. When the ego-function fails to locate boundaries precisely and fails to control transactions across those boundaries, confusion results—confusion in roles and in the authorities exercised in roles. Authority and responsibility appropriate in one role may be used inappropriately in other roles. To be continuously confused about the role/person boundaries or completely unable to define and maintain boundaries is to undermine the viability of the system.

The Group

It has been axiomatic in Tavistock thinking that "individual" has little meaning as a concept except in relationships with others. Individuals use others to express views, take action, and play roles. The individual is a creature of the group, the group a creature of the individual. Individuals, according to their capacity and experience, carry within themselves the groups of which they have been and are members. Experiences as infant, child, adolescent, and adult, within the family, at school, and at work, and the cultural setting in which an individual has been brought up will thus affect, by the way in which they are molded into the personality, the contemporary and future relationships the individual makes in the family, at work, and in socially.

A group always meets to do something. In this activity the members of a group cooperate with each other, and their cooperation calls on their knowledge, experience, and skills. Because the task for which they have met is real, they have to relate themselves to reality to perform it. The members of the group have, therefore, to take roles and to create role relationships with each other. The work group is now a task system. But the work group also contains sentience—that is, the attitudes and feelings group members have about each other and the group has



The explosion of the space shuttle Challenger on 28 January 1986 over Cape Canaveral, Florida, is often cited as a classic case of groupthink, in which capable people together make a poor decision—in this case, one leading to disaster.

Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

about itself and about other groups play a part in the group's behavior and task performance. According to Rice, controls are then required to regulate transactions of the whole as a task system, with the environment, and of the constituent systems with each other; to regulate sentient group boundaries; and to regulate relationships between task and sentient groups.

But the role taken by each member of a group is also a task system, and the management of each of these (the ego-function) has to control the relations between the task and the sentient systems of the individual. So long as the role taken by each individual member is supported by that member's own individual sentient system, the task group and the sentient group tend to coincide.

Tavistock thinking about groups and systems has relied on the theories of Bion, who describes the sentience of the roles taken by the members of a group in the task system. These may or may not be stronger than other possible sentient systems. If the sentient systems of the individual members coalesce, that is, individual members find a common group sentience, then the group can be said to be behaving as if it had made a "basic assumption." If the common group sentience is opposed to task performance, that is, if the control is not maintained by task leadership, other leaders will be found. Bion points out that the capacity for cooperation among the members of a

task group is considerable; that is, role sentience in a task group is always likely to be strong. Hence, while the group maintains task definition, the strength of the sentience supporting task performance at the reality level makes the life of any leadership that opposes this task performance precarious.

A pair who have met to perform an agreed-upon task can hardly provide alternative leadership and remain a task system. With three, an alternative leader is rapidly manifest and either immediately outnumbered or at once destroys cooperation in task performance—that is, the three cannot easily remain a task group. A quartet can provide some support for alternative leadership by splitting into pairs, but cannot sustain the split for very long without destroying the quartet as a task system. In groups of five and six, the interpersonal transaction systems are still relatively few and task leadership can be quick to recognize alternative leadership, usually before it can manifest powerful opposition to task performance. Above six, the number of interpersonal transactions becomes progressively larger, and hence it may be more difficult to detect their patterning.

In general, the larger the number of members of a group, the more members there are to find an outlet for their non-task-related sentience, and hence the more powerful its expression, and the more support it can give an alternative leader. Equally, because of the large number, group behavior can appear even more futile and useless when there is no sentient unanimity among the membership either in support of, or in opposition to, group task performance. In other words, the larger the group the more opportunities members have to divest themselves of their unwanted or irrelevant sentience by projecting it onto others.

The System

In the development of ideas about systems, a place has to be found for individuals and roles. All transactions, even the intra-psychic transactions of the individual, have the characteristics of a systems or inter-group process. As such, they involve multiple problems of boundary control of different task systems and different sentient systems and control of

relations between task and sentient systems. Each transaction calls into question the integrity of the boundaries across which it takes place and the extent to which control over transactions across them can be maintained. Every transaction requires the exercise of authority and calls into question the value of and sanction for that authority. In order for groups to accomplish a task, they must interact with other groups. In order to do this, negotiating mechanisms need to be established. These are usually based on authorized representation. Therefore, in the examination of a simple inter-group transaction between two groups in which individuals represent the two groups, account has to be taken of a complex pattern of inter-group processes: within the individuals who represent their groups, within the transactional task system, between the groups and their representatives, within the groups, and within the environment that includes the two groups. Even a simple inter-group transaction is, therefore, affected by a complex pattern of authorities, many of which are either partially or completely covert. If the analysis is extended to more than two groups, each with more than one representative, the pattern becomes still more complex. For example, in a meeting of pairs of representatives from four groups, transactions across seventeen different pairs of boundaries have to be controlled: four pairs for each pair of representatives as a group. To understand the nature of the authority of a representative, or of a group of representatives, appointed to carry out a transaction on behalf of a group, involves the understanding of multiple and complex boundary controls. In other words, the appointment of a representative or representatives is never just a simple matter of representing a task system to carry out a task-directed transaction with the environment. Representatives are invariably chosen not only to carry out the specific transaction, but also to convey the mood of the group or system about itself and about its representative and its attitude, not only to the specific part of the environment with which the transaction is intended, but to the rest of it as well.

Another dimension of complexity has to be mentioned: time. We have referred to the problems of the control of the representative's own boundaries, of the boundaries between the representative and the group

and of the relative strengths of the individual, group, and transactional task-system boundaries. It will be rare for them all to be perfectly controlled in the interests of task performance. Even if they are, a transaction takes time, and during the transaction the individual, group, and task-system sentences may change. Indeed, in any critical negotiation they are almost bound to change, as hopes and fears of the outcome increase and decrease.

The number and complexity of the boundary controls required for even comparatively simple transactions between groups make any negotiation precarious. The reality is, of course, that the preponderance of inter-group transactions take place in settings in which the conventions are already established and mutual payoffs understood. Nevertheless, this complex authority pattern, imperfectly comprehended, together with a need to defend each of the boundaries in the multiple transactional systems against uncertainty, chaos, and incipient disaster, gives rise to the futility of many negotiations and to the unexpected results that often emerge. The conventions and payoffs for the majority of inter-group transactions are defenses against chaos and disaster. In new kinds of negotiations without established defenses, the fear of chaos and disaster often makes procedure more important than content.

BOUNDARY

A key connecting concept derived from Lewin and developed further in general systems theory by von Bertalanffy and the Tavistock workers, is that of *boundary*. The existence of all systems, human and technical, depends upon their continuous interchange with their environment, whether of materials, people, information, ideas, values, or fantasies. The boundary across which these "commodities" flow in and out separates any given system from, and links it to, its environment. It marks a discontinuity between the task of that particular system and the tasks of the related systems with which it transacts "because these relations are never stable and static, and because the behaviour and identity of the system are subject to continual renegotiation and redefinition, the system boundary is best conceived not as a line but as a region" (Miller 1990, quoting Lewin 1935; 1936).

The region is that location of those roles and activities that are concerned with mediating relations between inside and outside. In systems this is the function of leadership; in individuals it is the ego function. The leadership exercised in this region can protect the internal subsystems from the disruption of fluctuating and inconsistent demands from outside, but it can also promote those internal changes that will enable the system to be adaptive, and indeed proactive, in relation to its environment. The health and ultimately the survival of a system therefore depends on an appropriate mix of insulation and permeability in the boundary region.

THE ROLE OF LEADERSHIP

Leadership can be conceived of as a special case of representation: representation with plenary powers. As a member of a task group, every individual has to take a role and through it control his or her task transactions with colleagues individually and collectively; the leader as a person also has to control his or her own person/role transactions as well as interpersonal relationships with colleagues. In addition to these, a leader has to control transactions between the group and relevant agencies in the environment in the interests of task performance; without such control, task performance is impossible. In this sense, the role taken by the leader and the boundary-control function of the group must have much sentience in common. For the leader, at least, the sentient group and the task group must reinforce each other. So far as task performance is unsatisfactory, by reason either of inadequate resources or of opposing group sentience, transactions with the environment are likely to be difficult and the task sentience of the leader weakened, if not destroyed.

More generally, since transactions with the environment can only be based on adequate task performance, the leader's authority has to be based on group sentience that is sufficiently supportive of such performance. It follows that the mobilization of group sentience for any other reason than task performance—for example, personal loyalty, friendship, or ideology—always leaves a task group vulnerable. It also follows that any change in the group

task, either in the environment or in the group, changes not only the internal transactions between the members but also those with the environment, and hence the role of leadership and the appropriate sentience that have to be mobilized.

In practice, groups use all kinds of feelings and attitudes to maintain cooperation in task performance: love, affection, friendship, hatred, dislike, and enmity as well as commitment to the group task. So far as a group is committed to its task, contrary sentience, including a leader's own, can be contained and controlled within the group; so far as commitment is tenuous, so far will the group find it impossible to control the contrary sentience. Under such circumstances, task leadership is undermined, and the task is redefined or irrelevant transactions with the environment have to be used to cope with the discordant feeling and attitudes. Therefore, solutions to the problem of maintaining a system's adaptiveness to change must depend on helping the system's constituent parts to develop greater maturity in controlling the boundary between their inner worlds and the realities of their external environments.

—Mannie Sher

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GROUP COHESIVENESS

Group cohesiveness refers to the interpersonal dynamics that exist among group members. Specifically, cohesiveness describes the general sense of community within the group, including attraction (in the platonic rather than romantic sense) of each group member to the others in the group. This definition may seem rather vague; in fact, experts on cohesiveness cannot agree on exactly how to define the concept, or even if it is a unidimensional or multidimensional construct. Cohesion is ubiquitous, arising in all but the most temporal of groups. Further, while its impact on certain aspects of group life are unclear, on other aspects, cohesion is definitely influential. For these reasons, anyone who is engaged in the leadership of a group, be it in a task-performing or fraternal sense, needs to be aware of the principles and issues surrounding cohesiveness.

COHESION: UNIDIMENSIONAL OR MULTIDIMENSIONAL?

Researchers are unclear as to whether cohesiveness is a unidimensional (i.e., cohesiveness is a concept in and of itself) or multidimensional (i.e., cohesiveness is actually a collection of more specific concepts) construct. The answer to this question is important, not only for theoretical reasons but also because a clearer definition would help practitioners determine the aspects of cohesiveness that need to be altered in order to improve particular aspects of the group experience. Early twenty-first-century evidence suggests it is multidimensional, with the most likely elements of cohesion being, in no particular order, strength of within-group norms, ability to resist externally caused disruptions, extent of member commitment to the group and its members, and degree of member interest in the group's goals and social relationships.

Being committed to a group does not imply that one is committed to its members, and vice versa. One can accept the group's reason for existence yet feel that some or all of its members are not good work partners; one can be attracted to all members of a group yet feel that the reason for the group's existence is bogus. Cohesiveness is strongest when the person is attracted to both the group and its members. There may be some additional factors that are important for some groups but not others. For example, some groups subject new members to initiation rites, and these rites can sometimes involve some degree of unpleasantness, usually connected with physical and/or emotional discomfort. The assumption, and there is some research evidence to back this, is that having to suffer to gain entry into a group will strengthen your commitment to that group. In such groups, then, pre-entry suffering would be yet another factor that influences cohesiveness.

WHAT AFFECTS COHESION?

That cohesiveness is likely multidimensional implies that no single factor determines its level. Indeed, research evidence shows that cohesiveness is affected by many things: the extent to which group members like each other, the extent to which the group's goals match one's personal goals, satisfaction with how the group is performing, and the existence of outside factors that discourage a member's exiting the group. Group members emphasize different aspects of these factors, explaining why some people will be happy within a group where a particular factor may be undesirable to others. For example, a person might put up with some unpleasant colleagues if the group's reason for existence is consistent with his/her interests and needs, if the group performs this function well, and if there is no other group that provides a similar service.

The biggest impediment to fostering a sense of cohesion is the temporal instability of a group. All else being equal, cohesion will be least in groups in which there is frequent member mobility into and out of the group. This is one of the primary reasons why experts on group composition discourage the frequent transferring of members, and instead recommend that

well-functioning groups be kept together as long as possible. The military, which has long taken an active interest in the dynamics of cohesiveness, has attempted to deal with the mobility issue by developing the concept of “battle rostering,” under which transfers are kept to a minimum and are formally scheduled so that all persons know when a transfer is coming. Some theorists have argued that the basic principles of battle rostering could be extended to other types of groups, and the airline industry has begun implementing some of its principles.

WHY IS COHESION IMPORTANT?

A common perception is that groups perform poorly when the members do not get along with each other. No consensus in the research evidence exists to indicate that cohesiveness impacts group performance; however, some evidence reveals that cohesion may be more important for certain, very particular types of groups (e.g., flight crews) than for others. Additionally, conformity tends to be higher within cohesive groups than within more fractious groups. This includes conforming to group norms of task productivity. This can be beneficial if the group norm is to work hard and always strive for maximum production, but if the group norm prescribes a willful reduction in effort, conformity will be problematic. As an example of the latter, studies have documented norms within actual work groups dictating that high-ability members will perform at a reduced rate so as to mask the poor performance of low-ability members. Thus, if a leader feels that increased cohesion will lead to increased production, there is a good chance this expectation will be violated.

There is also some argument that high cohesiveness can be detrimental to decision-making groups. In particular, theory on groupthink, which refers to the phenomenon of a group of very capable members making a disastrous decision, suggests that highly cohesive groups that have a dynamic leader and are insulated from outside opinion are most susceptible to groupthink. (Detailed examples of this phenomenon are provided in the “groupthink” article included in this volume; for this discussion we sim-

ply note that the 1960 decision by President John F. Kennedy and his cabinet to invade Cuba at the Bay of Pigs is often held up as the classic example of (presumed) groupthink.) However, actual empirical support for this theory is scant, and in particular researchers have not yet been able to demonstrate that high cohesiveness contributes to its occurrence.

Many people who are learning about cohesion are surprised by the assertion that cohesiveness may not improve group performance. Some real examples may be helpful in demonstrating the point. Cohesion is often put forth as important for sports teams (usually under the guise of “team chemistry”). The National League representative in Major League Baseball’s 2002 World Series was the San Francisco Giants, on which the two best players, outfielder Barry Bonds and second baseman Jeff Kent, openly disliked each other, to a degree that they actually physically fought in the dugout during the regular season. Further, Bonds was known to be aloof, with little interest in interacting with his teammates or adhering to team norms, and many players reacted negatively to his distant nature. Despite this, the team came within three innings of actually winning the series and set several postseason offensive records as well.

Cohesiveness seems to impact the stability of group composition regardless of type of group. The less cohesion, the more likely it is that group members will move to other groups if opportunities to move become available. There is also some evidence, taken primarily from studies of military units, that cohesiveness enhances trust in colleagues and superiors, as well as a sense of personal well-being within individual group members. Historically, being concerned about individual-difference factors within groups, of which the latter is an example, has been downplayed among groups researchers, but there is now an abundance of evidence demonstrating that personal reactions to the group experience can have long-term repercussions. As such, it is now generally recommended that group managers attend to both the group itself and the needs of individual members, and addressing issues of cohesion is a way for managers to simultaneously attack both types of issues.

ENHANCING COHESION

How can a group leader enhance cohesion within his/her group? It is not clear from the research evidence that there exists a single, uniformly effective method. Besides minimizing turnover, such strategies as reducing the size of the group, emphasizing a common goal, and reducing perceived differences in member status can all improve cohesion. There also exist some structured methods of enhancing cohesion, employed usually with very particular types of groups but suggested for use with more general groups. In particular, the United States Army has developed a program called COHORT (COHesion, Operational Readiness, and Training), which is designed to keep battle units intact and encourage a sense of cohesiveness within the unit. In a different vein, most commercial airlines now employ a type of flight crew training called LOFT (Line-Oriented Flight Training). Flight crews change members very rapidly, sometimes as frequently as twice a day—the crew that flies from Boston to Washington, D.C., in the morning may have a different engineer for the afternoon return flight, and that group may replace its copilot for the evening flight back to Washington. Such rapid turnover is necessitated by federal rules regulating the total amount of time a crew member spends in the air during a given time period, and as such COHORT-style maintenance of a crew is not practical, because if one member of the crew has met his/her flight time limit and needs time off, the whole crew would have to be grounded. As such, the goal of LOFT is to foster a sense of cohesion among all flight crew members within the airline, so that one feels a bond with the other crew members no matter who they happen to be. Both COHORT and LOFT have been suggested as tools for enhancing cohesion within other layperson groups.

The group supervisor needs to balance a desire for cohesion with group composition issues. Sometimes, typically for reasons of expertise, it is necessary to include in a group individuals who are known not to get along with each other. In such situations, the leader must determine which is more important: harmony or breadth of skill. To give a real example, research on medical teams has shown that doctors,



Group Cohesiveness in Leading a Village in Korea

The following description of how a leader must behave in order to be effective in a Korean fishing village shows the importance of group cohesion in achieving group goals.

A prominent member of one of the Kim lineages, an aggressive and successful fishing entrepreneur, also thinks of himself as a potential leader in promoting economic activity.

In all these cases ambition is expressed in terms of a role where the emphasis is not on personal aggrandizement but rather on the promotion of community welfare and goals. The orientation or frame of reference is collective, and such men see themselves as organizers of group activity, human catalysts promoting cooperative self-help. Success and prestige for them exist in being at the center of energy and movement and thereby gaining the esteem of their fellow villagers. They do not disassociate their own personal fortunes from those of the village as a whole; or at least they are unwilling to express their goals in wholly egoistic terms. Once economic security is achieved and additional resources are available beyond those necessary for bare subsistence, it is still far more prestigious in Sokp'o to align oneself with administrative functions such as leadership of the village, school teaching, or economic development rather than with amassing wealth and living luxuriously.

Source: Brandt, Vincent S. R. (1971). *A Korean Village Between Farm and Sea*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

nurses, and allied health professionals (e.g., x-ray technicians, pharmacists, anesthesiologists) have very different viewpoints on how group decision making should be conducted, with doctors favoring an autocratic style (with them as the decision makers) and nurses and professionals favoring a democratic style. This difference of opinion frequently produces conflict, yet the exclusion of a doctor, nurse, or technician from a medical team is never considered an option. If cohesion can be improved by replacing one member with a different person of comparable expertise, this should be done, but if no such replacement is available, the supervisor will

ultimately need to deal with the conflicts as best he/she can, and anticipate that some group members will exit the group as soon as is feasible.

IMPLICATIONS

The practical implication of the research on cohesiveness is that cohesion can help group leaders who are concerned with the welfare of their group members, and want to make the group environment supportive and the group stable. Whether such an environment will also positively impact production, however, is an open question. The group leader needs to carefully analyze the dynamics within the group, especially the prevailing group norms, and determine whether high levels of cohesiveness will lead to decreased productivity. If so, the leader must decide whether production or satisfaction is the element of the group that should be emphasized.

—*Craig D. Parks*

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GROUP DECISION RULES

A group decision rule is a formal rule that specifies how group members' preferences regarding a set of alternatives are to be aggregated so as to produce a decision among the alternatives. Examples of the use of group decision rules include a high school class electing its president by majority vote and a jury reaching a verdict according to unanimity rule. Group decision rules have been the subject of both analytical and empirical studies.

ANALYTICAL STUDIES: SOCIAL CHOICE THEORY

Analytical studies focus on the logical implications of using various group decision rules. For example, the decision rule a group uses has obvious implications for the decisions that it makes. One reason why some universities require a two-thirds favorable vote to award academic tenure is to create a decision bias. It is deemed better to err by denying tenure than by granting tenure. Similarly, the requirement that three-fourths of the states must ratify an amendment to the U.S. Constitution provides a safeguard against amending the Constitution too easily.

In addition to such obvious effects on decisions, group decision rules can have effects that are counterintuitive and problematic. Consider an example regarding majority rule: A group composed of three people—*A*, *B*, and *C*—is to decide an issue involving three alternatives—*x*, *y*, and *z*. Person *A* most prefers *x*, followed by *y*, and then *z*, whereas *B* prefers *y* to *z* to *x*, and *C*'s preference is *z* over *x* over *y*. Suppose that the voting procedure involves pairwise voting, beginning with a vote between *x* and *y*, with the winner then being placed against *z*. By majority rule, the first vote yields *x*, and the second vote yields *z*, which is therefore the group decision. Now suppose

that a different agenda (voting sequence) were used, with y and z being voted on first, and the winner then being placed against x . This agenda results in x as the group decision, a completely different outcome.

This example thus reveals a paradox: The use of majority rule can yield different group decisions, depending on the sequence in which votes are conducted. In general, an alternative is advantaged by entering the voting sequence as late as possible. This paradox of voting is sometimes called the Condorcet paradox, after the French mathematician, philosopher, and economist who discovered it in the late 1700s. Over the years, Condorcet's result was independently discovered by others, and in 1951 it was extended by the Noble Prize-winning economist Kenneth Arrow to show that any non-dictatorial decision rule can lead to mutually contradictory (intransitive) outcomes. Arrow's work served as an impetus for later analytical attempts to understand group decision rules and for the development by economists and political scientists of what is called social (or public) choice theory.

The Condorcet paradox suggests two ways in which the outcome of group decision making may be manipulated. One way is by the strategic misrepresentation of preferences. Consider again the above example and the voting sequence x versus y first, and then the winner versus z —a sequence that results in z as the group decision. This is A 's least preferred alternative, so clearly A would like to avoid such a decision. A might try to do this by misrepresenting his or her preference in the vote between x and y . Instead of voting for x , which is his or her real preference, A could vote for y . Alternative y would thereby obtain a majority against x and, upon being placed against z , would defeat z and emerge as the group decision. In this manner, A would obtain his or her second-preferred, rather than least-preferred, alternative. Of course, to adopt such a strategy of misrepresentation, A would need some knowledge of the preferences of B and C . Furthermore, nothing would prevent B or C from trying to employ a similar strategy.

Another way in which A could manipulate the group decision, even if all group members were to vote sincerely, is through agenda setting. If A were in a position of leadership in the group and could deter-

mine the group's agenda, then A could schedule a first vote between y and z , followed by a vote between the winner and x . This would cause x , A 's most-preferred alternative, to be the group decision. It is worth noting that, in fact, committee voting procedures typically involve pairwise voting. For example, a motion is put forward, and an amendment to the motion is proposed. There is then a vote on amending the motion, followed by a vote on whichever wins—the motion or the amended motion. (Effectively, the winner is voted on against the alternative of “no change.”) The power to set the agenda is therefore of practical and not just theoretical significance, and is one reason why leadership positions such as committee chair are sought so eagerly in Congress and other legislative bodies.

EMPIRICAL STUDIES: THE PSYCHOLOGY OF DECISION RULES

Empirical work on group decision rules is more recent in origin than the work on social choice and is largely the product of psychologists. This work has been almost entirely experimental, has involved small ad hoc groups, and has focused on how the decision rules that are assigned to groups affect the behavior, thoughts, and feelings of group members, and how group members evaluate the use of different decision rules. Two characteristics of group decision rules are of particular importance with regard to empirical effects of the rules: The strictness of a rule refers to the extent to which group members must express similar preferences in order to reach a group decision. Unanimity rule is a strict rule; it requires that to make a decision all group members must express agreement on the same alternative. Majority rule is less strict; it requires agreement by just over half of the group members to make a decision. The distribution of power under a decision rule refers to how similarly the rule treats group members with regard to their formal influence on the group decision. Majority rule is an egalitarian rule: it gives every member equal power in making the group decision. Dictatorial rule is highly authoritarian: It allots all decision-making power to a single group member or leader.

Empirical studies of group decision rules have concentrated more on strictness than on the distribution of power. Interest in strictness is largely an outgrowth of rulings by the U.S. Supreme Court in the 1970s holding that, in certain cases, less-than-unanimous jury verdicts are constitutional. Many studies using mock juries have compared variations of majority rule (simple, two-thirds, three-fourths) with unanimity rule. Relatively few studies have compared egalitarian rules such as majority rule with more authoritarian rules such as rule by dictator.

Like analytical studies, empirical studies have yielded some findings that seem relatively obvious, and others that seem less so. One of the more obvious and frequent findings is that group decisions are more difficult to reach under stricter decision rules. The use of unanimity, as compared to a majority, requirement is more likely to result in a group failing to reach a decision. Moreover, when the group does reach a decision, the decision-making process tends to take longer, and group members are likely to regard the process as more uncomfortable, difficult, and contentious, but also as more adequate and thorough.

Stricter decision rules are also more likely to result in decisions that represent some sort of compromise. As an example, consider a situation in which a six-person civil jury has agreed that a plaintiff should be awarded damages and is trying to decide on the amount of damages. Suppose the six jurors' preferred damages are \$150,000, \$150,000, \$200,000, \$230,000, \$280,000, and \$650,000. When the preference distribution of group members is skewed, as in this instance, unanimity rule is more likely than majority rule to result in a decision that takes account of the preferences of more extreme members. Under majority rule, the member who prefers a \$650,000 award can more easily be ignored, and an award of, say, \$200,000 might be made. Under unanimity rule, the more extreme member cannot be disregarded so readily, and an award that lies closer to that member's preference (i.e., a larger award) is more likely.

Use of stricter decision rules is also more likely to result in individual group members changing their preferences during the decision-making process.

Such changes involve not just members' publicly expressed preferences—as may be necessary with a stricter decision requirement—but also their privately held opinions. The changes tend to be in the direction of both greater agreement with other group members and greater agreement with the eventual group decision. Several studies further suggest that group members tend to be more satisfied with decisions reached under unanimity rule than with those made under majority rule. This is probably because, as a number of studies have also found, satisfaction with the group decision is determined primarily by agreement with the decision. Thus, in leading to more agreement with the group decision, stricter decision rules may also lead to more satisfaction with the decision.

A rather non-obvious empirical finding is that group decision rules, in conjunction with the preferences of group members, may affect members' liking for one another. The more that group members agree with each other, the more they tend to like each other. By creating greater agreement among members, stricter decision rules may lead to more liking among the members. Studies also suggest that liking for a group member is influenced by the extent to which the member is seen as being responsible for making a group decision that is unrepresentative. The greater a member's perceived responsibility for an unrepresentative decision, the more the member tends to be rejected. Moreover, the "credit" one receives for making a decision that is representative does not seem to offset the "blame" that attaches to making a decision that is unrepresentative. Non-egalitarian decision rules that assign a single group member to a position of authority or leadership thus appear to leave that member especially vulnerable to rejection. There is some evidence, however, that leaders may be able to overcome this by making sure that other group members are treated with dignity and feel respected.

Not surprisingly perhaps, group decision rules differ in regard to how they are evaluated by group members. Some rules are seen as fairer or better than others, and given an opportunity, group members prefer making decisions according to such rules. Several studies have shown that the perceived fair-

ness of a group decision rule depends, in part, on whether the decision that results from use of the rule is representative of members' preferences. If the decision is representative, the rule tends to be seen as fair; if the decision is unrepresentative, the rule tends to be seen as unfair. Decision rules that are stricter or more egalitarian are more likely to result in representative decisions, and thus more likely to be seen as fair. Even rules that are neither strict nor egalitarian, however, may be seen as somewhat fair so long as they lead to representative decisions. Indeed, even a dictatorial decision rule may be perceived as fair when the dictator makes decisions that are representative of member preferences.

Moreover, group members may be willing to adopt an essentially dictatorial rule if it seems necessary to solve a problem, and if no better decision method is available. This is shown by the results of several studies involving resource dilemmas. In a resource dilemma, group members share access to a common, replenishable pool of resources. Each member can harvest resources from the pool, but if too many harvest too much too quickly, the resource cannot replenish rapidly enough, and it will be depleted. It is in each member's self-interest to harvest as much of the resource for himself or herself as possible, but it is in the collective interest to maintain the pool for as long as possible. When group members believe the resource pool is being over-harvested, they are often willing to solve the dilemma by foregoing access to the pool and electing a single member as leader, with the formal power to determine who gets to harvest how much. Still, if given the opportunity, members are also likely to choose more egalitarian methods of solving the dilemma, such as deciding harvest allocations by majority vote.

Preferences regarding the use of group decision rules are undoubtedly acquired beginning at an early age, in the normal course of childhood development and socialization. Children as young as six to seven years old (first graders) have been shown to evaluate egalitarian systems of governance (rule by majority or unanimity) as better than authoritarian systems, and to prefer egalitarian systems over authoritarian systems even when the authoritarian system is described as one in which decisions are made only by the wisest peo-

ple. Children this young tend to evaluate decision methods based on their own peer group experiences, and perhaps because of this, they believe that consensus procedures, in which everyone must agree, are as good as or better than various sorts of majority rule. As children grow older, their evaluations of decision rules change and grow more sophisticated. Fifth-grade children have been shown to have an even stronger preference for egalitarian systems over authoritarian ones than do first graders, and to have a better understanding of the pragmatic problems associated with the use of consensus procedures, and so to have a distinct preference for using majority rule.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR EMPIRICAL STUDIES

To date, empirical studies of group decision rules have focused on relatively egalitarian decision rules, often comparing the effects of assigned majority and unanimity rules in mock juries. Yet many other rules are in everyday use in a variety of situations. For example, the use of relatively authoritarian rules, in which one or a few persons hold the formal power to make decisions, is common in the workplace. Undoubtedly, different decision procedures exist because of social norms sanctioning their use. Instead of assigning decision rules to groups, future research might usefully explore the development of norms regarding decision rules by attempting to identify the conditions under which various decision rules "naturally" emerge (i.e., under which groups typically adopt certain rules). To the extent that future research continues to focus on assigned decision rules, it might benefit from comparing a greater variety of rules in a broader assortment of settings. This would also provide a way of beginning to understand which group decision rules are normative in what situations, and to enhance the ecological validity of the research.

—Charles E. Miller

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GROUP EFFECTIVENESS

Group effectiveness refers to the quality of a task-oriented group's performance. Although the task can involve either decision making or physical performance, "effectiveness" is usually employed to describe just decision-making groups. Group effectiveness is crucial for any group leader to consider, because if the group is not effective, there is little point in continuing to use the group.

RESEARCH ON GROUP EFFECTIVENESS

Interest in the quality of group decision making extends back to the 1932, when Marjorie Shaw published the first empirical comparison of the effectiveness of decision-making groups against individuals. She had groups and individuals complete a series of problem-solving tasks, and found that groups did better (i.e., got more right answers) than individuals. Groups took longer to complete the task, but Shaw attributed this to error checking and consideration of alternative solutions, both desirable

features that an individual generally cannot realize. Subsequent research over the next three decades largely confirmed Shaw's results, though the problem of time-to-completion grew larger, and many researchers could not confirm that the time lag was due solely to attempts at quality control. Researchers were also observing time being spent socializing; duplication of effort; and failure to adequately coordinate member abilities. Theorists began talking not only about the group's effectiveness, but also about its *efficiency* in completing a task. Then, in 1955 Dorothy Marquart compared interacting groups against "statisticized groups," which consisted of a set of independently working members in which a correct "solution" simply meant that at least one person had solved the problem. In other words, if one member solved the problem, the entire group got credit for it, even though every group member worked alone. Marquart found that the statisticized groups performed at least as well as the interacting groups. Today, theorists generally agree that interacting groups actually perform about as well as would the best member of the group working alone, but potentially could considerably outperform the best individual, if their inefficiencies could be reduced.

What causes group inefficiency? In 1966, Ivan Steiner proposed the concept of process loss to explain the problem. Steiner argued that groups suffer from two types of inefficiency: "coordination loss," which occurs when group members fail to adequately organize their efforts, and "motivation loss," which occurs when group members lose interest in the group task. In theory, group effectiveness would increase if the group leader could determine whether one or both of these are causing his/her group's inefficiency and could minimize the losses. Unfortunately, subsequent research has identified numerous contributors to coordination and motivation loss, many of which seem to be specific to particular types of tasks, and resistant to intervention. The number of contributing factors is too numerous to list here (interested readers should consult any of the books listed in the "Further Reading" section), but an example can be provided. The phenomenon of biased sampling occurs when interacting group

members confine discussion to information that all members already know. When a group member tries to share relevant information that only he/she possesses, the attempt is greeted with skepticism, and further discussion of that new information is suppressed. Assuming that the purpose of discussion is to broaden the set of information that group members can draw upon to make an informed decision, it follows that biased sampling is a type of coordination loss—group members are not taking advantage of the benefits of discussion, and as a result they base their collective decision on about the same set of information as any one individual would use. Unfortunately, biased sampling has proven very hard to eradicate or even minimize.

IMPROVING EFFECTIVENESS

Many theorists are interested in the question of how group effectiveness can be improved. There is evidence that ineffectiveness can sometimes be caused by poor leadership practices, and sometimes result from within-group factors that are not caused by the leader. Of course, both can occur simultaneously. It seems that many of these problems can be corrected by the leader, though as we will see in a later section, fixing the problem is not always as straightforward as one would think given the nature of the problem.

Regarding how poor leadership can produce ineffectiveness, Richard Hackman has delineated a number of ways in which a group leader can err. The leader can assign to the group a task that is better completed by an individual; the leader can label a collection of individuals as “the group” without letting them function as one; the leader’s management style can be too dictatorial or too laissez-faire; the leader can fail to provide needed structure to the group and its task; the leader can fail to provide the resources necessary for the group to achieve its goal; and the leader can fail to provide assistance to individual group members who need to learn or refine task-relevant skills. In all of these situations, the group’s overall effectiveness will be suboptimal. One would think that, from this perspective, improving group performance would be simple—just deter-

I long to accomplish a great and noble task, but it is my chief duty to accomplish humble tasks as though they were great and noble. The world is moved along not only by the mighty shoves of its heroes but also by the aggregate of the tiny pushes of each honest worker.

—Helen Keller

mine the errors that the leader is making, and correct the leader’s behavior. However, some very real obstacles exist when correcting leader errors. In the next section, we will discuss impediments to the implementation of measures designed to correct the group’s actions.

There are also a number of within-group factors that can impact effectiveness. For example, ill-defined or inappropriate goals, member conflict, flawed task processes, and failure to employ task-relevant skills can all compromise performance. How these factors arise is a multifaceted question, and, at this point, it is close to impossible to predict with any accuracy which factor will arise, and when, and how severely they will impact the group. Further, unless the leader is an active member of the group, he/she will not be aware of the development of these problems until they have fully manifested themselves. To help the leader identify and correct internal flaws, a technique known as “reflexivity,” or team self-correction, has been suggested and studied.

IMPEDIMENTS TO IMPROVING EFFECTIVENESS

There are a number of obstacles that can make the improvement of group effectiveness more difficult than it seems it should be. For example, as noted above, the correction of leader errors is not as straightforward as simply coaching a leader on what to do and not do. For example, ideological issues can often co-opt attempts to improve leadership of a group. Though “bureaucracy” is considered undesirable by many, in fact a number of the leader errors documented above result from the absence of bureaucracy—too little structure, too little supervi-

sion, too little intervention. Organizations that have a “no bureaucracy” philosophy may find themselves with unproductive, inefficient groups. An often cited example of this is People Express Airlines, a regional airline founded in the 1980s and organized completely around self-managing groups. Self-management worked well when the company was small, but as it grew, work group performance began to slip. Company founders resisted recommendations to impose structure and direction on the groups, and eventually the airline collapsed.

A related problem is that the leader behaviors that are producing the errors may be dictated by organizational policy. In this situation, to change the leader one has to change the policy, and this is often a difficult task, especially if the policy has been in place for a substantial period of time.

At the member level, internal problems can potentially be corrected by employing team self-correction procedures. Unfortunately, the leader who wants to follow this approach may immediately have to deal with group members who do not perceive themselves as performing at a suboptimal level, who are willing to tolerate a certain amount of inefficiency in order to perform the task in a preferred fashion, or who cannot agree on the best way to correct the errors. If the leader can get past these hurdles, and it is not at all clear from the research literature how best to do this, then he/she can engage the group in self-correction. This process requires having group members compare their performance to date with their ideal level of performance, which allows them to identify errors and plan for the future, and then alter their procedures so as to reorient themselves toward the group goal. Some research suggests that self-correction is most likely to be successful if the leader provides explicit feedback on the quality of the group’s performance, if the group is moving toward a specific goal that was established pretask, if group members have a common understanding of that goal and of the strategies necessary for achieving that goal, and if group members agree on the nature of the errors and how to correct them. The first two of these factors are directly under the leader’s control; the latter two are not, but the leader can work with the individual members to foster

agreement and mutual understanding of the group’s aims and mistakes.

IMPLICATIONS

There are many factors that can disrupt a group’s efficient progression toward its goal. It is important to understand that, despite over seventy years of research on these factors, complete understanding of what disrupts groups, when disruptions occur, and how to avoid or minimize disruptions is not evident. Instead, the early twenty-first-century state of the science requires that we allow the inefficiency to arise, and then correct it. This will understandably be frustrating to the reader who is trying to put these principles into practice. But what should also be clear is that, at least for groups with an identified leader who has power, there are a number of interventions that have the potential to correct performance and make the group more effective. Correction of suboptimal performance of groups without a formal leader, or with just a nominal leader, is another subject entirely, one about which even less is known.

—Craig D. Parks

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GROUP NORMS

Group norms are the standards that largely govern behavior within a group. The norms may be explicit and carefully recorded for all future members to see and learn, but just as often they might be implicit, in which case transmission to a new member will be dependent upon the ability and motivation of senior group members to accurately convey the norm. Norms have a strong influence on group-based behavior and are difficult to change. More troublesome for the group leader who wants to alter a group norm, implicit norms can be difficult to even detect.

THE INFLUENTIAL POWER OF NORMS

All groups have some system of norms that govern the behavior of its members. Indeed, a normless group would be chaotic and anarchic because there would be no boundaries for proper behavior. Norms help group members determine what to do in unfamiliar situations, and for many groups norms are vital to their very success—many companies would go bankrupt if the norm “do your job well” did not exist, for example. Norms of course exist in large groups and societies, but small groups that exist within these larger ones also have their own sets of norms, and these norms can, and often do, exist at odds with those of the larger group. For example, many retailers have policies against male employees wearing facial hair, though society as a whole takes no position on whether beards are appropriate. Within a group of delinquents, it may be acceptable to shoplift. Further, norms can be formal, in that they are officially and unambiguously recorded for all

members to see, or informal, in that they are held in the collective conscious but not permanently recorded. Informal norms are at once harder to detect, more susceptible to inaccurate transmission, and more likely to change than formal norms. Examples of informal norms abound. Societal groups maintain many such norms regarding fashion, for example. What is considered a fashionable hairstyle for a woman changes frequently, yet there is never an official declaration that a certain style is “out” and women with that style need to immediately visit a stylist. Some women learn of the change more quickly than others, some never learn, and those who do change sometimes go in the wrong direction, and adopt a style that is less rather than more fashionable. All of this is characteristic of an informal norm.

Norms, then, perform a regulatory and often a survival function. For these reasons alone they are influential. Despite these definite values, however, group members will often be tempted to violate a norm in order to maximize their own gain. Such deviance could potentially harm the group, so to guard against it occurring, most groups will have developed a sanctioning system designed to punish non-normative behavior. The familiar example is the system of punishments most societies create for lawbreakers (e.g., the fine associated with exceeding the speed limit), but punishments can be intangible as well. Ostracism, or the social shunning of group members, is a common, and often effective, means of keeping deviants in line. Sanctioning systems, however, are largely ineffective if they are inconsistently applied, because this implies that punishment is probabilistic rather than deterministic (e.g., speeders are sometimes but not always fined); if the sanction itself is weak and has no real negative impact (the fine for speeding is only 25 cents); or if continued group membership is not especially attractive to the deviant (the speeder who loses his driver’s license is willing to ride public transportation). Interestingly, evidence suggests that groups can be distinguished by the breadth of their sanctioning systems. In some groups any deviation from any norm will result in swift and sure retribution, while in other groups some deviance will be tolerated, as long as it is not too severe, and does not involve a crucial norm.



Group Norms and Group Boundaries

Group norms both create unity within the group and create boundaries between groups. The following text describes how group norms among the Santals, a non-Hindu ethnic group in India, help differentiate Santals from Hindus and how adherence to Santal norms gains one acceptance in the group.

When distinguishing themselves from Hindus, Santals make use of some relative criteria. These are bonga (nature spirits), handi (rice-beer), and khasi (pork). These are, incidentally, also the practices for which the Santals are despised by the Hindus.

As pointed out above, belief in bongas and witchcraft is deeply rooted in their lifeways, so much so that "bonga" is a password for Santal. We have noted above that non-tribal Santal call their tribal brothers as bonga-hor. Similarly, handi (rice-beer) has very important place in Santal life. In rituals, social gatherings, festivals, informal visits, ceremonies, meetings, in fact at every important occasion, rice-beer is necessarily passed. It is a form of social obligation. It is a sacred libation to bongas. It is a "fine" imposed by the village council. Handi and dancing, for the Santal, is a symbol of happy, prosperous, ideal life. Characterizing the Hinduized Santals once K. Hemrom of Kuapara said, "Are they Santals? They do not even drink. How can they be Santal?" Not drinking rice-beer is associated with Hindu norms in contradistinction to the Santal norms. I myself had great difficulty in establishing rapport with them, until I started accepting rice-beer from them. This, I later learnt, was the greatest qualification of friendship they ascribed to me. "He sits and drinks with us", they would very proudly inform their visitors, and I was soon given cordial smile even by the Santals I never knew. Khasi (pork) is similarly another quality which they think distinguishes them from Hindus, although pork does not have such important place in their life as handi. Zeal for handi, dancing and pork is shared by the detribalised Santals also.

Source: Kochar, Vijay. (1970). *Social Organization Among the Santal*. Calcutta: Editions Indian, pp. 35-36.

The particular problem for the group leader is the situation in which a small-group norm conflicts with the larger-scale norm. For example, there is evidence that many blue-collar workers perceive safety gear (goggles, helmets, steel-toed shoes, ear plugs, safety guards) as not "macho," and as such an informal norm can develop to not employ these devices. This is at odds with the company's norm of accident prevention, and sets the stage for serious problems.

NORM TRANSMISSION

What should be evident from the preceding discussion is that norms serve an informational function, in

that they indicate to members what is and is not appropriate. Consequently, it is especially important that norms be accurately transmitted to incoming members of the group. The process of norm transmission is typically referred to as "socialization." Formal norms, because they are recorded, are relatively easy to transmit, though someone must take the time to provide the documentation to the new member and clarify any ambiguities that exist in the written record. Rather than engaging in rigorous education, groups will sometimes ask an experienced member to explain the formal norms. This method, however, can be problematic, in part because it assumes that the experienced member correctly understands the formal norm, and in part because the member may convey some bad habits designed to partially circumvent the norm, or behavioral shortcuts that only work for experienced individuals. Because of these, it is generally recommended that group leaders take the time to explain explicitly formal norms to new members. This is best accomplished by conducting a new member orientation.

Informal norms tend to be shared verbally or by means of new members observing the behaviors of experienced members. Knowledge of the informal norms is typically confined to members of an ingroup and it can be very difficult for an outgroup member to receive acknowledgement that the norm exists. Thus, if the outgroup member desires to change the informal norm, he/she often has to act on simple perceptions that the norm exists.

CHANGING NORMS

Once established, norms retain their influence for a substantial period of time. In a famous study in the

early 1960s, R. C. Jacobs and Donald Campbell created a laboratory group that would perform a visual perception task. They instilled in the group a norm to falsely report the experience of the visual stimulus. The task was repeated many times, and on each repetition a member of the group was replaced by a new member until all of the original members were gone. The experimenters then commenced replacing this second generation of members with a third generation, and so on for many generations. Jacobs and Campbell observed the original “false report” norm to be influential across many generations, though each succeeding generation altered it slightly, and eventually the norm matched that observed in a control group. The key idea here, though, is that no generation simply created a new norm as its own; rather, it adopted the one employed by the previous generation, sometimes in a modified version. And it is important to remember that the perpetuated norm was a deviant one. This demonstrates that norms are durable.

But what do we do if we want to alter a norm? Certainly a deviant norm needs to be changed, but there are also situations in which once-acceptable norms are now outdated and need to be changed. Examples of the latter are seen in once-thriving companies that failed to change their business practices with the times. How can we effect such change if norms persist as strongly as they seem to?

The Jacobs and Campbell study suggests one possible method—rotation of group membership. In this way, members whose behavior is entrenched in the unattractive norm are removed, and new members who can be trained in the desirable norm are added. However, often it is impractical, or even impossible, to remove established members, and, even if membership changes can be executed, there may well be significant performance drawbacks associated with the exchange of experienced members for novice ones. A compromise is to identify the member who most strongly enforces the norm and remove him/her. Other strategies that have been suggested are demonstration of the fallibility of the norm; providing incentives for adherence to the new norm; and punishing those who follow the old norm. No one of these techniques; however, seems

to be uniformly successful. In fact, the most successful “intervention” for altering a norm seems to be the group’s experiencing a failure as the result of adhering to the established norm, because this “failure” provides evidence that the norm simply does not work anymore. For example, though company insiders had been trying for a decade to change it, General Motors’ pattern of avoiding issues of fuel efficiency was finally altered in the late 1970s after sales of General Motors’ cars was surpassed by sales of fuel-efficient imports. (Automotive historians generally treat 1980, when the company initiated a \$40 billion redesign program, created the vice president for quality and reliability position, and suffered its first financial loss in 60 years, as the turning point.) Note, however, that experienced failure does not necessarily indicate how the norm should be changed. Groups that desire change will often need to solicit outside information to assist with development of the new norm.

Implicit in this discussion is the value of flexible norms, or norms from which some deviation will be tolerated. There is some evidence that norm flexibility reduces the likelihood that subgroups will adopt their own standards of behavior. Also, as the original norm becomes less applicable, its flexibility will allow it to be altered more easily, thus helping the group avoid the more radical changes that occur if a prevailing norm has to be abandoned and replaced by a completely new standard.

IMPLICATIONS

No group can easily exist without a set of norms. Group leaders, however, need to remember that the norms within a smaller group do not have to correspond to the norms of the larger group within which it is embedded. Simply assuming that members of the smaller group will act in a particular way because the larger group subscribes to that behavior is dangerous. The leader needs also to be aware that the efficacy of norms can change over time. What has worked historically may no longer be what is needed now. For these reasons, overseeing an effective and productive group requires monitoring the prevailing group norms, and intervening when, for

whatever reason, the norm is contributing to suboptimal performance.

—Craig D. Parks

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GROUP PROCESS

Leadership is a function of the group. Beyond the person or the process, leadership is an expression of the actions or intentions of a human collective. Without the group, leadership is hypothetical. While one may argue that leadership is noted in an individual who mobilizes the needs and aspirations of the group, such mobilization first requires the presence of the group's collective desires. The primacy of the group in the construction of leadership is generally

understated, however, with much more attention given to the reciprocal relationship between the leader and the follower or to the characteristics of the leader.

THE NATURE OF THE GROUP

A group becomes a group when a human collective takes some form of action. At this moment of action, a group's members may recognize one another as well as be recognized by others outside the group. This fact as well as a shared sense of commonality that stems from the action taken or to be taken creates the identity of the group. Once a group is a group, its survival depends on attending to some task to which the aggregate of individuals collectively attributes meaning and primacy. If there is a lack of clarity about meaning, sustained inactivity, or disagreement about the primacy of the task, the individuals who constitute the group are likely to exercise the freedom to devote their attention to other groups through which their needs can be expressed. Such attention can be direct, as in specific allegiance to a group, as well as indirect, as through identification with some group for its mission and purpose. In either case, the key is that individuals who constitute a group expend some form of energy toward the collective to give the group its identity and existence.

Leadership becomes a function of the group through how the group understands and seeks to carry out its task. Once the task is understood and delineated, the capacities of the various members of the group and the means by which the task is to be approached determines the emergence of leadership. This moment of emergence is what the psychoanalyst Wilfred Bion (1897–1979), a pioneer in the study of groups, called the creation of the work group. Such a group has a task to which some form of allegiance is established. The group continues to exist so long as its members recognize its primacy and the group affirms the members' needs. The quality of the group's leadership depends on the capacity of those who emerge to represent what the group understands itself to be and the action the group seeks to take.

According to Bion, the group has a fickle uncon-

scious relationship with its leadership. Alongside the work group is the basic assumption group—the basic assumption being that the group is still attending to the task to which it has given primacy. What Bion observed is that the anxiety of sustaining attention on that task generates conflicts that are often left unexpressed and become enacted in characteristic task-avoidant ways.

TASK AVOIDANCE

Perhaps the most common form of task avoidance is dependency on the group's consciously or unconsciously designated leadership. Through this process, the group gives over its sense of responsibility for the collective task to the leadership. The leadership, having been entrusted with that responsibility, develops a sense of grandiosity and omnipotence. The task becomes lost when those in leadership mistake the power conferred on them for some inherent, irreplaceable capacity within themselves. In the worst cases, leadership is replaced by despotism and the original task is lost, the leadership's aim having become instead the repressive maintenance of power. In other instances, the group withdraws its support from the leadership because of collective disappointment resulting from the leadership's inability to meet the needs of the group. In either instance, the task and the meaning that brought the group together are lost.

The group may also avoid dealing with the task that brought them together by expending their energies on internal fights and threats of dissolution. The classic fight-flight dilemma, also outlined by Bion, provides a focus for leadership that is alien to the primary task of the group. Often when there is a leadership vacuum or there are differences in perceptions about the aspirations of the group, the fight—sometimes veiled in polite discussion and other times visible as bald, destructive aggression—appears. Factions align themselves with one or another side, with the dominant voice of the moment prevailing. It must be understood that this dominance is *not* leadership. Though the moment may last a millennium, the tasks taken on by such powers are necessarily secondary to the primary aims that brought the collective together initially. Often in the course of history, this primary



A Norwegian tour group in Venice.

Source: Karen Christensen; used with permission.

purpose is lost or subverted. The evidence of its continuous presence, often at a collective unconscious level, is in the eruption of the fight again and again in transformed forms. Those who opt out of the fight, especially in larger-scale groups, become refugees from the insurgency. In smaller groups, where the actual act of fleeing is more visible and less possible, the departure can come in the form of psychological absence and withdrawal.

The most pernicious forms of the fight-flight process have two equally destructive expressions. The first is assassinations and coups to topple those who have taken leadership roles, often concurrent with the slaughter of those who supported them. In the second expression, alienation from the group is so pronounced that the group forced to subordinate its aspirations “flees” through self-destruction. Suicide, within-group violence, addictive behavior, and early mortality are examples of that self-destructive expression. Self-destructive expressions of the fight-flight process are especially likely when all sense of connection to the initial group identity and purpose are lost.

In two other forms of group task avoidance, members of the group either pair off in small alliances (a phenomenon called pairing) or they fall into a cult-like oneness where differences are obliterated for the sake of staving off conflict. In the former case, this pairing can be idealized to the point where messianic



Leader Status and the Group Process

The following example from the Santal ethnic group in India shows a process common to all groups; that status differences between leaders and followers will inhibit free communication between the two.

I have heard other Santal remark that they could not sing or talk freely before a certain educated Santal who was a village leader because his bearing made them ill at ease. It seems particularly difficult to carry on the normal "pleasure" activities such as dancing, singing, drinking, and even convivial conversation, before such august Santal. The same gap seen from the vantage point of the educated is expressed in the following remarks of an educated woman:

I am happy now to be living in the city because both my child and I were sick from "envy" [i.e., being "envied" by others] when we lived in the *bustee*; all are healthy here. I never danced or sang in the village though I liked to watch; my mother and sister danced but I didn't. When very young I did, but after I started going to school, I didn't. Some don't send their children to school because others will have "envy" and say that highly educated girls will be outcasted for marrying into other castes; that is not true. Why shouldn't we study as high as money allows? Diku girls do.

Source: Orans, Martin. (1965). *The Santal: A Tribe in Search of a Great Tradition*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, p. 53.

expectations are placed on what the pairs will produce. Historically, tribal, dynastic, and monarchical systems have perpetuated pairing to produce the next and the next heir. Those unable to discern their own motivations with clarity may become attracted to the unity that appears present in oneness groups. The leadership that emerges takes on messianic dimensions, casting a long shadow in which the membership of the group chooses to dwell. Having lost connection with the paradox of group life that calls for the group's affirmation of the individual member, diversity of expression is harshly limited. The false messiahs reign in lieu of leadership as the group seeks comfort in the illusion of secure community.

LEADERSHIP IN GROUPS

Leadership exists in the context of a group. With the exception of leadership in the mind, which is an intrapersonal, subjective process, leadership requires at least two people, which means that it also becomes a group dynamic. These two individuals must determine the task they share in common. Once

they have done so, they have constructed another entity—the group. In doing so they have also constructed another identity for themselves that reflects their membership in this group.

The scholar Leroy Wells notes that the group as a whole has its own qualities that differ from the qualities of its individual members. The group has its own voice, its own boundaries, and its own task. However, the voice of the group is expressed through individual members. What is key in this formulation is that when group members speak through their words or action, it is the *group* that is speaking. Those who hold leadership roles are necessarily entrusted to be temporary representatives of the will, desire, and motivations of the group. So long as the group's lead-

ers continue to reflect the will of the group, the group's defining meaning, and the focus on the primary activity that brought the group together, they may continue to represent the group. The clearest example of this may be the election of officials in democratic societies. Elected representatives remain in office so long as the majority continues to believe that they represent the majority's will.

The example of elective office, however, does not amply illustrate the richness of the dynamic nature of leadership as a function of the group. Such leadership is powerfully fluid, seldom contained by formal roles. Further, leadership may also take much more minute forms, such that at any given moment any individual may become the expression of the group's understanding of itself. Accordingly, an analysis of the group process may be a necessary step in understanding the nature of leadership.

—Zachary Gabriel Green

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GROUP SATISFACTION

Group satisfaction refers to the general emotional tenor among members of the group. In particular, the term addresses the extent to which members are satisfied with their experiences within the group. Satisfaction is one of the more vexing concepts within psychology because its impact on other behavioral and cognitive phenomena is not straightforward. For example, the common belief that a dissatisfied group member will leave the group rather than continue to have unpleasant experiences is not necessarily true. In fact, dissatisfaction all by itself is not especially predictive of any specific behavior. Rather, psychologists are concerned with satisfaction because it seems to increase the likelihood of the occurrence of a variety of negative outcomes.

PROCEDURAL JUSTICE

Displeasure with the group experience can be caused by myriad factors. The shift can be as particular as a misfit among the various personalities within the group. Features of the group environment can also trigger widespread dissatisfaction; for example, a common feature is the way in which group member input is solicited. The principle of procedural justice refers to the desire of group members to have their preferences considered in the decision-making process. Research on procedural justice has shown that group members will react

very negatively if they feel that leaders were not aware of member concerns and that no mechanism existed by which those concerns could be aired. Chronic failure on the part of the leader to learn about group member concerns usually provokes broad and strong feelings of dissatisfaction. Most important: achieving procedural justice does not require that group member preferences be integrated into the final decision; rather, procedural justice is perceived when group members feel that their concerns were fairly and thoroughly considered before a decision was rendered, even if the decision ultimately is at odds with what members would have liked. The group leader, then, should whenever possible solicit the opinions of members about a decision issue, and give them serious consideration. If the opinions have merit, it will be beneficial to integrate them into the final decision, but the leader should not attempt to force baseless ideas into the decision simply because they were produced by the group members.

INEQUITY AND DEPRIVATION

Another common contributor to dissatisfaction is perceived inequity. When this occurs, group members believe that the group leader maintains inconsistent standards for the amount of effort required in order to receive a specific reward. For example, a group member who works hard on a task may receive lavish praise from the group leader, but a second member who works equally hard may get only passing recognition from the leader. Inequity is psychologically uncomfortable and those who experience it are motivated to eliminate it. Some of the commonly observed techniques for dealing with inequity, like cognitive distortion of the situation or selection of a new standard of comparison, have little impact on group functioning. Others, however, like reduction of effort, attempting to get others to increase their efforts, and departure from the group, can all be disruptive to group life. Further, it is hard to predict which of these options the inequity-perceiving group member will select. For this reason, the group leader needs to ensure that rewards are commensurate with effort, and that all members who

expend the same effort receive the same magnitude of reward.

Related to the concept of inequity is relative deprivation. Whereas inequity is based on an objective comparison of one's outcomes, relative deprivation arises from subjective comparisons that lead us to the conclusion that we are doing subjectively worse than others. It is important to note that objectively, our outcomes could be highly desirable—we will still feel deprived if we believe that others are doing better than us. One of the first published studies of group satisfaction addressed relative deprivation. Conducted in 1949 by Samuel Stouffer and colleagues, this research looked at (among other topics) the satisfaction of military personnel during World War II. Stouffer and his colleagues observed that airmen, who had a high rate of promotion, were nonetheless dissatisfied with their promotion system, whereas members of the military police (MP), who had a slow rate of promotion, were quite satisfied with their system. Objectively the airmen should have been more satisfied because they were all advancing more rapidly than the MPs, but the airmen instead were focusing on the fact that, within their group, some people were promoted more quickly than others. By contrast, among the MPs, promotions tended to be awarded at the same time. To give a concrete example, imagine that Soldier Smith moved from airman to technical sergeant, a move that requires five promotions, in 18 months. This would objectively be an very fast rate of promotion, but if another airman had made it to technical sergeant in sixteen months, we would expect Smith to be unhappy with the promotional system. (And interestingly, if a third soldier made it to technical sergeant in twenty-two months, we would expect him to be dissatisfied because he had not moved as quickly as Smith. Thus, the dissatisfied person can simultaneously be a cause of dissatisfaction.) The MPs, though not advancing much at all, would have more of a “we are all in the same boat” outlook.

Research suggests that relative deprivation can best be dealt with by providing group members with a justification for why the process functions as it does, or by demonstrating that the deprived person will be able to receive the desired outcomes in the

near future. Continuing with this example, the air force might have been able to improve satisfaction among the airmen by explaining why promotions occurred at differential rates, by reassuring the deprived airmen that they too would soon receive promotions, or both. Note the similarities between these remedies and those we discussed associated with procedural justice. Fairness of procedures is critical for avoiding dissatisfaction among group members, and that none of the recommendations associated with relative deprivation demand that procedures be altered. The air force should not have changed their promotional schedule to mollify the airmen, but rather group members should have been consulted, informed, and thus respected. For the group leader, this would have meant asking for input before a decision was made, and explaining afterward why a particular course of action was selected.

LEADER-MEMBER INTERACTION

Dissatisfaction can also arise from the nature of the interaction patterns within the group. In particular, there is some evidence that the way that group members are treated by the group leader impacts their degree of satisfaction. There is some evidence that leaders develop an ingroup and an outgroup of members. Those in the ingroup tend to be given considerable latitude to function as they please and have good relations with the leader, whereas those in the outgroup are usually required to behave within a structure and have formal and distant relations with the leader. Research shows that outgroup members report general dissatisfaction with the group experience.

It is not clear what the group leader can do about dissatisfaction that results from low-quality interactions. Discouraging the leader from creating an ingroup and outgroup is a possibility, but the psychological identification of such groups is a basic fact of social life and might even be described as a “natural” feature of a social being. We could recommend that the leader make it easy to move from outgroup to ingroup, but research shows that people are generally resistant to such mobility—people do not easily become close to someone whom they historically

held at a distance. The best recommendation that can be offered at this point is that the leader be aware of the existence of the two groups, and show some courtesy to the outgroup members. This will probably not eliminate the interaction-based dissatisfaction, but it will help to minimize such feelings.

WHY WORRY ABOUT GROUP SATISFACTION?

Dissatisfaction seems to increase the likelihood of the occurrence of some negative behaviors. Group members whose dissatisfaction is the result of inequity might engage in theft, reduce their contribution to the group, or harangue other members about their levels of effort. Dissatisfaction can also provoke conflict among members, and general disengagement from the group, because the unhappy member associates with the group only as much as necessary. Interestingly, dissatisfaction does not necessarily lead to exit from the group. There are many reasons why a dissatisfied member might nonetheless choose to remain in the group—the group offers attractive benefits that outweigh the costs; there is no better group with whom the person can affiliate; and the group, dissatisfying as it is, may still be the most satisfying group to which the person has ever belonged. The group leader should thus be less concerned that dissatisfaction will lead to attrition, and more concerned that it will lead to suboptimal group performance and/or disharmonious relations among members.

IMPLICATIONS

Dissatisfaction can result from phenomena that a group leader might consider innocuous (e.g., seeking input about a rather low-level decision) or even beneficial (e.g., providing more rewards than is typical). Because of this, it can often be a surprise to the leader when there is general dissatisfaction among group members. A leader can produce increased levels of satisfaction without having to sacrifice power or control over decisions. To do so requires the leader to be attuned to procedural nuances about how decisions are made, how rewards are distrib-

uted, and how the leader interacts with outgroup members. The leader who fails to care about group member satisfaction runs the risk of performance decrements (and possibly even destructive behavior), interpersonal squabbling, and group member attrition. As it is usually the charge of the leader to minimize the occurrence of such things, the leader who attends to the satisfaction of group members will make considerable progress toward accomplishment of these goals.

—Craig D. Parks

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GROUPTHINK

Groupthink refers to the process that leads a group of capable and talented members to render a poor, often disastrous, group decision. The term was coined by Irving Janis in 1972 as a result of his investigations of famously bad group decisions in recent history, most notably the decision by President John F. Kennedy and his cabinet to invade Cuba at the Bay of Pigs in 1960. Kennedy’s cabinet, arguably the best educated in American history, recommended that Kennedy send a squad of Cuban dissidents to invade

Cuba and overthrow Fidel Castro. The dissidents were poorly trained and armed with World War I surplus arms, and they had been sent in a leaking boat. The mission was so badly executed that, by the time the squad arrived at the bay, Castro's troops were waiting for them, took them hostage, and ransomed them back to Kennedy. More recently, authors have identified a number of other real-world situations that may well have resulted from groupthink: the decision to launch the *Challenger* space shuttle despite engineers' warnings that a launch was not wise, the decision to alter the formula for Coca-Cola despite the fact that it was the best-selling soft drink in the world, and a series of promotional campaigns by Burger King that produced hundreds of millions of dollars in losses and contributed to its losing market share in the fast food industry.

PRECURSORS OF GROUPTHINK

The phenomena that act as precursors to groupthink are many, but they can be grouped into three distinct categories. Structural faults refer to flaws that are inherent within the group and that affect the decision-making process: insulation from outside opinion; active advocacy of a particular option by the group leader; toleration of options that have not been rigorously analyzed; and lack of members who have diverse viewpoints and approaches to problem solving. High cohesiveness, while often a desirable feature of groups, can also act to suppress criticism and dissension within the group. Finally, external pressure to act, exerted by outside agents, can lead group members to favor a quick decision instead of a carefully analyzed one. When groupthink occurs, individual group members display some telltale traits: ostracism of dissenters, false perceptions of consensus, interpretation of silence as agreement with the prevailing viewpoint, a tendency to rationalize, and a sense of invulnerability.

It is crucial to note that the mere existence of these features does not guarantee that a poor decision will result. Other factors may act to shake the group out of a groupthink mindset, or the choice option that the group is oriented toward may in fact be the appropriate course of action to take. Janis sim-

ply argued that, if the above factors are present, groupthink could occur, but it will not necessarily occur. If one is associated with a group that seems to favor an objectively bad decision, one would want to determine if these factors are indeed present, but mere observation that they are present is not by itself cause for concern.

RESEARCH ON GROUPTHINK

Groupthink is a difficult topic to study, because it was originally intended as a descriptive, after-the-fact model for explaining an event that had already occurred. Of course, if the poor decision has already been made, unless explicit recordings of the entire group process exist there is no way for researchers to determine conclusively exactly how the decision was rendered. Further, it is very hard to simulate groupthink conditions in a laboratory. Finally, the model as a whole is sufficiently complex that, even if a real group could be observed in the process of making a decision, there are more aspects of the process that would have to be carefully observed than researchers could reasonably manage. As a result, there exist very few scientific tests of groupthink. The research that does exist has not always been in support of Janis's propositions. In fact, to date the only proposition that has relatively clear support is the notion that insulation from outside opinion is problematic. Decision quality can be improved by obtaining input from individuals who are not group members and who have no stake in the quality of the decision. If such individuals are not readily available, the group members can employ a devil's advocacy technique under which one member presents realistic arguments against the favored position, and forces other group members to defend the position against these criticisms. If the position cannot be credibly defended, it is abandoned or another choice option is submitted to the same attack. Devil's advocacy has been shown to positively impact decision quality.

Two additional factors, group cohesiveness and biased leadership, have also received a fair amount of research attention, but to date the findings regarding each are inconclusive. There are studies showing



The Eight Symptoms of Groupthink, as Identified by Irving Janis

In order to test generalizations about the conditions that increase the chances of groupthink, we must operationalize the concept of groupthink by describing the symptoms to which it refers. Eight main symptoms run through the case studies of historic fiascoes. Each symptom can be identified by a variety of indicators, derived from historical records, observer's accounts of conversations, and participants' memoirs. The eight symptoms of groupthink are:

1. an illusion of invulnerability, shared by most or all the members, which creates excessive optimism and encourages taking extreme risks;
2. collective efforts to rationalize in order to discount warnings which might lead the members to reconsider their assumptions before they recommit themselves to their past policy decisions;
3. an unquestioned belief in the group's inherent morality, inclining the members to ignore the ethical or moral consequences of their decisions;
4. stereotyped views of enemy leaders as too evil to warrant genuine attempts to negotiate, or as too weak and stupid to counter whatever risky attempts are made to defeat their purposes;
5. direct pressure on any member who expresses strong arguments against any of the group's stereotypes, illusions, or commitments, making clear that this type of dissent is contrary to what is expected of all loyal members;
6. self-censorship of deviations from the apparent group consensus, reflecting each member's inclination to minimize to himself the importance of his doubts and counterarguments;
7. a shared illusion of unanimity concerning judgments conforming to the majority view (partly resulting from self-censorship of deviations, augmented by the false assumption that silence means consent);
8. the emergence of self-appointed mindguards—members who protect the group from adverse information that might shatter their shared complacency about the effectiveness and morality of their decisions.

When a policy-making group displays most or all of these symptoms, the members perform their collective tasks ineffectively and are likely to fail to attain their collective objectives. Although concurrence-seeking may contribute to maintaining morale after a defeat and to muddling through a crisis when prospects for a successful outcome look bleak, these positive effects are generally outweighed by the poor quality of the group's decision-making. My assumption is that the more frequently a group displays the symptoms, the worse will be the quality of its decisions. Even when some symptoms are absent, the others may be so pronounced that we can predict all the unfortunate consequences of groupthink.

Source: Janis, Irving L. (1972). *Victims of Groupthink*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, pp. 197–98.

that each can indeed be problematic, but only under particular conditions. Regarding cohesiveness, problems can arise when the group is clearly pointed in the wrong direction. High levels of cohesion can discourage group members from criticizing each other's ideas, for fear of harming relations within the group, yet such critiques are crucial if the group is favoring a poor choice. Such fears are less likely in less cohesive groups, and critiquing of choice options is thus more likely. However, if the prevailing preference within the group is for the best choice, then high cohesiveness fosters the adoption of this option, and in less cohesive groups the anticipated criticisms and disagreements may distract the group from making the best choice. Overall, then, the research suggests

that high cohesiveness is problematic sometimes, and beneficial at other times.

The data are similar regarding biased leadership. The group leader's active advocacy of a course of action will typically be detrimental if the action is suboptimal, but can be beneficial if he/she favors the best course of action. Further, research also shows that leader advocacy all by itself will not necessarily have an impact. "Weak" leaders, or those who have little credibility or respect with group members, tend to have a minimal impact on the group's decision, and can actually turn group members away from a particular action simply by advocating it. Ironically, because of this very complex web of relations between the leader, the group members, and the

quality of the leader-preferred action, some theorists follow Janis's lead and generally recommend that the leader remain neutral and not reveal his/her preference. Some evidence indicates that, within long-standing groups where the leader has a history of favoring a particular type of action, group members will try to infer what a neutral leader's preference must be, so even neutrality can cause problems in particular situations. Researchers have studied the impact of group members accepting a choice that has not been methodically analyzed. To date no support has been found for such acceptance being detrimental to the decision outcome.

Very little is understood about the groupthink model. In fact, some theorists believe that Janis's model is too simplistic and needs expansion. Such factors as collective self-esteem, time pressure, and availability of group decision support systems have all been suggested as possible contributors to groupthink. No empirical evidence yet exists to support the inclusion of any of these variables.

IMPLICATIONS FOR GROUP LEADERS

A group leader can play a potentially active and complex role in the occurrence of groupthink. Given this, what can a group leader do to help his/her group avoid making a disastrous decision? The group leader might typically do well to conceal his/her preference, recognizing that the group members may nonetheless attempt to infer it, but a strong leader who favors the objectively best option may actually harm the process by remaining silent. The most straightforward advice is for the leader to tolerate dissent, actively encourage discrepant viewpoints, and support critiquing of one another's ideas. This will not guarantee a quality decision will be reached, as the group decision-making process is affected by a host of factors, but it can help the group avoid abject disasters. Returning to the example of John F. Kennedy, with regard to decisions about policy in Vietnam, we find that he was careful to have in his advisory group individuals with a range of opinions, ranging from Dean Rusk, an ardent advocate of military engagement, to McGeorge Bundy, a vocal opponent of such engagement and an advocate of

diplomatic intervention. The members of the advisory group clashed severely at times.

The leader should also not hesitate to seek out opinion from individuals outside of the group. Often this is not practical, particularly if the group is dealing with an issue of a sensitive or classified nature, but often the issue can be presented to outsiders in a general enough manner that generates accurate feedback without the true nature of the issue being revealed. A famous example of the impact of outside opinion again comes from the political arena, and again from the Vietnam conflict. In 1968, newscaster Walter Cronkite broadcast an editorial condemning President Lyndon B. Johnson's administration for its conduct of the conflict. Johnson's cabinet members of course did not discuss classified policy information with the general public, and so had no real sense of to what extent their preferences matched those of the public. Upon hearing the editorial, Johnson concluded that his policies were not congruent with the preferences of the general public, and largely because of this, Johnson withdrew from consideration for re-election. In this case, then, the leader's response to the poor performance of his decision-making group was to dissolve the group, an extreme response to be sure, but one that might sometimes have to be implemented, if in the judgment of the leader the group is not salvageable.

Overall, then, groupthink is a phenomenon that seems definitely to occur, but which cannot be predicted because its preconditions do not guarantee its occurrence. Further, it is not clear which supposed preconditions are more or less important to its occurrence. Group leaders who actively participate in the group's decision-making process can watch for the preconditions, and at least for those which research suggests might affect the process, take steps to eliminate them. Whether the other preconditions also require the leader's attention and efforts is an issue to be decided by future studies.

—*Craig D. Parks*

See also Bay of Pigs

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GUEVARA, ERNESTO "CHE" (1828–1967)

Argentinean-born revolutionary leader

Known simply as "Che" or "Che Guevara," Ernesto Guevara de la Serna is considered one of the most important leaders and icons of the Cuban revolution—Fidel Castro being its lasting and prominent director. The nickname "Che" comes from an Argentinean expression connoting a "friend" or "buddy" and was given to Ernesto Guevara during his time in Guatemala in 1953.

Many scholars have pointed out early evidence of leadership in his childhood; many of these traits developed further in his adult personal life to the extent of transforming him into an international icon, comparable to Christ. However, his extensive writings and deeds show a man who, living in a time of amazing sociopolitical transformations after World War II, constantly learned from his experiences and mistakes, and consequently changed his political and ethical perspectives. According to Jean-Paul Sartre, Guevara was "not only an intellectual but also the most complete human being of our age" (Anderson 1997, 468).

CHE GUEVARA BUILDS HIS OWN PERSONALITY

Che was born into a middle-class family in Rosario, Argentina, and was trained as a doctor. He became a revolutionary leader after joining Fidel Castro in

Mexico in the mid 1950s, when a group of Castro's disciples decided to overthrow the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista in Cuba.

In his childhood, and in spite of his chronic asthma and the snobbery in his family's social and cultural background, Che revealed signs of rebellion against despotic authority and institutions while developing a lucid sensibility to social injustice and economic inequality. After his graduation with a medical degree from the University of Buenos Aires in 1953, he resumed his travels across Latin America. Traveling and writing were two linked activities in Che's life. He wrote many diaries in which readers today can reconstruct Che's daily life in almost every detail. In his early writing, before joining Fidel Castro around 1955, Che transformed himself and his ideological views when confronting Latin American inequalities and socioeconomic discrimination. He was shocked by what he had witnessed during his trip across Latin America, namely poverty, injustice, destruction of the natural environment, and illness caused by capitalism. Very quickly he decided to go to Guatemala to participate in the left-wing transformation promoted by Jacobo Arbenz. By signing the land reform decree, Arbenz had initiated his struggle against *latifundia* and the oligarchy domination and, consequently, he had earned the "enmity of Guatemala's conservative elite and of the powerful United Fruit Company" (Anderson 1997, 122). Che's experience in Guatemala and his thoughts after reading Marx and other socialist and communist authors, but mainly his exposure to Fidel Castro's personal activism and inspiration, radically changed Guevara's political views and aspirations. By the time he arrived in Guatemala—Anderson says—"Ernesto seems to have undergone a political conversion" (1997, 123). He became an expert in Marxism, a philosophy he permanently embraced and discussed, while refusing to accept uncritically the Russian or Chinese versions of it or the radical left's debates that circulated during the 1960s—a time when the beatniks, the Vietnam War, rock-and-roll, the hippies, and the existentialist, Cold War, and Third World liberation movements defined the cultural and political context of Che's deeds, speeches, and writings.

Although Marxism had a powerful impact on Che (as a Cuban ambassador, as a head of the Department of Industry, and as the president of the Cuba's National Bank), this philosophy also molded his approach to revolutionary ethics and his moral definition of the "New Man." Che always supported the idea that a revolutionary change had to be generated and promoted by a small group of *guerrilleros* able to inspire the entire society with their actions and values in a fight for freedom and social justice. This controversial viewpoint is known as *foquismo*, and Che's speeches and writings, which were based on it, constituted his contribution to his ideal of the New Man and the avant-garde revolutionary group.

In 1956, Fidel Castro and Che Guevara, along with eighty-two other members, arrived in Cuba aboard the yacht *Granma*. Che was supposed to help as a doctor, but promptly became involved in guerrilla attacks in Sierra Maestra. From then until 1959, when Castro's troops victoriously entered Havana, Che participated in many battles and recorded his experiences, which are collected in his *Guerrilla Warfare* (1961), *Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War* (1963), and *Guerrilla Warfare: A Method* (1963). These works and other essays reveal him to be the most important theoretician and tactician of mid-twentieth-century guerrilla warfare. His writings—which attacked colonialism and challenged U.S. foreign policies—inspired many leftist liberation movements all over the world. His manuals, which were rapidly translated and read by many, chronicled the long history of guerrilla warfare (Laqueur 1984).

CHE'S VIEWPOINTS ON LEADERSHIP

As soon as the revolutionists took power in Cuba, Che started working passionately for the reconstruction of the island's society. This task allowed him to put theory into practice. At the moment that his ideal concept of society confronted reality, he began his transformation into a leader, and also, paradoxically, into an inimitable model. Che's leadership should be understood as a convergence of aspects of his personal life: his study of literature, his extensive travels, his practice of medicine, the influence on him of Roman Catholicism, and his leftist politics.

Although neither he nor his family were fervent Catholics, Che's vision of leadership—and many twentieth-century Latin American leaders'—was based on the values instilled by the Jesuits in their schools. Sacrifice, particularly self-sacrifice, abnegation, renouncement, moderation, austerity, celibacy, and monogamy—and conversion, faith, redemption, devotion, and revelation—are altogether the most frequent terms in Che's own writing and in the books written about him. From this perspective, a leader is the archetype, the pure example, given to the people in order to produce revolutionary change—not only for economic amelioration, but also for a moral framework for debating equity and justice. Grounded in the same Jesuit spiritual view was Che's defense of a strict, "iron" discipline and obedience. In his *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*, and also in his *Socialism and Man in Cuba* (1965), and, particularly, in his last and dramatic work, *Bolivian Diary* (published posthumously), Che pointed out the importance of obedience and discipline. He believed that a strong social movement required a conductor who, like Fidel Castro, had to be obeyed unquestionably. He also advocated a communist morality based on the annihilation of the ego and the emergence of the collective "we." This controversial relationship between leader and disciples—almost apostles—reproduces the dramatic paradigm between father and son, with the father as authority figure and the son as the subordinate figure.

In his diaries and essays, Che always emphasized the prophetic dimension of Castro as indisputable leader. He manifested Castro as master and teacher, and positioned him as the perfect guide to be emulated. But Che, like many other leaders, was trapped in a problematic situation—masters, fathers, or leaders cannot be completely imitated or continuously and uncritically followed. Sooner or later, a moment of disagreement emerges. Che was happy when Castro, as early as 1957, promoted him to commander and head of the second Rebel Army column in Sierra Maestra. However, when in November 1966 he began his own "new stage" in Bolivia (*Bolivian Diary*, 1994 77), he refused to be only the doctor. During his dispute with Mario Monje Molina—the

leader of the Bolivian Communist Party—Che wrote that this time, he “would be the military leader and would accept no ambiguities on this score” (102).

In this sense, Che, although acknowledging his loyalty to Castro, at the same time calibrated the distance between his master and his own personal achievement as a leader. According to his biographer Jon Lee Anderson, “in Che’s mind, leadership was a sacred duty granted to an individual ‘chosen’ by the people on the basis of trust” (Anderson 1997, 488). Of course, this relationship between leader and disciples has to be established on loyalty, honesty, and bravery. For Che, a leader was the confluence of a natural quality, of the people’s faithful attribution, and the individual’s own awareness of the moral dimension of his role. A leader emerges as an exceptional convergence between personal capabilities and a process of self-construction.

Che perceived Castro’s leadership in an interesting way. For example, in his “Socialism and Man in Cuba,” under the title “Fidel gave the first impulse,” Che enumerates qualities that define a good leader’s personality. First of all, a leader emerges from the masses and shows them the right way to achieve revolutionary goals. Of course, the leader’s disciples also participate in this revolutionary process, and faith is the principal bond between leader and disciples, between leader and the masses, and finally between disciples and the masses. Leader and disciples know how to interpret the people’s hopes. Once again, the leader knows of sacrifice and his task is at once magnificent and filled with suffering. Che’s final definition of a revolutionary leader’s achievement is love: “The true revolutionary leader is guided by great feelings of love.” In this sense, it is difficult for a leader, as it has been difficult for Castro, to unite his passionate spirit to his cold mind, “and to take painful decisions without contracting a muscle” (Guevara 1996, 193).



Che’s influence continues to be felt around the world as indicated by these T-shirts on sale in a tourist stall in the Plaka section of Athens, Greece in 2003.

Source: Karen Christensen; used with permission.

Drawing from his medical expertise, Che defined the leader by means of a curious analogy. In his speech to the General Assembly of Workers at the Textilera Ariguanabo on 24 March 1963, he said: “The example, the good example, as the bad one, is very contagious, and we have to contaminate [society] with good examples” (Guevara 1996, 175).

From his experience as a traveler, and probably inspired by many classic works—especially Miguel de Cervantes *Don Quixote*—Che portrayed the figure of a leader as someone who takes risks, is adventurous, and is absorbed by utopian ideals. His trips and his experience in the jungle can be read as an evocation of his favorite book, the Argentinean epic *Martin Fierro*, where the gaucho (the cowboy), in the middle of the desert and in exile, undergoes a radical transformation of his identity and cultural values. In his *Notas de viaje* (1992), Che explained how his journey from Argentina to the United States on *La Poderosa*, his motorcycle, transfigured him: “The person who wrote these notes died upon stepping once again onto Argentina soil, he who edits and polishes them, ‘I,’ am not I; at least I am not the same I was before. That vagabonding through our ‘America’



The Death of Che Guevara

The U.S. government considered Che Guevara a major threat because of his revolutionary beliefs and activities, so government officials had a vested interest in making sure that Guevara was indeed dead. Below is the now declassified text of the official confirmation of Guevara's death sent to the U.S. State Department by the U.S. Ambassador to Bolivia, Douglas Henderson.

On October 16, 1967, the High Command of the Bolivian Armed Forces released the following communiqué, together with three annexes, on the death of Che Guevara:

"1. In accordance with information provided for national and international opinion, based on documents released by the Military High Command on October 9 and subsequently, concerning the combat that took place at La Higuera between units of the Armed Forces and the red group commanded by Ernesto "Che" Guevara, as a result of which he, among others, lost his life, the following is established:

Ernesto Guevara fell into the hands of our troops gravely wounded and in full use of his mental faculties. After the combat ended, he was transferred to the town of La Higuera, more or less at 8 p.m. on Sunday, October 8, where he died as a result of his wounds. His body was transferred to the city of Vallegrande at 4 p.m. on Monday, October 9, in a helicopter of the Bolivian Air Force.

Two medical doctors, Dr. Moises Abraham Baptista and Dr. Jose Maria Cazo, director and intern respectively of the Knights of Malta hospital, certified the death (Annex No. 1)

and recorded the autopsy ordered by the military authorities of Vallegrande (Annex No. 2).

With regard to the identification of the deceased and the authentication of the diary that belonged to him, the government requested the cooperation of Argentine technical organizations, which sent three experts, one handwriting specialist and two fingerprint specialists, who verified the identity of the remains and certified that the handwriting of the campaign diary, captured by our troops, coincides with that of Ernesto Guevara (Annex No. 3).

The campaign diary and the book of doctrine (*libro de concepciones*) are documents that contain an account of activities, from the date of his entry (into the guerrilla area) until October 7, and (justify) the judgments that this chief of subversion, the members of the guerrilla bands, and the people, both in this country and abroad, who collaborated with them, deserved. As a consequence, they are documents exclusively for the use of the military.

2. By this means the Military High Command considers complete all information relating to the death of Che Guevara. La Paz, October 16, 1967".

Source: "The Death of Che Guevara: Declassified." National Security Archive. Retrieved September 30, 2003 from http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB5/che10_1.htm

has changed me more than I thought" (Anderson 1997, 96). Traveling was for him a mysterious process of unlearning and learning. And he traveled a lot: not only all over Latin America, but also to Europe, Asia, and Africa; he especially was influenced by visits to Russia, India, China, Congo, and Guinea.

THE LEADER AND THE NEW MAN

His ideal of the leader and the New Man played an important role in the way Che envisioned the future of the revolutionary society. For him, the guerrilla group was mostly an active place for men. According to testimonies written by his disciples (Peredo, Pombo, Benigno), Che was generous, collaborative, always the first in taking risks or in dealing with the most difficult tasks. He seemed to be possessed by a strong inspiring conviction. Some of his friends also

remember how Che, as Minister of Industry, used to be among the workers under the sun for many hours and how he always refused a salary for his job. Che knew how important education was for the new revolutionary society. According to his conviction, he promoted, even during difficult moments of the war, the study of important matters such as Marxism-Leninism. Sometimes in the middle of a battle, he lectured his disciples on decisive economic, political, scientific, and educational problems that the revolution had to solve after winning the war.

Che conceived the guerrilla group mostly as a fraternal bond among men and his most beloved illusion was a world envisioned as "a global fraternity of socialist nations" (Anderson 1997, 523). Therefore, in the world of guerrillas, very few women were admitted and once again his arguments were mostly those of the Jesuits (Geirola 2000). When he thought

of a leader, it was always in masculine terms. In this sense, Che reproduced the long tradition of *caudillismo* in Latin America. The *caudillo* is a strong male figure who exercises his power by means of paternalistic and oppressive strategies. The Latin American novel of the 1960s and 1970s—its popularity was known as the Latin American Boom—particularly explored the image and politics of Latin American *caudillos*, and the way they dominated women, nature, and society by seduction, torture, violence, and fanaticism. Novels by Carlos Fuentes, Augusto Roa Bastos, Gabriel García Márquez, and Mario Vargas Llosa are among the clearest portrayals of this appalling cultural tradition.

After a long persecution by the CIA and his assassination by the Bolivian Army in Vallegrande, Bolivia, on 9 October 1967, and due to the fact that his corpse disappeared for many years, Che Guevara became a sacred ghost. Even after the discovery of his remains in 1997, Che's specter still promotes a certain mystical quality. Many plays, novels, poems, posters, and biographies were created after his death, and much academic research has been done. Some scholars and writers see Che Guevara as a martyr and a saint; others, as an unambitious and ascetic leader; and still others, as a great politician and an astute economist. Anderson (1997), for example, goes to the extremes of portraying Che as a man enraptured more by social change than by power; fascinated more by camaraderie than by leadership.

His most publicized image, the famous photograph taken by Alberto Korda in 1963, can be seen all over the world on posters and T-shirts. As Marcos Mayer (1996) notes, Che's writings promote a complex image that persists beyond the history and

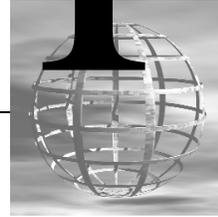
thoughts of a particular historical character who responded to concrete historical circumstances.

—Gustavo Geirola

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🌐 **HAILE SELASSIE (1892–1975)**
Emperor of Ethiopia

Emperor Haile Selassie was born on 23 July 1892 and through his marriage to the daughter of Emperor Menelik II and regency to the Empress Zaudita was able to ascend the throne in 1930, as the apocryphal 111th emperor since Solomon. The great irony of his life remains that the tools he used to consolidate power—modernization and development—were, in their absence, those that led to his ignominious downfall in 1974.

Through timely and astute imperial gifts to his competitors in the 1920s—roads, hospitals, schools—he was able to tame a querulous tribal country and consolidate power. Though his coronation was satirized in the West (in Evelyn Waugh’s famous novels and dispatches), there was no doubt that in Ethiopia there was one ruler firmly on a throne. He secured international recognition by other progressive acts: The 1923 freeing of slaves paved the way for Ethiopia’s entry to the young League of Nations.

THE STRATEGIST

Would-be colonials sought to reestablish themselves in that corner of Africa; Italy, for example, still smarted from its defeat at Menelik’s hands in

1895–1896. For all his astute statecraft in conquering vassal tribes and ascending Ethiopia’s throne, no event in Haile Selassie’s life brought him greater note, or indeed honor, than his response to the loss of power at the hands of Mussolini’s increasingly aggressive armed forces. The emperor’s stirring attack, from the podium of the League, on both the Italian victors and the European appeasers, brought him great sympathy and support. He was *Time*’s Man of the Year for 1936. Working with an allied expeditionary force, he was able in 1941 to make a triumphal return to Addis Ababa.

The League speech aside, there was more to note. When the short man arrived at London’s Victoria Station to start his bleak exile, newspaper pictures showed the tall and grand sight of a much younger African—the black Kenyan student Jomo Kenyatta, who was, with the emperor, laying the basis for an alliance that would come to be thirty years later. They both had the same enemies in the 1930s, and in a different way, in the form of the five-starred Somali nation, they were to have the same one in the 1960s. Haile Selassie had opportunities for skillful statecraft throughout his life and used them.

Later, before the powerful forces of African nationalism would have made such an action inconceivable, he was able to forge a quiet alliance with the increasingly powerful United States, allowing him to extend his rule. Once he had forcibly secured



Haile Selassie's Telegram to the League of Nations

Following the invasion of Ethiopia by Italian dictator Benito Mussolini in 1935, Haile Selassie appealed to the League of Nations for help on several occasions in 1936. Below is the text of a telegram he sent to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations on 10 May 1936.

We request you to be so good as to convey the following to the member States. We have decided to put an end to the most sweeping, the most unjust, and the most inhuman war of modern times by leaving the country in order to avoid the extermination of the Ethiopian people, and to be able to devote ourselves freely and peacefully to the preservation of the age-old independence of Ethiopia and the principles of collective security and the sanctity of international obligations, all of which are threatened by Italy. From the outset we have made every effort to avoid the disturbance of peace, we have loyally defended our soil until as a result of Italy's raining of gas it became obvious that our resistance could only lead to the extermination of the Ethiopian people, and we now ask the League of Nations to pursue its efforts to ensure the respect of the Covenant and to decide not to recognize territorial extensions or the exercise of an alleged sovereignty resulting from illegal recourse to armed force and many other violations of international obligations.

(Signed)
HAILE SELASSIE I, *Emperor*

the state of Eritrea as part of his "empire" in 1962 and discerned Washington's intense interest in the high ground Asmara (Eritrea's capital) offered for its world communications network, he was able to sleep easily for a while. He knew how to play off younger strategists against one other. As between Ethiopia and the United States, there was never any doubt who played whom more successfully in the 1950s and 1960s.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)

Now at the apogee of power and in middle age, Haile Selassie however resisted real development in

Ethiopia and any lessening of his power, little contemplating any form of democratic reform for the empire and concentrating instead on its further consolidation. A stunning attempted coup during his absence in Brazil in 1960 nearly succeeded and failed only with the emperor's courageous and direct return to his capital. He was famously quoted as telling his son that he was delighted to find him alive, but that he would have been prouder had his son died honorably, fighting the rebels.

The emperor was already in his twilight years when he had his greatest triumph. The survival of his Amharic-dominated state was no longer in doubt as long as he survived; at least it seemed no longer at risk—from within. But the question of its survival amidst the winds of change that were blowing through black Africa had begun to be a legitimate subject of concern. It is not as if any neighbors, no matter how one extrapolated their growth in strength in the years to come, could pose a military danger to Ethiopia; it had become a matter of identity. Once again the Lion of Judah was at a crossroads, but this time it was strictly geographic and geopolitical: now completely "liberated" Arabic Africa to the north and black states to the south. No matter that vast Sudan to the south had a black minority that would be fighting for its autonomy for at least decades more. Sudan was aligned with its Islamic neighbors identifying with Arab causes. There was little to expect from that direction.

That left only the newly independent black states to which to turn. In the first few years of their independence—Ghana's coming in 1957, Kenya's in 1964—these countries aligned themselves in loosely ideological alliances and counteralliances, to some extent reflecting their own geopolitical location and to some extent their colonial ties. Haile Selassie, as always, saw beneath the proclaimed ideologies to the real interests at stake and began to reach out for friends on the basis of common interests.

Ironically, the leader he found most capable and willing to join with him in an effort to pull the almost completely independent continent together was Sékou Touré, the firebrand Marxist leader of small Guinea on the opposite side of Africa. Touré knew something about pretenses himself; he had formerly

allied himself with Ghana's showy president, Kwame Nkrumah, siphoning off some of that country's alone riches in the process. In Francophone Africa, Touré alone had voted against a continued French association in a 1958 referendum that led directly to independence for all former French colonies.

At Asmara, Touré and the emperor saw their respective needs and the underlying basis for an intimate alliance. Their joint call for a summit of all the continent's independent black or Arab-dominated states was brilliantly timed and undercut all attempts of factions to remain separate. In May 1963, the historic Addis Ababa summit, at which the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was founded, was held. The picture of the old emperor and the young Marxist hugging in celebration of the feat they had pulled off dominated world television screens that day. In the short run, the outcome was predictable: Touré got the new organization's secretary generalship, in the appointment of his diplomat Diallo Telli; Haile Selassie got the OAU headquarters, such as it was, for Addis Ababa.

True, the OAU was no bureaucratic miracle and lacked the force to implement the brave resolutions of its first summit. Addis Ababa and even newly independent Tanganyika, as it then was called, were a long way from South Africa, whose white minority the OAU wished to depose. But now black Africa had leaders and a headquarters and all opponents were thenceforth on the defensive.

THE RISING TIDE OF DEVELOPMENT

But if the emperor knew statecraft abroad, knew how to divide and conquer warring factions and ethnic groups at home, and had quieted all African criticism through his domination of the OAU, he failed utterly to grasp the other great new language of the continent and indeed of all the poor, or third world: development and its exigencies. What had served him well in coming to power was now the force causing him to lose it. Aid agencies—particularly those of the United States—came to Addis Ababa offering technical assistance, development loans, and a clarion call to bring “progress” to Ethiopia's masses, among the poorest of Africa. And progress the emperor could not

wholly avoid, but it arrived in spite of his sternest efforts to prevent it. He gave lip service to the needs of his people, but then seemed to do all he could to impede progress. After all, he knew Washington was beholden to him for the continued use of its Asmara communications station and thus he could largely ignore their urgings to make the empire more progressive and responsive. Those who tried to buck his conservative regime found themselves in jail—or in exile.

Nonetheless, opposition to Selassie not only grew but was stimulated from outside—either directly by rebels operating on the fringes of empire or in the form of the very same forces of development that had forced the pace of African liberation itself. But the ruling family was united in its self-confidence and indifferent to the tide of change; like so many autocracies throughout history, it “couldn't happen” to *them*. A grandson and likely successor to the emperor, interviewed in 1964, stated confidently to his interlocutor that what would happen “in the fullness of time,” namely at the (unmentionable) end of the emperor's life, “was exactly what has happened during his life: we shall rule and we shall continue to rule, in the empire's interest.” Though he was educated in England, he had apparently paid little attention to the demands of developmental economics.

THE END OF “EMPIRE”

Meanwhile, opposition grew and grew, in places and spaces where a traditional autocrat would not be accustomed to look for it. Because the ruling family suppressed any news inimical to its rule, it was ignorant of the most lethal threats to its own survival. Thus when the so-called Dergue (the Provisional Military Administrative Council) emerged with its “creeping coup,” a step-by-step assertion of power, it was almost impossible to discern its direction and goals—though any student of the fate of backward-looking religious autocracies would hardly have doubted where the new and powerful officers would end up.

There was still time for most of the imperial family to make a deal or get out of the country, but they were still blind—and blinded—to the danger to their persons, and their regime. The emperor himself must have known that his time was up, once he was per-

mitted to pretend to rule but not allowed to give any effect to his edicts. After all, he had spent a lifetime noticing the slightest whiff of insubordination. When his grandson was herded into a compound to be mowed down with over a hundred of his relatives, the grandson must not have known what was coming. Many of his friends abroad had begged him to leave while there was still a chance. But as for the old man, he surely knew what was in store, though perhaps not that death would come with so little dignity—his remains were later found under a toilet in the palace.

The end of the empire was widely noted in the world, but little regretted. It was primarily the events of 1935 that were cited in the emperor's favor. In more sinister fashion, Marxists everywhere noted something ignored in most of the world: The rebels had executed a great king and assassinated his family. Soon they would take the great Leninist step, when the emperor's successor, Colonel Mengistu, cut down all his conspirators. The comparison of these events with those of 1917 in Moscow was ominous, leading to an attempt to make the country a Marxist state, something as unlikely as its being an "empire." But then extremes beget extremes, something for which the old warlord turned enthroned emperor was responsible.

—*W. Scott Thompson*

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HANDSOME LAKE (1740–1815)

Native American chief and prophet

During the late 1700s and early 1800s, Handsome Lake revitalized the traditional religion of the Iroquois. Visions he experienced in 1799 led to his preaching a coherent message of reform to the dispirited Iroquois communities, which were being swamped by a wave of non-Indian settlement. His teachings are still recited among followers of the

Longhouse religion on reserves and reservations in Canada and the United States.

Handsome Lake was born sometime around 1740, probably in the Seneca village of Canawaugus (now Avon, New York). He was the elder half-brother of another Seneca chief, Cornplanter. The Senecas were the westernmost member of the famed Iroquois Confederacy, whose territory stretched from the Mohawk Valley to Niagara and whose sphere of influence was much wider.

RISE TO PROMINENCE

In 1777, the Senecas and most other Iroquois entered the American Revolution fighting on the side of the Crown. Handsome Lake, not yet a chief, fought throughout the conflict as an ordinary warrior. While the Senecas and their allies were largely successful when on the offensive, an American army under General John Sullivan invaded their homeland in 1779 and burned their towns and fields. No provision was made for Britain's native allies in the peace treaty ending the war. Facing the victorious new United States, the Senecas made substantial concessions in the treaties of Fort Stanwix (1784), Fort Harmar (1789), Canandaigua (1794), and Big Tree (1797). The Big Tree treaty left the Seneca with a few relatively small reservations in New York, including the Allegany Reservation on the Allegheny River.

Cornplanter had moved to the Allegheny River during or shortly after the American Revolution. For his facilitating role in the postwar treaty negotiations, Pennsylvania awarded Cornplanter a personal land grant on the river just south of the New York border. Handsome Lake and his daughter's family shared with Cornplanter the largest house in the village of Jenuchshadego on the Cornplanter Grant. Handsome Lake had by then been selected for a position on the council of the Iroquois Confederacy.

The residents of Jenuchshadego were a demoralized Seneca population that had suffered heavily during the war and its aftermath. Excessive alcohol consumption was both a symptom of social stress and a factor that exacerbated social conflict. In May 1799 a drinking bout following the spring sale of deerskins

in Pittsburgh seems to have worsened Handsome Lake's already poor health and mental outlook.

In mid-June, Handsome Lake lay bedridden. Physically he was very weak—so much so that when he collapsed at the door of his cabin, his daughter was convinced he was dead. Handsome Lake's nephew, Governor Blacksnake, found a warm spot on his uncle's chest. The sick man revived and told those gathered around him what he had just experienced.

Handsome Lake had been visited by three angels, Indian men dressed in traditional fashion, their faces painted red. Each fed berries to Handsome Lake as a cure. Part of their message was that the rituals of the traditional ceremonial cycle must continue. Also, four evils made the Creator unhappy. These were the consumption of alcohol, witchcraft, love magic, and medicines that caused abortions and sterility. Handsome Lake was told to expect a visit from a fourth angel soon.

The prophet fell into a second trance on 8 August 1799. This experience, in the view of Wallace (1970, 243), "would become the core of the new religion's theology." Led by the fourth angel, Handsome Lake encountered many persons on "the sky journey." The prophet observed a wide road to hell and a narrow one to heaven. Senecas suffered torments in hell for sins committed in their lives. The idea of punishment for sinful behavior had not previously been part of Seneca religion.

POLITICAL CAREER

While many of the reforms preached by Handsome Lake had been suggested earlier by Cornplanter, Handsome Lake's message had, for the Senecas, a spiritual sanction lacking in his brother's secular



The Message of the Four Beings

Now the messengers spoke to me and said that they would now tell me how things ought to be upon the earth. They said: "Do not allow any one to say that you have had great fortune in being able to rise again. The favor of the four beings is not alone for you and the Creator is willing to help all mankind."

Now on that same day the Great Feather and the Harvest dances were to be celebrated and at this time the beings told me that my relatives would restore me. "Your feelings and spirits are low," they said, "and must be aroused. Then will you obtain power to recover." Verily the servants of the Creator (Hadio ya geono) said this. Now moreover they commanded that henceforth dances of this same kind should be held and thanksgiving offered whenever the strawberries were ripe. Furthermore they said that the juice of the berry must be drunk by the children and the aged and all the people. Truly all must drink of the berry juice, for they said that the sweet water of the berries was a medicine and that the early strawberries were a great medicine. So they bade me tell this story to my people when I move upon the earth again. Now they said, "We shall continually reveal things unto you. We, the servants of him who made us, say that as he employed us to cure unto you to reveal his will, so you must carry it to your people. Now we are they whom he created when he made the world and our duty is to watch over and care for mankind. Now there are four of us but the fourth is not here present. When we called you by name and you heard, he returned to tell the news.

"This will bring joy into the heaven-world of our Creator. So it is that the fourth is not with us but you shall see him at another time and when that time is at hand you shall know. Now furthermore we must remind you of the evil things that you have done and you must repent of all things that you believe to have been evil. You think that you have done wrong ... because you partook of strong drink. Verily you must do as you think for whatsoever you think is evil is evil."

Source: Parker, Arthur C. (1915). *The Code of Handsome Lake, the Seneca Prophet*. Retrieved October 1, 2003, from <http://www.sacred-texts.com/nam/iro/parker/>

policies. He recited the story of his encounters with the four angels to an appreciative audience in public councils, and soon Handsome Lake overshadowed his brother in the political arena. In 1802, it was Handsome Lake who led the Seneca delegation to the new capital city, Washington, D.C. While Handsome Lake had concerns about land issues, he also wanted to convince the American president that he had been ordained as the fifth angel to lead a spiritual reformation and "to direct the People on earth" (Wallace 1970, 268). President Thomas Jefferson found it prudent to endorse the teachings of Handsome Lake.

When federal and New York state officials con-

vened a council at Buffalo Creek in June of 1802 to negotiate land issues, to the assembled Senecas the message of Handsome Lake had priority. Handsome Lake preached his message to the chiefs over several days, delaying the start of the negotiations. Under Handsome Lake's influence, the chiefs refused to sell land to New York. Handsome Lake's mark is at the top of the list of chiefs who signed the two treaties negotiated with the federal government.

The political alliance between the prophet and Cornplanter unravelled. Handsome Lake moved from the Cornplanter Grant to Coldspring on the Allegany Reservation sometime around 1803, but was forced to leave Allegany in the fall or early winter of 1809. Two of Handsome Lake's policies eroded his support at Allegany. One was his persecution of witches. A central concern of the Senecas was personal health, which could be threatened by evil intentions of witches and witchcraft was punished by death. Handsome Lake interpreted illnesses among his followers as being caused by witches, and several thought to be witches were executed. These actions met with disapproval among an increasing number of Allegany residents as the toll of convicted witches rose. A second policy that eroded his support was his campaign against the performance of the rituals of the medicine societies. The restricted membership of these societies and their meetings in private led Handsome Lake to fear the powers they commanded might be used for malevolent purposes. However, a large portion of the Senecas viewed these medicine societies as indispensable in the curing of many diseases. The growing hostility he experienced at Allegany led the prophet to move to another Seneca reservation, Tonawanda. He was told by his messengers that Tonawanda was the second stage of his journey and that he would not die until he entered the third stage.

In 1815, Handsome Lake set out for the Onondaga Reservation (near Syracuse, New York). Two dreams he experienced on the long walk from Tonawanda to Onondaga provided Handsome Lake with an indication of his approaching death. Outside Onondaga, alone and searching for his missing favorite knife, the prophet suddenly became severely ill, such that he reached the community only with great difficulty. Unable to attend council, he

remained bedridden in a cabin. It was there that he died on 10 August 1815.

The political career of Handsome Lake had been linked to that of Cornplanter. This at first served Cornplanter's purposes, for he favored many of the reforms advocated by his brother. Handsome Lake soon amassed considerable political power, rivalling his half-brother as leader. Cornplanter withdrew his support for his half-brother on the issue of witches, so Handsome Lake left Cold Spring for Tonawanda. Handsome Lake's political power later declined, but his influence on religion remained high through his lifetime and continues today through speakers who repeat his message in Iroquois communities in both Canada and the United States.

—Thomas S. Abler

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HAPPINESS

Although the subject of happiness has captured the interest of philosophers since the time of the Greek

philosopher Aristotle and the interest of laypeople perhaps even longer, only recently have behavioral scientists incorporated the scientific study of happiness into their disciplines. The science of happiness is new, and the study of how happiness connects to leadership is even newer, but possible connections can be made. First, however, the term *happiness* must be clarified.

SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING

Colloquially used, the term *happiness* can have a number of meanings. It might refer to a momentary burst of joy when one hears good news, a sense of satisfaction at a job well done, or an abstract goal that one pursues. Because so many feelings and states can be implied by the word *happiness*, researchers who study happiness usually talk about *subjective well-being* instead. This term captures a specific sense of the term *happiness* and conveys how behavioral scientists think about happiness—as an evaluation made by an individual that his or her life is positive. The subjective nature of happiness is emphasized by this term because it is conceptualized as a judgment resulting from an individual's own personal criteria and experience. Thus, when people describe “happy people” in this entry, they mean people high in subjective well-being.

A person's sense of subjective well-being might derive from a cognitive sense of satisfaction with life as a whole or with specific life domains such as education, work, or family. Or it might derive from a person's affective experience—moods and emotions—with positive emotions (e.g., sociable, calm) and negative emotions (e.g., depressed, sad). The three main ingredients for high subjective well-being are a sense of satisfaction with one's life and life domains, the experience of positive emotions, and a relative absence of negative emotions. Considering positive and negative emotions separately has proven to be an important advance in understanding subjective well-being. The amount of positive affect and the amount of negative affect that one experiences, although intuitively opposites, turn out to be somewhat independent of one another. For instance, some people might experience a lot of both positive affect and negative

affect, whereas others might experience little of each, and still others more of one type than the other.

MEASURING SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING

Determining how to best assess and measure subjective well-being is important for a scientific understanding of the subject. Yet, the phenomenon of subjective well-being poses some unique challenges. For instance, how can something subjectively experienced by one individual be measured objectively by another? Fortunately, researchers have developed a sophisticated battery of techniques for assessing whether a person is happy or not.

The first technique is to simply ask the person whether he or she is happy. Such “self-report” measures are widely used in the field for a variety of reasons. First, on a conceptual level, they are perhaps the only measures that really make sense given that subjective well-being includes the individual's experience. Second, self-report measures are easy and inexpensive to administer and score. Third, self-report measures are widely used because they generally work. They are relatively reliable, yielding responses that correlate across time and situations. In addition, the fact that self-report measures of subjective well-being correlate with other indicators of happiness (are higher when something good happens to a person and lower when something bad happens) suggests that such measures possess a degree of validity.

One commonly used self-report instrument for assessing life satisfaction—a component of subjective well-being—is the Satisfaction with Life Scale. This scale poses a series of five statements with which an individual might agree or disagree. Upon considering each statement (e.g., “I am satisfied with my life”), the person rates the degree to which he or she agrees or disagrees with the statement using a seven-point scale on which a “1” indicates strong disagreement and a “7” indicates strong agreement. The agreement with each statement is summed to attain an indicator of an individual's global satisfaction with his or her life. The Satisfaction with Life Scale has been found to be both reliable and valid.

Innovative techniques in self-report measures also have an important role in the assessment of

subjective well-being. In one such technique, *experience sampling*, a person provides a series of self-reports about his or her momentary thoughts and emotions over an extended period of time. For example, to assess a college student's subjective well-being during a spring break vacation, the student might carry an electronic personal data assistant (PDA), programmed to page him or her at random times. When paged, the student might report how much he or she is feeling various positive and negative emotions at the time. By summing across occasions, a random sample is obtained of the student's experience that is representative of the spring break as a whole.

One advantage of experience sampling is that each time a person is prompted, the person reports his or her thoughts and feelings at that moment. These reports are sometimes called "online" measures and have the advantage that they are simple and easy for people to respond to. Presumably, people know if they are feeling joyful or worried or calm. Online measures can be contrasted with retrospective measures, which pose a much more difficult assessment. For instance, asking a student how much joy he or she experienced during spring break after it has ended requires that the student recall all the times he or she felt joy and its intensity and then mentally compute the average. Retrospective measures might therefore be more prone to error than online measures. This makes online measures preferable in many cases—except, perhaps, when people's future behavior is of interest. When deciding whether to go on spring break again, students might consider how much they enjoyed their last spring break experience as a basis for their decision. Because people typically do not have a record of their online experience to refer to, they likely base their decision on a quick retrospective summary of their last spring break, making such recall-based measures the best predictor of future choices.

Although the preponderance of research on subjective well-being relies on self-report measures or on variations such as experience sampling, other methods do assess how happy a person is. Informant reports (peer reports) rely on other people, such as friends, family, or coworkers, to indicate how happy

the person in question is. Although a person's friends, for example, do not have direct access to the person's phenomenological experience, they probably have a pretty good sense of whether a person is overall high or low in subjective well-being. Other methods assess subjective well-being based on theories of cognitive psychology—perceptions, memories, thoughts, and judgments—such as reaction time or memory for positive and negative events. An outgrowth of these cognitive methods are implicit measures, which may offer a way to assess subjective well-being when a person's explicit responses might diverge from the person's implicit feelings.

Ultimately, no single method perfectly measures subjective well-being. The assessment of subjective well-being is best accomplished by choosing the method most appropriate for the question of interest and, when possible, augmenting one type of measure with others. When, for instance, an individual reports that he or she is happy, and reports from friends and family agree, evidence would indicate that the measures converge, making a better case than either method alone.

CAUSES OF SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING

Which people are happy, and what makes them that way? Considerable attention has been devoted to finding out which variables are—and are not—associated with being happy. From characteristics as fundamental as age and gender, to an individual's personality, to his or her cultural milieu, researchers have used a multitude of approaches to understand what might lead to subjective well-being. Often, establishing causality is difficult, but experimental and longitudinal research (in which the same participants are followed over time) on the correlates of subjective well-being point to some likely causes.

Age and Gender

Do people of one age group enjoy greater happiness than those of another? Although the predictors of subjective well-being change over time, so that different things are associated with being happy at different ages, overall levels of happiness show little

difference across different age groups. Knowing a person's age yields little information about his or her happiness. A person's gender is a similarly weak clue to his or her subjective well-being. Although women have been found to report slightly higher levels of negative affect, they also tend to report slightly more positive affect, making overall levels of subjective well-being similar for men and women.

Income

Another variable is income. The relation between income and subjective well-being has been examined in a number of ways. Wealthier nations have happier citizens than poorer nations, but other variables—such as health and democracy—also increase with wealth, making it difficult to determine whether wealth alone is responsible for the greater happiness. Income relates most strongly to subjective well-being in poorer nations, where having money might mean having necessities such as food or shelter. In wealthy nations income relates only weakly to subjective well-being. Although whether income leads to happiness is somewhat unclear, happiness may lead to greater income.

Marriage

Whereas age, gender, and income have not been consistent predictors of who is happy, a person's marital status has proven a consistent predictor of happiness. Married men and women are generally happier than unmarried men and women. As in the case of income, however, the causality is probably bidirectional: People high in subjective well-being probably are also more likely to marry. The effects of marriage may then further enhance their happiness.

Personality and Temperament

A person's personality has shown a strong and consistent relation to his or her subjective well-being. The personality traits of extraversion and neuroticism are closely linked to the experiences of positive and negative affect, respectively. Individuals

high in extraversion are more likely to experience positive emotions, and individuals high in neuroticism are more likely to experience negative emotions. Like positive and negative affect, extraversion and neuroticism are independent. A person's level of extraversion is not related to his or her level of neuroticism.

A person's inborn temperament is a precursor to later personality and also is related to happiness. Genetic studies examine twins who are raised in the same versus different environments in order to determine which effects are due to genes and which to the environment. These studies suggest that a genetic predisposition toward happiness exists because sharing the same genes makes a greater difference in the amount of positive and negative affect experienced than does sharing the same environment.

Goals

Making progress toward one's desired goals is a source of positive affect, just as setting unattainable or conflicting goals is a source of negative affect. Researchers have found that people with many goals that they consider to be important report greater positive affect and life satisfaction but sometimes also more anxiety.

Culture

The goals that people set are influenced by the culture in which they live. Living in a culture that emphasizes independence and autonomy (i.e., an individualist society) or in a culture that emphasizes interdependence and harmony (i.e., a collectivist society) is likely to influence the nature of the goals that a person sets and therefore the causes of subjective well-being. Culture has proven to have a strong relation to subjective well-being in other ways as well. Norms for the experience of positive and negative emotions vary from culture to culture and can influence an individual's experience of emotion within a culture. Latin American cultures value positive affect more than do east Asian cultures, for instance, and also report experiencing more positive affect.

OUTCOMES OF SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING

The experience of subjective well-being is associated with a variety of positive outcomes, many of which have been associated with leadership. For example, happy people report better social relationships, greater resistance to stress, and greater productivity at work. Experimental and longitudinal studies allow researchers to identify a number of variables that likely result, at least in part, from being happy.

Sociability

The trait of extraversion is linked to the experience of positive affect. However, extraversion is a consistent predictor not only of subjective well-being, but also of leadership. A meta-analysis—a technique for statistically aggregating findings from two or more studies—of a large number of studies found extraversion to be the strongest correlate of leadership, suggesting that extraverts make better leaders. Extraversion was related to both leadership emergence and leadership effectiveness and remained so across several types of situations.

Sociability is one facet of extraversion and has also been associated with leadership. Some evidence suggests that happy people are more sociable. Laboratory studies show that putting people in a positive mood makes them more sociable, likely to seek out social interaction and to view others positively. These people are in turn viewed well by others—as appealing candidates for social interaction. Appearing happy to others can be perceived as a cue that one is receptive to social engagement.

Self-Efficacy

Not only are individuals high in subjective well-being highly regarded by others, but they regard themselves positively as well. Happy people have greater feelings of self-efficacy (the power to produce an effect), self-esteem, and self-confidence. Laboratory studies offer support for the idea that making people happy leads to positive self-perceptions. Longitudinal research supports this idea and suggests that positive self-perceptions in turn contribute to subjective well-

being. A number of studies have linked self-perceptions, especially self-confidence, to leadership.

Stress

Some evidence suggests that people high in subjective well-being have superior stress tolerance, another variable that has been related to leadership. This tolerance is due in part to the fact that some of the outcomes associated with high subjective well-being, such as social support and self-esteem, also serve as buffers against stress. These outcomes make happy people less susceptible to sources of stress and better able to cope with stressors. Happy people appear to choose more effective methods of coping—such as actively engaging the stressor or focusing on finding positive outcomes in otherwise stressful experiences.

Creativity

Creativity can be defined as “flexible, novel, or original thinking.” Some studies suggest that creativity is a characteristic associated with leadership and happiness. People placed in a positive mood in the laboratory, compared with those people in a neutral mood, do better on tasks measuring creativity. Researchers are not sure how being happy leads to enhanced creativity, but such findings are compatible with a “broaden and build” model of positive affect. This model suggests that, in contrast to negative emotions—which serve to narrow a person’s thoughts and actions to focus on the source of the negative affect—positive affect broadens one’s thoughts and actions, leading to divergent and possibly creative thought.

A host of studies have examined the effects of subjective well-being in the workplace and may be relevant for the study of leadership in an organizational context. One study that used a managerial simulation to assess a variety of skills found that those people high in positive affect were rated more highly in leadership by an objective panel of judges. Positive affect has also been related to organizational spontaneity, which relates to acts that are not part of one’s job description but that benefit the organization. These acts include helping coworkers, protect-

ing the organization, making constructive suggestions, developing oneself, and spreading goodwill. Indeed, happy people report a greater inclination toward assisting others at work.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Behavioral scientists have made a great deal of progress in measuring subjective well-being and understanding its causes and consequences. Little study, however, has been devoted to subjective well-being as it relates to leadership. Because both happiness and leadership have been linked to many of the outcomes here, one could easily speculate about direct connections between happiness and leadership. Positive affect, in particular, likely may cultivate a constellation of characteristics associated with active leadership. Future research is needed to understand how the multiple components of subjective well-being relate to different aspects of leadership, such as leader emergence and leadership effectiveness, and how these relations function in different cultures. In addition, researchers should clarify the processes by which subjective well-being influences leadership—whether it has a direct influence or one that is mediated by other variables.

—Derrick Wirtz and Ed Diener

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HARRIS, WILLIAM WADE
(c. 1850–1929)

Liberian religious leader

William Wade Harris was a Liberian prophet who started the Harris Movement in the 1920s along the west coast of Africa. Harris had a strong Africanist ideology and insisted on strict adherence to the Ten Commandments and a strong work ethic. Usually attired in a white robe, he was a charismatic figure and a great speaker.

HISTORY

William Wade Harris founded the largest mass movement of Christian conversion in west African history. In the second decade of the twentieth century, Harris founded the Harris Church in Liberia. The church attracted people from Ghana and Ivory Coast as well as Liberia. Although a number of his followers, especially in Ghana and Ivory Coast, later joined mainstream Christian religions, the Harris Church kept many of its converts and in 1998 became a member of the World Council of Churches.

Harris was a member of the Grebo tribe. He entered an American mission school, becoming an Episcopalian. He found work as a teacher, an interpreter, and a seaman, traveling widely along the west coast of Africa.

Around 1910, authorities jailed Harris for his plot to replace American control over Liberia with British control. Harris said that while he was in prison, the angel Gabriel came to him in a vision, bringing him a message. Harris believed that Gabriel had come to call him to the work of preparing the people of west Africa for the return of Jesus Christ.

MESSAGE AND LEADERSHIP STYLE

Harris preached a straightforward version of Christianity. First, he rejected all Africanisms. There were to be no amulets or fetishes. African religious practitioners were condemned. The Bible became the only recognized authority. He called on people to follow the Ten Commandments, abjure adultery, practice monogamy, and refrain from lying and theft. It was an old-fashioned version of Christianity.

In either 1912 or 1913, Harris began his second journey along the west coast of Africa. His purpose was clear. He was out to convert the population to Christianity. Harris realized the importance of catching people's attention and so he presented a striking scene on his travels. Two women accompanied him. The women sang, danced, and banged rattles along the way. Harris wore a white turban and a full robe and carried a cane cross, a jug filled with water for baptism, and a Bible.

Harris attracted people from many different eth-

nic groups to his movement. In all, he converted around 120,000 people. Harris operated on the principle of getting converts while they were interested. There was immediate baptism for interested parties. Instruction came later, either through established mission churches or the churches his twelve apostles founded, in which Harris incorporated some African ideas and used African leaders.

The greatest success came in the Ivory Coast, where Harris had the support of the French colonial government because of his advocacy of hard work, self-help, and obedience to authority. In 1914 the French realized that the Harris Movement posed a threat to continued French control. The government expelled Harris and destroyed his new churches.

Harris returned to Liberia, spreading the gospel. However, by 1915 his greatest success was behind him. Catholic and Protestant missionaries took advantage of Harris's success and converted many of his followers to their denominations. A number of the Harrisites, as they had come to be called, continued in the new independent Harris churches. At the close of the twentieth century, these included the Church of the Twelve Apostles in Ghana and the Eglises Harrisites and the Deima Movement in the Ivory Coast.

Harris insisted that women as well as men be converted to Christianity, a practice that distinguished him from other Christian missionaries. Because he was African, Harris understood the role of matrilineal descent in a person's spiritual life and the great power women have in many west African societies. He encouraged women to become active in church affairs. In distinction to many other independent churches, Harris accepted people of different faiths and ethnic groups into his church.

Harris's criticism of some local customs and beliefs further differentiated his movement from other indigenous movements. His willingness to criticize African culture was a product of Harris's Liberian heritage, where American values were held to be superior to African ones.

IMPACT OF THE HARRIS MOVEMENT

The influence of the Harris Movement went far beyond converting a large number of Africans to

Christianity. It did much to help prepare the people of the western coast of Africa for the modernizing innovations brought by missionaries and colonialists. The opposition of the French government to Harris's church, moreover, gave the movement an association with reform and African independence that Harris himself did not actively seek. Harris's cooperation with other Christian religions—Catholic and Protestant—encouraged among his followers an openness to new ideas that promoted an ecumenical spirit. The movement also attracted foreign support for African goals, including, eventually, independence. His stress on the importance of the Bible encouraged literacy among his followers. That Harris churches still exist is a testimony to his leadership in establishing churches that have been successful as a means to modernization and as bridges between traditional African beliefs and Christianity.

—Frank A. Salamone

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HIROSHIMA

Just how controversial the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, Japan, in 1945 remains was shown by the turmoil surrounding the proposed exhibition of the U.S. bomber *Enola Gay* at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., on the fiftieth anniversary of the bombing. Although the turmoil encompassed multiple points of political, social and cultural importance and reflected both memory of the past and changes in historical perspective, it also was a reminder that the use of such weapons is always a possibility. Knowing how the leaders made a number of decisions during and immediately after World War II is not merely interesting as a case study but

also gives us pause as we contemplate the continued survival of humanity. Although the decision to drop the atomic bomb on the city of Hiroshima is of paramount interest here, we also should consider decisions leading to the creation of the bomb in the first place, the decision to drop a second bomb on the Japanese city of Nagasaki, the Japanese response to both bombs, and how those people who condemn or defend the use of the bombs reach their conclusions.

THE MANHATTAN PROJECT

Initial research on an atomic bomb in the United States was prompted by the fear that Germany was developing its own atomic weapons. Beginning in 1939, when the U.S. government was first apprised of the possibility of producing highly destructive atomic weapons and the possibility that the Germans were working to produce them, until the closing months of World War II, when U.S. troops captured and talked to German scientists and learned that Germany had no such weapons, the fear was real. After the Germans surrendered, there was ostensibly no need to continue the Manhattan Project, which was the U.S. project to develop an atomic bomb. However, the project not only continued, but also was put on the fast track.

The possibility of a Japanese atomic bomb program was not an issue because all involved believed that Japan did not possess the uranium, the scientists, or the technical facilities to produce an atomic threat. Nevertheless, the U.S. project shifted from a defensive posture—with the initial goal of creating the bomb as a “potential weapon”—to an offensive posture.

One reason for this shift was the fact that the U.S. government had devoted massive effort and financial resources (\$2 billion) to producing the weapons, and U.S. leaders would have been hard pressed to justify this tremendous expense and diversion of scarce wartime supplies to this project and then not have a product to show for it.

After the bomb was produced—and its use was placed alongside a costly invasion of Japan as an option—there was further momentum toward



What Did Truman Know?

The wisdom and the process used to make the decision to bomb Hiroshima remain highly controversial and the subject of ongoing debate. One issue is what Truman knew when he made the decision. In a diary entry of 25 July and a radio speech on 9 August 1945 (see text below), Truman referred to Hiroshima as a "military base," raising the possibility that he did not know it was a city filled with civilians.

The world will note that the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, a military base. That was because we wished in this first attack to avoid, insofar as possible, the killing of civilians. But that attack is only a warning of things to come. If Japan does not surrender, bombs will have to be dropped on her war industries and, unfortunately, thousands of civilian lives will be lost. I urge Japanese civilians to leave industrial cities immediately, and save themselves from destruction.

Source: *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, Containing the Public Messages, Speeches and Statements of the President April 12 to December 31, 1945.* (1961). Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, p. 212.

employing it. After V-E (Victory in Europe) Day, some people were unwilling to risk unnecessary U.S. casualties to get Japan to surrender. Troops who had survived north Africa, Italy, and D-Day (the Allied invasion at Normandy, France) were not eager to take on the entrenched Japanese, and there was pressure to end the Pacific war as quickly as possible. The battles to take the Pacific islands of Iwo Jima, mid-February to mid-March 1945, and Okinawa, 1 April to 2 July 1945, indicated just how fiercely the Japanese would fight, and the United States suffered approximately 27,000 in the former battle and close to 50,000 in the latter.

Experts vary widely on estimates of casualties if the United States had invaded the Japanese island of Kyushu, scheduled for 1 November 1945, and then the mainland Honshu, and on how those estimates were reached. After the war, a casualty estimate of 500,000 U.S. deaths was mentioned, but the consensus among experts now is that this estimate was never substantiated and that the planners of the invasion estimated casualties totaling 193,500

(40,000 killed, 150,000 wounded, and 3,500 missing) on 15 June 1945.

An important unknown in any estimates of invasion casualties was the Japanese willingness to commit suicide rather than to surrender because surrender was considered dishonorable. If Japanese troops were willing to fight to the last man, then invasion would be a high-risk option, especially if the entire populace followed suit. No one knew, for example, how Japanese would fight with their backs to the wall and for the first time on their homeland, how effective kamikaze planes and suicide boats would be, or how great an impact lone soldiers would be if they were willing to die in a bombing attack.

The important point here is not the accuracy of these estimates but rather the perception that the use of the atomic bomb—after it became available—would eliminate the need for unnecessary further losses of U.S. troops. Nevertheless, one should note that on 18 June 1945, U.S. President Harry S. Truman approved full-scale planning for the invasion of Kyushu to commence, even while the atomic bomb was being produced. That is, at that point both the bomb and full-scale invasion were being considered.

WHEN DID TRUMAN KNOW?

Prior to his death, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt seems not to have decided whether to use the bomb in combat against Japan, but his vice president, Truman, did not even know what the Manhattan Project was all about. Truman learned about the existence of the atomic bomb project from Secretary of War Henry Stimson on becoming president when Roosevelt died in April 1945, and two significant factors came into play. First, it appears that from the moment when Truman learned of the existence of the bomb program until the actual bombing, he never reexamined the original assumption that it was a legitimate weapon and that it should be used to end the war as soon as possible. In effect, all other things being equal, he had no strong reason to halt the deployment of the bomb. Second, with the successful test explosion at Alamogordo in New Mexico on 16 July of that year, there was less reason for policy

advisers to pursue other alternatives or modify their demand for “unconditional surrender.”

BREAKING A TABOO ON BOMBING OF GENERAL POPULACES

Prior to the decision to use atomic weapons, a change occurred in what was considered morally acceptable in warfare. That change resulted from the technological progress that made air power an important factor. Whereas nations had previously refrained from bombing cities and noncombatant populations, the German bombing of London, the Japanese bombing of Chungking, China, and the U.S. firebombing of Tokyo led step by inexorable step toward using any kind of weapon on any kind of enemy population. In a brutal conflict, the thinking went, killing civilians was a highly effective way to get citizens to urge their government to bring resistance to an end.

THE ALTERNATIVES

We often assume that Truman’s options were limited to either using the atomic bomb or moving ahead with the plans for what was anticipated to be a full invasion of Japan, with huge U.S. losses, but some recent studies contend that this was not the case. The revisionists point to other considerations that might have—singly or in some combination—brought about surrender without the atomic bomb and without an invasion.

First, there was the option of waiting for the Soviets to enter the war and exert pressure on the Japanese from the mainland, as they eventually did with a massed force along the border of Manchuria and Korea. Truman at first welcomed that option as a means of reaching an early surrender but later hoped to prevent it for political reasons.

Second, experts considered first issuing a warning and then dropping the atomic bomb on an uninhabited area of Japan, thus getting the attention of Japanese decision makers. This was not a new idea because experts in charge of selecting potential targets had all along recommended bombing a small, strictly military facility to show the bomb’s devastat-

ing power for psychological effect without destroying major civilian populations.

Objections to this option included the possibility that the Japanese might move Allied prisoners of war into the announced bomb site or that, if the bomb turned out to be a dud, this would embolden the Japanese to hold out longer. These possibilities—and the assumption that a warning would be given—made this alternative seem high risk and therefore not attractive. After the 16 July atomic bomb test in New Mexico was successful, no one suggested this alternative again.

A third alternative was to not cling to the demand for “unconditional surrender,” which gradually grew from a kind of rallying slogan into a formal policy. Knowledgeable policymakers such as U.S. acting Secretary of State Joseph Grew (1880–1965), who had from 1932 to 1941 been ambassador to Japan, advised that to the Japanese the threat of the removal of the emperor and/or the imperial institution was an insurmountable barrier to accepting “unconditional surrender.” Those experts who followed Grew’s line of thinking pointed to the Atlantic Charter’s promise to respect the rights of each people to select the form of government that they wanted and concluded that it was reasonable to allow the Japanese to keep the imperial system under a “conditional surrender.” Some observers hold that if the Japanese had either been offered assurance in writing—as suggested by Grew in preparing the Potsdam Declaration—or had been convinced by implicit evidence that the Allies would allow Emperor Hirohito to remain on the throne, surrender would have come earlier—before the bombing of Hiroshima. However, the evidence for this view is not fully convincing.

A fourth alternative was for the United States to pursue the feelers that the Japanese had communicated to the Russians and that were conveyed to Truman at Potsdam. Here, too, “unconditional surrender” was an issue, and with Russia rapidly preparing to enter the war against Japan anyway, this alternative was not viable.

The fifth alternative was to continue using only conventional weapons and continue reliance on bombing and blockading. From mid-March 1945, the major cities of Japan had been devastated by fire-

bombing, with considerable psychological effect on the civilian population and major impact on production and transportation facilities. The major mainland cities that had not been damaged were those that had been listed as potential atomic targets.

The air and sea blockade was becoming increasingly effective during 1945. Regarding the situation leading up to the planned 1 November invasion of Kyushu, *The U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey*, "Japan's Struggle to End the War," published by the U.S. Government Printing Office in 1946, concluded: "Certainly prior to 31 December 1945, and in all probability prior to 1 November 1945, Japan would have surrendered even if the bombs had not been dropped, even if Russia had not entered the war, and even if no invasion had been planned or contemplated."

In the end leaders decided that these five alternatives—or some combination of them—were riskier and less desirable than the two remaining choices: invasion or the atomic bomb.

FACTORS LEADING TO TRUMAN'S DECISION

Beginning with the assumption that we will never know exactly which elements were foremost in Truman's mind when he made the ultimate decision to employ the atomic bomb, documents recently made available raise a number of issues.

First, to what degree did Truman's personality affect his decision? Although Truman repeatedly said that he refused to regret a decision after he had made it, there is another view. "Behind Truman's exterior of confidence and conviction, however, was an intricate personality, driven by an inferiority complex, notions of race, a need to be resolute and masculine, and feelings of ambivalence, as well as remorse" (Takaki 1995, 10).

Second, within the larger context—specifically in regard to the Soviet Union—Truman had to think about the future. After assuming the presidency in April 1945, he seemed to be at least as concerned about the intentions of Russia after Japan's defeat as he was about the actual ending of the war with Japan. The successful use of an atomic bomb by the United States would let the Russians know how

strong the U.S. military was and inhibit further advances by Russia in eastern Europe.

THE BOMBING

Hiroshima was demolished on 6 August 1945. The United States did not expect sudden capitulation and therefore did not delay the bombing of Nagasaki three days later, perhaps in an effort to carry out orders before the bad weather that was predicted to continue for several days after 9 August. In hindsight, it may have been that the Hiroshima bombing was so devastating that word of just how bad the devastation was took longer than expected to reach Tokyo.

WAS THE BOMB NECESSARY?

Setting aside the issue of whether dropping either bomb was morally defensible, it is helpful to discuss one bombing at a time. In regard to the bombing of Hiroshima, there has always been a clear division between those people who believed it was at the very least unnecessary and those who believed that it was necessary. Truman's published diary indicates that the Soviet leader Joseph Stalin promised to enter the war against Japan on 15 August 1945, and from this one could conclude that the bomb was not needed to end the war. Another interpretation is that after the bomb was tested, from Truman's point of view, the potential entry of the Russians into the war was not only unnecessary but also actually undesirable because their entry would allow the Russians leverage in the postwar decision making.

Among those people who felt that the bomb was not necessary from a military perspective was none other than U.S. Gen. Douglas MacArthur, who was the acting supreme commander of the Allied forces in the Pacific but was not involved in discussions of whether the bomb should be used and was not notified of the decision until forty-eight hours before the actual flight. MacArthur's view was based on the knowledge that the Japanese had asked Russia to negotiate a surrender with the United States. Given this request, he and other experts assumed that the Japanese would surrender by autumn 1945 no matter what.



Potsdam Declaration, 26 July 1945

The Potsdam Declaration, issued by U.S. President Harry Truman, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and Chinese Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek at a meeting in Potsdam, New York, spelled out the terms for ending the war against Japan.

(1) We—the President of the United States, the President of the National Government of the Republic of China, and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, representing the hundreds of millions of our countrymen, have conferred and agree that Japan shall be given an opportunity to end this war.

(2) The prodigious land, sea and air forces of the United States, the British Empire and of China, many times reinforced by their armies and air fleets from the west, are poised to strike the final blows upon Japan. This military power is sustained and inspired by the determination of all the Allied Nations to prosecute the war against Japan until she ceases to resist.

(3) The result of the futile and senseless German resistance to the might of the aroused free peoples of the world stands forth in awful clarity as an example to the people of Japan. The might that now converges on Japan is immeasurably greater than that which, when applied to the resisting Nazis, necessarily laid waste to the lands, the industry and the method of life of the whole German people. The full application of our military power, backed by our resolve, will mean the inevitable and complete destruction of the Japanese armed forces and just as inevitably the utter devastation of the Japanese homeland.

(4) The time has come for Japan to decide whether she will continue to be controlled by those self-willed militaristic advisers whose unintelligent calculations have brought the Empire of Japan to the threshold of annihilation, or whether she will follow the path of reason.

(5) Following are our terms. We will not deviate from them. There are no alternatives. We shall brook no delay.

(6) There must be eliminated for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest, for we insist that a new order of peace, security and justice will be impossible until irresponsible militarism is driven from the world.

(7) Until such a new order is established and until there is convincing proof that Japan's war-making power is

destroyed, points in Japanese territory to be designated by the Allies shall be occupied to secure the achievement of the basic objectives we are here setting forth.

(8) The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor islands as we determine.

(9) The Japanese military forces, after being completely disarmed, shall be permitted to return to their homes with the opportunity to lead peaceful and productive lives.

(10) We do not intend that the Japanese shall be enslaved as a race or destroyed as a nation, but stern justice shall be meted out to all war criminals, including those who have visited cruelties upon our prisoners. The Japanese Government shall remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. Freedom of speech, of religion, and of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental human rights shall be established.

(11) Japan shall be permitted to maintain such industries as will sustain her economy and permit the exaction of just reparations in kind, but not those which would enable her to re-arm for war. To this end, access to, as distinguished from control of, raw materials shall be permitted. Eventual Japanese participation in world trade relations shall be permitted.

(12) The occupying forces of the Allies shall be withdrawn from Japan as soon as these objectives have been accomplished and there has been established in accordance with the freely expressed will of the Japanese people a peacefully inclined and responsible government.

(13) We call upon the government of Japan to proclaim now the unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces, and to provide proper and adequate assurances of their good faith in such action. The alternative for Japan is prompt and utter destruction.

Source: Potsdam Declaration. (1945, July 26). Retrieved October 8, 2003, from <http://www.isop.ucla.edu/eas/documents/potsdam.htm>

Truman and his policymakers concluded that there was no incentive to pursue any of the five alternatives and that, between the alternatives of the bomb and invasion, there was no reason to avoid

using the bomb. The bomb was the better alternative, they concluded, because it would end the war, save U.S. lives, and, as a bonus, enable the United States to gain political concessions from the Soviets.

JAPAN'S RESPONSE TO THE BOMBINGS

The Japanese government, on 27 July 1945, received the Potsdam Declaration demanding “the unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces” and declaring that the alternative would be “prompt and utter destruction.” Scholars are divided over how deeply involved Emperor Hirohito was in the next series of events, but they generally agree that Japanese government officials were sharply split over the possibility of attaining a negotiated peace, with one essential condition being a guarantee of the imperial system.

Those officials who were disposed to accepting the demands of the Potsdam Declaration believed that the guarantee was not stated but rather implicit. The hardliners held out for an explicitly stated guarantee under a “conditional surrender” and insisted that Japan hold out and make a final stand against the anticipated invasion of the mainland in an effort to guarantee the emperor’s position.

Whether due to the emperor’s strongly expressed wishes, an inability to reach a consensus, or the belief that the Potsdam Declaration did not amount to a new strengthening of demands, the Japanese leadership did not accept the Potsdam Declaration demands. Instead, by default or by actual choice, the leadership’s stance was to wait for some word to come via the Russians regarding previous peace feelers from the Japanese side.

The Hiroshima bomb was so devastating that the Japanese government did not receive a full report on the damage until 8 August, and on that day Russia declared war on Japan. Had Japanese leaders had more time to digest these two facts, some experts speculate, they might have surrendered at that point. However, the second bombing, which was originally scheduled for 11 August, was moved forward two days in an effort to avoid the cloudy weather that had been forecast to continue from 9 August for the next five days. The day after the destruction of Nagasaki on 9 August, government leaders in Tokyo realized the urgency of their situation and issued a statement of their willingness to abide by the Potsdam Declaration, but with the proviso that imperial rule not be compromised. U.S. Secretary of State James Byrnes

responded that “the ultimate form of government of Japan” would be determined by “the freely expressed will of the Japanese people.” This reply has been interpreted as both a strong renewal of the demand for unconditional surrender and as an implicit message that the victors would leave the imperial system intact. The Japanese government remained deadlocked, and the decision was finally left up to the emperor himself, and he decided to surrender unconditionally. In a broadcast of 15 August 1945, the emperor brought the war to an end. Needless to say, the ultimate decision by the Allies was to allow the imperial throne to continue and to allow the current emperor to occupy it.

HIROSHIMA IN HINDSIGHT

The decision to drop the atomic bomb on Hiroshima was the result of factors ranging from scientific investment and weather forecasts to Truman’s personality and concern about the postwar political situation. In hindsight, one tends to see the gradual building of momentum from the beginning of World War II and the commencement of the Manhattan Project leading to that predestined event. However, with all the contingencies involved—on both sides of the Pacific—one cannot help but wonder whether the change of a single factor somewhere along the process might have made that decision an unnecessary one.

—James M. Vardaman Jr.

See also Manhattan Project

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HISTORY

The word *history* comes from the German verb “to happen.” History is more than a name for what has already happened, however. One must not think of history simply as the sum of all past events. History is a story about those events. According to Eric Voegelin, the historian selects events that show a pattern. History itself is obviously incomplete; nobody knows how it ends, so nobody can know its meaning. Nonetheless, historians can detect patterns such as patterns of social and political change. Leadership appears to be part of those patterns and therefore is an element within history.

This is not to suggest that historians all see the same pattern. For instance, Oswald Spengler, Arnold Toynbee, and Voegelin made an effort to get away from the dominant view of history as a linear progression, from dark ages shrouded in myth toward enlightenment and ultimately some kind of future utopia. That pattern is simply inadequate, yet they disagreed among themselves about what to put in its place.

One reason for such disagreements is that historians begin from different assumptions. Hannah Arendt once explained that ancient history attempted

to preserve the memory of human achievement against the ravages of time. Its subject matter tended to be extraordinary leadership worthy of preservation. In a world of fixed laws and unchanging nature, leadership was memorable and rare. Modern history takes a different approach. Because people tend to believe that nothing is fixed, modern historians attempt to describe the process by which things evolve. Leaders are part of a process. What they do is a process. The subject matter of modern history, therefore, is not the leader. Rather, it is the process in which leaders participate.

Since the eighteenth century, a number of historians have gone further, rejecting leadership because it is a guise for impersonal processes such as economic production, biological evolution, and disenchantment. Their creed is known as determinism.

THE CHALLENGE OF DETERMINISM

Determinism rejects the idea of leadership. A determinist might explain stories about leaders as childish personifications of abstract forces, psychological projections of frustration, or at most descriptions of a role that somebody was bound to play. For instance, if Napoleon Bonaparte had not become emperor of France in 1804, somebody else would have. At the least, a determinist will argue that a leader is merely a product of past circumstances and could not be other than a leader when circumstances become ripe.

In 1943, Sidney Hook claimed that most historians avoid the extremes of determinism because leaders and their circumstances work together to shape event; yet Fernand Braudel and contributors to the journal *Annales* continued to assault the “idea that history is best seen as a narrative of the deeds of individual political actors”—preferring instead impersonal forces and extended timelines measured in hundreds and thousands of years (Clark 1985, chap. 10).

Determinists argue that studying history through the lens of leadership oversimplifies reality. More is at work than the influence of certain prominent individuals, whether captains or kings. There are other factors. Historians distort their understanding when they pluck one thread from the fabric. A controversial

claim along these lines is that leadership studies perpetuates a myth that individual human beings can make a difference; people are flattered to believe in human efficacy when we are, in the words of Leo Tolstoy, but history's slaves. Determinists are therefore unlikely to see the point in studying history as the record of leadership.

REASONS FOR LEADERS TO STUDY HISTORY

There are three conventional reasons for studying history. First, some people are simply curious about the past. They find it fascinating. Barbara Tuchman has written: "Readers want to see man shaping his destiny or, at least, struggling with it, and this is the stuff of history" (1981, p. 54). Second, the study of history is a good discipline, sharpening the mind to contemplate the evidence and its interpretations. Third, people study history to learn something of practical use today. Together, these are like taking a walk to go exploring, get exercise, and reach a destination.

This third reason was subdivided by Friedrich Nietzsche into three practical uses for studying history. The first use is to be inspired by the exploits of noteworthy predecessors. Their fame makes people want to imitate them. The second use is to venerate tradition, preserving the past and showing piety. Knowing where you come from anchors you and helps to stabilize you. The third use is to expose and remedy past errors, as the first step toward reform. A person cannot transcend what he or she does not even know.

Interestingly, Nietzsche insisted that at some point leaders have to forget history and forge ahead. People can become, in his words, "oversaturated" with the past, to the point that one's life suffers. History has its uses, but then life is lived forward. Leaders are advised to study history while keeping it all in perspective.

Some writers take the extreme position that history is totally irrelevant to leaders today, inasmuch as circumstances have changed. What happened in the past has little or no bearing on the future. In the words of industrialist Henry Ford, "History is bunk." What worked in previous eras will not necessarily

work today, so that studying what leaders did once upon a time—before the technological revolution, for example, widespread emancipation, and globalization—has "merely historical interest." Leadership is a practical activity, requiring more practical lessons. The past is over.

Historians cannot agree with this position. They have to believe that their stories mean something for people today. From the beginning their stories have included a role for leaders, that is, for actors who precipitate and channel change. Through the centuries these stories have emphasized different types of leader, from patriarchs to presidents, but there is a pattern across the discipline about individuals to whom significant change can be ascribed. Homer recited the exploits of heroes and gods. Ancient empires recorded the annals of the king. The *Torah* tells of Moses, Joshua, and the judges. Alban Butler compiled *The Lives of the Saints*. Thomas Carlyle wrote about "Great Men." Vilfredo Pareto and W. E. B. DuBois described the role of elites. Leadership studies continues in that tradition, by attempting to explain the role of leaders in shaping events.

Just as leadership helps to explain history, so also history helps to explain leadership. Leadership studies and historical studies are mutually dependent. What are the conditions out of which leadership emerges? Where do individual leaders come from? What threat or tension does the leader attempt to resolve? These and a host of other questions arise during the study of leadership. History attempts to answer them.

If leaders shape events, then leadership studies can be understood as training to alter the course of history. Karl Marx wrote that "philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is, to change it" (Marx 1978, 145). This ambition to change the world runs counter to another tradition, which says leaders are to attune themselves and their followers to an unseen order. According to this tradition, the unseen order is not for humans to change. Some reforms should never be attempted. One of the controversies within leadership studies, therefore, has to do with the existence and authority of this unseen order, whether natural or divine. What, if any, are the moral and practical boundaries

surrounding leadership? What *cannot* be done? What *should not* be done? Is there in fact an unseen order? People disagree.

THE WORK OF HISTORIANS

1. Interpreting Symbols

The study of leadership is composed of symbols, such as vocabulary and abstract models, that allude to real-world experiences in politics, war, and commerce. An understanding of leadership has to be grounded in experience. Experiences of leadership are never identical, of course, which means that these experiences are only equivalent in some way. Part of the problem then is deciding which symbols and experiences to study and which to set aside. What experiences are equivalent? English-speaking persons, for example, interpret foreign languages to find that other nationalities experience leadership, even if they use different words for it. It is perfectly acceptable to study their experiences. In the same manner, historians study the past to find that people from previous eras experienced leadership; thus, their experiences may be studied as well.

Studying leadership from the past requires a firm sense of the symbols people used to describe their experiences because many of their symbols are no longer used today, much less in the same way people use them now. Latin, for example, is a dead language. It is important for an historian to appreciate the circumstances in which symbols were used, because the same symbol can change its meaning over time. The word *Führer* (literally: leader) had a different meaning for Germans before the rise of Adolf Hitler.

If all that historians do is interpret symbols, cynics will argue that there really is no such thing as history at all, but rather only historians. They hold that history is a version of events told by its victors, who ensure that only certain interpretations prevail. What passes as history, therefore, is regarded as propaganda suitable to the purposes and vanity of the dominant class, race, or gender. Symbols are tools to promote an ideology. What these critics frequently seek are alternative histories (or “her-sto-

ries”), that is, rival accounts to keep from losing critical perspectives.

2. Gaining Sufficient Distance

Studying leadership from the past becomes increasingly difficult as the experiences become more remote. Today, historians retain fewer artifacts and have less in common with ancient and obscure societies, so that beyond a certain point their studies become less reliable. They also become less applicable. Paradoxically, some experiences are so near in time or so familiar that historians cannot achieve sufficient distance to interpret them objectively. It might still be too soon, for example, to study the leadership of U.S. President Richard Nixon properly. Historical distance increases the likelihood of objectivity. Thus, students of history work to gain sufficient distance while at the same time gaining familiarity with the subject matter. That is not easy. They cannot afford to be too close or too distant.

3. Classifying Historical Materials

One reason to study history is to find out what was said in the past about leadership. One can organize these materials along two dimensions. First, one can separate materials about specific leaders (e.g., biography) from materials of a more theoretical nature about leadership generally (e.g., political studies). Second, one can separate materials left by practitioners from materials left by observers. In this way one constructs four categories. For materials about specific leaders from practitioners, one might include the memoirs of Ulysses S. Grant, for example. For materials about specific leaders based on observation, one might include Plutarch’s *Lives of the Noble Romans* or more recently the book *Certain Trumpets* by Garry Wills. For materials about leadership generally from practitioners, one might consult the *Meditations* by Marcus Aurelius. One can also read John Gardner’s book *On Leadership*. And for materials about leadership generally from observers, one might prefer Plato or James MacGregor Burns.

Some of the richest material falls into more than one category, such as the writings of Niccolò Machiavelli,

who was both a practitioner and a keen observer of his time, interested in describing concrete examples as well as drawing broad conclusions.

4. Penetrating the Obvious

A word of caution seems appropriate. Leadership studies does tend to focus on extraordinary humans, such as the hero or genius, and to dismiss the rest of humanity as inconsequential. This focus on the extraordinary overlooks other types of leader, such as invisible leaders, servant leaders, and smaller-scale leaders in ordinary situations. There is a kind of leadership that is barely detectable, despite its power. The remedy to decades of oversight is not to reject the study of leadership but rather to expand it. History offers a rich supply of evidence that accumulates daily.

—Nathan Harter

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HITCHCOCK, ALFRED (1899–1980)

British film director

Born in London, England, Alfred Joseph Hitchcock claimed not to have had aspirations of becoming a film director. Yet, by the end of his life he had become a critically and commercially successful director, a familiar name, face, and profile, and he did it primarily by making suspense-laden thrillers, a genre not commonly associated with artistic innovation. He accomplished this success through a carefully maintained level of control and leadership, which he exerted on his cast and crew, and, to some degree, even his employers and himself.

Hitchcock was the third of three children. His next-oldest sibling, Nellie, was seven years his senior. As a result of the difference in their ages, Alfred did not spend much time with his sister and older brother, William, when he was young. Their father, William Hitchcock, who died in 1914, was a London businessman and devout Roman Catholic who sought to protect his children from the corrupting influences of the world. As a result, Hitchcock was schooled at several boarding schools, where it is reported that he was quite solitary, preferring the role of spectator to that of player.

HITCHCOCK'S EARLY YEARS

In 1919, Hitchcock learned that the Hollywood-based production company Famous Players-Lasky was setting up a studio in England. He obtained a position with the company writing and designing title cards, the decorated text cards that were used in place of

spoken dialogue in silent movies. Hitchcock's position writing titles gave him a starting place; he eagerly watched and learned the various processes going on around him. He started writing scripts, simply as an exercise, and as his employers grew to trust him more, he began taking on many different roles in the production of the company's films. In 1923, on the set of *Woman to Woman*, he met Alma Reville (1899–1982), who was serving as the film's editor. They began dating (it was Hitchcock's first-ever romantic relationship), and on 2 December 1926, they were married. Two years later, on 7 July 1928, their only daughter, Patricia, was born.

Although Hitchcock helped direct the unreleased *Number Thirteen* and *The Pleasure Garden* (1925), *The Lodger* (1926), based on the story of Jack the Ripper, was the first of the thrillers with which his name came to be synonymous. He brought to the film all the technical skills that he had gained by watching those around him, which made him somewhat of a rarity: a director who understood, and could, in a pinch, perform, many of the technical processes involved in making a motion picture. His technical prowess and know-how also helped him lead the cast and crew more effectively.

HITCHCOCK IN HOLLYWOOD

After directing a series of films in England during the remainder of the 1920s and the 1930s, most notably *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (1935) and *The Thirty-nine Steps* (1936), Hitchcock and his family relocated to the United States in 1939 to join the filmmaking community in Hollywood, financed by a new deal with the famous producer David O. Selznick (1902–1965).

By the time that he made *Rebecca* (1940), his first film for Selznick, Hitchcock had developed a formula for making movies. The formula entailed a large degree of forethought and scripting, with the desired result being that each step was planned well before it was to take place. Thus, when it came time to shoot, Hitchcock would usually film only what was in the script, rather than filming a wide variety of shots and angles and then editing those together once shooting had been completed, which was the pattern



The shower scene in Psycho is considered one of the scariest and greatest scenes in cinema history. Here actress Janet Leigh (playing the character Marion Crane) screams in terror as Norman Bates tears open the shower curtain before stabbing her to death.

Source: Corbis; used by permission.

for most directors. Hitchcock's technique led to disagreement with Selznick, who liked being able to assemble the final product from a mess of different shots rather than having to rely on the limited options for rearrangement that Hitchcock's style allowed. Eventually, however, Selznick not only overcame his frustration, he declared that Hitchcock was the only director to whom he would entrust a film. The degree of scripting also brought Hitchcock into conflict with his cast; he is alleged to have referred to actors and actresses as cattle. His interactions with the actors—and even more so his interactions with actresses, since he was known for giving them far more attention—were colored by his stubbornly pre-set conceptions of the film and by his low-key leadership approach (an approach that he used in his role both as director and as father), which avoided direct confrontations and displays of temper. For example, the actress Doris Day (b. 1924), who starred in his remake of his own *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (1955), expressed concern that although he was friendly and talkative off the set, he would not comment on her performance. In response he told her that the only reason he was not saying anything was because he had no complaints. Kim Novak (b. 1933), however, who starred in *Vertigo* (1958), claimed that

“Hitchcock was very exact in telling me exactly what to do . . . how to move, where to stand.” (Quoted in Ebert 2002, 481).

Throughout his career, Hitchcock had become associated with actresses who fit a certain profile: blonde-haired women with cold, hard-to-crack surfaces, surfaces which Hitchcock seemed to enjoy chipping away at during the course of his films until the characters eventually broke down in scenes of emotional vulnerability. During the later stages of his career, Hitchcock began trying to exert a greater influence over the lives of the actresses that he cast, most notably Vera Miles who starred in *The Wrong Man* (1957), and Tippi Hedren, who starred in *The Birds* (1963) and *Marnie* (1964). He took them under personal contract and sought to direct their careers, choosing other roles for them, and even selecting colors and hairstyles that he thought they should wear. During the filming of *Marnie*, Hedren finally thought he had gone too far when he forbade her to leave the set for a weekend to attend a charity event, and she loudly and emotionally castigated him in front of the rest of the cast and crew.

HITCHCOCK LEADING THE AUDIENCE

In addition to the casts and crews he worked with, Hitchcock also strove to direct his audiences, experimenting with their preconceptions and deliberately manipulating their reactions. As he told the French director François Truffaut (1932–1984) during a series of interviews, “If you manage to get a solid grip on the audience, they will follow your reasoning” (Truffaut 1967, 74). Included in Hitchcock’s bag of tricks was what he called the “MacGuffin,” the object with which everyone in the movie was concerned, such as a secret map or stolen diamonds. The identity of the MacGuffin was unimportant; only its existence mattered.

Similarly, Hitchcock was not overly concerned about plausibility, knowing that, to a point, an audience would willingly follow him. Hitchcock enjoyed playing with an audience’s preconceived notions and testing just how far their belief could be stretched. He tested these beliefs not just in the plots of his

films, but even in their casting. He would cast actors in roles that did not appear to fit with their images, taking great pleasure, for example, in casting the young and attractive Anthony Perkins (1932–1992) as the title murderer in *Psycho* (1960).

In the way in which he presented himself to his cast and crew and to the world, Hitchcock also maintained a great level of control. Always at least somewhat sensitive about being overweight, Hitchcock turned his rotund profile into an easily recognizable symbol in his television series, *Alfred Hitchcock Presents* (1955–1962; known as the *Alfred Hitchcock Hour* for its last season), and through the small cameos that he made in each of his pictures from *Blackmail* (1928) on (although his first onscreen appearance in one of his own films was in *The Lodger*), the world came to know him by sight.

On the sets of his films, he always dressed in deliberately formal attire, which varied little, even when filming in climates that did not lend themselves to such dress, such as the extreme heat of Marrakech, Morocco, during the remake of *The Man Who Knew Too Much*. In another example of his carefully maintained image, despite becoming a U.S. citizen in 1955 and returning to the country of his birth only for short periods of time, most notably during the final years of World War II, Hitchcock presented himself, in manners and in speech, as British. In the U.S. popular imagination he is remembered as a slightly eccentric foreigner whose knack for injecting humanity and even humor into films of murderers, thieves, and spies, was spellbinding.

—George Woodward

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HITLER, ADOLF (1889–1945)

German Nazi leader

Adolf Hitler led the German Third Reich (the Nazi Party's regime from 1933 to 1945) to become the predominant political and military state in Europe between 1933 and 1941. By August 1941 he had annexed various German-speaking areas that were outside the original German borders (Sudetenland and Austria in particular), overthrown the Versailles Agreement completed at the end of World War I, incorporated Poland, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Norway into the German empire, forced the British back into Britain, and was on the brink of defeating the Soviet Union. From that point he oversaw the unraveling of all his achievements and witnessed Germany's defeat in 1945. He committed suicide on 30 April 1945, by which time 7.5 million Germans had died, as had over 6 million Jews and perhaps as many as 40 million Soviet soldiers and civilians.

PERSONAL BACKGROUND

Adolf Hitler was born in Braunau, on the Austrian side of the border with Bavaria, on 20 April 1889 (he did not acquire German citizenship until 1932). Alois Hitler, his alcoholic father who had been brought up as "Alois Schicklgruber" (his mother's maiden name), was a fifty-two-year-old customs officer when Adolf was born; Adolf's mother, Klara Pölzl, was the twenty-nine-year-old second cousin of Alois and also his third wife. Alois died in 1903 when Adolf was fourteen and, although Klara doted on her son, his general arrogance and laziness ensured that he failed to take his school-leaving certificate when he was sixteen. He then spent two years in Linz, posing as an artist, but failed to gain entrance to the Vienna Academy of the Arts. In 1907 his mother died of cancer following an anesthetic provided by a Jewish doctor, and it has been suggested that this provoked a deeply rooted, but unconscious, connection between Jews and the death of the only thing dear to Hitler. However, recently uncovered evidence shows that the family doctor, Ernest Bloch,

a Jew, had tried to help Hitler in 1895 when he was suffering from nightmares, possibly brought on by beatings from Alois. Bloch had suggested that Hitler be sent to a psychoanalyst in Vienna (possibly Sigmund Freud), and although Alois forbade it, Bloch appears to have been the only Jew whom Hitler personally saved from death, instructing the Nazi leader Martin Bormann to grant Bloch safe passage to Switzerland in 1938.

Following his mother's death Hitler became a vagrant in Vienna, eking out a living from his meager inheritance by selling postcard sketches before drifting to Munich in Germany. There he was arrested for evading military service but was excused on the grounds of physical weakness. Yet, when the war came in 1914, he eagerly joined the Bavarian army as a regimental runner; although he did not rise above the rank of corporal (he was considered lacking in leadership skills), his bravery earned him an Iron Cross. In many ways the time in the trenches was the crucible for Hitler's character formation, and he often looked back to this period of *kampfgemeinschaft* (community of warriors) born in the struggle at the front.

CONTEXT

Germany was, for many people, the last place to expect someone of Hitler's ilk to emerge: It was the cultural and intellectual center of Europe and, as the largest single nation in continental Europe, also had one of the most sophisticated labor and socialist movements. However, World War I left almost 10 million dead, a quarter of these German. It also left a huge financial debt. By 1923 the mark-dollar parity had risen from a ratio of 4 to 1 in 1914 to 4.2 trillion to 1. In this economic cauldron extremist political parties proliferated. By February 1921 the German Workers' Party was renamed the "National Socialist German Workers' Party" (Nazi) to appeal to socialist and nationalist supporters. Hitler remained employed by the German army for a brief period after the end of the war but soon left to become a full-time politician in the Nazi party. The "socialist" element was Hitler's interpretation of the trench camaraderie in which class and status had been



Adolf Hitler was considered a master speaker, able to use words and gestures to inspire the German people into following his leadership. Here, a highly animated Hitler addresses an audience in Berlin during the 1930s.

Source: Corbis; used by permission.

stripped away to leave just “Germans.” The party was “nationalist” because it opposed all those who disagreed with the rise of Germany. This blend of concerns is important because it enabled Hitler and the Nazis to recruit from a much more heterogeneous—and therefore larger—audience than any “purist” right-wing party could have done.

By 1922, Hitler’s world was wholly Manichean (dualistic) in origin: Everything was either good or evil, right or wrong, which mirrored his ceaseless drift toward rabid extremism, exemplified in his emotional mastery of public speaking and spells in jail, where he wrote *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle). Thus, if there was an extreme option Hitler would prefer to take it because he believed that only through extreme measures could his most feared and despised enemy, “Jewish Bolshevism” manifest in the Soviet Union, be subdued.

As the early 1930s progressed, the economic problems of the Weimar Republic (the name of the German government from 1919 to 1933) provided the unstable platform upon which the antidemocratic

policies of both the Nazi and the Communist Parties expanded. Eventually, as the conservative voters retreated into the arms of the Nazis, and the Communists continued to believe that the Social Democrats were just social fascists, German business and conservative political leaders assumed they could appoint Hitler as chancellor but control him as a puppet. They could not, and although Hitler took power constitutionally in 1933, he immediately undermined democracy and banned all political opposition and the trade union movement. He also eliminated his rivals within the Nazi Party, who were murdered in the “night of the long knives.”

Despite all this apparatus of terror, the Nazis never achieved more than 44 percent of the vote, although a majority of Germans voted for antidemocratic parties, and after he

was in power many Germans appeared either supportive of Hitler or at least acquiescent to his demands. Indeed, there is a strong argument that such support developed a mystical and spiritual aspect as Nazism became transformed into a state “religion.” It was but a short step from here to the cultivation of the “Führer [leader] myth”—not only was Hitler the savior of the nation, but also he could do no wrong, and consequently any wrongdoing by the Nazis must have taken place without his knowledge. Only thus could Hitler distance himself from what was actually happening.

By 1935, the Nuremberg Laws prevented Jews from holding citizenship of Germany and from marrying “Aryans,” and the legal attack was buttressed by terror, but until September 1941 it still appeared that no systematic genocide was intended for all Jews. However, by the winter of 1941–1942, 500,000 Jews had already been shot, and by 1942, extermination camps (as opposed to concentration camps) were opened in Sobibor, Treblinka, Majdanek, and Belzec, and an extermination extension was built at the Auschwitz concentration camp: Birkenau. By

March 1942 about three-quarters of all the 6 million victims of the Holocaust were still alive; a year later about three-quarters were dead, most of them murdered in Poland.

Yet, the German state was not the epitome of Nazi productivity, primarily because Hitler's political ideology undermined such productivity. Hence, while German business and engineers sought to rationalize production before and especially during the war, Hitler's fervent belief in a Darwinian struggle of the fittest was translated into an approach in which Hitler preferred not to make decisions and to allow the stronger party to emerge from the chaos of his indecision. This policy—or lack of it—allowed his subordinates to make decisions and to make policy that sometimes contradicted those of others as they “worked towards the Führer” (Kershaw 2001, 194), and critical strategic decisions were often delayed by Hitler until too late.

MILITARY LEADERSHIP

Hitler had little of the military genius he was credited with; he was a motivator, not an organizer. He could secure lightning victories by breaking the will of his opponents, but this was the limit of his “genius”—after his victim refused to cower before him he had no solution, political or military, to the problem. Hence when first Britain and then the Soviet Union did not sue for peace, even when the situation was dire, Hitler was unable to develop a coherent strategy. In fact, Hitler's attack upon the Soviet Union *had* paralyzed Soviet leader Joseph Stalin temporarily: Stalin did not address the Soviet people for two weeks, and contemporaries noted his ashen and shaken face. In a speech in May 1945, Stalin even thanked the Soviet people for *not* dismissing him at the time—although quite how



Hitler on the Use of Propaganda

Before Adolf Hitler rose to power in Nazi Germany, he served as head of propaganda for the Nazi Party. This excerpt from his book Mein Kampf spells out how he felt leaders should use propaganda.

All propaganda has to be popular and has to adapt its spiritual level to the perception of the least intelligent of those towards whom it intends to direct itself. Therefore its spiritual level has to be screwed the lower, the greater the mass of people which one wants to attract. But if the problem involved, like the propaganda for carrying on a war, is to include an entire people in its field of action, the caution in avoiding too high spiritual assumptions cannot be too great.

The more modest, then, its scientific ballast is, and the more it exclusively considers the feeling of the masses, the more striking will be its success. This, however, is the best proof whether a particular piece of propaganda is right or wrong, and not the successful satisfaction of a few scholars or “aesthetic” languishing monkeys.

This is just the art of propaganda that it, understanding the great masses' world of ideas and feelings, finds, by a correct psychological form, the way to the attention, and further to the heart, of the great masses. That our super-clever heads never understand this proves only their mental inertia or their conceit.

[. . .]

It is wrong to wish to give propaganda the versatility of perhaps scientific teaching.

The great masses' receptive ability is only very limited, their understanding is small, but their forgetfulness is great. As a consequence of these facts, all effective propaganda has to limit itself only to a very few points and to use them as slogans until even the very last man is able to imagine what is intended by such a word. As soon as one sacrifices this basic principle and tries to become versatile, the effect will fritter away, as the masses are neither able to digest the material nor to retain it. Thus the result is weakened and finally eliminated.

Source: Hitler, Adolf. (1939). *Mein Kampf*. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, pp. 332–333.

they could have done so is unclear; but Hitler never knew this.

When Stalin did not sue for peace the only “strategic” solution for Hitler was greater violence, and this simply induced the Soviets to even greater counter-violence. As historian Michael Geyer concludes, “The challenge of total war was to calibrate the increase of violence to the decline of the enemy's resolve. The unpremeditated outcome of the German practice of war was to escalate force and terror to the point that it stiffened the resistance of old enemies and created new ones” (Geyer 1986, 593).

Then, on 7 December 1941, the Japanese attacked the U.S. naval fleet at Pearl Harbor—much to Hitler’s glee, because he had been trying to get Japan to divert U.S. interests toward the Pacific and away from the Atlantic for months. Four days later, and quite unnecessarily—because there was no German-Japanese pact—Hitler declared war on the United States. Hitler had always intended to attack the United States, but at a future date when the Soviet Union was conquered and in alliance with Great Britain or in control of it. However, the difference between Hitler’s ultimate ambitions and his strategic skill at the time was becoming ever more visible.

Public support for Hitler, as measured by the SD (German Security Services), remained buoyant until the summer of 1942 and thereafter dropped in line with each German defeat and withdrawal. By July 1944, the public opinion reports were stopped because even their collection had become counter-productive. Among the troops, though, not until March 1945 did morale waver, and research among captured soldiers of the German army consistently showed around two-thirds strongly committed to Hitler.

Hitler’s health rapidly deteriorated after 1943; he became increasingly isolated and decreasingly successful. A failed assassination attempt in July 1944 merely increased his distrust of the military elite and encouraged him to interfere more disastrously with the development of new tanks, the V1 and V2 rockets, and the new Messerschmitt ME262 jet fighter. On all three counts Hitler demanded that designs for defensive weapons be reconstructed for offensive weapons, but the result was merely to delay their eventual production until it was too late.

Hitler’s leadership resided in the voluntary support of millions, but that was buttressed by the ever-present danger of imprisonment, torture, and death for many other millions. Whether Jews, Gypsies, Communists, Soviet Red Army commissars (Communist party officials), Red Army soldiers, political opponents, gays, the disabled or the mentally ill, all were fodder for the grisly machines of extermination. Here lies the irony: Hitler did not succeed so far as he did just because he was an individual will-

ing to undertake or legitimate *any* activity in the pursuit of his aims; rather he succeeded because millions of others *wanted* to help him. In Geyer’s terms, “the Nazi state did not require that everyone become a Nazi as long as the National Socialist leadership could convince Germans of the benefits of racist rule. Ideological politics were thus the promise of participation in the domination of others for one’s own and the common German benefit” (Geyer 1987, 62). As late as 1951, half of the citizens of the (West) German Federal Republic still regarded the period between 1933 and 1939 as the best in German history. It would appear, therefore, that far from Nazi propaganda constructing a German identity—and an identity for all those deemed enemies of the state by the Nazis—that misled a substantial proportion of the population into either supporting the Nazis or at least not standing up to them, Nazi propaganda, in novelist Aldous Huxley’s words (1936, 39), “canalize[d] an existing stream, [for] in a land where there is no water he digs in vain.”

—Keith Grint

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HOPE

Hope is a positive motivational construct that is related to effective goal attainments in a variety of life arenas—one of which is leadership. In this regard, hope (as defined by clinical psychologist C. R. Snyder [2002]) is a pattern of thinking in which the person has clearly defined goals, along with the perceived ability to identify effective strategies for attaining those goals (called *pathways* thinking) and the motivation to implement those strategies (called *agency* thinking).

CHARACTERISTICS OF HIGH-HOPE PERSONS

To comprehend high hope as applied to leadership, it is useful to examine the advantages of high- as compared to low-hope thinking. High-hope individuals have a large number of clear, well-articulated goals. Their goals are personally important and valuable. Moreover, they prefer *stretch goals*—challenging goals that push the limits of their personal abilities. Having such goals, high-hope persons are able to identify specific routes for attaining them.

If a goal is large, complex, or distant in time, the high-hope person can break this goal into subgoals that can be clearly conceptualized and easily obtained. In turn, as these smaller subgoals are attained, the success experiences foster a sense of agency, or goal-directed determination. As goals are pursued, therefore, successes along the way promote positive emotions that feed back and further energize the goal-striving, high-hope person. High-hope persons also are energized by their memories of past successes that further motivate them to use their pathways to reach desired goals. Furthermore, when an impediment is encountered in the pursuit of a goal, the high-hope person can think of alternative pathways to go around the obstacle and continue the quest toward the desired objective.

Not only are high-hope persons focused on attaining their goals, but they also are invested socially in their interactions with others. Not surprisingly, hopeful thinking develops in the context of secure and trustworthy childhood relationships with positive adult role models. Accordingly, high-hopers are

secure in their relationships with others, they support others' goals, and they take pleasure in others' accomplishments. Likewise, by providing support, high-hope people often are able to instill hope in others.

WHY HIGH-HOPE PEOPLE ARE EFFECTIVE LEADERS

There are several reasons why high-hope people are effective leaders. They are able to clearly conceptualize goals, they can articulate these succinct goals to others, and they can forge subgoals to complex goals that are large and temporally distant. As such, subgoals are the pathways (strategies or action plans) through which high-hope leaders are able to facilitate the attainment of large goals. In the organizational context, the high-hope leader's clear goal setting and facile communication provide lucid short- and long-term objectives for the group. Through their capacities to identify achievable subgoals, high-hope leaders increase the work motivation of group members and thereby enhance the likelihood of subsequent successes in reaching the larger organizational goals. Thus, the hopeful leader sparks the agency thinking of his or her "followers." Furthermore, because high-hope leaders are invested in and enjoy "social commerce," they are likely to take an active interest in the personal goals of their followers and act as "coaches" or mentors. In this way, high-hope leaders model hope for other workers. In turn, the followers eventually will be able to take on leadership roles themselves, thereby contributing even more to the group's success.

HOPE IN THE CONTEXT OF EXISTING THEORIES OF LEADERSHIP

To apply hope theory to existing leadership theories, we first must define leadership. This is a daunting task, for few scholars agree on a concise definition. Some have suggested that leadership is a process involving the "collaboration between a leader and responsive followers" (Hollander & Offermann 1990, 83), and we agree with this view. According to this model, the leadership functions of decision making, goal setting, communication, and conflict reso-

lution are accomplished through delegation of goal-directed activities to followers. Leadership implies a reciprocal interaction between those who lead and those who follow. On this point, the effectiveness of a leader depends largely on the leader's ability to create an environment where goals are well articulated and shared, where people know the routes to be used in pursuing those goals, and where people have the requisite motivation to see goals through to fruition. In short, effective leaders are able to create environments of hope.

Another view is that the hopeful leader provides a transformational model for followers. The *transformational leader* works toward attaining group goals by (1) imparting a clear conceptualization to the followers of the group's goals and gaining the followers' support for the means of attaining those goals (clear and shared goals, along with pathways); (2) convincing followers to place their own self-interests second to those of the group (shared goals); and (3) stimulating the motivation of followers (agency thinking). Hope fits each stage of this model. Such transformational leadership would seem to produce strong efforts by followers, fulfillment of the subordinates' job-related needs, and subordinates' satisfaction with their leaders.

Followers are motivated by the awareness that their own needs will be met through supporting the success of the group. In this regard, transformational leaders have three primary characteristics: (1) They are charismatic and inspiring; they are goal focused, engender trust, and energize their followers by arousing excitement and enthusiasm; (2) they give individual consideration to their followers; tasks are assigned to individuals based on the highest level of achievement of which the individual is capable; the role of the leader is one of "coach" and "mentor" in meeting the needs of subordinates; and (3) they provide intellectual stimulation; such leaders stimulate their follower's thoughts and imaginations so that followers come to view themselves as being capable of conceptualizing alternative problem-solving approaches to impediments. Each of these characteristics closely parallels the attributes of the high-hope person who takes a leadership role.

Other researchers have developed conceptualiza-

tions of leadership based on what leaders do. Accordingly, successful leadership can be summarized according to five practices, each of which contains two basic strategies. In the following table, the specific leadership processes identified by Posner and Kouzes (1990) are listed in the left column, with the corresponding hope theory component displayed in the right column:

<i>Posner & Kouzes Processes</i>	<i>Hope Theory Processes</i>
1. Challenging the process a. Searching for opportunities b. Experimenting and taking risks	1. Choosing challenging goals
2. Inspiring shared vision a. Envisioning the future b. Enlisting the support of others	2. Setting shared group goals
3. Enabling others to act a. Fostering collaboration b. Strengthening others	3. Instilling a sense of agency
4. Modeling the way a. Setting examples b. Planning small wins	4. Instilling pathways thinking
5. Encouraging the heart a. Recognizing contributions b. Celebrating accomplishments	5. Taking pleasure in successes so as to reward continued hopeful thinking

Clearly, a large part of effective leadership involves being a success-oriented individual who takes pride in the accomplishments of his or her group. This may not be enough, however. To be a truly effective leader, one also must attend to the needs of followers and nurture those relationships. Effective leaders are high in achievement *and* affiliation motivations. Sorrentino and Field (1986) posited that persons high in achievement motivation were high in the motive to succeed, but relatively unconcerned about avoiding failure. Persons high in affiliative motivation were posited to "seek friendship from others and have little fear of social rejection" (Sorrentino and Field 1986, 1092). Again, we find corollaries to hope theory. In this regard, approach goals foster positive emotions, whereas the

attainment of avoidance goals yields little in the way of benefits. High-hope persons are achievement oriented, but they also have secure attachments to others. As such, they actively pursue mutually supportive and collaborative relationships with other people.

Similarly, De Cremer and Van Vugt (2002) found that effective leaders fulfilled both instrumental needs (technical skills used to increase group efficiency) and relational group needs (perceptions of group belongingness fostered through fairness and commitment to the group). This theory is very similar to the achievement motivation (corresponding to technical skills) and affiliative motivation (corresponding to interpersonal skills) model, and both relate to the agency and pathways components of hope theory. Persons high in achievement motivation possess the technical skills to meet the instrumental needs of the group. In other words, they are able to identify clear pathways for meeting the goals of the group, all the while taking into account the group members' achievement needs. Persons high in affiliative motivation are able to instill in others the sense of trust, predictability, confidence, and an ethic of reciprocity. These latter processes then energize group members and instill the agency to actively support and pursue the group's goals.

HOPE, LEADERSHIP, AND THE FUTURE

Leaders play a crucial role in that they help to chart the directions of the groups of people who form societies. Thus, they help to produce the agenda for the future. That such leaders typically have high hope is encouraging in that such thinking is a robust predictor of successful goal attainments. It is likely that people become leaders in large part because of their abilities in imparting hope to others. In turn, hopeful leaders provide positive models for those people who carry out the many activities that make societies function.

—C. R. Snyder and Hal S. Shorey

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HOT GROUPS

Hot groups are relatively small groups of individuals characterized by an impassioned state of mind that is sharply focused on their task. The challenge of the task—not the relationships among the members or the structure of the group—is a hot group's compelling reason to exist.

The primary leader of any hot group is its task. The hot group's task is to its members as a charis-

matic leader is to his or her followers. The task inspires and impassions. It infuses the group members with dedication. Of course, human leaders are also present in most hot groups.

Hot groups work in a state of continuous combustion, soaring imagination, and endless effort, hence the label “hot groups.” The members’ conviction that the successful completion of their task will “change the world” spurs their all-out efforts. Because of the task’s potential to make this substantial difference, the hot group perceives its undertaking as an ennobling challenge, regardless of the dissenting opinion of others.

Hot groups are usually quite diverse in their composition, save for common interest and capacity to contribute to the task. Hot groups can be found in any imaginable setting, and they can form to address any imaginable task, as long as the members see the task as worthy. Rank, IQ, and personality may vary enormously among and within hot groups, but the members share an uncompromising standard of excellence.

BACKGROUND

Hot groups are not new. They have existed since humans first came together in groups. They are of particular interest now, however, because of their increasing importance in “startups” and large organizations whose life-blood is innovation. They are relevant to the leadership literature because of the intriguing and distinctive ways in which leadership is exercised within them. Hot groups, which tend to form organically, may involve several types of leaders, internal as well as external, and, in some cases, may have no designated leaders at all.

The internal leadership function in hot groups may rotate among the group members as the sequential stages of the task call for different types of expertise. When expertise that does not exist among the participants is required, new members may be introduced. These new members may then become group leaders for that stage of the task or may simply participate in the hot group until their part of the task is completed.

The leadership dynamic of hot groups sets them apart from more traditional groups, such as commit-

tees, teams, task forces, and other appointed or elected groups, where the leadership structure is clearer and more stable. In fact, hot group members often seem oblivious to the existence of the leader, focusing instead on the self-propelled activity of all the members. The organic and usually informal manner in which hot groups develop further differentiates them from other, more highly organized groups with more traditional structures, membership recruitment, and member-expulsion methods.

Hot groups usually originate from an innovative idea put forth by one or more individuals, who then informally recruit other members on the basis of their interest, specific expertise, and potential contribution to the task. Paradoxically, hot groups are simultaneously democratic and elitist in that they welcome anyone who can contribute, regardless of organizational rank but, by the same token, vigorously reject any would-be members who cannot help advance the hot group’s progress.

THREE TYPES OF LEADERS

Hot groups have three types of leaders: conductors, patrons, and keepers of the flame. Conductors are hands-on leaders who participate as active members of the group. In many instances a conductor is the individual who had the initial idea around which the hot group has coalesced. Like other more traditional leaders, the conductor initiates the agenda but does not have complete authority over its substance. The group sets the timetable as well as the criteria by which the members’ contributions and the quality of the outcome will be evaluated. The conductor moves things along, nurtures the group, and ensures that the members do not suffer burnout in this high-intensity, high-excitement environment.

Patrons, the second type of leader, serve as the interface between the hot group and its external environment, be that the larger, formal organization or a general community to which the members belong. The patron is usually someone with recognized status and high credibility within the hot group’s extended environment. Acting as an ambassador or champion for the hot group, the patron interprets its purpose and progress to the parent organization. The

patron also garners resources from that larger context for the hot group. Moreover, the patron explains the occasional “over the top” behavior of the hot group to the frequently perplexed or resentful external environment. Whereas the conductor is ordinarily responsible for calming the internal waters of the hot group, the patron calms the larger organizational or community sea on which the hot group sails.

The keeper of the flame, the third type of hot group leader, is the magnetic core for sequential hot groups. Most hot groups dissolve when their task is completed. During the course of their intense activity, however, new sparks of hot group ideas begin to glow. The keeper of the flame fans those sparks and initiates follow-on hot groups. The new groups may or may not include other members of the original group. The keeper of the flame may continue with various offshoots of the original hot group over a considerable length of time, sometimes decades, as in the case of research groups.

SPECIAL CHALLENGES FOR LEADERS OF HOT GROUPS

Hot groups develop organically, live short, intense lives, and then disperse. Their leaders thus face special challenges, quite different from the challenges faced by leaders of appointed or elected groups, which have a specifically designated and often longer term.

First, potential leaders need to adopt an agricultural, rather than an engineering, paradigm. This means leaders of hot groups must develop methods for seeding, feeding, and weeding their groups, so they can take root and produce their harvest.

Second, the leaders—particularly patrons but also conductors—need to tend the hot group’s relationship to its parent organization so that, when its task is complete, the hot group’s product will be adopted, utilized, and promoted by the larger group. This is a particularly important leadership challenge because the hot group’s laser-like focus on its task, its voracious absorption of resources, its rejection of inappropriate would-be or nonproductive members, and its general propensity to ignore organizational norms often cause widespread ripples and resentments that

the engrossed hot group members barely notice. The leader needs to balance the single-mindedness of the hot group so that it does not inadvertently abuse those parts of the organization from which it needs to attain human, budgetary, and other resources. Because the hot group is frequently unaware of the organizational feathers it has ruffled, patrons and conductors need to engage in considerable feather smoothing.

Third, because hot groups are seedbeds of innovation, leaders need to recruit, but keep in reasonable check, “wild ducks,” those highly individualistic, creative members who resist organizational grooming. Leaders must maintain a balance between keeping on track their hot groups, with their complement of wild ducks, and giving them the freedom to pursue new, creative strategies, particularly when their original plans may prove fruitless.

A fourth and related challenge involves striking another balance: between encouraging the greatest expression of members’ individuality and creativity and protecting those members from retribution by the parent group. This equilibrium enables the group to pursue innovations that nurture the larger organization.

REWARD SYSTEMS AND THE LEADER’S ROLE

Two related rewards are most central for hot groups and their leaders. Both are group, rather than individual, rewards. The first is the very process of working on the task. Hot groups get paid off in “flow,” the joy of simply engaging in a task that every member sees as worthy, even ennobling, regardless of how trivial it may seem to outsiders. The second reward follows from the successful completion of the task. The first reward, the flow, is always there. The second, successful completion, is, of course, an uncertain reward, bringing immense pleasure with success and punishing pain with failure.

Rewards offered by those outside the group may have either positive or negative effects. The key is whether the rewards go to the whole group or to the individuals within it. Rewards—bonuses, promotions, and prizes—given to the entire group by the parent or other organizations are likely to have positive effects on hot groups. Individual rewards are

almost always divisive and disruptive. They introduce intragroup competition where previously there had been collaboration and common purpose. The exception—and it is rare—is a reward given to an individual member *by* the whole hot group.

The leader's role (for those hot groups who have clearly identified leaders) is not to offer formal rewards, but rather to reassure, pick up the group in down times, and, on occasion, inspire. The hot group leader's responsibility is *not* to reward individual group members for their contributions. The group may or may not choose to do that. If group leaders do elect to reward the whole group for its progress, they should do so with caution. Group members know when they have made progress, so rewards that do not match real advances may be seen as hypocritical game playing.

LIMITATIONS

Hot groups in organizations do not always go the way their parent intends them to go. Hot groups respond to targets better than to predefined plans for achieving them. They do not stick to blueprints. If one plan doesn't seem to be working, they will drop it and try another. They stay fixed on task but flexible about process.

Hot groups may deliberately identify an enemy or a competitor in order to increase their own heat. Often that "enemy" is the organization in which the hot groups are embedded, which the groups may see as stodgy and rule bound. Or the enemy may be some entity in the larger external environment. Patrons and conductors need to make certain that hot groups' strategies for "psyching" themselves to creative heights do not backfire by making real enemies out of straw enemies.

Hot groups are usually short-lived, and they dissolve when the task is completed. Although this brief life span is not necessarily a drawback, in large organizations it requires grouping and regrouping. Human resources officers must be prepared to find new, equally challenging assignments for members when their group ends.

Hot group experiences may be so fulfilling that some members may become hot group "junkies."

After a hot group experience, they find normal routines dull and uninspiring. Consequently, they go searching for new hot groups to join, even when that means leaving the parent organization.

Hot groups must be farmed, rather than engineered. That is, organizations must create a milieu that will permit hot groups to grow, conditions that include easy communication within and across organizational levels, and an atmosphere that encourages imagination and experimentation. It is difficult to design a hot group in the way one might design a task force or a committee.

Hot groups have become particularly relevant in our rapidly changing organizational world. They are fast and flexible and, therefore, effective in crisis situations. They are also the seedbeds of creativity and innovation. Hot groups are excellent mechanisms for helping people find meaning through work. Members of hot groups invariably feel that they are engaged in something meaningful and important that justifies their vigorous dedication and work ethic.

IMPLICATIONS AND RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Hot groups probably will become more commonplace and useful in the future. They are fast, innovative, responsive, and short-lived, all appropriate qualities for a world increasingly beset by crises, changes, and uncertainties. Hot groups can be thought of as flexible, imaginative "rapid response" units for dealing with the unexpected.

Hot groups in the past have arisen most frequently in small organizations, such as high-tech startups. Large, traditional organizations will have to modify their cultures in significant ways to encourage and integrate such groups into their operational systems.

Research is needed to answer these and other questions:

1. What are the most significant characteristics of effective hot group leaders?
2. What are the conditions most conducive to the growth of hot groups?
3. How can large, hierarchical organizations integrate open, nonhierarchical hot groups into their "normal" operations?

4. What conditions are necessary for virtual hot groups to form and work in cyberspace? What kinds of individuals can initiate and lead them?

—Jean Lipman-Blumen and Harold J. Leavitt

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HUMAN RIGHTS

Human rights leadership in the twenty-first century is developing in the midst of worldwide debate about which institutions should predominate globally in the

governance of human organizations. Innumerable actors are involved in these interrelationships—national, subnational, and transnational—representing widely varied views. These actors also have widely varied capacities and commitments regarding the exercise of personal example, peaceful persuasion, manipulation, coercion, or even overwhelming violence toward those people appearing to oppose them.

In significant ways, current conditions for human rights leadership are similar to those in which the human rights movement first greatly expanded at the end of World War II. Widespread horror at recent spectacles of mass human suffering and organized cruelty led many people then, as now, to determine that all humans deserve the rights of freedom, dignity, and safety because they are human and that these rights must be asserted around the world. Too many people had seen with their own eyes or learned in the media about events so terrible that they felt that no human being should ever again be treated like that. More world leaders were concluding also that if there is to be hope in this increasingly interdependent world for long-term humane conditions of life for people anywhere, there must be worldwide-agreed goals, standards, institutions, and enforcement for how all people must be treated. Influential people were beginning to believe that for there to be peace in the world, the world must build human rights.

After World War II, however, many leaders also were deciding that modern technology provides so much danger of extreme damage to whole populations and their protective governing structures, from sudden attacks by armed aggressors, that new structures and methods for national, regional, and worldwide security must be developed to prevent and defend against such attacks. National security structures developed during World War II were expanded, and even the United States and other democracies substantially increased secret government information and activity that ordinary citizens were not allowed to know. Within the new world security structure, the United Nations Security Council, measures were backed selectively by leaders of the five major powers and nonpermanent members according to the individual national security needs they perceived in differing situations as they lined up

on the two major sides or attempted to stay neutral during the “Cold War,” which lasted until nearly the twentieth century’s end.

Some of the most important security goals during the Cold War and since, such as the prevention of nuclear war, have coincided with the goals of human rights leaders. Some of the most important human rights goals, such as the prevention of genocide, in most specific cases have been assessed by national security leaders as not sufficiently important to their own nation’s security to be worth spending the political, economic, military, and human assets to prevent. This was true for twentieth-century genocides in Cambodia, Iraq, Rwanda, and other countries.

By the twentieth century’s end, however, political leaders had begun more publicly expressing regret after failing to counter ongoing genocide. U.S. Presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush, in leading military interventions, in, respectively, Kosovo (1999) and Iraq (2003), justified those actions to some extent in regional security terms, citing the countering of genocide as a grave, related matter. Governmental and nongovernmental political and human rights leaders do not yet agree on what scale of human rights atrocities within a sovereign state justifies outside military intervention. Some observers at the time believed the United States to have less-principled reasons for the Kosovo and Iraq interventions. Other observers believed that less-principled reasons in other world capitals helped explain why U.S.-led military intervention in those cases received less than the clearest U.N. authorization.

During the twenty-first century’s first decade, to be sure, struggles for influence among national, subnational, and transnational structures are more complex than during the two-sided Cold War, although U.S. leaders are backed by more force than much of the rest of the world combined. Furthering the complexity, increasing technological capacity has enabled fewer individuals to cause more suffering and damage, creating more terror on behalf of whatever cause, with smaller weapons of “ordinary” and mass destruction. Transnational and small groups now more easily can cause massive damage to human rights and national security in the same blows.

Therefore, as when modern national security structures were developing after World War II, the most serious contemporary challenge for human rights leadership is to improve human rights in a worldwide context of intensely increased focus on national and international security. The present security context amplifies sovereign state responsibility to prevent small or transnational groups from instigating international violence from within their borders. As sovereign states perceive their own interests threatened also by such groups—or in some countries by legitimate opposition—they are motivated or further emboldened to control or eliminate them. One major result is considerably increased pressure on civil and political rights in many countries. Affected in varying degrees are rights to privacy, government information, free expression and association, and legal representation, the right to be charged or released, the right to open and fair trials before a jury, and rights against torture and inhumane treatment.

Human rights leaders, therefore, first must continue to demonstrate to world leaders how decreases in human rights have initiated downward spirals in which reciprocal damage to security and human rights has led to armed conflict, chaos, and finally to major security threats from seriously dysfunctional and failing states. More challenging to human rights leaders, they must bring to bear an enormous range of knowledge, skills, and capacities of character to demonstrate in a great range of situations how legitimate, effective security can be realistically maintained and increased while maintaining and improving human rights.

In the best case, twenty-first-century human rights leaders can help lead the world to soundly based transformations in which national, regional, and international security mind-sets become increasingly congruent with human rights and human security standards set forth in the world’s foremost human rights document, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In the worst case, far more pessimistic, coercive, and ultimately unrealistic security views among world leaders might prevail. In such a scenario, even some human rights now seen as basic could be perceived as affordable only at unaccept-

able expense to national and international security. As technology continues to develop, such pessimistic security views could lead to widespread degradation in conditions of human existence.

In addition to this long-term, conceptually based security challenge to human rights leadership, the majority of worldwide human rights leaders have immediate security problems that the fewer who enjoy political freedom and relative safety do not have. This higher proportion of human rights leaders must struggle under severe political oppression and personal danger. For them especially, human rights leadership decisions can have major effects on their collective and personal security. At this writing, Burma's (Myanmar's) Nobel Peace Prize-winning heroine Aung San Suu Kyi is perhaps the most famous human rights leader who, along with the great majority of Burma's peoples quietly supporting her as they live together under military dictatorship, must make crucial decisions with momentous implications for human security and suffering.

The tremendous variety of conditions that human rights leaders in various situations must deal with leads to the proposition that such leaders, to achieve maximum human rights improvement with least suffering, must excel in the variety of approaches they understand, in their judgment about which methods to use in what situations, and in their ability to inspire in others clear thinking and long-term loyalty to the effort. Fortunately for potential human rights leaders, previous examples provide many cases to examine. Careful students can use these cases to identify which basic approaches and supporting methods might best produce specific human rights improvements, in what time frames they might do so, how much additional human damage and suffering various means might involve, and in which cultural, political, and technological circumstances particular strategies might function best.

For open-minded leaders many possibilities exist to further human rights. These possibilities suggest that all persons who want to improve human rights can find some way to lead in that direction, on however small a scale, whatever their circumstances. For those who might make human rights leadership a central commitment, the rich possibilities, along

with the skills and character development their use implies, point to a deeply engaging and productive, if at times difficult, way to use one's life for the benefit of humankind.

HISTORICAL EXAMPLES

Looking back to major pre-World War II examples of human rights leadership, one remembers that political leaders of the U.S. and French revolutions asserted civil and political rights for ordinary persons not previously anywhere guaranteed. Leaders of both drew on common European visions of human nature and rights articulated by the English philosopher John Locke, the French philosopher and author Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and others, in the historic U.S. Declaration of Independence (1776) and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man (1789). However, the level of ferocity and human suffering associated with the French Revolution was markedly higher than with the U.S. revolution.

Students of human rights leadership can find significant differences between the U.S. and French examples to explain the different results. One important difference was that educated, landed leaders of the U.S. colonies had more than one hundred years of experience in relative self-governance at a meaningful distance from decisive English imperial force. Even ordinary U.S. colonists had more experience than did ordinary French persons in practical freedoms, on their relatively large farms and in their independent small businesses, less supervised by traditional aristocracy in the expanding U.S. colonies.

Due partly also to less-intense experience of abuse from those above them, U.S. revolutionists demonstrated less pent-up rage than did the French. Leaders of contemporary oppressed groups often have extracted the principle, from these and more recent examples, that participants in their causes may need considerable training to stay within agreed limits in their own approach toward violence so as to further their long-term human rights goals, regardless of strong feelings that particular situations might provoke.

During the second quarter of the twentieth century, Russian revolutionary leaders presided over a

(text continued on p. 684)



Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Article 1.

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2.

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3.

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4.

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5.

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6.

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7.

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8.

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9.

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10.

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11.

(1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12.

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13.

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14.

(1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

(2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15.

(1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16.

(1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17.

(1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18.

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19.

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20.

- (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.
- (2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21.

- (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
- (2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.
- (3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22.

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23.

- (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
- (2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
- (3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.
- (4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24.

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25.

- (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood,

old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

- (2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26.

- (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.
- (2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.
- (3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27.

- (1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.
- (2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28.

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29.

- (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.
- (2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.
- (3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30.

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

longer and more massive reign of terror than had leaders of the French revolution. Before that time, Russian opposition leaders, peasants, and proletariat had experienced even less exposure to self-governance and more intense abuse than had their French counterparts. Many human rights advocates would now note that the Marxist vision of economic and social human rights, although producing the first leadership commitment by a large nation to economic, social, and cultural provisions in the later Universal Declaration of Human Rights, was fatally flawed, as led by the Soviet leaders Vladimir Lenin and Joseph Stalin, in its practical rejection of civil and political freedoms for “dictatorship of the proletariat.” By the twentieth century’s end, while demands for economic, social, and cultural rights had greatly strengthened worldwide, Stalin’s role regarding human rights was more widely viewed as monstrous than monumental.

The principle learned from Stalin’s Soviet leadership, however, is suited not only for political leaders who might emphasize economic, social, and cultural human rights at the expense of civil and political ones. Those political leaders, in contrast, who champion civil and political rights, with too little attention to economic, social, and cultural rights for all, are now widely recognized to risk mounting rage from young people growing up in deprivation while watching the privileged on television, however politically free those young people might be to gather and speak.

One illuminating example of human rights leadership was set by Eleanor Roosevelt in leading the new United Nations Human Rights Commission’s effort, soon after the twentieth century’s most devastating war, to forge an international bill of human rights. Mrs. Roosevelt had benefited greatly from close exposure to the thinking and executive action of her husband, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, in response to the Great Depression of the 1930s and to the horrors of World War II. She understood well his legacy of “four freedoms” (freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear) and the influential human rights legacy of World War I President Woodrow Wilson. Mrs. Roosevelt recognized also that the world of that time was divided roughly among lead-

ers and constituencies emphasizing civil and political rights; those emphasizing economic, social, and cultural rights; those emphasizing freedom from colonial rule; and those who felt threatened by human rights concepts in general. In presiding over the drafting committee Mrs. Roosevelt exercised leadership principles well gauged to deal with these and other complex constituent priorities.

First, Mrs. Roosevelt facilitated open, fair, inclusive, but well-disciplined process. The committee considered drafts from a broad base of ideas and proposals from sources around the world. Participants in the committee were free to express themselves on each issue fully but not so repetitively as to prevent the committee from proceeding to decision.

Second, Mrs. Roosevelt managed important accommodation in substance among philosophically divided committee members. She had to deal with the essential principle, if agreement were to be reached, of inclusion in this major world document of the most important human rights concepts from both sides of the Cold War. On the other hand was the equally essential principle, if the rights were to be enforceable, of binding agreements for the rights enumerated. Mrs. Roosevelt was painfully aware, however, that no member of the committee would accept binding provisions for all of the rights that were considered so essential, by one or more other committee members, as to prevent committee approval of a document without them.

Therefore, Mrs. Roosevelt encouraged the drafting committee toward reaching realistic compromise without sacrificing principle. One subcommittee would draft a world universal declaration. That document would assert for all humankind the fullest enumeration of human rights that the entire committee could be persuaded to accept in principle but that no country at the time would fully meet. To increase acceptance of a fuller range, the rights would be phrased in general terms rather than in binding language that might seriously endanger passage by the U.N. General Assembly. Another subcommittee would begin work on a binding covenant, especially important to small nations feeling comparatively defenseless among larger ones.

Work on the binding covenant went slowly

because nations perceived many obstacles to signing legal commitments. However, with Mrs. Roosevelt's leadership the committee managed to keep up momentum to finish the nonbinding Universal Declaration, with a quite comprehensive human rights blueprint drawn from each side of the Cold War.

Third, Eleanor Roosevelt pinned her long-term strategy on encouraging worldwide creation of cultures of human rights. Personally, she focused much of her later work, after serving as drafting committee chair, on assisting African-American efforts to secure equal rights. Overall, her goal was to empower ordinary people everywhere to develop human rights cultures supporting both enactment and implementation of binding human rights documents. These cultures would continue to reflect the many differences among human traditions, but they also would support in common the spread of respect and voluntary observance of all the rights in the Universal Declaration. Mrs. Roosevelt's inspiring conceptualization has reached a wide audience: "Where, after all, do universal human rights begin? In small places, close to home—so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any maps of the world. Yet they are the world of the individual person; the neighborhood he lives in; the school or college he attends; the factory, farm, or office where he works. Such are the places where every man, woman, and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere. Without concerted citizen action to uphold them close to home, we shall look in vain for progress in the larger world" (Roosevelt 1958).

The final document agreed to by the United Nations on 10 December 1948 as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a magnificent accomplishment of human rights leadership, not only by Mrs. Roosevelt and the small number of drafting committee framers, but also by all the governmental and nongovernmental organizations; world leaders; representatives of world religious, philosophical, and political traditions; and ordinary people who pressed for and contributed to its content. The declaration is simply and clearly expressed. It is written for and completely accessible to the ordinary person, thereby

helping to emphasize that human rights are basic to the organized human condition and can be accomplished largely through leadership and practical self-determination by all of the ordinary people to whom the rights belong.

Since passage of the Universal Declaration, governments, international organizations, and people in difficult circumstances everywhere have exerted human rights leadership by asserting Universal Declaration provisions where there have not yet been legally binding agreements. In that way, the declaration has become recognized as the preeminent world human rights document and has achieved some meaningful legal force in itself. Therefore, a simple, important act of human rights leadership, available to everyone who can read and who has access to a copy of the Universal Declaration, is to memorize its relatively short text of thirty crucial universal human rights. Those people who cannot read can be helped orally to learn it. A second simple, important act that can be repeated often is to share the declaration's contents with others and engage in respectful dialogue about their meaning. A third simple, important act, easily a lifetime practice, is to act in whatever spheres one can to increase respect, voluntary observance, and enforcement when necessary of each Universal Declaration right.

MANY POSSIBILITIES

Since the U.N. agreed to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, individuals and groups all over the world have demonstrated an astounding number of ways to increase respect, voluntary observance, and enforcement of human rights. For example, when adopting the goals of the Universal Declaration, the United Nations also achieved agreement on one major binding agreement. Responding to the Nazi campaign to exterminate all Jews and others they deemed "inferior," and greatly spurred on by the tireless human rights leadership of Polish Jewish Holocaust survivor Raphael Lemkin, the U.N. General Assembly passed the Convention on Prevention and Punishment of Genocide one day before it agreed to the declaration. Since then, the continuing strong leadership of dedicated individuals and groups,



A man tries to hold back the crowd in Tiananmen Square in 1989 as citizens demonstrate for increased individual rights and political reform.
Source: Corbis; used by permission.

working with many governmental and nongovernmental constituencies, has secured U.N. enactment of additional binding international agreements. Primary have been the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (1966). Human rights and political leaders working together have succeeded also in passing the International Convention on Elimination of Racial Discrimination (1965); the International Convention on Elimination of Discrimination against Women (1979); the International Convention on Rights of the Child (1989); the International Convention against Torture (1984); and others.

At the national level, U.S. President Jimmy Carter led the U.S. executive branch in early explicit efforts to fit foreign policy measures to human rights standards. Persons organizing legislative human rights groups, such as U.S. Congressman Tom Lantos and his wife Annette (both Hungarian-American Jewish Holocaust survivors saved by Swedish hero Raoul Wallenberg) have fostered legislative environments increasingly conducive to enacting laws supporting human rights. Most human rights advocates would agree on the importance of continued leadership in legislatures worldwide, not only to adopt binding documents reflecting the rights in the Universal Declaration, but also to monitor executive branch implementation.

Since the declaration was signed, citizens' organ-

izations to support human rights have arisen in large numbers. The founders of Amnesty International led the world in organizing global citizen capacity to end torture and free prisoners of conscience. World War II resistance heroine Ginetta Sagan, rescued from torture herself, exercised dynamic leadership in expanding Amnesty International's activity. Amnesty International members flood the offices of dictators with polite letters, citing accurate documentation of a prisoner's nonviolence and the human rights violations alleged toward him or her. They keep writing until the prisoner is freed. Amnesty International has carefully expanded its scope; its membership has grown exponentially; and many organizations now emulate the Amnesty International model. Human Rights Watch, another prominent nongovernmental organization, has led in conducting research on nations with serious human rights violations and in publicizing U.S. and other influential policies toward those nations. Their model also has been widely followed.

Beginning in 1920, before the Universal Declaration, Indian anti-colonialist and Hindu pacifist leader Mohandas Gandhi set the world's most famous example of mass nonviolent civil disobedience, leading the people of India toward human rights and freedom from British colonial rule. Several times Gandhi stopped violence, by his own supporters or between Indian Hindus and Muslims, only by refusing to eat, on occasion for weeks, until respect for his action ended the violence. In the United States, Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. followed Gandhi's example, leading a mass nonviolent movement during the 1950s and 1960s to gain civil rights for African-Americans. Tragically, his personal example ended in assassination, as did Gandhi's, but like Gandhi's moral influence, Dr. King's lives on.

U.S. labor leader César Chávez, leading a mass nonviolent movement to gain farm worker labor rights, is thought to have shortened his life through hunger strikes that influenced employers and the public. Like Gandhi, King, and others since, Chavez used economic pressure to further his human rights cause. From his prison cell in South Africa, before he was president (1994–1999), Nelson Mandela

inspired continued national and international resistance to end apartheid, combining nonviolent actions and economic boycott to reduce perceived need for violent resistance while increasing pressure against the violent regime. In the end, leading the African National Congress, he oversaw peaceful regime change, adoption of a democratic South African constitution, successful nuclear nonproliferation, and a Truth and Reconciliation Commission process that helped South Africa's peoples begin to heal from apartheid.

Mass nonviolent movements, often with strong student leadership, have helped tame oppressive regimes also in Asia, central and eastern Europe, and elsewhere. The peaceful, principled human rights leadership of Czech author Vaclav Havel is one of the late twentieth century's most admired examples. Nonviolent movements are currently the widest accepted method to achieve human rights and self-determination, partly because many people believe that they add up to less total suffering and more effective action against authoritarian regimes than do dynamics of armed resistance.

Some people who reject violent resistance in every case are criticized by others who note that successful nonviolent resistance movements often have coexisted in their political environment with movements using some degree of violence. Although the nonviolent movement may honestly denounce all armed action, some people who have supported armed groups have believed those groups assisted a nonviolent movement, in the "good cop, bad cop" tradition, in gaining leverage against an oppressive regime. This uneasy question is not yet entirely resolved within some early twenty-first-century groups seeking to escape oppression through efforts toward self-determination.

However, because increasing technology and expanded munitions trafficking during the twentieth century added greatly to devastation wreaked by armed conflicts on civilians, and because more people now believe war to be irrational in the context of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, more European and U.S. citizens are concluding that armed conflict is almost never justified. They see war in itself as causing massive deprivations of human

rights and in the modern context as unacceptably multiplying risks of mass injury and annihilation.

Many persons, whether or not they would ever justify armed action, exercise human rights leadership by learning and teaching conflict prevention and resolution. Others lead by helping dissipate psychological trauma caused by torture and other abuse, so that abused persons can regain some inner peace and better avoid passing trauma on to others. Yet others educate the public about how relationships among humans and other living beings, international trade arrangements, capital markets, energy sources, defense alliances, labor rights, toxic waste management, environmental conditions, equal empowerment of women, media ownership, corporate shareholder activism, human diet, and other factors can affect development of armed conflicts or development of peace.

So many members of so many groups have devised ways to exercise human rights leadership that it truly seems that everyone can do so. Doctors, lawyers, psychologists, journalists, and many more have organized to document human rights conditions and support human rights improvements in their areas of specialty. Professors and teachers engage in research and develop curricula at all levels. Some business leaders develop practices to support human rights in other countries where they invest. Clergy preach and help victims and activists toward spiritual comfort. Essayists, fiction writers, and poets write movingly about human rights conditions, and cartoonists pierce public denial while making the public laugh. Truck drivers played a key role in the largely peaceful overthrow of Serbian ruler Slobodan Milosevic in 2000.

Theater workers have developed subspecialties to promote political and economic rights, amusing while educating literate and illiterate alike. Musical performers initiate human rights fundraising concerts. Celebrities travel the world raising consciousness toward prevention of land mines and treatment for AIDS. Foundations and philanthropists fund relevant projects. Children learn human rights principles and defend them in their neighborhoods. Internet, computer, and media specialists help the world understand human rights more thoroughly through TV,

radio, film, and the Internet and organize electronically in large numbers to support their improvement.

Altogether these efforts and many more have greatly increased worldwide understanding of the importance of human rights for groups formerly despised, ignored, or forgotten. Human rights leaders have supported the rights of women, children, racial and ethnic groups, and everyone else to civil, political, and religious freedoms. They also have organized to support the rights of—and directly to assist—the elderly and dying; the homeless and hungry; the disabled; indigenous peoples; lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered persons; persons in slavery; convicted inmates; refugees and the internally displaced; and those who lack decent housing, health care, work, and education. Rights for all of these persons are not universally accepted, and some are asserted in situations where they appear to conflict with others.

Therefore, there will continue to be crucial roles for human rights leaders who engage in careful research and facilitate respectful dialogue to reconcile differing views about human rights among people of different nationalities, political philosophies, races, religions, and many other characteristics. Many such leaders contribute incalculably in every role in society. Some globally influential examples are South African Christian Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Vietnamese Buddhists Thich Nhat Hanh and Sister Chan Khong, Romanian-American Jewish Holocaust survivor and author Elie Wiesel, Sudanese Muslim human rights scholar Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im, and U.S. Sioux native religionist and legal scholar Vine Deloria, Jr. Perhaps best known is Tibet's fourteenth Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, who continues to frame Tibet's long, peaceful struggle for productive dialogue with China regarding his Five-Point Peace Plan, in the areas of politics, the environment, security, and human rights, to help bridge gaps in understanding around the globe.

Human rights leadership from World War II until the present has achieved far wider acceptance of all of the goals in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights than was the case in 1948. Nevertheless, the goals' universal fulfillment appears far removed in a modern world plagued with unconscionable human

rights violations and vicious armed conflicts. Most human rights advocates would agree on the great need for dedicated human rights leaders of all ages in every human environment.

Some human rights advocates are encouraged, however, that the number of people worldwide who deeply desire to adapt human institutions to serve human rights cultures continues in rapid growth. They believe there is reason to hope that careful and cooperative leadership by everyone who understands the importance of human rights to the future of humanity gradually will adapt security and other crucial human institutions such that increasingly they will interrelate to support realistic, worldwide fulfillment of all of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

—Margery Gibbons Farrar

See also Economic Justice; Globalization; Roosevelt, Eleanor

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HUMOR

Leadership dynamics constitute a fertile site for the emergence of humor. Incongruities, paradoxes, and contradictions in leadership practices can be ideal source material for humor, irony, and laughter. Furthermore, leadership humor is not only significant, but also more complex and ambiguous than it may at first appear.

Typically, leadership is viewed as a highly rational process, concerned with serious issues such as strategic vision, decision making, inspiration, and the effective exercise of power. Historical evidence reinforces this view. Leaders throughout the ages have frequently tried to retain a rather somber demeanor. In their concern with social control, they have sometimes viewed jocularity as uncivilized or dangerous and have sought its censorship through exhortation or legal imposition, or both.

SUPPRESSING HUMOR

Religious leaders in England from the late fifteenth century through the seventeenth century censored many forms of humor, especially jests against the clergy. As part of a wider civilizing process, this repression of laughter also became central to the maintenance of a particular kind of identity that dis-

played dignity, encouraged others' deference, and distinguished the elite from the common folk. The rationale behind the censorship mirrored the ideas of the ancient Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle, who argued that amusement caused people to lose control of their reason. Plato prohibited laughter in his academy, while Aristotle associated excessive laughter with vulgarity and the lower classes.

Leaders in totalitarian dictatorships have often taken very seriously the idea that jokes are potentially subversive and revolutionary. For example, the Nazi regime attempted a systematic prohibition of critical forms of humor both in Germany and occupied countries such as Czechoslovakia. Immediately after becoming chancellor in 1933, Hitler made anti-Reich jokes a criminal offense and satirical books were banned and burned.

Early industrial capitalists implemented a strict work ethic based on Calvinist Protestantism's puritanical doctrines of predestination, self-control, and avoidance of pleasure in favor of a somber, calculated rationality. In the 1930s and 1940s, managers at Henry Ford's River Rouge plant in Dearborn, Michigan, prohibited workers from talking and fired some employees for smiling and laughing with colleagues. In the contemporary workplace, leaders are often concerned that employees' Internet use and cyberhumor may be unhelpful distractions that might result in lawsuits against the company if they involve potentially offensive jokes.

MANUFACTURING HUMOR

Clearly, in certain historical contexts leaders have sought to suppress humor. Yet research also suggests that leaders themselves frequently use humor. Joking is often the prerogative of those in authority, and leaders can use humorous situations to clarify status and power relations in ways that facilitate their exercise of power and control. Conversely, in the presence of superiors, subordinates tend either to refrain from joking or to make their humor non-threatening. Studies have emphasized the importance of humor for leaders in negotiating paradox and ambiguity and in facilitating leadership decision making. They also suggest that leaders' humor may establish in subor-

dinates a feeling of belonging. In addition, leaders' humor in certain circumstances can mask the authoritarian content of a message, while also defusing opposition.

Political leaders and their speech writers have recognized the value of utilizing humor for political purposes. It can help politicians to be seen as warm, relaxed, and approachable. The U.S. presidents Reagan, Ford, and Clinton all used self-deprecating forms of humor in order to build a sense of community, defuse criticism, and disarm political enemies. They understood that making voters laugh can also help to secure their votes. In the United Kingdom, some politicians have developed reputations for their ability to use wit, irony, and satire as weapons of political conflict on the floor of the House of Commons.

In contemporary organizations, there has also been a growth of interest in humor as a tool for increasing employee motivation. Leaders and managers have increasingly identified a positive connection between employee humor, laughter, and productivity. In the United States especially, there are now a significant number of so-called humor consultants who encourage leaders to recognize the workplace benefits of laughter and humor. Writers and consultants have promoted the view that leaders should use humor as a tool of persuasion to solve problems and exercise discipline. They suggest that humor can make for more effective leadership. Not only can jocularity foster divergent thinking, creative problem solving, and a willingness to take risks, but it can also humanize the hierarchy by making leaders more approachable. Writers also suggest that humor can provide a discreet way of sanctioning deviant behavior while disarming aggressors. It may help to defuse tense situations, make difficult messages more agreeable, and build teamwork. Equally, it has been argued that humor can revitalize corporate cultures and build momentum for organizational change.

Research also suggests, however, that leaders can become the objects of followers' irony and sarcasm. For example, the organization researchers Suzana Rodrigues and David Collinson found that workers in a Brazilian telecommunications factory ridiculed

company leaders through satirical images, cartoons, and metaphorical representations within the trade union newspaper. Intended to highlight the perceived inconsistencies between leaders' rhetoric and practice, workers' cartoons depicted the company's leaders as autocratic, nepotistic, incompetent, and chaotic. These findings suggest that a good deal of contemporary joking at work may constitute a satirical debunking of leadership pretensions.

The lampooning of religious leaders, monarchs, and politicians through popular satire and cartoons has a long history. Wit has been used as a weapon in various countries, particularly where groups are oppressed within authoritarian regimes. The satirical debunking of leadership is also a common feature of more liberal societies where, historically, the adult cartoon has been influential in providing humorous social comment and critique in journals, newspapers, and on television. British magazines such as *Punch* and *Private Eye*, the anthropomorphic cartoons of Gary Larson, and the workplace cartoon *Dilbert*, by Scott Adams, are all examples of this genre of social satire. The *New Yorker* magazine frequently carries cartoons that poke fun at the ludicrous world of top corporate executives, investment bankers, stockbrokers, and attorneys. These cartoons are filled with caricatures of self-important CEOs, faceless middle managers, aspiring yuppie executives, and stone-faced middle-aged secretaries; like *Dilbert* cartoons, they frequently are posted on the walls and doors of contemporary organizations.

Some writers, like J. L. Barsoux, recommend that leaders encourage subordinates' oppositional humor, no matter how critical this may be. They subscribe to a safety-valve theory of humor that views employees' oppositional joking as a way of letting off steam



Humor About Leaders

With the advent of e-mail, jokes about political leaders of the day rapidly circulate around the world. The joke below made the rounds in 2003.

Recently George Bush was in England and while there he and Queen Elizabeth were talking about leadership. . . .

The Queen says, "You know, George, the secret to good leadership is just to surround yourself with smart people."

George says, "Yes, Madame, but how do you know if they are smart?"

The Queen says, "I ask questions to see if I get the right answers. Watch and I will demonstrate." She gets on the phone and dials Tony Blair. "Tony, it's the Queen. I have a question for you. If your mother and father had a child and it was not your brother or your sister, who would that child be?" Tony says, "Well, that is easy, Madame. It would have to be me." "Very good, Tony. Have a nice day." She looks at George and says, "See how I did that?"

George says, "Cool, I'll try that when I get home."

Back in the States George decides to call Tom DeLay. . . . "Tom, I have a question for you. If your mother and father had a child and it was not your sister or brother who would that child be?"

Tom ponders the question and, unable to answer it, he asks the President if he can get back to him. He then gathers some of his House colleagues and poses the question to them but none can figure it out. Then they decide to call Colin Powell because he for sure is smart and can help them. . . .

"General, if your Momma and Daddy had a child and it was not your sister or your brother, who would it be?" Colin immediately figures it out and says, "Well, if it is not my brother or my sister then it must be me, you stupid cracker."

Tom, now hurriedly calls George back and says, "Mr. President, I have your answer. . . . It's Colin Powell!"

Bush answers in disgust. . . . "Wrong! It's Tony Blair!"

without threatening the status quo. From this perspective, a humorous managerial response to employee satire affirms leaders' power because it implies that those in authority are strong enough to tolerate criticism. This view interprets employee resistance in a similar way to that of the dissenting voice of the court jester. Able to speak the unspeakable, the jester's nonconformist clowning reduced hostility and social tension. The very existence of jesters implicitly affirmed the ruler's tolerance. Similarly, writers like M. Kets de Vries contend that those employees who take on the role of "organizational fool" and operate as a questioning truthsayer are able to moderate leaders' tendencies toward nar-

cissism and hubris. The fool's humor is more easily accepted because it is articulated through a self-deprecating kind of teasing. It has been proposed that management consultants use humor to soften resistance and facilitate organizational change at the companies that hire them.

This view of subordinate humor as a safety valve or an inversion of the usual power hierarchy was also evident in the medieval culture of the carnival. By inverting prevailing hierarchical relationships, the carnivalesque culture of laughter could be seen as a subversive satirizing of authority by those in subordinate positions. Yet the temporary nature of this inversion had the broader effect of reinforcing the status quo. The office Christmas party, where subordinates can take the opportunity to lampoon their seniors, is a present-day example of such temporary inversion. A number of corporate leaders have deliberately tried to generate a carnivalesque culture within their organizations. In the United States, Southwest Airlines actively rewards employees who use humor at work. In the United Kingdom, the National Health Service created a Laughter Clinic in 1991, and professional comedians now act as jesters to the sick and elderly. The Meadowhall shopping center in Sheffield, England, employs clowns to entertain shoppers and trains employees to joke with customers. It is also increasingly common for managers on both sides of the Atlantic to encourage employees to wear silly hats or pajamas on special dress-down days. Typically, these "fun days" are organized toward the end of the working week to improve productivity when motivation might otherwise be flagging and absenteeism increasing.

THE "FUN"CTIONALIST PERSPECTIVE ON HUMOR

Leaders' increasing interest in the use of humor also reflects the contemporary impact of postmodernism, with its focus on irony, parody, and paradox. Humor itself is frequently characterized by a playful treatment of the distinction between reality and unreality. But perhaps the most influential perspective on the growing interest in the motivational value of humor is the functionalist perspective of the social

anthropologist A. R. Radcliffe-Brown (1881–1955). Radcliffe-Brown argued that joking relations in tribal societies were vitally important to social order because they reduced tension and conflict, particularly between those individuals who have competing interests but who must also cooperate to accomplish certain tasks. In his view, the joking relationship was a "peculiar combination of friendliness and antagonism. . . . The relationship is one of permitted disrespect" (Radcliffe-Brown 1965, 90–91). Radcliffe-Brown found that teasing was especially likely between a husband and his wife's brothers and sisters. This sham conflict of permitted disrespect was an important means of sustaining social stability.

Despite its considerable influence in humor studies, functionalism has been criticized for its preoccupation with the regulated nature of social life and its alignment with the interests of the powerful. Radcliffe-Brown's research was based on a specific kind of tribal kinship relationship. Attempts to transpose his findings to quite different empirical settings may be too great a stretch for the original research. In contemporary Western organizations, joking relations are often characterized by much more aggressive teasing that can lead to dysfunctional feuds.

Various studies suggest that, in practice, leaders' manufactured joking relations are likely to be much more ambiguous and potentially more destabilizing than humor consultants and functionalist theorists acknowledge. The classic case of leadership humor backfiring occurred when Gerald Ratner, the head of the family-owned U.K. jewelry chain Ratner's, joked about the quality of the company's products. In 1991 Ratner's was the largest jewelry chain in the world, with 2,500 outlets, a stock market value of £650 million and a profit in 1990 of £120 million. Gerald Ratner was the managing director, earning £600,000 a year. However, in a speech to the institute of directors, Ratner joked that some of the products sold in his jewelry stores were "total crap." Heavily criticized by the tabloid press, Ratner was forced to resign in 1992, and eventually the company had to be sold off.

Leadership humor may also backfire by providing an opportunity for subordinates to demonstrate resistance. Employees may refuse to respond to leaders' humor. In a study of a U.K. engineering factory

shop, stewards refused to engage in the joking relations that the new U.S. senior managers were trying to develop. Hence resistance may be expressed not only in satire, but also in silence. Employees may also resist by rejecting the artificiality of manufactured happiness and the corporate smile that is central to customer care. For example, airline attendants may engage in “surface acting” by smiling “less broadly with a quick release and no sparkle in their eyes” (Hochschild 1983, 127). Insurance salespeople may resist managerially prescribed standard jokes because customers dislike their insincerity (Leidner 1993). Paradoxically, in seeking to manufacture humor, leaders may actually suppress it.

Humor can be extremely damaging when it is the vehicle for expressing prejudices or when it is used as a form of harassment. For example, before and during World War II, the Nazis extensively used anti-Semitic cartoons portraying Jews as either manipulative capitalists or subversive Communists. Similarly, numerous studies describe how male corporate leaders use sexual innuendo, “off-color” jokes, and flattery in everyday interactions with female employees, and how this sexualized joking can subordinate women. Sexual joking can also have negative consequences in customer relations. M. P. Filby reported in a 1992 article that managers in a betting shop found that their policy of encouraging women employees to develop sexual joking routines with customers created such problems of control that it was abandoned. There are a growing number of anti-discrimination lawsuits claiming that sexual joking in the workplace is a form of sexual harassment. Research suggests that some leaders are reluctant to get involved, preferring to turn a blind eye to oppressive humor, but the failure to intervene may result in negative publicity and costly court cases for the organization.

THE MERCURIAL NATURE OF HUMOR

Leadership humor is significant, complex, and ambiguous. On the one hand, leaders’ use of humor can be a highly positive and creative feature of workplace life, enhancing dialogue and communication. On the other hand, it can backfire. Leaders’ attempts to manufacture humor may generate employee

*It matters not what goal you seek
Its secret here reposes:
You’ve got to dig from week to week
To get Results or Roses.*

—Edgar Guest

resistance or offer an opportunity to express pent-up resentment. Oppressive forms of joking, whether on the part of the leader or subordinates, can result in lawsuits. Hence, while it may generate stability and a sense of belonging, leadership and workplace humor can have highly disruptive effects. In seeking to construct a fun workplace, leaders’ joking practices may inadvertently have the opposite effect.

—David L. Collinson

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IDIOSYNCRASY CREDIT

Traditionally, little attention has been given to followers, who accord or withdraw support to leaders. The idiosyncrasy credit (IC) model, proposed by the psychologist Edwin Hollander in 1958 and elaborated in later years, deals with the latitude followers provide a leader for action by giving or withdrawing their support. It treats a leader's status in the eyes of followers as a credit balance that the leader can draw on to take innovative actions on behalf of group goals. This model emphasizes the important role of followers in defining and shaping the latitudes of a leader's action.

CREDIT AND LEGITIMACY

The idea of credit is embedded in everyday language in such general phrases as "receiving credit," "taking credit," and "being discredited." One early precursor of the idea that a leader must have a degree of credit to be able to lead was the acceptance theory of authority (1938), articulated by Chester Barnard, a phone company executive and writer on executive leadership. That theory stated that the follower has a pivotal role in judging whether an order is authoritative. Followers will accept an order insofar as they understand it, believe that it is not inconsistent with organizational or personal goals, have the ability to

comply with it, and see the benefits of complying as outweighing the costs.

Based on Barnard's acceptance theory, a following can come about in various ways. For the moment, the focus here will be on legitimacy and credit as two significant factors. Legitimacy is the more usual, external way of acknowledging someone as leader and validating the basis for his or her attainment of authority. Legitimacy plays a pivotal part in the leader-follower relationship because it is the base on which followers perceive and respond to the leader. In 1970, and again in 1978, Hollander and James W. Julian presented research findings demonstrating that followers' expectations and evaluations of leaders differ depending on whether the leaders are elected or appointed, a finding confirmed by subsequent research by other researchers. Legitimacy is a fundamental factor determining whether or not followers accept a leader's authority.

Credit is another, more psychological way of considering the leader-follower bond. It manifests itself in such binding elements as trust and loyalty, based on attributions that make a behavior acceptable from one group member that would be seen as unacceptable from another. Whether through the extension of credit or the recognition of legitimacy, followers affect the strength of a leader's influence, the style of a leader's behavior, and the performance of the group or larger entity. In short, influence and power flow

from followers' attributions of characteristics to the leader and from their perceptions and judgments of the leader's behaviors and intentions.

HOW THE IC MODEL WORKS

The IC model deals with innovative leadership and the latitude for action that followers give a leader beyond that accorded by legitimacy of authority. The model describes a dynamic process of interpersonal evaluation in which the effects of a leader's authority are not fixed but determined significantly by the support of followers. It does not tell how things ought to be; rather, it explains how they seem to operate in relatively non-coercive situations in which power is dependent on the context and persons there.

The model defines credits as positive perceptions one earns from others by showing competence in helping to achieve the group's task goals and conformity to the group's norms, which is taken as a sign of loyalty. Credits may then be drawn on to take innovative actions such as are expected from a leader. In other words, early signs of competence and conformity permit later nonconformity to be better tolerated. Hollander first tested this formulation in 1960 and 1961 in a set of experiments with groups of engineering students confronting a task that required a joint decision. They were asked to arrive at a series of common judgments about the next column to select, on each trial in a payoff matrix, by recognizing an underlying sequential system. It has subsequently been supported in various ways and settings, with certain qualifications and refinements. In 1968, for example, the researcher Rodolfo Alvarez found that a leader's nonconformity resulted in significantly less loss of credit in terms of esteem when the organization was successful rather than failing.

Additionally, the model postulates that unused credits can be lost by failing to live up to followers' expectations. The drainage may be compounded by overpromising and then appearing not to act in the face of stated need. Self-serving and other negatively viewed behaviors can also drain credits, as can perceptions that the leader has weak motivation, is incompetent, or responsible for failure.

As a refined model, the idiosyncrasy credit concept indicates how credits accumulate and how they permit innovations that would be perceived as unacceptable deviations if introduced by a person with less credit. Seniority can contribute to the accumulation of credits, but without uniform impact. A person may also benefit from derivative credit—for example, if he or she comes from another group with a favorable reputation, or by possessing high socioeconomic status. The latter element shows a parallel to Joseph Berger's theory of status characteristics developed later.

Generally, a new member of a group is in a poor position to assert influence, especially in the direction of change, unless he or she has a unique qualification, such as a needed skill or knowledge, or by virtue of providing a solution to a major group problem. In these circumstances the new member gains credit by maximizing on the competence factor. Credit may not accrue as readily to new members who are perceived to be different—for example, to a woman joining an otherwise all male group. A new member must learn the rules of the group, as occurred when a new manager was told by his boss, after a first group meeting with the others, not to speak up to disagree. A new leader, whether appointed or elected, must still build credits by establishing a following. This is especially necessary where the legitimacy of his or her authority is weak, as in a narrow election victory.

The IC model emphasizes some essential features of a relational approach to leadership and followership. It is an alternative to the traditional solar-system model, which placed the leader at the center of attention and power. Though a long way from that time, "leader-centrism" still continues to have a powerful allure. The qualities of leaders are obviously important, but only insofar as the leaders use those qualities to engage followers in productive and satisfying pursuits. Rather than seeing a leader's qualities as possessions, we should think of them as interpersonal links to others involved in shared activities. It is important to understand and overcome leaders' tendency to resist involving followers in decision making. One major reason for leaders' resistance is the problem of shared responsibility and

the inevitable question, often unstated, of who will be accountable.

A body of research shows that inattention to mutual leader-follower involvement, such as reciprocal influence, can lead to dysfunctional outcomes. For instance, a 1990 study by Robert Hogan, Robert Raskin, and Dan Fazzini found that studies of organizational climate from the mid-1950s onward showed that 60 percent to 75 percent of organizational respondents considered their immediate supervisor to be the worst or most stressful aspect of their job. In 1992, psychologist David DeVries made use of ten years' worth of data to estimate the base rate for executive incompetence to be at least 50 percent. Robert Lord and Karen Maher say that followers' perceptions of a leader's incompetence are based on measuring the leader against prototypes and related expectations of how leaders should perform; that is, they are based on implicit leadership theories.

HOW ELECTED LEADERS GAIN LEGITIMACY AND CREDIT

As indicated, legitimacy depends upon followers perceiving the leader's source of authority, and then responding positively to that leader. The pattern of acceptance when the leader is elected is very different from the pattern when the leader is appointed since the followers have a greater role in the former process.

With elected leaders, the pattern more closely approximates the IC model. Moreover, election usually creates a heightened psychological identification between followers and the leader, with followers having a greater sense of responsibility for and investment in the leader. One explanation is to view the process of election as a social exchange in which the group gives the leader a reward in advance, by electing him or her, and then group members feel a claim on him or her to earn the reward by producing favorable outcomes.

Correspondingly, it is also true that the followers of an elected leader place higher demands on the leader. Elected leaders who fail to perform well have been found to be more vulnerable to criticism than appointed leaders, particularly if they are initially seen to be competent. For their part, even appointed

organizational leaders can learn from the experience of elected leaders and can work to attain a following by doing more than merely exercising authority. Daniel Katz and Robert Kahn, authors of *The Social Psychology of Organizations* (1966), speak in terms of leadership being "the influential increment over and above mechanical compliance with the routine directives of the organization. Such an influential increment derives from the fact that human beings rather than computers are in positions of authority and power" (302).

IDIOSYNCRASY CREDIT AND CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP

Recent decades have seen renewed interest in the concept of the charismatic leader. Max Weber (1864–1920), the eminent sociologist, coined the term *charismatic* based on the Greek word *charisma*, meaning divine gift. Such a leader, Weber said, has considerable emotional appeal to followers and a great hold over them, especially in a time of crisis when there is a strong need for direction. Weber contrasted this mode of leadership with the traditional kind, which is handed down, and the legalistic kind, which is based on a constitutional process. He observed that charisma provides a personal authority that evokes an awe in followers that is less likely to be present in the other forms. Alternatively, charisma can be seen as a vast amount of idiosyncrasy credit at the leader's disposal. Indeed, one could consider charisma to be a quality with which followers endow a leader and which they may also withdraw. Weber himself stated that if the leader was "long unsuccessful, above all if his leadership fails to benefit followers, it is likely that his charisma will disappear" (Weber 1946, 360). Credit, similarly, is inevitably transitory insofar as it relies heavily upon the perception of the leader's performance and loyalty to group goals.

THE ARTIFICIAL DIVISION BETWEEN TRANSFORMATIONAL AND TRANSACTIONAL LEADERSHIP

Interest in charisma is now mostly associated with the concept of transformational leadership. Such

leadership, according to James MacGregor Burns, the noted political scientist who originated the term, seeks to elevate the follower's motivation. He sees it as having a moral dimension insofar as "leaders engage with followers on the basis of shared motives and values and goals. . ." (1978, 36). Regarding the political arena, he states further that "only the followers themselves can ultimately define their own true needs. . . (and only when they). . . can make an informed choice among competing 'prescriptions'" (36). Psychologist Bernard Bass (1985) has sought to carry this concept over to the work setting by emphasizing the need to give individual attention to followers, among other benefits. Unsurprisingly, this has long been considered a good leadership practice. Moreover, the importance of the followers' perspective has become more evident, whether in transactional or transformational terms. As already noted, Weber originally conceived of charismatic leaders as attracting followers because of the leaders' strong appeal and extraordinary determination, especially in time of crisis; however Weber also acknowledged that charismatic leaders depended on followers' affirmation.

In the business world and in politics, charismatic leaders are still sought as saviors. But charismatic leaders may present difficulties, such as tendencies toward narcissism and unethical behavior. Unethical leaders are more likely to use their charisma for power over followers, directed toward self-serving ends, usually in a calculated, manipulative way. Ethical leaders, by contrast, put their charisma to work in the service of others.

In transactional leadership, the leader gives something to followers and receives esteem and latitude for action in return. While charisma is often associated with transformational leadership, it may also be associated with transactional leadership: "More transactionally oriented activities by a leader may also contribute to a leader's charismatic appeal" (Ehrlich, Meindl, and Viellieu 1990, 242).

Transformational leaders, like transactional leaders, do provide rewards to followers, as Bass noted. However, the followers' reciprocation is usually unacknowledged, since acknowledgment would support the view that a transaction has occurred—and

once one acknowledges that transformational leadership, like transactional leadership, involves an exchange, the artificial separation between the two types of leadership would be breached. In actuality, however, there appears to be no sharp division between the two types of leadership. In a 1993 study of ratings cadets at the U.S. Air Force Academy gave their officers, the psychologist Gordon Curphy found that transformational and transactional leadership were not independent, but were highly related.

The actuality of this transaction between leader and followers is usually denied in accounting for the transformational phenomenon. Instead a rigid dichotomy between transactional and transformational leadership is maintained by considering only tangible rewards and failing to acknowledge the intangible ones followers receive from transformational as well as transactional leaders. But Martin Chemers, who takes an integrative approach to leadership, contends that intrinsic rewards of "self-esteem, a sense of purpose, or salvation. . . become highly attractive and supremely motivating" when followers' needs are intense enough. "Under such circumstances charismatic or transformational leadership may be seen as a special, elevated case of the more mundane transactional exchange processes that are the basis for all, person-to-person, team leadership" (Chemers 1993, 312).

Furthermore, leaders wishing to bring about transformational change need transactional qualities to establish a trust-based relationship with followers. In a 1993 study, for example, Estela Bensimon found that new college presidents who were successful had the ability to adapt by displaying transactional qualities initially, before introducing changes.

The common elements shown in good leadership and not in bad, whether one calls that leadership transactional or transformational, are positive relational factors including intangible rewards. The findings of research into IC theory are consonant with this view of the basis for motivation to follow, particularly when people are engaged in compelling mutual pursuits. In sum, transformational leadership can be seen as an extension of transactional leadership, in which there is greater leader intensity and follower arousal. To use the language of IC theory, in

transformational leadership followers accord the leader a large fund of credits, thereby granting esteem and influence. But to achieve such a responsive following, it is essential first to establish and then build upon transactional leadership before moving to create change through transformational leadership.

The IC Model therefore shows the ramifications of other realms of leadership, such as the way that reciprocal influence permits adaptation and change by both leaders and followers, each influenced by the other. The dynamism inherent in moving from stability to change and back is very much in accord with some of the mid-twentieth-century ideas of the social scientist Kurt Lewin regarding group and organizational processes.

—Edwin P. Hollander

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IMPLICIT LEADERSHIP THEORIES

In the past quarter century, leadership research has examined leadership processes from a social-cognitive perspective. Within this research, attention has focused on implicit leadership theories (ILT), knowledge structures or beliefs regarding a construct or target. ILTs are created over time by learning mechanisms that automatically incorporate patterns of traits or behaviors related to leadership that an individual experiences. ILTs play an important role in (a) leadership perceptions and the meaning associated with a leader's actions; (b) leadership inferences drawn from the knowledge of group performance; and (c) the structure and accuracy of leadership questionnaires.

We will first explain ILTs in terms of cognitive theories of leadership categorization. Then we will use newer information-processing theories to explain how ILTs can be learned and flexibly adjusted to specific contexts by the automatic operation of neural networks. We then address the universality of ILTs across cultures. Finally, we analyze their implications for measures of leadership behavior and explore the current challenges facing ILT researchers.

WHAT IS AN ILT?

Early research on ILTs equated them with lay theories about leadership processes. However, it was

soon realized that ILTs were essentially cognitive categories and that leadership perceptions were guided by these cognitive categories. In other words, leaders were categorized as such using the same type of process involved in learning and applying other types of cognitive categories (for instance, birds, vehicles, and furniture). Categories can be defined by specific examples of category members, a perspective labeled “the exemplar view” of categories. However, when a domain becomes sufficiently familiar, categories tend to be defined in terms of a category prototype, an abstraction of characteristics common to category members. (Since most adults have extensive familiarity with leadership, prototypes are thought to underlie most leadership categorization. Thus, ILTs became equated with the leadership prototypes that allowed individuals who are familiar with leadership to classify others as leaders.

ILTs were thought to be implicit because they could be learned and used without intent and without much conscious attention. Two types of implicit processes have been shown to produce leadership perceptions based on ILTs. One relatively fast and automatic process was likened to the common categorization process that is used to recognize many types of stimuli as being category members. This *recognition-based* leadership perception process simply involves the automatic comparison of the features exhibited by a stimulus to a perceiver's category prototype or ILT. This leader recognition process generally occurs automatically (without conscious attention), and it allows perceivers to make very fast judgments regarding leadership. If a sufficient match occurs between a potential leader and a leadership prototype—then the target is likely to be seen as a leader. Once this prototype has been activated and used to categorize a given target, behavioral information regarding the target is assimilated with general knowledge about leadership, providing a cognitively efficient but somewhat inaccurate means of encoding and remembering leadership behavior. In fact, participants often have difficulty correctly differentiating behaviors that are actually observed from those that are simply consistent with the prototype applied to a specific leader. Leadership

perceptions can also be formed using a second type of implicit process, an *inference-based* process that attributes leadership to an individual based on knowledge of their performance. Thus, perceivers may infer effective leadership based on knowledge of good performance, and knowledge of poor performance may tend to lower leadership perceptions. Although inference-based leadership perceptions make effective use of contextual information (such as the difficulty of a leadership task) in forming attributions, they need not involve conscious causal reasoning. Research has convincingly demonstrated that such inference processes are widespread by showing that knowledge of performance can impact on leadership perceptions and behavioral or group-process descriptions in a variety of situations—a phenomenon known as the “performance cue effect.” It is important to note that these two types of leadership processes, recognition (based on behaviors and traits) and inferential (based on knowledge of outcomes), can act together to impact our leadership judgments. Most leadership perceptions are dynamic and change over time as new characteristics of leaders are revealed or knowledge of their performance changes. Thus, both recognition-based and inferential processes can be applied to the same leader, either simultaneously in forming initial leadership perceptions or sequentially as perceptions are revised over time. For example, Roseanne Foti, Scott Fraser, and Robert Lord showed in 1982 that perceptions of the leadership of U.S. presidents changed over time, and as general leadership evaluations changed, so did the extent to which presidents were described in the prototypical terms that supported their categorization theory of leadership.

CONTENT AND STRUCTURE OF LEADERSHIP CATEGORIES

Research by Lord and his colleagues in 1986 and Lynn Offerman and his colleagues in 1994 suggests that the actual composition of leader prototypes may be trait based. This suggestion helped to assimilate early research on the characteristics associated with leadership emergence with work on ILTs and leadership categorization. For example, Lord, Christy

De Vader, and George Alliger performed a meta-analysis of early research on leadership emergence and found that several traits, such as intelligence and dominance, were strongly associated with leadership emergence and were highly prototypical of leadership categories.

In addition, Offermann and his colleagues were able to identify eight trait-like factors that comprise leadership prototypes. In their research, an initial sample of 192 students generated traits or characteristics of effective leaders, and based on these characteristics, a 160-item questionnaire was created and administered to 763 additional student raters. Eight factors for ILTs emerged from their analysis of responses to questionnaire items. These researchers also conducted a confirmatory factor analysis using their student sample and using additional data from 260 working adults, and found more support for their eight dimensions. They also found that the gender of raters did not change the factor structure of ILTs. Although these eight factors were synthesized into multi-item measurement scales, they can be subsumed under trait terms. The research of Offermann and his colleagues has identified sensitivity, tyranny, charisma, intelligence, masculinity, strength, attractiveness, and dedication as the critical traits (dimensions) defining ILTs.

The 1984 research of Lord and his colleagues suggested that leadership categories were hierarchically organized. At the highest level of the hierarchy, the cognitive category contains abstract or very generalized knowledge about leadership. At this level, when an individual is confronted with a stimulus against which to compare the prototype, a very general decision regarding leader/non-leader is made. The midlevel category is more specific, incorporating information on context such as military, political, or organizational leaders. At the lowest level, categories are the most specific, adding additional information such as the leader’s level in an organizational hierarchy. For example, at this level, perceivers would differentiate among generals, majors, and lieutenants within military contexts. Thus, leader prototypes are organized in terms of several types of categories, and depending on the context and the level in an organization, a different cognitive category will be acti-

Leadership is much more an art, a belief, a condition of the heart, than a set of things to do. The visible signs of artful leadership are expressed, ultimately, in its practice.

—Max DePree

vated in order to interpret leadership behavior in any particular situation.

CONNECTIONIST NETWORKS AND ILTS

Though categorization-based theories of leadership perceptions and ILTs were quite useful, developments in cognitive science in the late 1980s and 1990s provided a basis for a more sophisticated understanding of how prototypes were learned and used. This work proposed that a type of preconscious cognitive structure called a “connectionist network” can be used to explain the learning of category prototypes, the sensitivity of prototypes to context, and the adaptability of leaders to current situations.

Connectionist networks are used to represent the flow of activation or inhibition through layers of units that, in combination, can be used to create meanings, define constructs, or otherwise process information. In such networks, activation flows from inputs (receptors activated by environmental stimuli) through units that assimilate patterns of inputs such as prototypes or scripts to outputs such as affective reactions, trait perceptions, or actual behavior. The linkages between units in such networks can be conceptualized as constraints between units, and they are represented by weights that change slowly over time as new patterns of features are encountered.

Though some networks have a unidirectional flow of activation or inhibition from inputs to outputs (*feedforward networks*), the type of network used to represent category prototypes allows activation to flow back and forth among all units that define a prototype (*recurrent networks*). Such recurrent networks are developed through experience by a process that slowly changes the weights connecting units to reflect patterns in experienced stimuli.

These recurrent networks are capable of explaining

leadership categorization processes. When a stimulus (that is, a possible leader) is encountered, features of the leader serve to activate associated nodes within the network. Activation flows through this network, and based on the satisfaction of various constraints in the recurrent layer of the network, a prototype is activated. Importantly, the activated prototype is sensitive to contextual constraints, providing a process-based explanation for the cross-situational flexibility of prototypes. This process also generates a measure of how well the prototype matches the input stimuli. Thus, it determines whether the stimulus can be appropriately categorized in terms of the abstract category represented by the recurrent network. In short, it is theorized that a context-specific definition of leadership is created by connectionist networks, and if this definition matches the target stimulus, the target is recognized as a leader. Similar reasoning applied to the script-like aspects of ILTs that leaders use to generate leadership behavior also can explain how leaders flexibly adjust behavior to situational demands.

One implication of connectionist models of leadership prototypes is that leadership will be defined in terms of an entire pattern of traits or features, not by the separate examination of specific characteristics. Support for this theory of leadership perceptions is provided by Jeffrey Smith and Foti (1998), who maintain that leadership prototypes are best understood as a pattern of traits rather than a series of independent traits. Examining leadership emergence in newly formed experimental groups, Smith and Foti found compelling support for their prediction. Individuals who were high in intelligence, self-efficacy, and dominance tended to emerge as leaders, while individuals who were low in all three traits were least likely to emerge as leaders. Furthermore, Smith and Foti’s results revealed a three-way interaction, indicating that emergent leaders tend to be high on all three traits. This suggests that it is not just the presence of certain traits, but rather the entire pattern of these traits that is important in leader-categorization processes.

CONSTRAINTS ON PROTOTYPE MATCHING

If we explain leader prototypes in terms of a connectionist network, then it is clear that the prototype

that is matched to the potential leader is flexible. Because the network is sensitive to various inputs from the environment, the pattern of activation that defines leadership prototypes is thought to change depending on the context. In this manner, then, prototype activation and leader recognition can be tuned to the context. Whether an individual is recognized as a leader is affected by the characteristics of the leader, the characteristics of the follower, and the features of the task and environment. These types of constraints are discussed in the next three sections.

Characteristics of the Leader

The gender of the leader can serve as an important constraint in leader recognition. To illustrate, consider the 1998 study of Rosalie Hall, Judd Workman, and Christopher Marchioro, who examined how the gender of a leader and the nature of experimental tasks influenced leadership emergence in groups. They found significant gender effects that showed that women were much less likely to emerge as leaders than men—71 percent of the emergent leaders were men and 29 percent were women. However, this effect was moderated by the nature of the task. These findings strongly suggest that the gender of a leader serves as a strong constraint in leadership perceptions, but they also show an adjustment of leadership prototypes to reflect task demands.

In 2002 Alice Eagly and Steven Karau reached similar conclusions working from a different theoretical perspective—role congruity theory. They theorized that knowledge about gender and leadership roles is assimilated when perceivers use gender as well as other information to form leadership perceptions. Because ILTs are closer to typical male than female features, Eagly and Karu maintain that the assimilation of gender knowledge and ILTs produces prejudice against female leaders. Their meta-analysis showed small but significant tendencies for women to emerge as leaders less often than men. In addition, when women behave in a manner that is consistent with leadership roles but inconsistent with gender roles, they are evaluated unfavorably, which results in further discrimination. One reason for this backlash may be that the constraints from a leader's gen-

der changed the prototype of effective leaders who were female. This explanation reflects the “shifting-standard” model of social perceptions of Monica Biernat and Kathleen Fuegen.

Characteristics of the Follower

The accessibility of leadership categories is a difference among followers that should impact leader recognition. Mahzarin Banaji and Deborah Prentice reported that if information is self-relevant, it is more likely to be elaborated (and to be used when making judgments; furthermore, the information should be quickly accessible and widely applicable in many situations. Thus, individuals who are self-schematic in terms of leadership are more likely to activate leadership categories when judging others, according to Wendy Smith, Douglas Brown, Robert Lord, and Elaine Engle.

Follower personality characteristics can also serve as a constraint on leader recognitions. Specifically, Tiffany Keller demonstrated that follower personality traits, as measured by scores on Big Five factors, impact the manifestation of ILTs. The Big Five represents a personality classification system, whereby all individual differences can be captured by five general trait categories: neuroticism, extroversion, conscientiousness, openness, and agreeableness. Participants with high scores on agreeableness, conscientiousness, and extroversion had ILTs with higher scores on sensitivity, dedication, and charisma. In sum, follower personality as well as their self-schema can constrain ILTs, creating differences across perceivers in how leadership is defined.

Characteristics of the Environment

One burgeoning area in ILT research concerns leader perceptions during crisis situations. Cynthia Emrich determined that in crisis situations, the ILTs of followers were automatically activated. In her study, participants were asked to play the role of managers making selection decisions for applicants who would be managing teams. She found that participants reported more significant leader characteristics for applicants who were to be selected to manage a team

in crisis than for applicants who would be managing teams that were performing well, even though the information provided about applicants was the same. In a related study, James Hunt and his colleagues determined that while vision-based charisma resulted in charisma perceptions during crisis and non-crisis situations, crisis-responsive charisma behaviors only led to charisma perceptions during a crisis. Furthermore, crisis-responsive perceptions of charisma faded soon after the crisis was over. Finally, in 1996 Rajnandini Pillai found that participants exposed to a real crisis situation provided higher charisma ratings of leaders than those participants not exposed to a crisis. This series of findings suggests that crises can serve as another contextual constraint that affects ILTs. Future research should continue to explore this phenomenon from a connectionist network perspective, viewing crises as a source of activation for leadership prototypes.

UNIVERSALITY OF ILTs

Research clearly shows that ILTs structure leadership perception processes. However, because ILTs have typically been studied using American participants, two questions regarding ILTs must be answered before generalizing these findings to other cultures: (1) Is the existence of ILTs universal? and (2) Are underlying leader prototypes similar across cultures? Most research has concluded that the process of leadership perceptions is constant across different cultures. That is, perceivers have ILTs and use prototypes learned from experience to define leadership. However, this same line of research also suggests that the composition of prototypes differs across various cultures

The GLOBE research project, a worldwide attempt to understand leadership in different areas of the world, has reported similar findings regarding the leadership prototypes. In 1999 Deanna Den Hartog and his colleagues examined whether leadership items would be endorsed by participants from sixty different cultures around the world as effective or ineffective qualities for good leaders. Their results revealed that certain qualities, such as charisma, team orientation, and participativeness, were univer-

sally endorsed as effective leadership qualities. However, other items differed across various cultures, including those items that tapped the aforementioned qualities. Thus, it appeared that the manner in which charisma, team orientation, and participativeness manifest themselves in effective leaders may differ culturally.

ILTs AND MEASUREMENT ISSUES

Researchers' growing awareness of ILTs raises concerns regarding traditional pen and paper measures of leadership. Because people use ILTs to guide behavioral ratings and ILTs can be influenced by contextual constraints as well as knowledge of group or leader performance, many of the results thought to reflect real leadership processes may instead be effects resulting from raters' ILTs. Furthermore, the structure of popular leadership questionnaires has been shown to be consistent with the structure of ILTs, raising the possibility that behavioral scales tapped implicit perceiver structures rather than the actual behavioral patterns of leaders. For example, studies show that when participants were provided very little leadership information and then were asked to rate a leader, a factor structure emerged across participants that was consistent with the ILTs used to rate actual organizational supervisors. Indeed, they found that similar factor structures emerged for ratings on the Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire (LBDQ) across five different samples that varied in the amount of behavior observed (for example, no behavior, video tapes of behavior, raters participated in laboratory groups, or raters were subordinates of leaders in organizations).

The performance cue effect discussed previously creates another area of concern pertaining to the validity of leadership questionnaires. This effect occurs when performance information biases ratings of individual or group processes. These findings have serious implications for conclusions based on leader questionnaires, for in typical survey research it is impossible to determine whether prototypical leader behavior actually resulted in successful performance outcomes or whether knowledge of successful performance outcomes merely biased a

rater's memory for prototypical leader behaviors. In other words, memory regarding leadership cannot be considered fixed; it is not like a computer file that can be retrieved in the exact form in which it was saved. Rather, memories regarding past leadership behaviors are influenced by current information; through a rater's ILTs, memories and ratings may be "reconstructed" to be consistent with known information regarding a leader.

ILT RESEARCH CHALLENGES

Historically, ILT research has focused on the structure and content of the knowledge structures and the role these structures play in leadership perceptions. Indeed, in this review, we emphasized the important role ILTs serve in leadership perceptions, leader emergence, and the structure and accuracy of leader questionnaires. However, we also suggested that these structures are not static—rather, they are dynamic and susceptible to the influence of the current context. Characteristics of the leader, the follower, and the environment itself serve as constraints in leader recognition and emergence processes. Consequently, gender, the nature of group tasks, follower schemas, and crisis situations are just a few contextual characteristics that can vastly alter leader perceptions and the prototypes on which they are based. Myriad other elements including goals, values, or norms can impact our perception of leaders.

Connectionist networks are cognitive mechanisms that can begin to explain how these numerous constraints can operate in unison to impact our leadership perceptions. This research, however, is just the beginning, and future ILT researchers face several challenges. They will need to continue to look beneath the surface to examine the role that information processing plays in leadership perceptions. Researchers should continue to examine how connectionist cognitive architectures operate to define leadership beliefs, while also examining in greater detail various contextual constraints. Attention should also be given to the script structure leaders use to generate behavior and to how these structures change with situational constraints.

—Rebecca Fischbein and Robert G. Lord

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INDIGENOUS SOCIETIES

See Traditional Societies



INDIVIDUALISM AND COLLECTIVISM

Etymologically, individualism and collectivism allude to the individual- and collective-centric worldviews and ways of life. When people act to maximize their personal gains, they are referred to as individualists, whereas when people behave to help the community or society, they are referred to as collectivists. These terms have been used by social scientists in much the same way. However, following the work of Geert Hofstede, Harry C. Triandis and his collaborators developed a program of research in the 1980s that led to the terms becoming popular psychological constructs used at

the individual as well as cultural levels. At the cultural level the terms *individualism* and *collectivism* are used, and cultures are referred to as being individualistic or collectivist. At the individual level the terms *idiocentrism* and *allocentrism* are used to denote individualism and collectivism respectively and are thought of as personality types. However, idiocentric people are found in collectivist cultures, and allocentric people are found in individualist cultures. The literature on these constructs has developed further in the last twenty years, and many people have started to refer to these ideas as the theory of individualism and collectivism.

The supporters of the theory of individualism and collectivism find clear antecedents and consequences of these constructs, and they also find this culture theory useful in explaining and predicting human behavior in many social contexts. Measurement instruments for these constructs have been demonstrated to be reliable and valid in many areas of social research. Hundreds of journal articles have been published using these constructs, and much practical application for cross-cultural psychology, communication, marketing, and international management have also been found, making these constructs extremely popular. However, some critics find the empirical evidence wanting. Others have complained about their catchall nature and how researchers use them as residual concepts to explain cultural differences in many social behaviors. Criticism aside, the theory of individualism and collectivism is likely to find many more applications, and here we discuss its value for leadership theory and practice.

CONCEPT OF SELF AND LEADERSHIP

The core of individualism and collectivism lies in the concept of self. It is generally accepted that in individualist cultures people view themselves as having an independent concept of self, whereas in collectivist cultures people view themselves as having an interdependent concept of self. An individualist's concept of self does not include other people, roles, situations, or elements of nature. On the other hand, a collectivist's concept of self includes other members of family, friends, people from the work-

place, and even elements of nature. People in Western countries like the United States, Great Britain, Australia, and Germany, have an independent concept of self, and they feel a more pronounced social distance between themselves and others, including the immediate family. People in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and elsewhere have an interdependent concept of self, and social distance between an individual and his or her parents, spouse, siblings, children, friends, neighbors, supervisors, subordinates, and so forth is small.

Concept of self can be viewed as *digital* or *analogue*: digital for individualists and analogue for collectivists. When individualists think of themselves and others, they are clear that their self only includes themselves. "This is me, but that is not me. My mother is not a part of me. My child is not a part of me. They are separate from me." There is no overlap between their selves and others. In other words their view of themselves is digital. On the other hand, when collectivists think of people in their family (e.g., parents, spouse, children, siblings, and so forth), they feel these people are a part of their selves. For example, one's thinking may proceed like this: "My father is a part of me, not completely me, but somewhat a part of me. My child is a bigger part of me compared to my father, not completely me, but, yes, a good part of me." The same feeling holds in case of other relatives, friends, and even neighbors. Thus, they have an analogue self. Of course, the biological self is digital for individualists as well as collectivists. It is the socially constructed self that is digital or analogue.

Concept of self impacts the leadership styles found in different cultures. In collectivist cultures leaders are expected not only to be task focused but also to be nurturing in their relationship with the subordinates. This finds support in indigenous leadership research in countries like India, Japan, Philippines, and Mexico. It is also reflected in such cultural concepts like *simpatia* or being *simpatico*, which means being pleasant and interpersonally sensitive in Latin America and among Hispanics and Latinos in the United States. Similarly, in the Philippines the word *pakikisama*, which includes managerial characteristics like understanding, concern for employee

welfare, kindness and helpfulness, and a pleasant and courteous disposition toward subordinates, indicates a people focus in leadership. In Japan, *amae*, which means presuming that one will be indulged by a person with whom one has an intimate relationship, suggests that subordinates will expect to be supported by supervisors even if the behavior of the subordinates is not perfect. This is not the situation in individualistic cultures, where leaders are not expected to nurture the subordinates beyond maintaining a professional relationship. In fact in these cultures, both superiors and subordinates prefer to keep each other at arm's length.

Task focus and people focus have been researched in leadership literature, starting with the early work at Ohio State University and the University of Michigan. The theory of individualism and collectivism helps explain why in collectivist cultures there is a more pronounced focus on people and relationships because of the collectivists' sense of interdependence and their need to keep harmony among people with whom they interact closely. On the other hand, in the individualist cultures there is a clear emphasis on task, even at the expense of relationships. Further support for cultural difference in interdependence is found in the acceptance of paternalism in various cultures. For example, 80 percent of the Japanese and about 65 percent of the samples from middle European countries accepted paternalism, whereas only 51 percent of representative American samples did so.

RATIONAL AND RELATIONAL SOCIAL EXCHANGES AND LEADERSHIP

A second critical difference between individualism and collectivism focuses on the interpersonal relationships or the nature of social exchange between self and others. In individualist cultures social exchange is based on the principle of equal exchange, and people form new relationships to meet their changing needs based on cost-benefit analysis. Thus, individualists are rational in their social exchange. But in collectivist cultures people have an interdependent concept of self and they inherit many relationships. Therefore, people in collectivist cultures

view their relationships as long term in nature and are unlikely to break even a poor (i.e., not cost effective) relationship. Thus, collectivists value relationships for their own sake and nurture them with unequal social exchanges over a long period of time.

Individualists tend to use exchange relationships, while collectivists tend to use communal relationships. In an exchange relationship, people give something (a gift or a service) to another person with the expectation that the other person will return a gift or service of equal value in the near future. The characteristics of this type of relationship are "equal value" and "short time frame." People keep a mental record of exchange of benefits and try to maintain a balanced account, in an accounting sense. In a communal relationship people do not keep an account of the exchanges taking place between them; one person may give a gift of much higher value than the other person, and the two people may still maintain their relationship. In other words it is the relationship that is valued and not the exchanges that go on between people when they are in a communal relationship.

In collectivist cultures usually there are a series of exchanges between two people in which what is given never quite matches what is received. Thus, the exchange goes on for a long time unless the series is broken by some unavoidable situation. In this type of relationship people feel an "equality of affect" (i.e., when one feels up, the other also feels up; and when one feels down, the other also feels down). In contrast, in individualist cultures people exchange goods and services when they have common interests, and only if the benefits justify the costs. Individualists move on to new relationships when a relationship does not meet their needs.

The rational versus relational differentiation in social exchange has important implications for leadership. According to Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) theory, managers are able to influence their subordinates to produce beyond formal organizational expectations by developing "mature leader relationships," which are characterized by extracontractual behavior, mutual trust, respect, liking, superordinate goals, in-kind type of reciprocity, indefinite time span of reciprocity, and high leader-member exchange. However, those managers who do not

develop mature leader relationships focus on cash and carry type of reciprocity, immediate time span of reciprocity, and low leader–member exchange. They often indulge in formal, contractual, mostly unidirectional downward influence processes. The exchange relationship obtains the desired behaviors from subordinates by exacting behavioral compliance through external control, while the communal relationship promotes an internalization of values and goals by the subordinate, and desired behaviors from subordinates are obtained through the subordinates' self-control. It is evident that mature leader relationships are developed over a long term and resemble the communal relationship, whereas "immature" leader relationships reflect a short-term perspective of managers and focus on exchange relationships. Since people are socialized to value long-term relationships in collectivist cultures, the High LMX style of leadership is preferred in these cultures. In individualist cultures, though many managers do develop High LMX styles, in the long run people prefer to maximize their individual gains, and so a Low LMX style of leadership is more prevalent.

George Graen and colleagues have found many cultural differences in leadership styles in their studies of Japanese and American managers in multinational organizations in the United States and Japan. For example, the American managers were found to have an underdeveloped sense of obligation to their co-workers and company. Therefore, the absenteeism rate among American managers was comparable to that of the workers. This lack of commitment is attributed to the individualists' exchange relationship perspective of the job, and the preference for a Low LMX style of leadership. According to the Japanese philosophy, the managers and workers invest in their mutual relationships and build mutual obligations over a number of years, usually a lifetime, of work contact. This mutual obligation completely rules out the possibility of insubordination. In effect, if workers are resisting a manager's decision, the manager may have committed a mistake and is better off discussing the problem with the workers rather than imposing disciplinary sanctions. Again, the difference results from the preference for a High LMX leadership style in Japan.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

There are two other important attributes of individualism and collectivism. However, their implications for leadership are not yet clear. One focuses on the relationship between self and groups of people. Collectivism requires the subordination of individual goals to the goals of a collective, whereas individualism encourages people to pursue the goals that are dear to them, and even change their in-groups to achieve those goals. Divorce is frequent among individualists because people are not willing to compromise their careers, personal goals, and desires, whereas collectivists often sacrifice career opportunities to take care of their family needs (i.e., in-group goals), and derive satisfaction in doing so. Collectivists also favor their in-groups over out-groups in reward allocation or in negotiation tasks, whereas individualists do not make such strong distinctions between in-groups and out-groups. Thus, collectivists use the equality principle in reward allocation among in-group members, whereas they use the equity principle (i.e., reward is proportional to the amount of work done) when dealing with out-groups. Individualists use the equity principle all the time. Finally, collectivists are also found to indulge less than individualists in social loafing (e.g., a tendency to take less responsibility in a group situation or to free ride).

The in-group versus out-group differentiation has important implications for group dynamics in organizations. However, it is not clear how this will influence leadership style. In GLOBE, Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness, a recent major study of leadership in sixty-two cultures, an attempt has been made to measure collectivism at the organizational level. This is a good beginning, but much more research is needed to understand and predict the impact of this attribute on leadership style.

The other important characteristic of individualism and collectivism whose leadership implications are not clear focuses on how the self is viewed vis-à-vis the larger society. Those with an independent concept of self do what they like to do, or what they think is good for them; that is, they pursue their individual desires, attitudes, values, and beliefs. How-

ever, people with an interdependent concept of self inherit many relationships and learn to live with these interdependencies. Part of managing the interdependencies is to develop goals that meet the needs of more than one's own self. In the process of taking care of the needs of one's in-group members, a social mechanism evolves in collectivist cultures that is driven by norms. Thus, those with an interdependent concept of self resort to methods that have been tried in the past for interacting with people at large. For example, Americans are independent minded, inner-directed, and resentful of conformity, whereas the Chinese are inclined to conform. In China conformity tends to govern all interpersonal relations and has social and cultural approval. Consequently, in individualist cultures there are fewer norms about social and workplace behaviors, whereas in collectivist cultures there are many clear norms. Also in individualistic cultures the few norms that exist are not severely imposed, whereas in collectivist cultures not only are norms tightly monitored and imposed but also anti-normative behaviors are often hidden from public eyes. Thus, the difference in following own attitude versus norms of the society becomes a salient difference between individualist and collectivist cultures.

Again, the implications of norm versus attitude differentiation for leadership style, beyond what was presented earlier, is not clear. It is plausible that in collectivist cultures once leadership norms are formed, it may be difficult to change them. For example, after Gandhi created the culture of *Satyagraha* (i.e., civil disobedience) in India, union leaders have used it effectively to negotiate with management. However, this method is likely to be viewed as a pressure tactic in the United States or other individualistic cultures, and may not help the negotiation process. In the absence of conclusive research, we can only theorize that perhaps due to the ease of acceptance of conformity in collectivist cultures leaders are likely to obtain much conformity from their followers. On the contrary, in individualistic cultures leaders will have to use much persuasion to win over their followers, and even a hint of pressure to conform may lead to rejection of leadership.

—Dharm P. S. Bhawuk

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INFLUENCE TACTICS

Leadership involves influencing other people to facilitate the performance of collective work. To be effective, a leader must influence others to carry out requests, support proposals, and implement decisions. In large organizations, a leader must be able to influence superiors and peers as well as subordinates.

The success of an attempt by one person (the “agent”) to influence another person (“the target”) will depend to a great extent on the agent’s influence behavior. The most common form of influence behavior in organizations is a “simple request” based on legitimate power. Target compliance is likely for a simple request that is clearly legitimate, relevant for the work, and something the target person knows how to do. However, if the requested action would be unpleasant, inconvenient, irrelevant, or difficult to do, then a “proactive influence tactic” may be necessary to gain target compliance or commitment.

Since the early 1980s, researchers have attempted to identify specific influence tactics and assess their effectiveness. This article will describe 11 proactive tactics that are commonly used by leaders and the conditions in which they are most likely to be suc-

Not the cry, but the flight of the wild duck, leads the flock to fly and follow.

—Chinese proverb

cessful. The findings are supported by studies involving the use of several different research methods.

RATIONAL PERSUASION

Rational persuasion uses explanations, logical arguments, and factual evidence to show that a request or proposal is feasible and relevant for attaining task objectives. A weak form of rational persuasion may include only a brief explanation of the reason for a request, or an undocumented assertion that a request is desirable and feasible. Stronger forms of rational persuasion include a detailed explanation of the reasons why a request is important and presentation of evidence that it is feasible.

Rational persuasion is more likely to be effective when the target person shares the same task objectives as the agent but does not recognize the proposal is the best way to attain the objectives. Along with facts and logic, a rational appeal usually includes some opinions or inferences that the target person is asked to accept at face value because there is insufficient evidence to verify them. Thus, the success of the influence attempt also depends in part on whether the agent is perceived to be a credible and trustworthy source of information, inferences, and predictions.

APPRISING

With this tactic the agent explains why a request or proposal is likely to benefit the target person as an individual or help to advance the person’s career. For example, a requested task may provide opportunities to learn new skills, meet important people, or gain more visibility as a competent professional. Like rational persuasion, apprising often involves the use of facts and logic, but the benefits described are for the target person rather than for an organization in which they are both members. Apprising is more likely to be successful if the agent understands the

target's needs and how a request or proposal may be relevant for satisfying them. To use this tactic successfully, an agent must be perceived as credible.

INSPIRATIONAL APPEALS

An inspirational appeal is an attempt to develop enthusiasm and commitment by arousing strong emotions and linking a request or proposal to a person's needs, values, hopes, and ideals. Some bases for an ideological appeal include the desire to accomplish something worthwhile, to perform an exceptional feat, to be a member of the best team, to support values such as freedom and justice, or to participate in an exciting effort to make things better. An inspirational appeal is more likely to be successful if the agent understands the values, hopes, and fears of the persons to be influenced. Effectiveness also depends on communication skills, such as the agent's ability to use vivid imagery and metaphors, manipulate symbols, and employ voice and gestures to generate enthusiasm and excitement.

CONSULTATION

Consultation occurs when the target person is invited to participate in planning how to carry out a request or implement a proposed change. Consultation can take a variety of forms when used as an influence tactic. One example is to present a proposed policy or plan to discover if the target person has any doubts or concerns about implementing it, or suggestions for improving it. Another example is to present a general strategy or objective (instead of a detailed plan), then ask the target person to suggest specific action steps for implementing it. Consultation is more likely to be effective if a target person perceives that the objectives of the requested task or proposal are worthwhile, and the invitation to provide inputs is sincere.

EXCHANGE TACTICS

This type of influence tactic involves the explicit or implicit offer to provide something the target person wants in return for carrying out a request. This tactic

is especially useful when the target person is reluctant to comply with a request because it would involve considerable effort and inconvenience. Exchange tactics are a way to increase the benefits enough to make it worthwhile to comply with the request. An essential condition for effective use of exchange tactics is control over something the target person desires (e.g., a pay increase or promotion, assistance on another task, political support). Sometimes the promise may be implicit rather than explicit. That is, the agent will offer to return the favor in some unspecified way at a future time. An exchange tactic will not be effective unless the target person believes the agent is willing and able to deliver the promised benefits.

COLLABORATION

This influence tactic involves an offer to provide necessary resources and/or assistance if the target person will carry out a request or approve a proposal. Unlike exchange, which usually involves an impersonal trade of unrelated benefits, collaboration involves a joint effort to accomplish the same objective. Collaboration provides a way to reduce the difficulty or costs of carrying out a request. This tactic is especially appropriate when compliance would be difficult for the target person.

PERSONAL APPEALS

A personal appeal involves asking someone to do a favor out of friendship or loyalty to the agent. It follows that this influence tactic is not feasible when the target person dislikes the agent or is indifferent about what happens to the agent. Personal appeals are most likely to be used when asking for something that is not part of the target person's regular job responsibilities (e.g., provide assistance, do a personal favor).

INGRATIATION

Ingratiation is behavior that makes the target person feel better about the agent. Examples include giving compliments, doing unsolicited favors, acting defer-

ential and respectful, and acting especially friendly. When making a proactive influence attempt, a very useful form of ingratiation is to state why the target person is especially qualified to carry out a request (e.g., based on exceptional skills or prior achievements). When ingratiation is perceived to be sincere, it tends to strengthen positive regard and make a target person more willing to consider the agent's request. However, ingratiation may be viewed as manipulative when it is used just before asking for something. Therefore, ingratiation is usually less useful for an immediate influence attempt than as part of a longer-term strategy to improve relationships with people.

LEGITIMATING TACTICS

Legitimizing tactics involve attempts to establish the agent's legitimate authority or right to make a particular type of request. Compliance is more likely when a request is viewed as legitimate and proper. Legitimacy is unlikely to be questioned for a routine request that has been made and complied with many times before. However, legitimacy may not be evident for a request that is unusual, or when the target person does not know what authority the agent has. There are several different types of legitimating tactics. Examples include providing evidence of prior precedent, showing consistency with organizational policies and rules, showing consistency with professional role expectations, and showing that the request was approved by someone with proper authority.

PRESSURE

Pressure tactics include threats, warnings, and assertive behavior such as repeated demands or frequent checking to see if the person has complied with a request. Pressure tactics are sometimes successful in inducing compliance with a request, particularly if the target person is just lazy or apathetic rather than strongly opposed to it. However, pressure is unlikely to result in commitment, and the use of this tactic may have serious side effects. The harder forms of pressure (e.g., threats, warnings, or demands) are likely to cause resentment and under-



Influence Tactics in a Korean Village

Korea is a society marked by considerable concern over status, face, and group cohesion. The following example of a woman "leader" in a Korean village makes clear that she must behave in a way that accords with all these concerns in order to maintain her influence.

May one say that the chairwoman of the club was merely a figurehead because she, as head of the meeting, did not seem to have any distinctive influence? If one retains the idea of a "western political model" based on a democratic structure, she is a figurehead for the group. To carry the idea through, however, the procedure of discussion and decision-making is not based on an idea of democracy but rather on that of unanimity. In this context, the "leader" does not have to be a person of marked influence in the decision-making process. She is not a figurehead but rather a middleman in the meeting, functioning, in effect, as a go-between for the group. There is no despotic idea in the context of a total consensus in this essentially egalitarian society. The chairwoman stands as a middleman between the government and the village. Although the government may call her a "leader" in the village, she properly does not occupy this role.

Source: Chun, Kyung-soo. (1984). *Reciprocity and Korean Society: An Ethnography of Hasami*. Seoul, Korea: Seoul National University Press, p. 173.

mine working relationships. Sometimes pressure tactics are necessary to obtain compliance with a rule or policy that is important to the organization, such as safety rules and ethical practices. However, in most cases, a softer form of pressure (e.g., persistent requests, reminders that the person promised to do something) is more likely to gain compliance without undermining the agent-target relationship.

COALITION TACTICS

Coalition tactics involve getting help from other people to influence the target person. The coalition partners may be peers, subordinates, superiors, or outsiders. When assistance is provided by the superior of the target person, the tactic is usually called an

“upward appeal.” A distinct type of coalition tactic for gaining target support for a proposal is to cite the prior endorsement of it by people whom the person likes or respects. Coalition tactics are usually used in combination with one or more of the other influence tactics. For example, the agent may bring along a supporter when meeting with the target person, and both agents may use rational persuasion to influence the target person.

EVALUATING PROACTIVE TACTICS

Each influence tactic can be useful in an appropriate situation, but some of the tactics are generally more effective than others. The most effective tactics include rational persuasion, inspirational appeals, consultation, collaboration, and apprising. Sometimes, a combination of tactics is necessary to influence the target person. Regardless of what tactics are used, however, there is no guarantee they will be successful. In addition to the type of tactics used by the agent, the outcome of any particular influence attempt is affected by other examples such as the power and authority of the agent, the type of influence objective, the perceived importance of the request, cultural norms about the use of the tactics, and the amount of mutual trust and friendship between the agent and target. An influence tactic can result in resistance if it is not used in a skillful manner, or if it is used for a request that is improper or unethical. Effective leaders understand what tactics are appropriate in a particular situation and how to use them.

—Gary Yukl

See also Coalitions; Coercion; Gender and Authority; Obedience; Power: Overview

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INNOVATIVE LEADERSHIP

Innovation introduces something new or makes changes in something already established. In the world of work, leadership in innovation is needed especially in reacting to competitive markets, in designing new products for existing markets, in reacting to changes in work processes as technology improves, and in encouraging employees to increase their levels of expertise and organizational commitment. The challenge for leaders is to maintain the cutting edge in their areas of responsibility so as to keep their organizations in the forefront, either through new or renewed processes.

OVERVIEW OF THE INNOVATIVE PROCESS

Margaret Wheatley supplied an overview of innovation for leaders: “Innovation is fostered by information gathered from new connections . . . from active, collegial networks . . . from ongoing circles of exchange, where information is not just accumulated or stored, but created. Knowledge is generated anew from connections that weren’t there before” (1992, 113). This overview details a need for information, collegial networks, circles of exchange, and knowledge generation. Another important innovative process is called competence building, in which employees are encouraged to “take charge” of their organizational lives by taking on more responsibility,

asking for training in areas in which they see needs, and by learning from their mistakes. Competence building is an empowerment strategy (Dessler 2004). Employees who get needed information and exchange information freely with colleagues generate knowledge to fuel innovation. At the same time as employees increase their levels of expertise, they increase their commitment to the leaders who fostered their knowledge creation and to the colleagues with whom they formed new connections in their organizations.

THE ROLE OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES IN INNOVATION

The idea of innovation may bring to mind information technologies (IT): microelectronics, computer systems, and telecommunications. These technologies have created competition for bureaucracies, an organizational model in which work is coordinated “vertically” by specialized administrative and clerical personnel who gather and summarize information for use in decision making. As an example, consider an organization grouped by product into divisions. One division may be responsible for developing and testing a new component of the company’s product. One department within the division might design the new component, another might produce the component, and another department might be responsible for evaluation/testing. The task calls for interdependent work and large amounts of information exchange. In a hierarchical organization such as a bureaucracy, communication would flow up the chain of command from the workers to their supervisors to department managers. Department managers would consult one another and the division manager to decide how work gets done, and the instructions would flow back down to the workers through the hierarchical channels of information. This vertical approach creates delays and idled workers waiting for decisions—an inefficient process at best. A more efficient and effective process is the authorization of lateral connections, in which information is communicated directly between participants in departments rather than through vertical channels. Some organizations would see this as vio-

The marksman hitteth the target partly by pulling, partly by letting go. The boatsman reached the landing partly by pulling, partly by letting go.

—Egyptian proverb

lating the unity-of-command principle, since department heads would not be in full control and could not be held accountable for workers’ behavior.

More and more, however, other work structures are being used, especially in uncertain economic times when inefficiencies more glaringly affect productivity. Task forces, in which workers with specialized skills from several departments and levels come together for a short time to execute a specific task, provide a more efficient structure. Project teams also provide more efficiency. In this structure, workers from several departments are released by department heads to the authority of a project manager who plans and coordinates the work of the team. In some organizations, the organization of work centers around project teams. Workers with diverse skills are assigned goals that change as the teams learn from their experiences. Finally, matrix structures set aside unity of command to allow workers home bases in functional departments but work responsibilities to on-demand projects (Scott 2003).

The foregoing organizational structures are characteristic of the industrial age, although bureaucracies still function effectively in certain instances. Newer transmission and data-reduction systems designed for “online” information have substituted for the bureaucratic model, in which staff personnel assist line personnel in information-processing capacities. Finally, although IT increases the ability to record, transmit, and analyze information over time and distance barriers, information technologies cannot enhance the “sense-making” abilities of people. Interpreting and creating shared meanings from information are essentially human functions. Thus, it is not just having information that counts; what’s important in the workplace is using information to increase competencies. According to Margaret Wheatley, “In organizations, we aren’t suffering from



The Best and Worst of Twentieth-Century Innovations

(ANS)—Telemarketing, or the fine art of interrupting someone about to eat dinner with an offer of a great deal on windshield glass, was named one of the worst business innovations of the twentieth century in a survey of students and professors at the Owen Graduate School of Management at Vanderbilt University. Other innovations on the bad-idea list included pagers, business conglomerates and office cubicles.

The best creation in the business world this century, students and teachers agreed, was the computer. Assembly lines, the Internet, financial markets and the telephone also rated high on their best-of lists.

Administered by the school's communications office, the survey polled 50 faculty members and 458 graduate students. One administrator also participated. He disagreed with the majority and said having women in the workforce was the most important development.

"I think women are the engine that's driving the current prosperity," said Joel Covington, associate dean for external affairs. "You generate wealth through work. And despite limitations (put in their way) and disparity in salaries, they've got to be a key component."

That women are able to walk to work more comfortably was on the mind of one respondent who said the dressy pump that made use of sneaker technology ranked right up there with the best innovations. Other creations given the high five were voice mail, e-mail and the fax machine.

Telemarketing was joined in the worst category by neckties, the BETA format videocassette recorder and carbon paper, according to faculty responses. Students lambasted the thermal fax machine and the Yugo, Pinto and Gremlin automobiles. Both groups listed New Coke as a loser this past century.

Office cubicles garnered a large share of students' votes for worst inventions, according to Juliana Deans, director of communications. While many of them are looking forward to leadership positions after they graduate—and presumably a nice office—they abhorred what working in a small box did to morale, she said.

Generally, students seemed to focus on the latter part of the century for their answers, which may simply reflect their age, Deans said. The average age of a student at Owens is 27.

—Mieke H. Bomann

Source: "Telemarketing Voted the Century's Worst Business Idea," American News Service, December 29, 1999.

information overload just because of technology. . . . However long we may drag our feet, we will be forced to accept that information—freely generated and freely exchanged—is our only hope for organization" (1992, 145).

KNOWLEDGE MANAGEMENT IN INNOVATION

At the end of World War II, a team of researchers at the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations in England conducted studies of different work organizations designed to improve productivity and morale. Their focus was on the interface of social and technical systems. Their systems emphasized work group autonomy, internalized regulation, and discretionary behavior for employees, so that human values were served while technical efficiencies were accomplished. Then, in the early 1960s, general research was focused on resources, both human and

technical, and the concept of knowledge management came into being. Peter Drucker, describing a postcapitalist society, wrote, "Innovation, that is, the application of knowledge to produce new knowledge is not . . . best done by loners in their garages. It requires systematic effort, and a high degree of organization" (1993, 190).

This systematic effort and organization is supported by the research of Dr. Marleen Huysman, Associate Professor of Information Systems, Marketing, and Logistics at Free University, Amsterdam, and Dirk de Wit, Coordinator New Media, Brussels 2000. They studied knowledge-sharing practices of ten companies with over one thousand workers each. Three basic types of knowledge sharing emerged: knowledge retrieval, knowledge exchange, and knowledge creation. In knowledge retrieval, individuals learn from the organization; in knowledge exchange, individuals share their knowledge with others and learn from this exchange. In knowledge

creation, new knowledge is generated from “new combinations of existing individual, shared, or organizational knowledge” (Huysman and de Wit 2003, 32). This echoes Wheatley’s view of innovation for leaders, that of generating knowledge “from connections that weren’t there before” (1992, 113). Huysman and de Wit summarize their work: “We perceive the success of knowledge management as related to the degree in which sharing knowledge has become a taken-for-granted part of the routine practices within the organization” (2003, 34).

LEADING INNOVATION IN ORGANIZATIONS

Getting individuals in organizations to learn and then share their knowledge in order to accomplish organizational goals probably has been going on informally since work was invented. In setting up an online, multi-user network to support group communication, called “Babble,” Tom Erickson and Wendy A. Kellogg at IBM’s Watson Research Center found that usage was determined by five points: (1) not all types of knowledge get written down; (2) interpersonal interaction facilitates social resources such as contacts and referrals; (3) people do not necessarily need access to an expert with facts when contextual experience is needed; (4) networks of personal relationships reinforced by interpersonal conversation support knowledge-sharing; and (5) even trivial talk goes beyond professional exchanges and increases trust between people (Erickson and Kellogg 2003).

Leadership calls for creating a social context, of which knowledge management is a part. Wenger, McDermott, and Snyder write that “communities of practice are a practical way to frame the task of managing knowledge. They provide a concrete organizational infrastructure for realizing the dream of a learning organization” (2002, x). Communities of practice consist of practitioners generating and sharing knowledge they need through a social forum.

The challenge for leaders then becomes establishing a collegial atmosphere for Wheatley’s “circles of exchange” (1992, 113). Command-and-control techniques are not likely to yield results, since dictating cooperation will only work to a certain

extent. Joseph Rost, in *Leadership for the Twenty-First Century*, premised that leadership is “an influence relationship among leaders and followers who intend real changes that reflect their mutual purposes” (1993, 102). He described leadership relationships as the process of persuading other people by using power resources, such as prestige, personality, interpersonal and group skills, motivation, and give-and-take behaviors. He maintained that followers can persuade leaders and that leaders and followers can change places—and do. He reiterates the Tavistock Institute’s emphasis on work group autonomy and discretionary behavior for employees. Gone is all notion of coercion through power, which Rost termed dictatorial: “People, groups, and organizations that are persuaded to change may be transformed; those that are coerced to change are rarely transformed” (Rost 1993, 124). He encouraged collaborative leadership and suggested, “Transformation happens in groups, organizations, and societies when people develop common purposes. In leadership writ large, mutual purposes help people work for the common good, help people build community” (Rost 1993, 124). Leaders, then, are responsible for clarifying visions and values of organizations and disseminating these common purposes to everyone.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Peter Drucker, the preeminent business and management writer of our time, advanced the notion that employees need to think like entrepreneurs to guarantee a forward-looking organization: “Successful entrepreneurs . . . try to create value and to make a contribution [through change]. . . . Thus the discipline of innovation . . . is a diagnostic discipline: a systematic examination of the areas of change that typically offer entrepreneurial opportunities” (Drucker 1985, 34–35). He offers these source areas in which to look for changes that can be made to happen with little effort: (1) the unexpected (success, failure, event); (2) incongruity (what should be but is not); (3) innovation based on process need; (4) changes in markets or industries; (5) population changes; (6) changes in perception or meaning; and (7) new knowledge (of all

kinds). Drucker's ideas give us much to consider about the future of innovative leadership.

—*Taggart Smith*

See also Creativity; Entrepreneurship

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INTEGRATIVE THEORY

The theoretical literature on leadership effectiveness is often described as fractured and contradictory. However, that description is misleading. When viewed from a broad perspective that emphasizes the functions of leadership, the body of empirical findings provides many consistent themes that can be integrated into a comprehensive theory of leadership effectiveness. Psychologist Martin Chemers' integrative theory of leadership presented here brings together the disparate themes in the leadership literature to provide a comprehensive overview of small group leadership.

Organizations are human constructions designed

to overcome the limitations of individuals working alone. Organizations benefit from the collective knowledge, skills, and effort of numerous individuals but suffer the costs of coordinating the individual contributions. A successful organization must attend to two central functions that determine its viability.

The first function of a successful organization is internal maintenance, which addresses the essential need of organizations to create reliable systems for dealing with routine events. Highly efficient, predictable, and reliable systems can be developed to address well-known and well-understood organizational demands. Standard operating procedures, rules and policies, and norms and expectations help to create internal stabilizing mechanisms.

Although internal stability and predictability are fundamental for organizational viability, not all of the demands on organizations are predictable and clear. Dynamic environments confront organizations with ambiguous, changing, and sometimes poorly understood exigencies (circumstances that make urgent demands).

The second function of a successful organization is external adaptability, which is the organization's ability to sense and react to changing conditions. Flexibility and responsiveness depend on being open to new information that can be integrated into decision making as a basis for reacting to change. It is not always clear when an organization must emphasize one or the other of these two functions, and it is not always easy to accommodate their sometimes contradictory patterns. Factors that increase reliability and predictability may limit flexibility and responsiveness and vice versa.

Organizational-level functions of internal maintenance and external adaptability have parallels at the group level or team level within the organization. Effective leaders must create cohesive and smoothly interrelated teams that give members of sense of stability and order but must also encourage those teams to be sensitive to changes in tasks or environments that call for adaptation.

In a sense, the effects of leadership on the performance of a small group can be compared to the role of intelligence in individual human functioning.

Psychologist Robert Sternberg has described intelligence as the process by which individuals test their knowledge and skills against situational demands. When a good match between demands and cognitive resources exists, reactions become routinized and highly efficient. When changing situations create new demands, intelligence is the process by which the gap between current knowledge and needed knowledge is recognized, leading to the acquisition of new knowledge until responses can again be made on a routine basis. Similarly, effective leaders direct the capabilities of group members for the performance of assigned tasks, utilizing standard procedures and routine processes, until changing demands are detected and call for flexible reanalysis and the development and deployment of new knowledge and skills.

ELEMENTS OF EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP

The description of leadership functions given earlier leads to the question of what leaders must do to fulfill the two central functions. What are the characteristics of leaders whose groups perform at the highest levels over extended periods? This question is complex but answerable. A review of almost a century of empirical research yields three essential elements of leadership. These elements reflect the realization that leaders must harness the internal resources of the group to deal with an external mission. In order for leaders to enlist the support of others, harness their capabilities and efforts, and use them to accomplish the collective goal, leaders must be able to (1) establish credibility for influence and authority, (2) build relationships that motivate and encourage cooperative effort, and (3) deploy the collective resources of the group to accomplish the mission.

In other words an outstanding leader must project an image that makes others (i.e., followers) eager to accept the leader's influence. After influence is accepted a leader must establish relationships with each team member and with the team as a whole that motivate and direct the efforts of followers toward task accomplishment. After a leader has motivated a group of followers, she or he must apply the collective resources of the group to the task effectively.

IMAGE MANAGEMENT

Psychologist Edwin Hollander recognized that leadership is a status differentiation in which one member of a group is singled out for special responsibilities and authority. Status is a collective phenomenon. An individual's status in a group depends on the evaluations of other members of the group. So, whether status is initially assigned formally (e.g., by superiors) or informally (e.g., by common affirmation), to be maintained it must be earned and reearned. Hollander and his associates (Hollander, 1958; Hollander & Julian, 1970) found that leaders earn the status to influence others by demonstrating (1) trustworthiness (through loyalty to group values and conformity to group norms) and (2) task-relevant competence (through displays of knowledge and intelligence and through performance on tasks).

Psychologist Robert Lord and his associates have presented a comprehensive program of research that indicates that people judge the leadership capacity of others through two mechanisms. First, people compare the observed characteristics and behavior of the target person with their stereotypical expectations for how leaders should look and act. Second, people seek and process information connecting a leadership figure to successful or unsuccessful group outcomes. Different types of leaders (e.g., corporate, military, religious, athletic, etc.) might have different leadership traits or behaviors associated with the role, but all share the overarching and quintessential characteristics of trustworthiness and competence described by Hollander.

Social identity theory makes the point that groups function not only to complete tasks and accomplish missions, but also to provide social identity and meaning for group members. Psychologist Michael Hogg argues that groups are likely, then, to evaluate their leader on the basis on how much the leader's appearance, expressed attitudes, and behaviors reflect the core values and prototypical characteristics defining group membership. In this way the leader demonstrates loyalty to the group and perhaps trustworthiness as well.

For example, a study was conducted to see if a leader's display of the prototypical characteristics

pertaining to the specific group was more or less important than the display of characteristics associated with more universal aspects of leadership such as task-relevant competence. Results indicated that the relative centrality of prototypical or universal characteristics in leader evaluations depended on the relative importance of actual group performance. In other words the importance of having a leader whose behaviors are comforting and reassuring may diminish as task-relevant success becomes more important.

RELATIONSHIP DEVELOPMENT

To harness the capabilities of group members for mission accomplishment, a leader must use influence to establish a relationship that motivates follower effort and develops follower effectiveness. Good leader-follower relationships are based on (1) the leader's awareness and understanding of the follower's ability, needs, and desires, (2) coaching and guidance, which challenge the follower to develop greater mission-relevant competency, and (3) the creation of a sense of fairness in the exchange between leader and follower.

Research on psychologist Robert House's path-goal theory of leadership reveals that leadership is most motivating when it helps followers see a clear path to goal attainment. An essential element for clearing the path is helping the follower to perform assigned tasks effectively. Coaching or instructing in task performance (i.e., direction) is one way to help the follower improve performance. Providing support and showing consideration for a follower's feelings may also be motivating. Path-goal theory argues that the relative benefits of direction versus support will depend on the degree to which they are complementary rather than redundant to the follower's experienced situation.

A follower will welcome direction or instruction when the task is too difficult for the follower to perform well without help. However, if the task is within the follower's capability, additional direction may be regarded as giving overly close supervision or as pushing for production, with negative effects on follower motivation. On the other hand, support

and consideration can be comforting to a follower when an unpleasant and boring task makes life miserable, but such well-meaning attention can become unwelcome and distracting when the follower's situation is interesting, involving, and satisfying.

The relationship between leader behavior and follower reaction is further complicated by differences in follower personality. Followers who highly value personal growth and challenge are resistant to leader direction even when they are slightly overwhelmed, preferring to develop the necessary capacity on their own and to reap the attendant sense of achievement and satisfaction. On the other hand, followers who are less adventurous and less achievement oriented are likely to require closer supervision and more guidance in many situations.

Coaching that will motivate intellectual challenge and growth for a follower is based on an individualized understanding of each follower's situation and needs. Thus, good coaching and guidance depend on accurate interpersonal judgments.

Research has shown that leaders base their judgments about follower abilities and effort on observing performance and trying to infer whether the follower's success or failure was caused by such factors as ability, effort, task difficulty, or the adequacy of organizational support. Leaders take action with respect to followers, such as punishment, training, or job redesign, based on these judgments of the causes of success or failure. Good coaching, then, depends on making accurate judgments about followers.

Unfortunately, strong factors can contribute to poor judgment on the part of the leader. A follower's performance often has important implications for evaluations of the leader. Poor performance may be the result of inadequate supervision or support rather than a lack of ability or motivation. This situation can incline leaders toward ego-defensive judgments that lead to inaccurate and destructive feedback to followers.

The relationship between leader and follower can be characterized as an exchange in which each partner makes contributions and receives rewards, both tangible and psychological. An important characteristic of good relationships is a sense of fairness. When leaders listen carefully to follower opinions and provide

explanations and justifications for actions taken, followers feel like respected partners in a valued relationship and are more committed to the leader.

RESOURCE UTILIZATION

The resources provided by a motivated group of followers must be effectively utilized for mission accomplishment. Effective resource utilization has two aspects: getting the most out of each individual's efforts and deploying the collective resources strategically.

Maximum group performance depends on each individual (including the leader) maintaining motivation, commitment, and focus over time. A program of research by psychologist Martin Chemers and his associates have shown that a major contributor to these three conditions is confidence in one's capability. Individuals who express high levels of "leadership efficacy" (i.e., confidence in the ability to lead others) are seen as more effective by peers, superiors, and subordinates; maintain coolness under pressure; and create similar feelings of confidence and capability among their followers.

As noted, the mission environment in which a group functions can vary from being well understood and predictable to dynamic and ambiguous. Research shows that leader-guided internal processes (e.g., decision making) must match the environment for best results. When situations are orderly, specific, and authoritative, and task focused leadership can be effective, but when situations are unclear more flexible strategies emphasizing flexible and complex decision making will be more successful.

IMPLICATIONS

Effective leadership in groups requires leaders who can garner influence by creating an impression of trustworthiness and competence. Influence provides the basis for motivating relationships with followers. The key elements of such relationships are a sensitive understanding of follower needs that allows for coaching and guidance that ties follower needs to group goals in an atmosphere of fairness and respect. Finally, the resources developed in these relation-

ships can be most effectively applied when confident leaders and followers match their behaviors to the demands of the mission environment. This situation implies that the training of individuals for effective leadership should involve (1) the development of task-related competence and efficacy, (2) the facilitation of awareness of a leader's own needs and desires, and (3) the development of communication and decision-making skills.

—Martin M. Chemers

See also Leadership Effectiveness

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INTELLECTUAL LEADERSHIP

See Aristotle; Carson, Rachel; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Education; Education, Higher; Libraries; Marx, Karl; Mead, Margaret; Nietzsche, Friedrich; Plato; Science and Technology

INTELLIGENCE, EMOTIONAL

Of all of the ephemeral qualities of leadership, none has been more difficult to define than a leader's emotional qualities. Yet it is likely that emotional qualities differentiate the leader who inspires confidence, motivates followers, and creates a shared vision from the leader who infects an organization with negativity and fear. A theory developed in the 1990s that integrates emotion and thought may offer a way to define, understand, and measure these emotional qualities better. This is the theory of emotional intelligence (EI).

SCIENTIFIC BASIS FOR EI THEORY

The theory of emotional intelligence was developed by Peter Salovey, a psychologist at Yale University, and his colleague, John D. (Jack) Mayer, a psychologist at the University of New Hampshire. In a 1990 scientific publication, they defined EI as “the ability to monitor one's own and others' feelings and emotions, to discriminate among them, and to use this information to guide one's thinking and action” (Salovey and Mayer 1990, 189).

Mayer and Salovey later revised their theory to focus more specifically on the intersection of emotion and thinking. This updated model, encompassing four broad, emotion-centered abilities, defined EI as “the ability to perceive accurately, appraise, and express emotions; the ability to access and/or generate feelings when they facilitate thought; the ability to understand emotion and emotional knowledge, and the ability to regulate emotions to promote emotional and intellectual growth” (Mayer and Salovey 1997, 10).

ALTERNATIVE CONCEPTIONS OF EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE

Five years after Salovey and Mayer first proposed their theory of emotional intelligence, a popular trade book by Daniel Goleman, a psychologist and *New York Times* science writer, was published. It is on this book, *Emotional Intelligence*, that most people base their understanding of EI. This book described five components of EI: knowing one's emotions, managing one's emotions, motivating one's self, recognizing emotions in other people, and handling relationships. These components, while largely derived from Salovey and Mayer's work, went well beyond the scope of what they had proposed.

In the popular understanding of EI, almost any trait or skill that was not analytical intelligence could be considered a component of EI. An unintended result was that existing approaches to stress, coping, leadership, and personality were relabeled theories of EI. For example, a dissertation on psychological well-being that described a broad range of personal-

ity traits became the basis for a test of EI. Reuven Bar-On's EQ-i is a self-report test that includes five broad categories: intrapersonal (covering the subject's self-regard, emotional self-awareness, assertiveness, independence, and self-actualization), interpersonal (covering empathy, social responsibility, and interpersonal relationship), adaptability (covering reality testing, flexibility, and problem solving), stress management (covering stress tolerance and impulse control), and general mood (covering optimism and happiness).

In Goleman's later work (1998), he defined emotional intelligence as a set of leadership competencies, drawn from decades of competency modeling research and application. Goleman considered an emotional competence to be an acquired or learned skill that is based upon emotional intelligence. This competency approach to EI included five clusters of skills: self-awareness, self-regulation, motivation, empathy, and social skills.

DOES EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE EXIST?

There is a good deal of controversy regarding whether or not EI actually exists. When researchers have examined alternative models of EI, they have found that most do not offer anything new or unique that is not already offered by traditional models of personality. Characteristics such as optimism, assertiveness, and self-awareness have been part of personality trait theories for decades. Critics argue that calling these constellations of traits emotional intelligence is merely old wine in a new bottle and does not advance our understanding of human capabilities. In addition, Salovey and Mayer's original approach has been criticized for not offering reliable measures of EI.

Claims for the importance of EI also appear to be exaggerated. Specifically, Goleman's (1995) claim that EI is twice as important as IQ in predicting success has been misrepresented. It is possible to claim that EI is much more important than IQ for predicting success only if EI is used as an umbrella term encompassing a very broad array of skills and traits, and only if you examine success for those who have already entered a given occupation. IQ is

still an important predictor of which people first enter an occupation.

CAN THE EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE OF LEADERS BE OBJECTIVELY MEASURED?

Just as there are several ways to define EI, there are also several ways to measure EI. Self-report tests are one method. In self-report tests, subjects are asked to indicate how they feel, or how they evaluate themselves. An example of a self-report test for EI is the Bar-On EQ-i. This test asks subjects to report their self-perceptions regarding aspects of their personality such as how happy they are, how assertively they act, and whether they believe that they are emotional aware. The problem with using this method to measure EI is that people's self-reports of their skills, abilities, or intelligence are not always very accurate.

Another type of assessment is the 360-degree assessment, which typically obtains ratings from a number of sources. In a business context, those sources might include the subject, the subject's peers, customers who come in contact with the subject, the subject's direct reports, and his or her supervisor. The Emotional Competence Inventory (ECI) is such a 360-degree assessment. Items on the ECI were drawn from three sources: the 1991 Self-Analysis Questionnaire, a rating survey designed to measure management competencies of MBA students; a listing of general competencies; and additional competencies listed in the second Goleman book on EI. Despite the fact that data is drawn from sources other than the subject, 360-degree assessments suffer from the same problem as self-reports: Both are poor predictors of a person's actual ability level.

Ability tests are a third type of assessment. An ability test measures a person's capacity to solve certain kinds of problems and compares the person's performance with some type of reference group. Early ability measures often were unreliable and the abilities they measured were ambiguous. The newest such ability measure, the Mayer-Salovey-Caruso Emotional Intelligence Test (MSCEIT) (2002), appears to have resolved many of these

issues. The MSCEIT measures people's emotional intelligence by asking them to solve a series of emotional problems. For example, the ability to identify emotions accurately is measured by having subjects view a face and indicate what emotions the face is expressing.

IS EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE NECESSARY FOR EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP?

It should be apparent that one cannot ask a question about EI without specifying *which* EI one is referring to. In the context of leadership studies, there are three EI approaches. We have known for many years that personality traits such as conscientiousness are important predictors of workplace performance. Other traits, such as optimism, have been found to be significant predictors of certain forms of sales success. When EI is defined as traits such as optimism and drive, we find that it does, indeed, predict certain occupational outcomes.

If you call EI emotional competence and describe it as consisting of skills such as leadership and team building, it should come as no surprise that it does indeed relate to leadership outcomes. It has been reported that star performers, top sales people, and effective team leaders can be differentiated from their peers on one or more of these emotional competencies.

The Mayer-Salovey ability model of EI includes a narrow set of abilities that are generally unrelated to personality traits or previously defined abilities. Research using this approach does not support the broad contention that EI is critical to leadership effectiveness. In fact, some research suggests that emotionally intelligent professionals may gravitate towards non-business careers and that if anything there is a slight negative relationship between emotional intelligence and the desire to control or lead others. On the other hand, studies of team leaders find some support for the importance of emotional intelligence to team performance.

Other research on leadership has shown a strong relationship between EI and various effective leadership styles. It has also been hypothesized that EI is a trait of transformational leaders.

LEADERSHIP AND THE ABILITY MODEL OF EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE

Because the ability model of EI describes a unique set of abilities, it is useful to examine it and the relationship it posits between EI and leadership in greater detail. The ability model describes four related abilities: the ability to identify emotion, the ability to use emotion to facilitate thinking, the ability to understand emotion, and the ability to manage emotion.

Identifying Emotion

Emotions contain data, and attending to such data may provide leaders with important clues regarding the environment and how people are reacting to the environment. Leaders who attend to and accurately identify emotion will have much more complete information.

Although teleconferencing, e-mail, and other technologies are being used more frequently to communicate, important meetings and negotiations are still carried out face to face, in part because business leaders want to "look into the eyes" of their counterparts—doing so helps them identify their counterparts' emotions.

Military leaders know the importance of accurate data and information, including emotional data: "It is well that those who command men in war should have known such moods. . . if they recognize them for what they are, that they may the better detect them in others. The imaginative man in war pays a price which is not exacted from his more stolid brother, but his men are the more ready to follow his example when they divine that he has read their secret thoughts" (Moran 1967, 47).

Using Emotion To Facilitate Thinking

Emotions direct our attention to important events, and emotions influence the way we think and what we think about. Leaders can use emotion to facilitate thinking by setting the right emotional tone for effective communication and by creating the emotion or mood that is most conducive to solving the problem at hand. For example, leaders who have the ability to

use emotion effectively know that if the task at hand is to search for errors, it is more useful to have people in neutral or slightly negative moods than in happy, positive moods, as people in neutral to negative moods tend to focus more on details.

Bill Clinton, the forty-second president of the United States, was well-known for his ability to connect with people. He is known for the expression “I feel your pain,” and it is likely that he did indeed feel what other people were feeling. It may be that his charisma was based in part upon his ability to use emotion to facilitate thinking.

Understanding Emotion

Being able to understand what causes people to feel the way they do and knowing how emotions change over time can provide a leader with information about how people will respond to a changed direction or a new event.

Leaders are sometimes surprised at people’s reactions to events or circumstances, yet because emotional reactions are relatively predictable and changes in emotions follow logical patterns, if we know a person or group’s emotional tendencies, we should be able to predict how they will feel given some future event.

Understanding emotions accurately can have important implications. In the realm of politics, for example, the decisions leaders make are often influenced by their reading of the emotional state of their constituencies. To take an example from foreign policy, U.S. policy makers may take one approach to terrorism if they feel that a major cause of anti-American terrorism is anger toward the United States. However, they may take a different approach if they feel that envy, rather than anger, is the stronger motivating force for terrorism. Political strategies to confront terrorism that are based upon incorrect understanding of emotion could, in this context, have drastic consequences.

Managing Emotion

By remaining open to emotion, leaders will be able to utilize this source of data and integrate it into their

thinking, decisions, and actions. A leader who manages emotion successfully engages or disengages emotions as appropriate and necessary.

Prior to becoming the forty-third president of the United States, George W. Bush may have had problems managing emotion. However, following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Bush was able to engage his emotions, stay open to them, and integrate them into his thinking: “In the chaotic first day of the episode, he came across to some observers as being less than fully confident. But from then on, he radiated a sense of self-assurance and calm determination” (Greenstein 2001, 101). His adept management of his emotions no doubt contributed to his soaring popularity in the months after the attacks.

LEADING THE WAY WITH EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE

There are at least three steps that should be followed in order for EI to make a positive contribution to leadership. First, researchers and practitioners should constrain the definition so that it focuses on emotion and intelligence only, rather than being a catch-all for any trait that is not analytical intelligence. Second, measurement approaches must be based on that constrained definition of EI and should utilize a variety of approaches, including objectively scored, ability-based measures. Third, we must clarify just what it is that EI should predict in terms of leadership behavior, and under what circumstances such skills are not required.

—David R. Caruso

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INTELLIGENCE, SOCIAL

Social intelligence was first defined by the psychologist Edward L. Thorndike in 1920 as the ability to think and act wisely in social situations, and to understand and manage people. In a general sense, social intelligence can be viewed as intelligence that is derived from experience with people and from experience and success in social settings—what might popularly be referred to as common sense, tact, or street smarts. Social intelligence has also been referred to as social competence. Because social intelligence involves both understanding people and understanding how to manage them in social situations, it is easy to see how social intelligence is connected to leadership. Assuming that social intelligence involves understanding social situations and managing people, leaders would need to possess social intelligence to be effective.

While verbal, or academic, intelligence is concerned with basic mental processing, social intelligence is more experientially based and may be acquired nonverbally, through observation of, and experience in, social situations. Academic (verbal) intelligence is developed through formal education, while social intelligence typically develops more informally. Like academic intelligence, social intelligence is multidimensional in nature.

COMPONENTS OF SOCIAL INTELLIGENCE

The psychologist J. P. Guilford, working in the 1960s, proposed that social intelligence was composed of thirty factors, including such components as the ability to interpret gestures and facial expressions, the ability to perceive others' intentions, and the ability to follow a sequence of events in social situations.

The ability to understand social situations is an important element of social intelligence. In order to do this, a socially intelligent person needs to possess interpersonal awareness, which allows him or her to read, or decode, others' nonverbal cues. Social intelligence also includes the ability to convey emotions, attitudes, and ideas to others effectively. These basic communication abilities help to build strong interpersonal connections that create a sense of unity and trust in social relationships.

Social intelligence also includes knowledge of the various social rules that apply in different social contexts and settings—similar to understanding social etiquette, but much broader. Knowing how to act, how to respond, and being able to follow appropriate social scripts—even knowing how to dress in different settings—are all valuable components of social intelligence. For example, it is social intelligence that keeps a person from acting at or dressing for a business meeting with superiors in the same manner he or she would when attending a sporting event with friends. Knowledge of social rules and social settings is a key to how social intelligence affects leadership. For example, socially intelligent leaders use their knowledge of appropriate social behavior to establish and maintain norms within a group of followers—they set up guidelines for how group members should behave in given circum-

stances and model that behavior to set an example for followers.

MEASUREMENT OF SOCIAL INTELLIGENCE

In many instances, the measures used to assess social intelligence have affected how social intelligence is defined, in that researchers have focused on measuring a particular construct and then modified their definition of social intelligence based on their findings. Measures of moral reasoning, involving the ability to make correct choices in various moral dilemmas, have been, and are still occasionally used, to assess aspects of social intelligence, as have measures of empathy, social skills, and self-efficacy. Another line of research uses measures of social insight and measures of empathy to conceptualize social intelligence. However, both those measures deal with only the decoding skills that allow socially intelligent individuals to read others' cues, and not with the ability to behave appropriately in social settings.

In the 1960s, J. P. Guilford and Maureen O'Sullivan developed dozens of separate tests to measure the components of social intelligence. Many of these tests involved nonverbal tasks, such as interpreting pictures of different facial expressions, interpreting different voice tones, choosing the opposites of certain sorts of nonverbal expressions, and rearranging the order of events in a panel of cartoons to tell a story. Some of these social intelligence tests became outdated or had poor psychometric properties, but a few of these are still available and used to measure specific components of social intelligence, but a general battery of tests that measures all aspects of social intelligence is not currently available. Another approach views social intelligence as composed of basic social skills, including both the nonverbal decoding skills mentioned earlier and also the ability to read and understand social situations. One measure of these decoding skills developed in the 1970s shows video clips of people interacting in natural social situations. The dimensions of social intelligence are measured by having the respondents determine the relationships of the people in the video to one another, whether the people in the video are lying or telling the truth in different communications,

and what the outcomes or consequences of the videotaped interactions will be. Other important social-skill components of social intelligence include the ability to convey nonverbal messages to others, the ability to regulate and control one's own emotional communications, and verbal speaking skill, ability to engage others in social interaction, and social role-playing skill.

In the 1980s, intelligence researcher Robert J. Sternberg proposed a different approach to measuring social intelligence, which Sternberg prefers to call *practical intelligence*. He suggests that a major component of social (or practical) intelligence is tacit knowledge—knowledge about the social environment that is acquired experientially and that may never be verbalized. To measure tacit knowledge, respondents are presented with a complex social situation and must develop what they feel is an appropriate course of action for that situation. The respondent's action plan is then compared to the plans of experts to determine the respondent's level of tacit knowledge. Sternberg and his associates have developed tacit-knowledge tests for people in specific occupational roles, such as a military officers or business leaders.

One major problem has plagued research on social intelligence, regardless of the measurement methods: the inability to demonstrate the independence of social intelligence measures from measures of academic intelligence. In fact, the very early research on social intelligence was nearly abandoned because of unacceptably large correlations between early measures of social intelligence and measures of academic intelligence (for example, IQ tests). However, given that both academic and social intelligence involve higher-level cognitive processing, some degree of overlap should be expected. Today, social intelligence researchers are less concerned with this issue, and most accept that social intelligence is indeed a distinct construct, independent of, but correlated with, academic intelligence.

SOCIAL INTELLIGENCE AND LEADERSHIP

Early scientific research on leadership in the 1920s and 1930s focused on the importance of academic



A New Index for Workplace Effectiveness

OXFORD, Miss. (ANS)—Getting along with others smoothes life in grade school, and scoring well in that category as an adult may be the best indicator of professional success, too.

According to University of Mississippi business professor Gerald Ferris, social astuteness and political savvy outweigh traits like conscientiousness, and even intelligence, in predicting whether or not an employee will be effective on the job.

Observing that the corporate trend of flattening management structures means employees need to interact with each other more effectively, Ferris came up with the Political Skills Inventory (PSI). He theorized that talent in dealing with other people would be essential to working successfully in teams and in fluid work structures.

The PSI is constituted of six traits: the ability of people to imagine themselves in the role of others, make people feel comfortable around them, develop an easy rapport with others, understand people, get others to respond positively to them and find common ground with others.

People scoring high on the index are more likely to be

successful on the job than those who cannot, Ferris believes.

He tested the index in five different organizations, including a group of computer programmers. While social skills are not considered essential to programming prowess, how well the workers scored on the PSI was the single strongest predictor of their job performance, Ferris said. His findings were based on a comparison of the workers' PSI outcomes with job ratings by their supervisors.

Ferris admits he's not the first to promulgate the notion that skill in working with people is essential to getting ahead. The Center for Creative Leadership in Greensboro, N.C., has found that social skills, or lack of them, is one of the most important factors in whether or not a manager succeeds. Other researchers have pointed to the importance of emotional intelligence for success.

Ferris' work is new because it defines how to be effective in the new business world, he says. Recruiters often tell him they're looking for someone who "fits" but they can't articulate exactly what that means.

"I would argue 'fit' can be managed by people who have good social skill," Ferris says.

Source: "A New Index for Workplace Effectiveness," American News Service, August 12, 1999.

intelligence for leadership and found that although leaders did tend to be more intelligent than followers, the relationship between a leader's academic intelligence and his or her effectiveness was surprisingly small. It was not necessarily the case that effective leaders needed to have exceptionally high levels of academic intelligence. Because so much of leadership involves social and interpersonal skills, it seemed obvious that social intelligence would be more strongly predictive of leader effectiveness than would academic intelligence. Early research was hampered, however, by a lack of adequate measures of social intelligence. Although many different measures and techniques have been used to try and gauge social intelligence, there are no agreed-upon measures that seem to capture the complex nature of social intelligence.

In the late 1990s, and continuing to the present time, there has been a renewed interest in the role of social intelligence in leadership. This new research suggests that two general components of social intel-

ligence are critical for effective leaders. One of these components is the leader's ability to perceive and understand various leadership situations—what might be called social perceptiveness. The other is the leader's ability to alter his or her social behavior to suit the demands of the social situation. This has been referred to as behavioral flexibility. Even very bright, experienced leaders can fail because they lack social perceptiveness and either misread the requirements of the social situation or fail to realize how their actions will be perceived by followers. Similarly, a leader may be socially perceptive, understanding how he or she should behave in a given situation, but lack the behavioral flexibility required to enact the appropriate behavior.

Research has suggested that both social perceptiveness and behavioral flexibility are related to leader effectiveness, although the majority of studies have usually focused on one or the other of these general components, with a variety of instruments used to measure the components. There is also some

evidence that social intelligence becomes more important as one moves up the organizational hierarchy to higher and higher positions of leadership. For instance, a study published in 2003 by Riggio and colleagues found that the social intelligence of front-line supervisors (as gauged by a social competence/skills measure) did not predict either their performance or how satisfied their subordinates were with them. However, there was a much stronger relationship between social intelligence and both leader performance and follower satisfaction in higher-level managers and leaders. This makes sense because the complexity of the leadership situation increases as one moves up the chain of command, and it is social intelligence that helps the leader read and interpret the complex social situation and enact the complex roles and behaviors needed to be successful.

CURRENT STATUS AND THE FUTURE

There is general agreement that the construct of social intelligence is an important component of general intelligence, and that it has particular relevance for leadership. The problem continues to be the lack of agreed-upon measures of social intelligence and its various components. Although it is always difficult to make predictions, there are a number of reasons to expect that research on the connection between social intelligence and leadership will greatly increase in the next several years. First, after a long period of dormancy, beginning in the 1990s there have been a number of studies that have explicitly explored the role of social intelligence in leader effectiveness. Second, strides have been made toward finding useful measures of social intelligence, although there are still few instruments that measure social intelligence per se. Most instruments measure related constructs, such as tacit knowledge, interpersonal acumen (ability to judge others' attitudinal or emotional states), self-monitoring (ability to monitor one's own behavior and alter it as necessary to accommodate the social situation), or social skills. Third, there has been a revival of interest in multiple domains of intelligence, as evidenced by the work of the psychologist Howard Gardner, who, in the 1980s, came up with a

theory of multiple intelligences that includes social intelligence. Finally, the tremendous popular interest in the much newer construct of emotional intelligence may fuel increased attention to the older, but related, construct of social intelligence.

—Ronald E. Riggio and Diana Thorne

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INTELLIGENCE, VERBAL

Leadership is an influence relationship that depends upon effective communication. A successful leader

creates vision or direction, communicates that vision through words, symbols, or actions, and motivates and inspires people to move in that direction. One of the most powerful ways that a leader communicates is through the spoken word.

Pivotal moments in leadership occur when a leader is able to unite people who are divided by what they say during times of uncertainty and crisis. These words are often remembered long after the crisis and even after the leader has passed. Consider, for example, Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech, Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg address or Jesus' Sermon on the Mount. These words delivered for different reasons at different points in time continue to be meaningful and inspire people today.

Given the central role of communication in leadership, it would seem likely that verbal intelligence would be a very important personal characteristic. But how important is it? Leaders who deliver speeches that are remembered throughout the ages are exceptional leaders. Is verbal ability characteristic of only exceptional leaders or does it apply to leaders generally?

WHAT IS VERBAL INTELLIGENCE?

Verbal intelligence involves the ability to learn language and use it to accomplish certain goals, an important aspect of all theories of intelligence. The way that verbal intelligence is conceptualized, measured and researched depends upon the particular approach undertaken to study intelligence. The psychometric approach, which focuses on uncovering through statistical methods the latent psychological structure of measured abilities, has contributed significantly to the understanding of verbal abilities. This approach has had enormous influence on traditional intelligence theory, which defines and measures intelligence in terms of academic skills (i.e., verbal, spatial, analytic, and memory).

Verbal Abilities

Successful verbal performance requires the ability to understand what others communicate verbally and to

verbally express oneself to others. These two related aspects of verbal ability are of equal importance. L. L. Thurstone was one of the first investigators to identify two related but distinct verbal abilities, namely verbal comprehension and word fluency, which he proposed are primary mental abilities. *Verbal comprehension* refers to the ability to understand words and verbal information. *Word fluency* refers to the speed and ease with which words, sentences, and other linguistic responses can be generated. Subsequent psychometric theorists of intelligence focused more on Thurstone's verbal comprehension rather than word fluency. For example, R. Cattell described intellectual functioning as comprised of two broad abilities, fluid and crystallized. *Fluid ability* is the capacity to think flexibly and reason abstractly, whereas *crystallized ability* is the accumulated knowledge base developed as a result of fluid ability. In this model, crystallized abilities have been associated directly with the products of verbal comprehension. However, no connection has been made between crystallized or fluid abilities and word fluency.

More recently, J. Carroll has proposed a psychometric model that is comprised of three strata or hierarchical levels of ability, which range from broad to specific. At the top of the hierarchy is general ability; in the middle, various broad abilities including fluid and crystallized abilities, learning and memory processes, visual and auditory perception, facile production, and speed. The bottom of the hierarchy contains fairly specific abilities. With respect to verbal ability, different types and levels of abilities are involved depending on the particular verbal task performed.

Is It Ability or Intelligence?

Some scholars argue that the traditional views of intelligence, which emphasize academic skills and abilities, are narrow and incomplete. Two contemporary theories advanced to extend it are the theory of multiple intelligences and the theory of successful intelligence. H. Gardner's *theory of multiple intelligences* suggests there are independent types of intelligence, such as linguistic, musical, emotional, and

so forth, which explain competency in a particular domain. For example, a poet's sonnet would be considered a manifestation of verbal or linguistic intelligence, whereas a composer's symphony would be attributed to musical intelligence. R. J. Sternberg's theory of *successful intelligence* posits that intelligence is a function of the interaction of creative, practical, and analytic abilities. From this perspective a poet's sonnet and composer's symphony is the result of a combination of these fundamental processes. So while the poet may use verbal knowledge or talent and the composer, musical knowledge or talent, both efforts rely largely on these fundamental cognitive processes. According to this theory, the term *verbal intelligence* is a misnomer because it cannot be separated from other components that compose intelligence.

VERBAL INTELLIGENCE AND LEADERSHIP

The investigation of attributes, such as verbal intelligence, that distinguish leaders from followers or effective leaders from ineffective ones has a long history in the scientific study of leadership. It is referred to as the *trait approach*, which was originally grounded in the assumption, that leaders are "born" not "made." This assumption, called the "great man" theory of leadership, was once very popular and highly controversial. Today trait theorists do not make assumptions about whether leadership traits are inherited or acquired. The trait approach continues to be of interest to leadership researchers particularly to inform leader assessment and development in modern organizations such as business and government.

Traditional intelligence tests, which include measures of verbal ability, as described above, are found to be modestly associated with a leader's performance. Some psychologists who study intelligence argue that if intelligence were measured in ways that reflect broader or different theories, stronger associations may be found. It has been shown that leaders are likely to be more intelligent but not much more intelligent than the people they lead. One reason may be because followers must be able to understand what leaders are saying. To more fully understand the specific role of verbal intelligence in leadership,

it is worthwhile to consider the research evidence that competence in communicating is associated with leadership performance.

Leadership and Communication

Studies of leader behavior emphasize a number of communication skills that leaders share in common. They actively solicit new ideas and feedback from others, persuade others about the quality of their ideas, and enlist their support. One of the primary roles of an organization leader is to effectively communicate within and outside the organization. A key way that leaders fulfill this role is through verbal communication. Communication has been found to be one of the most significant contributors to leader effectiveness in organizational management, as measured by the perceived quantity and quality of performance and subordinate satisfaction and commitment. Competence in communicating, particularly in speaking, is found to be associated with leadership in general as well as with exemplary leadership. Competence refers to a specific aptitude, ability, or knowledge that a person brings to a situation. Because the vast majority of leaders engage in frequent verbal communication either face-to-face or on the telephone, verbal ability can be considered a significant component.

A positive association has been found between talkativeness and leadership. A number of studies have shown that the person who talks the most in leaderless groups tends to be the one who emerges as the leader. Moreover, frequency of talking seems to affect whether or not people are perceived as leaders. Critics of research on talkativeness, which they call the "babble" hypothesis of leadership, argue that quantity is an insufficient explanation of the relation between talking and leadership because in groups people compete for attention and will usually silence a "babbling." Research demonstrates that, indeed, other factors are also important.

Early studies support a positive relationship between fluency of speech and leadership, although in some of the studies fluency is conflated with vividness, originality and frequency. Subsequent research has demonstrated that the quality of one's

talk, a trait which is closely related to fluency, is also associated with leader emergence. Quality includes being explicit, persuasive, and creative in communicating.

The ability to convey meaning and enhance retention has been associated with leader communication. To convey the meaning of a message, ideas and feelings must be transmitted in a way that they will be remembered. Memorable messages often take the form of succinct statements that capture complex ideas, such as “Work smart, not hard.” These statements convey information about norms, values, expectations, rules, requirements, and rationality of an organization’s culture. An illustration of this type of statement made by an exemplary leader was President Theodore Roosevelt’s declaration of his foreign policy: “Speak softly but carry a big stick.”

Exemplary leaders seem to differ from leaders in general in the extent to which they are highly skilled in verbal communication. These leaders not only communicate effectively but they communicate a “story” that resonates with followers. An effective story touches upon people’s emotions, thoughts, values, and beliefs. It reminds people of who they are, where they come from, and where they are going. Eminent leaders tell stories that engage followers in a journey with them. Martin Luther King’s “I Have a Dream” speech is an eloquent example of these points. Through the story the leader expresses and awakens basic human themes, such as justice, liberty, or righteousness. President Ronald Reagan conveyed such a story with his “Star Wars” initiative in the 1980s, an effort to build a defensive shield that would protect the United States from nuclear attack by the Soviet Union. The Star Wars image evoked the human struggle between the forces of good and evil. Though simplistic, this story marshaled the necessary domestic support for the Reagan’s defense initiative.

Leader Communication and Verbal Intelligence

To what extent does verbal intelligence account for the competence in communication associated with leadership? To some extent the answer depends upon how verbal intelligence is conceptualized. It

appears traditional definitions of verbal ability (i.e., verbal comprehension and fluency) are prerequisites for the talkativeness and fluency associated with leader communication. The theory of successful intelligence would suggest that message quality would also require creative abilities to come up with messages, analytic abilities to evaluate if they are worthwhile and practical abilities to communicate them effectively to a particular group of followers in a particular situation. Multiple intelligence theory would suggest that the ability to deliver a message or create a story that excites, convinces, stimulates, and conveys information verbally would be a function of linguistic (or verbal) intelligence.

Leader communication clearly requires ability and knowledge that goes beyond verbal intelligence no matter how it is conceptualized. For example, to communicate persuasively, a leader must understand and identify with people’s feelings, needs, and desires. To perceive emotions, access and generate them to assist thought, and regulate them effectively are components of emotional intelligence. Furthermore, a leader must be able to understand and recognize the impact of the social system in their communications. Sensitivity to social cues, awareness of social systems, and the ability to respond to them are components of the social intelligence. Ultimately leader communication must be considered in the context of the larger framework of interpersonal competence and the overlap with other characteristics associated with it.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Since the 1990s, the trait or individual differences approach to leadership has enjoyed renewed interest and enthusiasm. Current models emphasize the integration of multiple personal characteristics rather than focusing on static, isolated traits. Furthermore, our approach to the study of traits has shifted in focus from qualities that are associated with fixed behavior across situations to dispositions that are associated with variability in behavior depending upon situations. How does this apply to verbal intelligence? To understand the role of verbal intelligence in leadership, we must examine the ways in which it

relates to other leader characteristics such as emotional and social intelligence. Furthermore, we must understand how situation-specific communication, such as being able to speak the language of particular people in a particular situation, is associated with verbal intelligence. Finally, as intelligence theory develops so will our conception of the role of verbal intelligence in the multidimensional phenomenon we call leadership.

—Cynthia Trapani Matthew
and Robert J. Sternberg

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INTELLIGENCES, OTHER

Modern research on human intelligence has focused on the multifaceted nature of intelligence. Rather than viewing intelligence as a single ability, many researchers believe that there are a number of types of intelligence. The most well known and well researched is often referred to as verbal, academic, or general intelligence, and is represented by and popularly identified with intelligence test scores known as the intelligence quotient, or IQ. Another type of intelligence that has been studied for nearly a century is social intelligence—the kind of intelligence that allows individuals to understand and behave effectively in social situations. A type of intelligence identified in the 1990s that has received a great deal of popular attention is emotional intelligence, or the ability to perceive, use, understand, and manage emotions. But still other types of intelligence have been identified, and some of them have implications for leadership.

MODELS OF MULTIPLE INTELLIGENCES

Although early intelligence researchers recognized multiple types or facets of intelligence, the most comprehensive model of multiple intelligences was that of the psychologist J. P. Guilford, who in the 1960s proposed a complex, multifaceted model of intelligence that he called the Structure of Intellect model. Included among the many facets of intelligence in Guilford's model were many abilities to understand behaviors, such as reading facial expressions and other nonverbal behavior, as well as understanding behavioral events.

The most popular recent theories of multiple intelligences are those of the psychologists Howard Gardner and Robert J. Sternberg. In the 1980s, Gardner specified seven types of intelligence, including two (linguistic and logical/mathematical) that are typically associated with general intelligence. The others are musical, spatial, bodily-kinesesthetic, and interpersonal and intrapersonal intelligences. The last two correspond roughly to social and emotional intelligences, respectively.

Sternberg, also writing in the 1980s, proposed a triarchic theory of intelligence, the three components of which correspond to general intelligence (which he calls componential intelligence), social intelligence (which he calls contextual intelligence), and a form of creative intelligence that he calls experiential intelligence. Creative intelligence relates to a person's ability to create new ideas or pull together seemingly unrelated information in new ways.

OTHER INTELLIGENCES AND LEADERSHIP

One type of intelligence that has received attention from evolutionary scientists is Machiavellian intelligence. The theory behind Machiavellian intelligence suggests that this form of intelligence developed as a result of the need to influence and manipulate others in social groups. In many ways, Machiavellian intelligence is similar to social intelligence, but it is limited to the intellectual skills that make it possible for a person to come out on top in various social situations.

A related construct, proposed by the psychologists Joyce and Robert Hogan, is sociopolitical intelligence (SPIQ), which the Hogans define as generalized role-taking ability. They suggest that to be successful in social life individuals need both to get along with one another and to try to get ahead. According to the Hogans, the two core components of sociopolitical intelligence are the ability to see things from another's perspective and the ability to play various roles. It is these abilities that leaders draw on to recruit team members, motivate them, and guide them to specific outcomes.

Using self-report measures such as are common on personality tests, the Hogans have measured

SPIQ and demonstrated that it is important in determining a person's social status and the degree to which he or she is accepted, and that these qualities are important for determining leadership potential. However, it is the leader's ability to use sociopolitical intelligence to create and maintain a team that can compete successfully against other teams that ultimately leads to successful team, and leader, performance.

An additional form of intelligence, labeled cultural intelligence, has been proposed by researchers Lynn R. Offerman and Ly U. Phan, who define it as "the ability to function effectively in a diverse context where the assumptions, values, and traditions of one's upbringing are not uniformly shared with those with whom one needs to work" (Offerman and Phan 2002, 188). In essence, cultural intelligence is the ability to adapt to persons of other cultures without allowing one's own cultural background to interfere.

Cultural intelligence is important in today's multicultural, global society, in which leaders are responsible for teams of followers who are culturally diverse, and in which leaders must interact with peers and constituents from a variety of nations and cultures. Offerman and Phan argue that cultural intelligence is a multifaceted construct that involves understanding oneself and one's own culture and cultural values, understanding others' cultures, and adapting oneself and one's leadership to the needs of culturally diverse followers.

CONTROVERSIES AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Perhaps the most fundamental controversy surrounding these other intelligences—Machiavellian intelligence, sociopolitical intelligence, cultural intelligence, but also emotional and social intelligence—is whether they do indeed constitute distinct forms of intelligence. Some critics argue that some of these other intelligences are not clearly defined and are not clearly differentiated from one another or from general intelligence.

There are also problems with the measurement of these other intelligences. Unlike verbal intelligence, whose measurement (in IQ) has had more than a century of scrutiny and refinement, many of the

newer intelligences are measured via self-report instruments, which are usually relatively brief and may be inaccurate.

The past dozen years has seen a revival in research on non-IQ forms of intelligence, most notably interest in emotional and social intelligences. However, the other forms of intelligence discussed here—Machiavellian, sociopolitical, and cultural—seem particularly relevant to leadership in a world of empowered followers, intense media focus on political leaders and heads of companies and organizations, and increasing diversity and globalization. It is clear that in such a world, forms of intelligence that involve having social, political, and cultural influence with diverse groups of people are going to be particularly important. Future research will no doubt continue to explore these different domains of intelligence, and as more sophisticated means of measuring these intelligences are developed, we will begin to understand better both their distinct natures and the areas in which they overlap.

—Ronald E. Riggio

See also Intelligence, Emotional; Intelligence, Social; Intelligence, Verbal; Socio-Emotional Leadership

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INTENTIONAL COMMUNITIES

Intentional communities are groups of people whose members have chosen to live together, to follow a common purpose, and to intentionally create a better society at least for themselves if not for everyone. Leadership is a contentious issue within these communities because issues of power, hierarchy, and equality are often central to why people joined these communities. Ideas, beliefs, and dreams about how to live in purely egalitarian (relating to a belief in human equality) ways, however, may not be congruent with the challenges that members face in functioning as a social group in the real world of neighbors, local government regulations, financial realities, and human nature.

Leadership can be discussed with two meanings: as providing governance and as establishing and guiding people along a spiritual and/or cultural direction. Leadership and intentional communities can be discussed in three ways: leadership within single groups, leadership within the global intentional communities movement, and leadership as setting the agenda and leading the way for the world in social and political change.

DEFINITIONS

Examples of intentional communities (in the past called “communes,” “alternative lifestyle groups,” and “alternative communities”) include cohousing communities in major cities, Israeli kibbutzim, fundamentalist Christian communes, and ecovillages. Ecovillages are intentional communities in which people can live, work, buy food and other things they need, socialize, and pursue their spiritual or religious interests on-site; and these activities are harmlessly integrated into the natural landscape and can be continued into the indefinite future. Most aspiring ecovillages intend to one-day grow or raise their own organic food and use passive-solar natural buildings, off-grid power, wastewater recycling, and so on.

The first known intentional community was probably Homakoeion, established near Crotona, Italy, by the Greek philosopher and mathematician Pythagoras about 525 BCE. Other writers argue that Indian

ashrams (small communities with a guru and his or her followers), in about 1500 BCE, should have this honor, although the evidence is unclear. The oldest operational intentional community in the world is probably Sabbathday Lake, a Shaker commune established in 1794 near Poland, Maine, United States. Sabbathday Lake had about 150 members in the early nineteenth century, with membership slowly declining to a dozen but now growing again.

The Fellowship for Intentional Community describes an intentional community this way:

A group of people who have chosen to work together in pursuit of a common ideal or vision. Most, though not all, share land or housing. Intentional communities come in all shapes and sizes, and display amazing diversity in their common values, which may be social, economic, spiritual, political, and/or ecological. Some are rural, some urban. Some house members in a single residence, some in separate households. Some communities raise children; some don't. Some are secular, some are spiritually based, and others are both. (Christian 2002, 6)

Bill Metcalf (2004) derived a widely used formal definition of an intentional community:

Five or more people, drawn from more than one family or kinship group, who have voluntarily come together for the purpose of ameliorating perceived social problems and inadequacies. They seek to live beyond the bounds of mainstream society by adopting a consciously devised and usually well thought-out social and cultural alternative. In the pursuit of their goals, they share significant aspects of their lives together. Participants are characterized by a "we-consciousness," seeing themselves as a continuing group, separate from and in many ways better than the society from which they have emerged.

Many indigenous groups live communally but are not considered to be intentional communities because they live according to their social norms rather than according to any consciously devised intention. For the same reasons prisoners and other people in institutions do not live in intentional communities even though they live communally.

Thousands of intentional communities exist

around the world, with an estimated 100,000 members (an estimated 2,000 to 10,000 members in the United States alone). Israel, with 268 kibbutzim, has the highest proportion of its population (about 2 percent) living in this way. About five hundred intentional communities operate in the United Kingdom, about fifty in New Zealand, perhaps two hundred in Australia, as well as many throughout Europe, Japan, and India.

Traditionally, intentional communities have been a Western movement, although they can be found throughout eastern Europe, Russia, Latin America, and parts of Asia. Intentional communities seem to be adaptable to many economic, political, and cultural contexts.

LEADERSHIP WITHIN INDIVIDUAL INTENTIONAL COMMUNITIES

Intentional communities, like almost all other social groupings, function best with, rather than without, leadership. This does *not* mean, however, that intentional communities should have top-down, hierarchical leadership structures nor that they should have a designated manager or boss. Intentional community members tend to be too creative and independent minded to follow what they consider to be such outmoded models of leadership.

Some intentional communities concentrate leadership and are led by a single person or small group, whereas other communities disperse and share leadership between all members.

FOCUSED LEADERSHIP

Leaders within focused leadership in intentional communities generally hold their positions because of either their charisma or their acknowledged spiritual or religious seniority. In spite of media myths to the contrary, relatively few intentional communities have charismatic leaders, that is, people who become leaders simply through the magnetic power of their personalities. Charismatic leaders need not be the smartest or the most capable person in the intentional community, but other members will admire, respect, and, at times, almost worship them and are

only too willing to follow their leadership. In most cases charismatic leaders of intentional communities are benign people who help the communities by their ability to unify and motivate members toward selecting and achieving shared goals. Generally, the same charismatic leader will govern and provide and embody the collective vision or spirit of the group. The group becomes almost an extension of the charismatic leader's magnetic personality.

Occasionally, charismatic leaders of intentional communities let power go to their heads and become dangerous despots. Although rare in terms of the actual numbers of intentional communities worldwide, such despotism can lead to such widely publicized disasters as the mass suicide of followers of Jim Jones at Jonestown, Guyana, in South America in 1978; the siege and shootout involving David Koresh (Vernon Howell) and the Branch Davidians in Texas in 1993; Luc Jouret and the Solar Temple in 1994–1997; Asahara Shoko and Aum Shinrikyo (Aum Supreme Truth Religion) in 1995; and Marshall Applewhite and Heaven's Gate in 1997.

Several of the best-known intentional communities began with charismatic leadership: Findhorn Foundation (United Kingdom), the Farm (United States), and Damanhur (Italy). Fortunately, in all these cases, the charismatic leaders had enough wisdom to step aside and let all members work out their own directions. As a rule of thumb, charismatic leadership can be helpful to a group during its early years; however, leaders can then benefit the group by stepping down in order to help members grow and develop their own leadership skills. Few charismatic leaders, however, prepare other members to take control after them, so these groups often face a serious succession crisis.

Another example of focused leadership within intentional communities is people who are selected by the group because of their generally acknowledged greater understanding of the spiritual and religious principles of the group. Such "theocratic" leadership makes great sense within spiritually and religiously based intentional communities simply because members are there in order to advance along some path of belief, and why would one not follow those more advanced along that path? As well

as governing the intentional community, such theocratic leaders provide the community's vision or spirit, as with charismatically led groups.

Most theocratic leaderships within intentional communities are reasonably healthy and lead to what members consider to be positive outcomes. This form of leadership, of course, will break down as soon as members disagree about relative positions on a spiritual and religious hierarchy. Intentional communities such as the Hutterites (a German-speaking Protestant sect with over 360 colonies in western Canada and the western United States) and the Bruderhof (a Protestant sect begun in Germany in the 1920s with several communities in the United States and England) have followed this leadership model for many years with only occasional problems.

The key difference between theocratic and charismatic leaders of intentional communities is that charismatic leaders hold their positions because of their personalities, whereas theocratic leaders are empowered by their vision and interpretation of the divine or sacred. Although charismatic and theocratic leadership are quite different in principle, in intentional communities the lines are blurred. Often, charismatic people are able to convince their fellow community members that they also have divine superiority, and equally often a spiritually advanced person will be given theocratic respect only if she or he also has a degree of charisma.

SHARED LEADERSHIP

The vast majority of members of secular intentional communities want to share the duties of leadership and are unwilling to follow top-down leadership models. They follow a democratic approach, governing themselves through fair, participatory decision-making methods such as majority-rule voting (51% or more must agree), "super-majority" voting (a specified percentage higher than 51%, such as 66% or 75%, must agree), or some form of consensus decision making.

In some Israeli kibbutzim and some rural ecovillages that use a form of voting, members nominate and vote for people to hold leadership roles for set periods and generally accept those leaders not because

of their charisma or spiritual qualities but rather simply because they democratically represent the group. In other such groups, all members meet regularly to discuss and vote for decisions, generally after a simple majority-rule vote for ordinary decisions and a super-majority vote (such as 75 percent or “all but two” of those voting) for crucial decisions such as to accept new members or change the group’s rules or constitution.

Far more common in secular intentional communities are consensus leadership and decision making. Consensus decision making results when all members are considered to have, as the Quakers say, “a piece of the truth” and the group encourages each person to express his or her opinions. Issues are discussed and decided by the group but without voting. A proposal might be modified several times to meet members’ concerns, or it might be deferred. Eventually members agree to, “stand aside,” or “block” the proposal. To “stand aside” means one does not agree but will let the proposal proceed, whereas even one person blocking stops a proposal. If everyone agrees (and if a few stand aside), the proposal is passed. If done correctly, this method spreads decision-making power throughout the group.

Although on the surface a consensus-based intentional community might appear to lack leaders and leadership, as commonly understood, such a community shares leadership, in terms of decision making, with all members. Intentional communities following a consensus model are not antileadership but rather want to ensure that leadership is shared and empowers everyone collectively.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, many intentional communities formed with the goal of avoiding leadership, governance, and rules. They soon faced what has been called “the tyranny of structurelessness,” whereby members found that, far from being liberated by a lack of leadership and governance, they were oppressed, disempowered, and unable to act. This recognition helped spur the interest in consensus. Some groups, however, stumble around in what Diana Christian calls “pseudo-consensus” in *Creating a Life Together: Practical Tools to Grow Ecovillages and Intentional Communities* (2003). Groups use “pseudoconsensus” when,

without proper training from an experienced consensus facilitator, they assume they know how to use this method, often frustrating and exhausting themselves in the process. One of the best guides on how to make consensus leadership work is *Introduction to Consensus* by Beatrice Briggs.

LEADERSHIP WITHIN THE INTENTIONAL COMMUNITIES MOVEMENT

The intentional communities movement is almost a worldwide phenomenon, with great commonalities and a few regional variations. Evangelic Christian groups in Russia, survivalist groups in New Zealand, cohousing groups in Denmark and the United States, New Age spiritual groups in Italy and the United Kingdom, ecovillages in Australia and Brazil, and polyamorous communes (where members are encouraged to have many lovers) in Germany all share roughly the same issues, problems, and potentials. They are all trying to create a better way of living for their members and to avoid the perceived ills of capitalistic, hierarchical, globalized modern society.

Although intentional communities comprise a social movement, the movement has no central leadership or control. Instead, movement leadership operates through the models of a few of the best-known intentional communities around the globe and through the communication process of specialist media, plus organizations and research bodies.

A few intentional communities, such as Findhorn Foundation in Scotland, Twin Oaks and the Farm in the United States, Damanhur in Italy, Crystal Waters in Australia, and ZEGG (*Zentrum für Experimentelle GesellschaftsGestaltung* [Center for Experimental Culture Design]) and Kommune Niederkaufungen in Germany, are commonly regarded by other groups around the globe as being significant models, groups from which others can learn. Books and articles are written about these intentional communities, and many people starting intentional communities look to them for ideas and inspiration. These communities can be said to lead the movement by serving as models. In particular, Findhorn Foundation has set much of the language, agenda, and actions of New Age

spirituality around the globe, whereas Twin Oaks has served the same leadership role for communal economics.

Many countries have organizations that provide some leadership to this movement. These organizations include the Fellowship for Intentional Community in the United States, Come Together and Kommuja in Germany, and the United Kibbutz Movement (Takam) in Israel. By far the most important of such organizations is the Global Ecovillage Network (GEN), with a worldwide network of offices and supporters. GEN does not direct or control the constituent ecovillages, but rather provides leadership by promoting communication, education, and strategies for economic and social development. Most intentional communities do not call themselves “ecovillages,” but they all benefit from the networking leadership of GEN.

Several directories of intentional communities provide some leadership to this movement. The three best known of these are *Communities Directory: A Guide to Intentional Communities and Cooperative Living* (mainly covering North America), *Diggers & Dreamers: The Guide to Communal Living* (mainly covering the United Kingdom), and *Eurotopia: Directory of Intentional Communities and Ecovillages in Europe*. No global magazine or newspaper exists for this movement; the closest approximation is *Communities* magazine, published in the United States but with some global coverage.

The International Communal Studies Association provides some leadership to the intentional communities movement by bringing together information, scholars, and practitioners from around the world. This function serves to inform people about what works or does not work in what sort of intentional community and helps to raise both the self-perception and the public acceptance of intentional communities.

SOCIETAL LEADERSHIP BY INTENTIONAL COMMUNITIES

Historically, intentional communities have often seen themselves as being models for the future of almost everyone in the world. With utopian enthusiasm (and

naivete?) they often believed that they had only to establish and demonstrate a more equitable, ethical, and prosperous lifestyle, and then everyone else would follow their example. New Australia (1891–1907) in Australia and Paraguay, Oneida (1848–1881) and Amana (1843–1932) in the United States, Federative Home (1889–1903) in New Zealand, and New Lanark (about 1800–1828) in the United Kingdom all saw themselves as serving as a model not only for a like-minded minority, but for everyone.

Such aspirations to global societal leadership are less common today within intentional communities, although occasionally the public statements of, for example, ZEGG in Germany, Findhorn Foundation in Scotland, and Damanhur in Italy appear to suggest utopian aspirations.

Although one might easily poke fun at what appear to be pretensions of global leadership, reality suggests that in some ways intentional communities often really do play a crucial agenda-setting, societal-leadership role. The human relations school of management can perhaps be traced back to the New Lanark community of Robert Owen. Findhorn Foundation, Scotland, has been called “the Green Party at Prayer” and has, in fact, initiated, or at least clarified, much of the current spiritual basis for ecospiritual forms of environmentalism. The ecovillage movement has had significant effects on regional land-use planning in countries such as Australia, Canada, and the United States, whereas the cohousing movement has similar effects on urban planning and architectural design in many countries, particularly in northern Europe. One could argue that the “free love” ideology and practice of late 1960s and early 1970s hippie communes translated into greater sexual openness across much of Western society. Such influences are, of course, far from unidirectional and are only part of any explanation.

THE FUTURE OF LEADERSHIP IN INTENTIONAL COMMUNITIES

As we increase our understanding of both the potential problems of consensus decision making and of the ways to avoid these problems, and as profes-

sional consensus facilitators become more widely available, this form of leadership becomes more widespread within intentional communities.

On the other hand, although kibbutzim have always had democratic leadership, today more power is being assigned or delegated to professional managers in kibbutzim. Although one could argue that real leadership of the group remains with the members, that appears not to be how it works out in practice, with many kibbutzim members reporting unsatisfactory experiences with “managerial” leadership.

The current trend in intentional community development is away from intensive communes and toward rural ecovillages and urban cohousing. Both of these options have the perceived advantage of allowing members to retain much individual property, rights, and social space while also enjoying many social and economic benefits from communal sharing. Ecovillage and cohousing models are now being adopted or co-opted by property developers in many Western countries who recognize that these intentional community models can also become popular with people who do not seek to take part in an intentional community. Whether these people will also seek to take advantage of the leadership initiatives of intentional communities remains to be seen.

Few social groups have, throughout history, devoted so much thought to leadership questions or tried so many experiments in refining leadership solutions as have intentional communities. Some of these leadership initiatives have become commonly accepted within the wider society, whereas others have been almost forgotten. Much can be learned about leadership by studying the social laboratories provided by the wide-ranging intentional communities movement.

—William J. Metcalf and Diana Leafe Christian

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INTERGROUP PROCESSES

The term *intergroup processes* refers to what happens between groups of people or between people who are in different groups—how they behave and relate towards one another. Wherever you have groups, small groups such as sports teams, medium-sized groups such as organizations, or large groups such as nations, you have intergroup processes. Intergroup processes affect all aspects of our lives. They play a significant role in prejudice, discrimination, social disadvantage, stereotyping, social protest, political competition, team sports, organizational mergers, and so forth, and even affect the way we define ourselves and form a concept of who we are, an identity. The most widely adopted definition of intergroup processes and intergroup relations comes from the social psychologist Muzafer Sherif: “Intergroup relations refers to relations between two or more groups and their respective members. Whenever individuals belonging to one group interact, collectively or individually, with another group or its members in terms of their group identifications, we have an instance of intergroup behavior” (Sherif 1962, 5).

Relations among people differ dramatically depending on whether those people belong to the

same group or to different groups. Within the same group relations tend to be positive: People like, support, and help one another in a general atmosphere of solidarity and cooperation. Relations between groups are entirely different: They tend to be competitive, ethnocentric, and often hostile. The sociologist William Sumner's description of ethnocentrism comments eloquently on the nature of intergroup relations:

. . . one's own group is the centre of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it . . . Each group nourishes its own pride and vanity, boasts itself superior, exalts its own divinities, and looks with contempt on outsiders. Each group thinks its own folkways the only right one . . . Ethnocentrism leads a people to exaggerate and intensify everything in their own folkways which is peculiar and which differentiates them from others (Sumner 1906, 13).

From the perspective of leadership it is worth noting that leaders lead groups in the context of intergroup relations and often lead groups against other groups. It is very difficult to have a complete analysis of leadership that is divorced from some consideration of intergroup processes.

PERSONALITY AND INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES

Intergroup relations are often characterized by hatred, prejudice, and harmful discriminatory practices. Since many researchers argue that people who behave in this way have dysfunctional personalities, it is not surprising that there are many explanations of intergroup processes that invoke personality dynamics and individual differences. The best known of these types of explanations is the authoritarian personality theory put forward by the social scientist Theodor Adorno and his colleagues (1950). Parents who rear their children in a harsh, disciplinarian, and emotionally manipulative manner, the theory says, produce people who are obsessed by status and authority, are intolerant of ambiguity and uncertainty, and are hostile and aggressive toward weaker others. These people have an authoritarian personality that predisposes them to extreme forms

of intergroup negative behavior. Other personality explanations focus on the fact that some people have dogmatic and closed-minded personalities, or orientations toward social dominance and myths legitimizing hierarchy, that enduringly predispose them to prejudice and intergroup discrimination.

GOALS AND INTERDEPENDENCE

Explanations for intergroup relations that are based on personality and individual differences are often criticized for failing to account for the widespread nature of prejudice and its context-specificity, and for focusing only on extreme intergroup phenomena. The argument is that all people, largely irrespective of personality, can be prejudiced against some groups in some contexts, so perhaps contextual factors play a more significant role.

This approach has been championed by Muzafer Sherif, who proposed a realistic-conflict or interdependence theory of intergroup relations, which was predicated on the belief that behavior is driven by goals and by people's perceptions of their relationship to one another with respect to achieving goals. If two groups have the same goal (for example, prosperity) but the goal can only be attained by one group at the expense of the other (there is a zero-sum goal relationship, with mutually exclusive goals, and negative interdependence between groups) then intergroup relations will be competitive and disharmonious. If two groups have the same goal and the goal can only be achieved if both groups work together (there is a non-zero-sum goal relationship, with a superordinate goal, and positive interdependence between groups) then intergroup relations will be cooperative and harmonious. At the interpersonal level, mutually exclusive goals lead to interpersonal conflict and group dissolution, whereas superordinate goals lead to interpersonal harmony, group formation, and group cohesion.

Sherif tested his theory in a series of naturalistic field experiments with boys at summer camps in the United States. He created different interpersonal and intergroup goal relations and was able to enhance or diminish intergroup conflict, and cause group formation or dissolution. Others have replicated these

findings in other field experiments, for example with business executives. The idea that goal relations and competition over scarce resources determine the complexion of intergroup behavior is a powerful theme in the explanation of intergroup phenomena, for both small ad hoc groups and large-scale social categories.

SOCIAL CATEGORIZATION, SOCIAL PERCEPTION, AND STEREOTYPING

Other research has proposed that although goal relations influence intergroup behavior, the very existence of groups, irrespective of goal relations, may be sufficient to generate intergroup behavior; this research suggests that wherever there is a social categorization into groups, there is intergroup behavior.

Minimal-Group Studies

Such intergroup behavior was tested by Henri Tajfel and his associates in 1971. School pupils who were divided into anonymous non-interactive ad hoc groups by a completely minimal picture preference criterion were found to discriminate in favor of their own group. There have now been thousands of these minimal-group studies. They reliably show that being categorized as a member of a group can be all that is necessary to produce intergroup discrimination, in-group bias, ethnocentrism, in-group solidarity, and a sense of in-group belonging and identity.

Categories and Categorization

Social categorization also underpins stereotyping. People cognitively represent categories as schemas or prototypes that describe the attributes of the category and the relationships among those attributes. Schemas accentuate in-group similarities and intergroup differences to keep the categories clear and distinct. On the basis of perceptual cues, especially distinctive visual cues, we assign a person to a category and then assign the category attributes to that person—we stereotype them. The person is perceptually imbued with all the attributes of the category schema; we see them not as unique individuals but as

relatively interchangeable representatives of a social category. Social categorization accentuates perceived similarities among people within the same group and perceived differences between people in different groups. This intragroup homogenization effect is more marked for out-groups than in-groups. The social categorization process can be slow and deliberate, but usually it is automatic and very fast. We are often completely unaware of it and therefore unable to control it. Social categorization is a highly adaptive process; it simplifies the social world in meaningful ways that allow us to predict behavior and plan effective action.

Social Stereotypes

Schemas and prototypes are the cognitive dimension of stereotypes. However, out-group stereotypes are also shared intergroup attitudes: The members of one group agree that the members of the other group have certain properties. Stereotypes serve social explanatory and justificatory functions; they are theories that explain why “they” are like they are and why “we” relate to them in the way we do. For example, stereotypes justify actions that have been committed or planned by one group against another group: If one group exploits another group, it may be useful to justify this action by developing a stereotype of the exploited group as unsophisticated and dependent. Stereotypes become more extreme and more resistant to change under conditions of intergroup conflict.

Out-group stereotypes are generally unfavorable and can range from merely unflattering to destructively dehumanizing. They attribute favorable out-group characteristics to transient situational factors but unfavorable out-group characteristics to underlying dispositions or essences. This process transforms negative intergroup attitudes into immutable properties or essences of out-groups and their members. The social psychologists Dale Miller and Deborah Prentice argue that intergroup perceptions that rest on such essentialism create insurmountable category divides that can make it extremely difficult to improve intergroup relations. They cite the Balkans and the Middle East as examples.

Once established, stereotypes are very difficult to change. Indeed, research on racial stereotypes suggests that the less racist normative and legislative environment of recent decades in the United States has not caused racial stereotypes to disappear. Rather, it has caused them to change their form and the way that they are expressed, producing modern forms of racism that are less overt and more subtle.

SELF-CONSTRUAL AND SOCIAL IDENTITY

Social categorization perceptually transforms the social world from many individuals into a smaller number of groups. It transforms people into group members, personal identities into group identities, and our relations with others into in-group or intergroup relations. How this occurs is explained by the social-identity perspective, developed by Henri Tajfel, John Turner, and others over the past thirty years.

People define and evaluate themselves in terms of the groups to which they belong—groups provide people with a collective self-concept, a social identity. Because social identities define, prescribe, and evaluate who one is and how one should think, feel, and act, people have a desire to establish or maintain the evaluative superiority of their own group over relevant other groups: There is an intergroup struggle for evaluatively positive group distinctiveness. The way in which this struggle is enacted is influenced by people's understanding of the nature of the relations between their group and relevant out-groups. In particular, people pay attention to status differences and the stability and legitimacy of such differences, to the permeability of intergroup boundaries and thus the possibility of passing psychologically from one group to another, and to the existence of achievable alternatives to the status quo.

Social categorization is the cognitive mechanism responsible for social identity phenomena. Social categorization of others produces, as described above, stereotypic perceptions and expectations. Social categorization of self produces in-group identification, positive in-group regard and solidarity, and a transformation of attitudes, behavior, and feelings to conform to the prescriptions of the in-group prototype. Social categorization of self and others, then,

depersonalizes self-conception, perceptions, feelings, attitudes, and behavior so that they conform to the relevant group prototype.

MOTIVATIONS FOR GROUP MEMBERSHIP

Since people must belong to groups for there to be intergroup behavior, the question of why people join groups is an important one. There are many motivations for group identification. Human beings are fundamentally social and need to affiliate with others in order to survive. There is a basic need to belong and also a need to obtain social validation for the correctness of one's perceptions, attitudes, and feelings. Some researchers have suggested that fear of death is a powerful motive for humans to affiliate, and others that group identification resolves a basic need to reduce uncertainty about who we are and how we relate to others. People may also join groups for instrumental reasons, that is, to do things that they cannot do on their own.

People's decisions about what groups to belong to are also multiply motivated. Three particularly important motives, based on the self-definitional role of groups, are uncertainty reduction, self-enhancement, and optimal distinctiveness. Uncertainty motivates people to belong to well-defined groups that are distinctive and have clear prototypes and norms to govern self-definition and behavior—in extreme cases such groups may be highly orthodox with hierarchical leadership structures. Self-enhancement motivates people to belong to positively distinct groups that are held in high social regard and have high status in society. Optimal distinctiveness motivates people to belong to groups that optimally satisfy people's contrasting needs for assimilation and inclusiveness on the one hand and for differentiation and uniqueness on the other.

Relations between and within groups take different forms depending on which of these motivations is most strong. A challenge to group distinctiveness produces uncertainty reduction and distinctiveness enhancing behaviors, whereas a challenge to group prestige produces self-enhancement and status protection or promotion behaviors. The psychologist Claude Steele's self-affirmation theory (1988) describes how

people whose identity in one domain is evaluatively threatened engage in practices that publicly affirm a favorable identity in another domain.

PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

Negative intergroup behavior (discrimination) and intergroup attitudes (prejudice) do not always correspond very closely—a manifestation of the general lack of correspondence between people's attitudes and their behavior. An oft-cited 1934 field study by the sociologist Richard LaPiere found that although a young Chinese-American couple was almost never denied service at hotels and restaurants across the United States, almost all those same establishments subsequently expressed the strong anti-Chinese sentiment that they would not serve Chinese people.

Because the absence of overt discrimination may not indicate the absence of underlying negative intergroup sentiments, the challenge is to be able to detect prejudice in environments in which the expression of prejudice is normatively (often legally) prohibited. The key is to use unobtrusive measures, because if people do not know they are being observed or measured, they are more likely to behave in accordance with their attitudes. Other methods involve analysis of the subtext of what people say in natural conversation or analysis of behaviors that people have little conscious control over.

Overt discrimination is more easily obtained in minimal group studies, probably because the groups have no history, and thus no social norms exist to proscribe discrimination against other minimal groups. However, even in these settings people do not discriminate unless they actually identify with a minimal group, and then they are more likely to discriminate against out-groups when they are giving rewards, rather than punishments, unless their group is under threat by being disadvantaged or being in a minority position.

Groups can also carefully consider their strategic options before deciding whether and how to discriminate—discrimination may not be a viable option if it is unlikely to be effective in promoting or protecting the group's status or distinctiveness. Although discrimination is considered to be undesir-

able and unjust, in-groups generally view it positively because intergroup discrimination indicates in-group loyalty and commitment (groups do however expect intragroup treatment to be procedurally fair). Group members can often strategically and overtly discriminate against an out-group to bolster their own in-group credentials and standing. Jingoistic rhetoric and overt out-group discrimination on the part of leaders may serve this function.

STIGMA AND DISADVANTAGE

The essential problem of intergroup relations is inequality: There are almost always power, status, prestige, and resource inequalities that disadvantage one group to the advantage of another. Dominant, majority groups do well out of this arrangement, and their members have a positive sense of identity and esteem. Subordinate, minority groups do not do so well, and their members can carry a stigma that has profound effects on self-conception. According to Jennifer Crocker and her associates, "Stigmatized individuals possess (or are believed to possess) some attribute, or characteristic, that conveys a social identity that is devalued in a particular social context" (Gilbert, Fiske, and Lindzey 1998, 505). Stigmas can be visible (race) or concealable (sexual orientation) and can vary in perceived controllability (race has low controllability, whereas obesity has high controllability). Stigma visibility and perceived controllability affect the extent and form of prejudice or discrimination that a member of a stigmatized group suffers.

Because stigmatized groups know the negative stereotypes that others have of them and know that others may judge and treat them stereotypically, they can experience what Claude Steele and Joshua Aronson call stereotype threat. On tasks that really matter to them, stigmatized individuals worry that through their behavior they may confirm the stereotypes. This worry interferes with and impairs task performance. Above all, stigmatized groups suffer material and social disadvantage, and find that their goals and aspirations are frustrated relative to other groups. A sense of reduced efficacy and motivation can set in, and rather than fight for change, groups can acqui-

esce to these conditions—some groups may prefer disadvantage to the uncertainties and dangers of fighting for social change.

Although stigmatized individuals are vulnerable to low self-esteem, diminished life satisfaction, and sometimes depression, most members of stigmatized groups weather the assaults and maintain a positive self-image. According to the social psychologist Brenda Major, one way they do this is by denying any personal experience of being discriminated against or disadvantaged.

COLLECTIVE ACTION AND SOCIAL PROTEST

Disadvantaged groups do sometimes rise up. When deprivation is very acute and a recipe for effective social change is available, disadvantaged groups eagerly challenge the status quo by political means, or through social protest or other collective behaviors, including demonstrations, riots, and uprisings.

Crowds and Riots

Traditionally, riots and crowd behavior have been attributed to people being deindividuated, that is, to their feeling a loss of personal identity and regressing to primitive, unsocialized, and impulsive behaviors. More recent analyses view crowd behavior as a more strategic and rule-governed affair. For example, the social psychologist Stephen Reicher argues that crowd behavior is a set of deliberate and logical actions that are directly related to the goals and objectives of the group that defines the social identity of the crowd. The volatility of crowd behavior is less extreme than reports convey, occurs within limits set by the crowd's identity, and represents a search for situation-specific behaviors that reflect the wider identity of the group. Crowd events are a form of collective action aimed at social change.

Collective Action and Social Change

Although disadvantage can translate into short-lived riots and demonstrations, it also sponsors enduring campaigns for social change that can last decades or even centuries. Disadvantage is most likely to spawn

social action when people suddenly become aware that their expectations and attainments have parted company, particularly when there is a sudden drop in attainments against a background of rising expectations. Social action also arises from intergroup comparisons that produce a sense of collective relative deprivation, a sense that “we” are deprived relative to “them.”

However, collective relative deprivation alone may not be enough to tip the scales towards protest. According to social identity theory, disadvantaged groups engage in direct competition with the dominant group if they perceive intergroup boundaries to be impermeable, and if they perceive their lower status to be illegitimate and unstable, and if they can conceive of a new status quo that is achievable. For example, if members of a disadvantaged group believe that entry to an advantaged group is even only remotely open (only a token percentage of people can pass), they shun collective action and instead individually try to gain entry to the advantaged group. Collective action is most likely when entry to the advantaged group is closed, and then only among those who believe they were closest to entry, because they feel the strongest sense of relative deprivation. Collective action is only likely to be extreme (taking the form of riots or terrorism, for example) when socially acceptable means (such as peaceful protest, lobbying) are unavailable.

Social Protest and Active Minorities

The study of social protest is the study of how individual discontents or grievances are transformed into collective action; it asks how and why sympathizers become mobilized as activists or participants. Bert Klandermans, who has written extensively on social movements, argues that mobilization reflects the attitude-behavior relationship: Sympathizers hold sympathetic attitudes towards an issue, yet these attitudes do not readily translate into behavior. Participation also resembles a social dilemma. Protest is generally for a social good, such as equality, or against a social ill, such as oppression, and as success benefits everyone irrespective of participation but failure harms participants more, it is tempting to be a free rider,

that is, to remain a sympathizer rather than become a participant, and thereby possibly receive the benefit of the social action without any risk or effort. The role of leadership is critical in mobilizing a group to take action.

Social protest is usually the province of minorities who actively try to change majority attitudes and practices. To be successful, active minorities need to present a consistent and consensual message, be seen to have made some sacrifice for their cause, be seen to be acting out of principle, and be seen by the majority to be to some extent in-group members. This behavioral style, particularly consistency, creates cognitive conflict in the mind of majority members between majority and minority views. Majority members are not immediately influenced, but experience a sudden and enduring deep-seated conversion to the minority point of view at a later time. Minorities that are inconsistent have little impact because their message is easily disregarded.

LEADERSHIP IN AN INTERGROUP CONTEXT

Intergroup relations affect and are affected by leadership in many different ways. After all, leaders almost always lead their groups against other groups or in ways that are framed by the presence of other groups. For example, leadership is, as mentioned above, critical to social mobilization. The nature and extremity of intergroup relations affect the extent to which group members identify with their own group and the content and extremity of the in-group prototype, norm, or schema. When members identify strongly with the group, leaders need to be seen to be highly representative of the group and need to be trusted to be acting for the group. Marginal members may find it more difficult to lead under these circumstances.

Leaders also use out-groups and intergroup relations as a mechanism to structure their own position within the group. For example, they can pillory marginal group members, dissidents, or contenders for leadership as deviants or traitors who are betraying the group to the out-group; they can arouse fear of an out-group that strengthens in-group identification and their own unassailable position of authority; and

they can structure intergroup relations in ways that ensure that the in-group prototype or schema makes them appear highly prototypical.

THE QUEST FOR SOCIAL HARMONY

The practical goal of research on intergroup relations is to be able to improve intergroup relations and build social harmony. The psychologist Gordon Allport suggested that equal status and cooperative and pleasant interpersonal contact between members of different groups within a supportive normative and legislative climate would do this. Although this idea was a central plank in the 1950s desegregation of the U.S. school system, half a century of research has concluded that the conditions for contact to build harmony are almost impossible to satisfy. Interpersonal contact has a depressing tendency either to confirm and strengthen prejudices or to merely make possible interpersonal friendships that have little impact on intergroup perceptions (interpersonal relations do not easily generalize to intergroup relations).

Ways to get around these problems include decategorization (encouraging people to treat one another as unique individuals), which has been shown to worsen attitudes toward the in-group, and recategorization (encouraging people to recategorize themselves as members of a shared superordinate identity), which improves attitudes toward out-groups. Decategorization can be difficult for the reasons given above. Recategorization can be difficult for other reasons: It requires people to abandon their former social identity and take on a new social identity that joins them to an erstwhile out-group. Social identities are cherished and distinctive aspects of who we are, and attempts to make us abandon them can be threatening and can produce fierce resistance. Attempts at recategorization can backfire to amplify intergroup conflict.

One possible way out of this dilemma is to encourage diversity by structuring relations in such a way that distinctive groups have positive role relations within a superordinate identity. At the societal level this is multiculturalism. Multiculturalism and diversity provide a glimmer of hope in an area of

human life, intergroup relations, which is more typically associated with conflict and human suffering.

—Michael A. Hogg

See also Group Norms; Group Process

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INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP ASSOCIATION

The International Leadership Association (ILA) was established with the recognition that the global community of those with a professional interest in leadership is sufficiently large, diverse, curious, and

committed to justify the establishment of an association dedicated to the subject. It was created in 1999, the culmination of a grant given by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, to serve practitioners in business, communities, governments, organizations such as health care facilities and schools, scholars from a wide variety of disciplines, educators (whether professors, researchers, teachers, consultants, trainers or coaches) and students at the undergraduate, graduate, and professional development levels.

MISSION

The mission of the ILA is to promote a deeper understanding of leadership for the greater good of individuals and communities worldwide. The ILA brings together leaders from the public and private sectors, scholars, and educators and consultants from many disciplines and many nations. The ILA seeks to:

- strengthen ties between those who study and those who practice leadership;
- serve as a forum in which people can share ideas, research, and practices relating to leadership;
- foster the evolving capacity for effective and ethical leadership in individuals, systems, organizations, and governments in the global community; and
- facilitate interdisciplinary research and the development of new knowledge and practices for the benefit of all.

GLOBAL LEARNING COMMUNITIES

For the convenience of its members, the ILA provides specialized communities, called global learning communities (GLCs) for its members. The GLCs provide a meeting place where people with similar interests can come together for the purpose of collective learning, problem solving, and to exchange ideas and resources.

The current GLCs are Applied Leadership, Business, Education, Public Service, and Scholarship. Each GLC attracts a combination of leaders, students, and educators. Following is a description of each constituency

Applied Leadership

A large and diverse number of participants are consultants and trainers who study, practice, and teach. Their consulting and training may vary from working with entities such as public service, business, and education through various approaches such as speaking, group facilitation, or executive coaching. The ILA provides a forum in which this diverse constituency can share resources and learn from one another.

Business

Business leaders have many opportunities to attend leadership programs and seminars that are designed specifically for them. The ILA offers them something different: unique access to a global network of people interested in the study and practice of leadership, contact with scholars in the field of leadership, and a focus on international leadership principles.

Education

The last years of the old century and the first years of the new have seen a significant increase in leadership programs on college campuses, in primary, secondary, and trade schools, and in youth programs. Members of the education GLC include college professors, researchers, those involved with student affairs, and primary, secondary, and youth educators who teach and administer leadership programs. The ILA provides a professional forum for all academic and cocurricular programs.

Public Service

For a number of years, elected and appointed officials have been working on programs and training to enhance the effectiveness of public officials and to address the public cynicism that has been directed at their institutions. A partnership between ILA, these public officials, and their organizations enhances the effectiveness of these leadership programs.

Scholarship

Scholars in the field of leadership typically conduct research from the perspective of a single discipline

and often without working with practitioners—actual leaders. However, leadership is interdisciplinary in focus and applied in nature. The ILA offers scholars the opportunity to meet and work with other scholars and educators in varied disciplines. It brings together those who teach theory with practitioners who both inform their scholarship and research and benefit from the knowledge provided and created.

HISTORY

Guided by the vision of the political scientists James MacGregor Burns and Georgia Sorenson at the University of Maryland, the W. K. Kellogg Foundation supported a four-year initiative (1994–1998) to create for the first time a community of scholars in the field of leadership studies. The goal of the Kellogg Leadership Studies Project (KLSP) was to produce and disseminate knowledge that advanced leadership theory, education, and practice.

The KLSP produced a series of working papers written by some of the most renowned scholars in the field. It also helped to legitimize an area of inquiry that had previously languished—despite its apparent importance to the course of human affairs—at the margins of the academy. Toward the completion of the KLSP Project, the Center for the Advanced Study of Leadership (CASL) was established at the University of Maryland's Academy of Leadership, under the direction of Barbara Kellerman and Scott Webster. CASL was created to facilitate the academic study of leadership and to support the network of leadership scholars that had been established by the initial Kellogg grant. One of its initiatives was to sponsor a meeting that would be dedicated, at least in part, to leadership scholarship. It also sought to create a meeting of the minds among those who studied and practiced leadership.

The resulting meeting took place on 13–15 November 1998 at the University of Southern California. An overwhelming majority of those present at this meeting strongly supported establishing an organization permanently committed to those with a professional interest in leadership. The 1998 meeting served as the springboard for the creation of the International Leadership Association.

The year 1999 marked the beginning of the International Leadership Association. A board of directors was established by the founding members to give direction to the newly formed organization. The board announced the inaugural membership campaign in 2000, approved a constitution and bylaws in 2001, and developed a five-year strategic plan in 2002. Beginning in 1999, the ILA also held an annual conference. The first, held in Atlanta, featured panels, roundtables, and workshops, with 250 in attendance. Nearly two dozen scholarly and academic publishers (including Jossey-Bass, Harvard University Press, Oxford University Press, and United Nations Publications) also participated, making close to 150 titles available for purchase.

The second annual ILA conference was held 3–5 November 2000 in Toronto, Canada. Holding the conference outside the United States demonstrated the board's commitment to becoming an international organization, as did its effort to select members from Africa, Europe, and Asia. This conference, attended by three hundred participants, featured a scholars' roundtable pre-session at which ten scholars presented their latest research to small discussion groups. There were also more than fifty panels and workshops. The Kellogg Foundation again awarded a grant to support the ILA; the grant included funding for international fellowships that helped to ensure international representation.

The third annual conference was held in Miami, Florida, one month after the September 11 terrorist attacks in New York City and Washington, D.C. While many organizations postponed or canceled their conferences, ILA leaders thought it was imperative to hold the conference at that turbulent juncture. The conference provided many opportunities for participants to discuss leadership in times of crisis and to share their experiences on the subject. The ILA also took the opportunity to acknowledge the New York Fire Department by awarding its members the ILA Distinguished Leadership Award.

The fourth annual conference, held 14–16 November 2002 in Seattle, Washington, saw a significant increase in participants, with more than five hundred in attendance. New to this conference were a conference weaver, who gave the participants an ongoing

presentation throughout the conference on common themes, shared experiences, and thought-provoking questions, as well as a mind-mapper, who presented visual reflections of the conference activities and highlights. After the death of the social reformer John Gardner in February 2002, the ILA Board voted to dedicate the Seattle conference in his honor and to name an annual keynote address after him.

The ILA commitment to holding conferences in alternate years outside the United States is evident in the upcoming conferences: in Washington, D.C., in 2004, and Europe (Amsterdam or Brussels) in 2005. The ILA met in Guadalajara, Mexico in 2003.

THE PRESENT AND FUTURE

Today, the ILA has a formal organizational structure with a board of directors, an executive director, conveners for each of the GLCs and a conference chair and planning committee. It is staffed by a full-time associate director, located at the University of Maryland. More than five hundred individuals and institutions from around the world are members. In the future the ILA hopes to continue promoting a deeper understanding of leadership. It will continue to serve as a forum for students, practitioners, and educators and will continue to disseminate its work through various media, including its annual conference publication, *Building Leadership Bridges*. It will also continue to build a diverse membership base, hold an annual conference, present local seminars, and establish regional chapters around the world. It offers a home for groups and individuals who have hitherto worked in isolation but who seek to deepen their understanding of effective and ethical leadership.

—Cynthia Cherrey

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INVISIBLE LEADERSHIP

Can a common purpose truly inspire people to engage in leadership? The leadership scholars Georgia Sorenson and Gill Robinson Hickman maintain that a common purpose can spur individuals to act using their own leadership agency. *Invisible leadership* is a descriptive term used to denote a process in which major organizers and change leaders often are unknown to those outside the endeavor; as a result, their source of motivation, valuable contributions, and personal agency also go unnoticed by outside observers. Yet not all individuals remain invisible within this leadership process. Certain participants volunteer or are selected by the group to articulate and represent the common purpose publicly, while others engage in leadership behind the scenes, invisibly. Participants may move in and out of visible and invisible leadership roles or work primarily in one mode.

The management consultant and social activist Mary Parker Follett (1868–1933) explained the term *invisible leader* in an article written in 1928 and published after her death. She viewed the common purpose as the influential invisible leader that led both leader and followers.

Invisible leadership emerges when people become advocates and embodiments of the common purpose. Individuals strive to achieve a shared and valued end without regard for their own visibility or recognition. Their willingness to work, either invisibly or visibly as needed, results in a type of self-transcendence. Follett's work suggests that the "leader's role in these situations is to see the unifying thread or 'total inter-relatedness' between all the different factors in a situation" (Fox and Urwick 1982, 244). Sorenson and Hickman call this unifying thread *charisma of purpose*. They contend that its powerful effect on group members is a direct result of the worthiness and attraction of the purpose itself.

COMPONENTS OF COMMON PURPOSE LEADERSHIP THEORY

Sorenson and Hickman propose a theory of common purpose leadership to advance the study of this phe-

nomenon. Common purpose leadership occurs when individuals, without regard for recognition or visibility, are motivated to take action by a passionate commitment to achieve a common purpose that is greater than the group's members' individual self-interest and, in certain cases, even greater than the group's overall self-interest. Key components of this type of leadership are the common purpose; a passionate commitment to and ownership of the common purpose; opportunity to act; self-agency; the ability to rise above self-interest; and fluidity of leader and follower roles, which may be either invisible or visible. Causes that inspire common purpose leadership frequently involve social action or movements, although social causes are not the only inspiration. Common purpose leadership can also develop, for example, in companies whose employees are inspired by a visionary mission, or among creators of civil or faith-based communities.

Participants initiate leadership for a common purpose based on a perceived opportunity to act and based on individual or collective self-agency. Opportunity occurs when resources (financial, human, intellectual, or social capital) become available or when a precipitating event provides the catalyst for action. Participants may then defy existing authorities and institutions that are unresponsive or unjust and may create new approaches, power structures, or institutions.

Deeply committed to the common purpose, participants come to the process with a willingness to serve as either leaders or followers, with or without personal recognition (visibility). Furthermore, as noted earlier, visible and invisible roles are flexible; a person may have a high-profile role at one point and be working behind the scenes at another, although it is also true that some people may occupy certain roles for the long term, based on their willingness and capacity to serve.

The group may pick someone (or someone may volunteer) to act as a representative who will articulate the common purpose to the wider public, and individuals outside the process may attribute the motivation, processes, and collective action of the group to this visible, public, or newsworthy individual or group of individuals. However, unlike heroic

leaders, these spokespeople are not using personal charisma or the influence of their position to motivate the group to act.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH

Sorenson and Hickman arrived at their initial conception of invisible leadership by analyzing situations in which leadership appeared to be inspired by the purpose as much as or more so than by the influence of particular people. They studied written accounts of social movements in autobiographies and biographies, examined interviews with activists, initiators of change, and organizational founders, and probed case studies of organizations. They also explored the concept with focus groups of leadership scholars.

Illustrations from Social Movements

The work of the Women's Political Council (WPC) provides an example of invisible leadership committed to achieving an inspirational goal. A group of black women activists who were members of the WPC began the fight against segregation in their city by targeting segregated bus seating practices in Montgomery, Alabama. Jo Ann Robinson played a key role in initiating the WPC-orchestrated boycott. David Garrow's description of Robinson captures the essence of her innately invisible style and the invisibility of the WPC.

Robinson remains generally hesitant to claim for herself the historical credit that she deserves for launching the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955–1956. Although her story fully and accurately describes how it was she, during the night and early morning hours of 1–2 December 1955, who actually started the boycott on its way, it is only with some gentle encouragement that she will acknowledge herself as “the instigator of the movement to start the boycott.” Even then, however, she seeks to emphasize that no special credit ought to go to herself or to any other single individual. Very simply, she says, “the black women did it” (Robinson 1987, p. xv).

The study of leadership often focuses on individuals. Initiators of change are individuals, but in common purpose leadership they are instruments of

larger processes. Wilma Mankiller, former principal chief of the Cherokee Nation, is a case in point. She was the first woman ever to be elected chief of a major Native American tribe. As a leader, she sought inspiration in the vision of the Cherokee people rather than in her own personal vision. Although Mankiller was publicly visible during her time in office, she was not enamored of her public role or of the idea of remaining in the top leadership position. Instead she saw herself as a serving the common purpose of her people, and she intended to pass the leadership baton to a new leader when the time came. During her term of office, the Cherokee Nation grew from a net worth of \$34.6 million to nearly \$52 million, and membership ballooned to the point that some 119,000 individuals claimed membership in the Cherokee Nation in the early 1990s. When Mankiller was ready to vacate the leadership position, she actively campaigned for her successor. She continued to live and work in her community after the election of the new chief.

Illustrations from Business and Nonprofit Organizations

Inspiring purposes are not limited to social movements. Brian Lamb started C-SPAN to provide unfiltered broadcasts of public policy matters to the U.S. people so that they could decide key issues for themselves. In all the years he has been broadcasting, Lamb has never spoken his own name on the air. Lamb, those who fund C-SPAN, and the founding members of the organization believe wholeheartedly in its purpose and persevere in their quest to bring public issues to the people. C-SPAN has gained tremendous respect and popularity since its inception in 1975. Even so, Lamb, in keeping with the role and style of invisible leadership, intends to have less and less influence on C-SPAN as the years go by.

In addition to individuals, groups can provide examples of invisible leadership. The Orpheus Chamber Orchestra is a conductorless ensemble founded on the belief that musicians can create extraordinary music when an orchestra uses the full talents and creativity of every member. Instead of a traditional conductor, the musicians use a demo-

cratic leadership process in which leader and follower roles rotate, permitting members of the ensemble to share equally in the group's leadership. Orchestra members select a leadership team of five to ten players called the core, which replaces a conductor for each piece of music. All the while, the group's leadership remains invisible to the public. The driving force of the orchestra is its common purpose:

Above all, Orpheus Chamber Orchestra is marked by our passionate dedication to our mission. That passion drives every musical and business decision that we make. Our organization's mission isn't imposed from above but is determined—and constantly refined—by the members themselves. (Seifter and Economy 2001, 16)

BUILDING ON EXISTING THEORIES

A prevailing assumption of many leadership theorists is that leaders are the ones who exert the most significant influence on followers to take action toward reaching a common goal. Given this assumption, leadership research typically focuses on how, and under what circumstances, leaders influence followers. This rich body of scholarship examines and identifies specific functions, behaviors, influence, characteristics, and responsibility of leaders in the leader-follower relationship. The power of the common purpose often receives less emphasis than the influence of leaders or leader-follower relationships, even in theories that acknowledge the common purpose as an important factor. Common purpose leadership theory does not replace current theories of leadership, nor is it a leadership substitute. It contends that a compelling common purpose, held individually and shared collectively, often influences people to engage in leadership.

The political scientist James MacGregor Burns asserts that transforming leadership is nothing if not linked to collective purpose. He holds that the effectiveness of leaders must be judged not by their press clippings but by actual social change. "Whatever the separate interests persons might hold, they are presently or potentially united in the pursuit of 'higher' goals, the realization of which is tested by the achievement of significant change that represents

the collective or pooled interest of leaders and followers” (Burns 1978, 425–426).

Burns defines leadership as “leaders inducing followers to act for certain goals” that represent the collective values and motivations of both the leaders and followers (19). Transforming leadership assumes that leaders must first persuade followers to act. The central focus of Burns’s theory is on raising the level of motivation and morality of the individuals in the process. He says that “transforming leadership ultimately becomes *moral* in that it raises the level of human conduct and ethical aspirations of both the leader and the led, and thus it has a transforming effect on both” (20).

In describing the concept of servant leadership, the essayist and consultant Robert Greenleaf used the term *goal* to mean the common purpose, the big dream, the visionary concept. In his conception, that goal is always out of reach, but it is something to strive for and to move toward. In servant leadership, the leader shows the way, induces others to follow, provides structure and models risk-taking behavior. Greenleaf proposed that both individuals and institutions can act as leaders for the purpose of serving one another to build a good society. Even when institutions are servant leaders, the trustees acting as leaders, rather than a common purpose, ultimately exerts the strongest influence.

Mutuality of purpose among leaders and followers is a general factor in transforming, servant, and common purpose leadership theory. What is special about common purpose theory is that it broadens the spectrum of leadership beyond the seminal influence of a single leader or group of trustees serving as leaders to include the many individuals, seen and unseen, who willingly adopt either leader or follower roles, as needed, based on the powerful appeal of a common purpose.

Certain group theories help to explain elements of this type of leadership. Convergence theory contends that certain personal characteristics lead people in collective processes to join groups. The social psychologist Donelson Forsyth explains that these groups are not unrelated collections of dissimilar people, but “the convergence of people with compatible needs, desires, motivations and emotions” who

join together to satisfy their needs (Forsyth 1999, 455). He cites studies that shed light on the concept of self-agency in collective processes. Researchers have found that individuals who join social movements are higher in personal efficacy and believe that their action can make a difference in the outcome. Another study discovered that “self-confidence, achievement orientation, need for autonomy, dominance, self-acceptance and maturity are positively correlated with social activism” (Werner, cited in Forsyth, 1999, 455).

The moral and ethical aspects of common purpose leadership theory can be examined both prescriptively and descriptively. The prescriptive approach has participants champion ethical causes and use ethical means to improve conditions for themselves and members of society while doing no harm to others. A descriptive approach examines the full range of common purpose initiatives, from those that are ethical and helpful to others (such as the civil rights movement) to those that are unethical and harmful to others (such as white supremacy).

FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE THEORY

Common purpose leadership is a developing theory and requires further testing of its components and further examination of its significant processes. Qualitative approaches, including interviews, case studies, and focus groups are likely tools for the next stage of development. Ultimately, surveys and longitudinal studies will inform the development of theory and practice. Common purpose theory is not a leadership substitute or theory of leaderless groups. Rather, it reveals a process that Mary Parker Follett called “multiple leadership,” in which both seen and unseen participants are committed to achieving a common goal.

—Gill Robinson Hickman

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IRANIAN HOSTAGE CRISIS

The Iranian hostage crisis began 4 November 1979 when Iranian students and members of the Revolutionary Guards (Iran's elite forces) violently took over the U.S. Embassy in Tehran and captured seventy-one U.S. diplomats and support staff. The Iranians retained fifty-two people as hostages, violating internationally recognized immunities and ignoring U.N. resolutions. A military mission to rescue the hostages was aborted in April 1980. The crisis culminated with President Jimmy Carter's electoral defeat that November.

The foreign and domestic context of the crisis merit detailing because the context dictated in many dimensions its outcome. Indeed, personal leadership

played a minor role amid overwhelming historical trends. The roots of the embassy takeover were planted in an internal struggle for power in the ruling circles of Muslim fundamentalists preceding local elections. The regime of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini had taken over Iran merely nine months earlier. Although control of the immense political and economic resources of Iran was an Iranian affair, the consequences were felt in the United States.

The initial demand of the embassy attackers was the arrest and extradition of the ousted shah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, to allow a public trial for the human rights violations of his regime. The shah was dying of cancer in the United States, which had granted him permission to come to New York City for medical treatment. He had arrived in the United States in October. The Carter administration refused to extradite the shah, suspecting that he would be given a show trial and then executed. The Iranian government controlled the negotiations while persistently claiming that the activists in the embassy compound would decide the fate of the hostages.

The Iranian government endorsed this act to challenge the superpower status of the United States. President Carter, a Democrat from Georgia who won election in 1976 without any significant foreign policy experience, was particularly vulnerable. He already faced accusations from the right that his nonviolent approach to the role of the United States in the world betrayed long-term allies and that his focus on human rights exhibited weakness rather than strategic power. Carter also suffered from his failure to resolve the severe economic and energy problems that had begun in the early 1970s. His perceived mishandling of the Iranian assault on the embassy tapped into a reservoir of criticism and mistrust that had a devastating effect on the Carter presidency, sabotaging his reelection in 1980.

Carter resisted calls to use U.S. force to prevent the fall of friendly regimes. These regimes included those of the Iranian shah in the winter of 1979, Nicaragua's Anastasio Somoza, and the democratic regime of Eric Gairy in Grenada in the following summer, months before the hostage crisis began. Although it is doubtful that such use of force would

have salvaged these regimes, Carter claimed to have deduced from the failure of the Vietnam War the limits of military and economic force, on the one hand, and the power of moral leadership devoid of materialistic and hegemonic interests, on the other. He was also trying to counter his nation's reputation for orchestrating military coups and installing puppet regimes abroad, especially in Latin America.

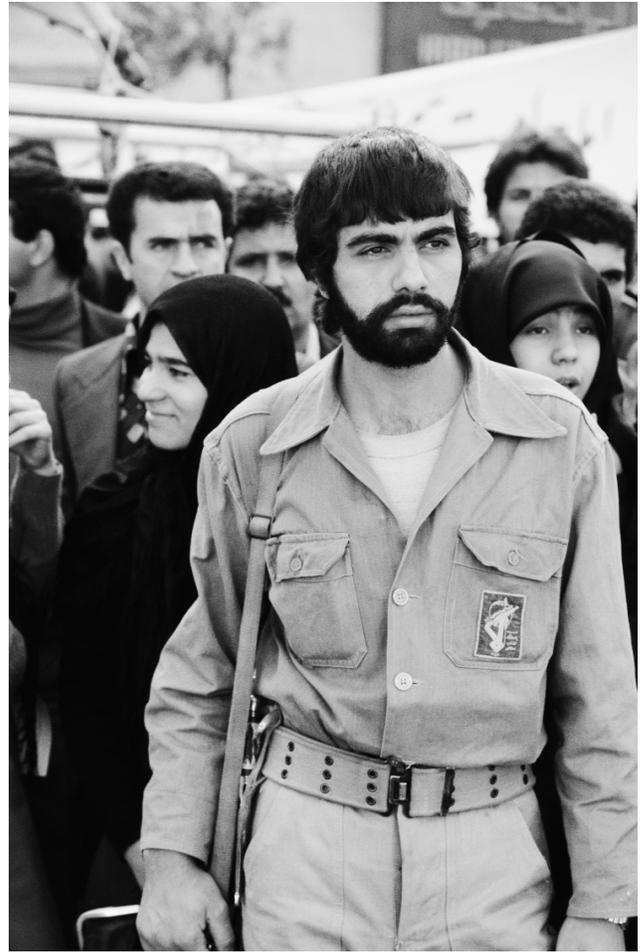
Mohammad Reza Pahlavi came to office in 1941 after his father, Reza Shah, who was pro-German, was forced into exile by the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union during World War II. U.S. agents, moreover, saved the shah's regime in 1953 from a progressive-nationalistic popular uprising. The arrival of the ailing shah in the United States was thus used by factions within the Iranian regime to score political points domestically, the unlikelihood of a repeated U.S. intervention notwithstanding.

INEFFECTUAL LEADER

Carter was widely perceived as a helpless and ineffectual leader. The rising price of oil compounded a recession. Carter was honest about the severity of the problems he faced and the complexity of the solutions he was considering as viable, but he could not end the hostage crisis abroad nor revive the economy at home. Carter—and some of his advisors—hoped that caution, patience, diplomacy, and fortitude would solve the hostage crisis and strengthen the hand of the United States during and after the Cold War; when no immediate positive results followed, this ostensibly sophisticated strategy backfired.

As has been the pattern since nineteenth-century conflicts, collective solidarity and internal cohesion strengthened during a national security crisis that threatened the integrity and pride of the United States. Public opinion in the United States unified in the face of adversity. Citizens initially rallied to their symbolic and actual political leader, President Carter. Carter's rating in the polls rose nineteen points at the start of the hostage crisis as he seemed resolved to conclude the crisis expeditiously.

Carter, however, did not make good use of the bully pulpit that a president commands at such a



Iranian students outside the American Embassy in Tehran, Iran, which they had taken over and in which they held 66 hostages.

Source: Setboun/Corbis; used with permission.

troubling time. He was somber and avoided deception but did not connect well with his people, often seeming aloof and dispassionate. Too concerned about mastering minute strategic scenarios and logistical details to be able to weigh every conceivable option on equal terms with the advice of the learned experts in his staff, Carter was unable to exude enough confidence at home and decisiveness abroad. The majority of Carter's intense White House work was not visible to the public. Instead of garnering more respect and support from the media and the people, his above-the-fray "Rose Garden Strategy" made Carter seem weak and detached from his citizens rather than appearing as their competent commander-in-chief.



The Weak Leadership Label

Jimmy Carter's presidency was a linchpin in the continuing success Republicans had and continue to have in painting Democratic presidential candidates as weak leaders who cannot be trusted to stand up to enemies overseas and criminals at home. Carter's contribution was his failure to resolve the Iranian hostage crisis, his weak handling of the energy crisis (equating it with war), and his lackluster campaigning in 1979.

The "weak leadership" label probably first began to stick in the 1951 election, which pitted the intellectual Adlai Stevenson against the war hero, Dwight David Eisenhower. Of course, it is Eisenhower who is now lauded for keeping the United States out of war in the 1950s and who warned about the military-industrial complex in his farewell speech to the nation. The image of weak Democrats diminished with John F. Kennedy, who was portrayed as a war hero and a dashing, charismatic figure, and then it reappeared with the riots in Chicago at the 1968 Democratic Convention. The Democrats never completely freed themselves from this weak-kneed theme that was used by the Republicans in 1984 against Walter Mondale, and in 1988 against Michael Dukakis.

Of course, reality had an inconsistent relationship with image. Ronald Reagan—Mondale's opponent—never served in World War II, and George H. W. Bush (whom many did not consider as strong a leadership figure as Reagan)—Dukakis's opponent—had been a decorated Navy pilot in the war. Ironically, the theme emerged after the presidencies of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who led the nation through the Depression and World War II, and Harry Truman, who approved dropping two atomic bombs on Japan that ended World War II. The label had less resonance during the Clinton presidency after the demise of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War in 1989, but it has again been used by Republicans during the War on Terrorism.

—David Levinson

Carter suffered from the lack of immediate results from his deliberate approach. His caution was not understood as being one derived from knowledge, planning, or direction. Carter miscalculated that his officious, statesman-like image would inspire U.S. citizens. The failure to secure the safe return of the hostages within a year of their capture played a major role in the precipitous decline of his national popularity and in a considerably diminished international stature.

Carter had to lead his country through a time of national humiliation and personal anguish with insufficient diplomatic, intelligence, and military resources. The collective anxiety was embodied in wounded patriotism, in the display of yellow ribbons, and in the massive audience for the ABC News show *America Held Hostage*, which became *Nightline*. Many U.S. citizens felt that Ted Koppel, the

veteran anchorman, projected more knowledge and control of events and communicated more persuasively than Carter.

Carter and his national security team worked on several tracks, keeping the public informed through regular appearances, including speeches and news conferences, and relying on Carter's strong religious convictions. While trying to secure the safe release of the hostages through indirect negotiations and mediation by the United Nations, he also authorized a review of military options while severing diplomatic relations with Iran, imposing economic sanctions, and freezing Iranian bank accounts totaling billions of dollars. Simultaneously, Carter was running for reelection, facing a challenge by the left-leaning Democrat Senator Edward Kennedy and by the right-wing Republican Ronald Reagan, both of whom castigated Carter for his inability to resolve the hostage crisis.

In April 1980, Carter authorized the deployment of helicopters and troops to rescue the hostages. The rescue was aborted due to difficult conditions in the desert where the initial landings occurred, which caused technical malfunctions. An accident caused the deaths of seven U.S. soldiers and marked the end of any viable military option.

FINEST MOMENT

Carter took full responsibility for the failed rescue mission in a nationally televised news conference. This conference was probably his finest moment during the crisis; he seemed genuinely humble and reflective while accepting full blame for the failure and grieving over the deaths of U.S. troops, the only combat-related losses the U.S. Army suffered during his four years in office. His secretary of state, Cyrus Vance, who objected to the military rescue attempt, resigned.

Carter's act of contrition, however, was soon remembered as another testament to his weakness rather than as a reflection of strength and personal vigor.

The shah died in August 1980. Saddam Hussein's Iraq attacked Iran in September. Carter lost his reelection on 7 November. Through Algerian diplomats, Carter's staff, led by Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher, worked to secure the safe release of the hostages in exchange for the lifting of the financial and diplomatic sanctions employed against Iran. The hostages left Iran for Algeria as Ronald Reagan became U.S. president on 20 January 1981.

Jimmy Carter won the 2002 Nobel Peace Prize thanks to the universal recognition of his benign leadership of U.S. foreign policy and his legacy of respect, cooperation, and support with regard to weaker nations well beyond his White House years. Critics, however, claimed that Carter's policy of restraint (some construed it as appeasement) during the Iranian hostage crisis launched the Islamic terrorist movement in two key respects: It portrayed the United States as weak and as ill-prepared. Iran evolved into the primary sponsor of Islamic terrorism.

Carter's major failure of leadership during the hostage crisis was his inability to distance himself from the endemic problems of history thrust upon him: the self-serving U.S. conduct abroad; the inadequate level of military preparedness and intelligence gathering in the United States since the Vietnam War; the global disparity of wealth and power that was seen as a humiliation in traditional societies such as Iran; the shah's inept handling of his affairs of state that led to his own demise; and, last but not least, Iran's problematic transformation from a monarchy to an Islamic republic.

Neither Carter nor his administration could deter or resolve severe challenges, even had Carter been a more effective communicator to the public and his military a successful planner and executioner of rescue plans.

—Itai Sneh

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ISRAEL, FOUNDING OF

Scholars differ widely as to the weight of the leader's personality in shaping historical events. Opinions range from that of the nineteenth-century Scottish historian Thomas Carlyle, who said that history is simply the biography of leaders, to the argument put forward by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, who said that historical processes are deterministic and that leaders are simply borne along on the waves of history. The story of Israel's establishment is a rare example of a case in which the leader was indubitably the decisive factor in the historical event. Without the leadership of David Ben-Gurion (1886–1973), the sequence of events would almost certainly have been different, and the State of Israel might never have been established.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

“If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning” (Psalms 137:5 JPS). For centuries these words were uttered by Jews in their prayers in the more than seventy countries of the Diaspora. The yearning for the homeland was expressed in prayers and rituals, in the written and oral heritage. True, such themes exist in the collective consciousness of many emigrant communities, but the Jews' return to their ancient homeland more than two thousand years after they were forcibly exiled has no parallel in the history of nations. This unique historical phenomenon was made possible in large measure because of the efforts of two men. The first was Theodor Herzl (1860–1904), a Viennese Jew and one of the darlings of the western Europe intelligentsia, who reached the conclusion that the growing problem of anti-Semitism had to be solved by political measures—by the establishment of a Zionist movement that would serve as a tool for returning Jews to their historical homeland. The second was David Ben-Gurion, who fulfilled Herzl's vision fifty years



David Ben-Gurion, one of the founders of the State of Israel, planting a tree in 1963.

Source: David Rubinger/Corbis; used with permission.

after the latter's death. Herzl is seen as the prophet who predicted the rise of the State of Israel and Ben-Gurion is regarded as the builder of the state.

No metaphor for Ben-Gurion's leadership could be more apposite than "builder of the state." The process of building includes designing and sketching the entire building, planning the stages of building, and executing the plan while constantly dealing with problems that arise in the process. The equivalent in terms of leadership consists of charting a clear course (derived from a vision) and motivating the people to stride resolutely along that course even if it is fraught with difficulties and dangers. In the case of Ben-Gurion, his weight was decisive both in sketching the future picture and in steering the people along the path, although many, including most of his partners in leadership, sometimes experienced moments of despair. Ben-Gurion's leadership at those moments was the only thing that prevented the total loss of hope.

PROCLAMATION OF THE STATE

After the Holocaust, in which six million Jews lost their lives, the victors in World War II, headed by the

United States, assented to the Zionist movement's request to establish a national home for the Jews. This propitious hour was reflected in the United Nations' recognition of Israel's right to statehood on 29 November 1947. Between this date and 15 May 1948, when the British, who had controlled the region for many years, were to leave and Israel was to become an independent state, hundreds of events threatened to scuttle the fragile boat that was the nascent state. It was clear to all that the months between the United Nations' recognition and the departure of the British would be filled with struggle. The Arabs made every effort to forestall the establishment of a Jewish state, while the Jews attempted to create the conditions for implementing the United Nations resolution. The odds were heavily against Israel. The entire Jewish population numbered only 600,000, and it could muster only a few militia units composed of people who had undergone only partial military training. For the most part they were armed only with rifles and small amounts of ammunition; until the outbreak of war they had no artillery or airplanes. Since it was evident to both sides that the months preceding the departure of the British were critical, the sporadic fighting that gone on for many years became more focused and violent. During the struggle, Ben-Gurion's unwavering persistence, his ability to make difficult and painful decisions, and above all his ability to see the long vista and motivate people to reach it, shone forth.

Perhaps there is no better example than his determination that the proclamation of the State of Israel should go ahead on schedule, despite the fact that that meant sure war. At the time, in the beginning of May 1948, the Egyptian government had just decided to join the Arab invasion of Israel, and Ben-Gurion and his followers received word that Saudi Arabia was about to join the war as well. Ben-Gurion hoped that the animosity that existed between the other Arab leaders and Jordan's King Abdullah II would keep Jordan from joining the invasion, but unfortunately that proved not to be the case. With the whole area of Jewish settlement encircled by menacing armies and cracks in international support for the proclamation of Israel beginning to appear, notably in the U.S. stance (U.S. sec-



The Hogarth Conversation with King Hussein in 1918

The following selections indicate the Arab attitude toward an independent Jewish state shortly after the idea was first supported by Britain. The British government dispatched Commander D. G. Hogarth from the British Arab Bureau in Cairo, Egypt, to discuss the issue with King Hussein of Jordan.

The Hogarth Message to King Hussein

(1) The *Entente* Powers are determined that the Arab race shall be given full opportunity of once again forming a nation in the world. This can only be achieved by the Arabs themselves uniting, and Great Britain and her Allies will pursue a policy with this ultimate end in view.

(2) So far as Palestine is concerned, we are determined that no people shall be subject to another, but—

In view of the fact that there are in Palestine shrines, Wakfs, and Holy places, sacred in some cases to Moslems alone, to Jews alone, to Christians alone, and in others to two or all three, and inasmuch as these places are of interest to vast masses of people outside Palestine and Arabia, there must be a special regime to deal with these places approved of by the world.

As Regards the Mosque of Omar, it shall be considered as a Moslem concern alone, and shall not be subjected directly or indirectly to any non-Moslem authority.

(3) Since the Jewish opinion of the world is in favour of a return of Jews to Palestine, and inasmuch as this opinion must remain a constant factor, and, further, as His Majesty's Government view with favour the realization of this aspiration, His Majesty's Government are determined that in so far as is compatible with the freedom of the existing population, both economic and political, no obstacle should be put in the way of the realization of this ideal.

In this connection the friendship of world Jewry to the Arab cause is equivalent to support in all States where Jews have a political influence. The leaders of the movement are determined to bring about the success of Zionism by friendship and cooperation with the Arabs, and such an offer is not one to be lightly thrown aside.

Hogarth's Record of His Interview with King Hussein.

I passed to Formula No. 3 (Jewish Settlement in Palestine) prefacing it by statement of growth of Zionism during war and great value of Jew interest and alliance. King seemed quite prepared for formula and agreed enthusiastically, saying he welcomed Jews to all Arab lands. I explained that His Majesty's Government's resolve safeguarded existing local population.

Some of Hogarth's Notes on His Discussion with King Hussein

... *International control of the Palestine Holy Places.*—The King left me in little doubt that he secretly regards this as a point to be reconsidered after the Peace, in spite of my assurance that it was to be a definitive arrangement. He compared ourselves and himself (in his habitual homely way) to two persons about to inhabit one house, but not agreed which should take which floors or rooms! ... I doubt if he has any fixed plan or foresees his way; but I have no doubt that in his own mind he abates none of his original demands on behalf of the Arabs, or in the fullness of time, of himself.

Settlement of Jews in Palestine and common cause among Arabs, Jews and Armenians in Syria—The position in regard to this matter is, I think, very much the same as in the preceding case. The King would not accept an independent Jew State in Palestine, nor was I instructed to warn him that such a State was contemplated by Great Britain. He probably knows little or nothing of the actual or possible economy of Palestine and his ready assent to Jewish settlement there is not worth very much. But I think he appreciates the financial advantage of Arab co-operation with the Jews.

January 15, 1918

Source: Great Britain Foreign Office. Miscellaneous No. 4 (1939). Statements Made on Behalf of His Majesty's Government during the Year 1918 in Regard to the Future Status of Certain Parts of the Ottoman Empire (London, 1939), Cmd. 5964.

retary of state George C. Marshall was pushing for a postponement of the proclamation), the situation was dire. When the Civil Administration (the Jewish governing body before the establishment of the state) convened on 12 May to decide what to do, some members favored a postponement of the declaration and others hesitated. Yigael Yadin, the chief opera-

tions officer (later chief of staff), arrived straight from the battlefield and presented a grim picture.

Only Ben-Gurion was convinced that they should declare the establishment of the state in defiance of all the odds. When each member had spoken, Ben-Gurion got up. He described the situation, but added that in spite of everything, he believed deeply that

now was the time to proclaim the state—in other words, to go to war. He believed that it was a historic moment, and that the battle would end in an Israeli victory. Much has been written about that meeting. According to all the reports, those present were not convinced—they assented solely because of their faith and trust in Ben-Gurion, trust built up over years of leadership, during which they had seen constant proof of his personal integrity and incorruptibility, and had come to acknowledge the rightness of his decisions, many of which had been controversial in their time. On 15 May 1948, Ben-Gurion stood in the Tel Aviv museum, holding in his hands two typed pages, and read: “In the Land of Israel the Jewish people came into being. In this land was shaped their spiritual, religious, and national character. Here they lived in sovereign independence. Here they created a culture of national and universal import, and gave to the world the eternal Book of Books” (Bar-Zohar 1975, 287). He read on, recounting the historical developments, and ended, “Accordingly we, the members of the National Council. . . have assembled on the day of the termination of the British Mandate for Palestine, and by virtue of our natural and historic right and of the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations, do hereby proclaim the establishment of a Jewish state in the Land of Israel—the State of Israel” (Bar-Zohar 1975, 287).

BEN-GURION’S LEADERSHIP: AN ANALYSIS

“Man is only great when he acts from the passions,” said the nineteenth-century British statesman Benjamin Disraeli, and indeed, passion and unwavering belief that one’s course of action will be successful are consistent themes that appear in the analysis of great leaders in history (quoted in Wilson 1995). Profound knowledge and inner conviction of where to go have deep psychological significance both for the leader himself, imbuing him with resolution, and for followers, who absorb that conviction. This element goes beyond mere problem solving; it distinguishes leaders who are merely successful problem solvers from those who effect a transformation in people’s expectations and inspire them to see a dif-

ferent picture of reality, which they set out to achieve. All Ben-Gurion’s considerations and decisions were guided by his goal of establishing a Jewish state in the land of Israel. All his everyday tactical decisions and responses were subordinate to the fulfillment of this vision. For example, it was clear that President Truman would not support the constitution of a Jewish state in the whole area of the historical land of Israel. Therefore, to gain the support of the United States, Ben-Gurion agreed to a compromise and accepted the idea of partition of the country between Arabs and Jews, despite his dream of returning to the whole of the historical homeland and although many of his partners in leadership opposed this compromise.

In every chapter of his life he sensed precisely what sphere of action would best serve the realization of his vision. In 1906 he immigrated to Israel and was involved in building a pioneer force to engage in farming, construction, and road building. He sensed that the pressing need of the time was to build the physical infrastructure of the national home to be established. This endeavor also had symbolic value, in striving to change the character and image of the Diaspora Jew from that of a merchant and a biblical scholar to someone doing productive physical labor, working on the land, and fighting for his land. In the 1930s and 1940s he understood that the sphere of action should be statesmanship. As elected chairman of the Zionist Executive, he concentrated his efforts on mustering international support for the establishment of the state. At the end of World War II, long before most people thought that war might break out in the region, he understood that it was necessary to prepare for a future military struggle. For years he acted intensively throughout the world, supported by donations and covertly purchasing weapons and airplanes to prepare for eventual conflict—matériel that arrived a few days after the outbreak of the war. A retrospective analysis of Ben-Gurion’s intuition, revealed in his journals and other writings, demonstrates that it was grounded in profound understanding of historical processes.

However, while foresight can make someone a prophet, it does not necessarily make one a leader. To be a leader one also needs to apply the vision and

harness the people to execution of the task. Ben-Gurion was able, in his daily actions and behaviors, to motivate people to perform the thousands of small tasks that were part of the big picture—the vision of the state. To explain the influence of his leadership, it is useful to use the metaphor of credit, articulated by the leadership scholar Edwin Hollander. Just as banks are prepared to give more credit and take greater risks with their money for clients who have proved their reliability over time, people are prepared to give more psychological credit to leaders who have proved themselves over time. In this sense, the ultimate test of leadership—or the strictest measure of the extent of a leader’s credit—is a state of crisis. Then the leader undergoes a dual test: Will he or she behave as a leader (in terms of resolution, decision making, and so forth)? And will his or her accumulated credit be sufficient to recruit followers’ active involvement? In the case of Ben-Gurion, the scores of years during which he had proved himself in his

daily activities spoke in his favor when he stood before the Civil Administration and tried to persuade its members to vote for the proclamation. Most of the members of the Civil Administration were attentive to the voices of harsh reality, which by all logical criteria seemed to justify postponing the proclamation. The only one present who was in favor of it and confident of success was Ben-Gurion himself. In the end they decided in favor of proclamation of the state solely because of the credit that stood in his favor. At first sight, this might seem like a singular moment of leadership, but in fact it was only possible because of the scores of years of leadership Ben-Gurion had demonstrated up to that moment. “The decision to proclaim the state in those conditions was exclusively that of David Ben-Gurion,” Yigael Yadin was



Selection from United Nations General Assembly Resolution 181 (Partition Plan), 29 November 1947

PLAN OF PARTITION WITH ECONOMIC UNION

Part I.—Future Constitution and Government of Palestine

A. Termination of Mandate, Partition and Independence

The Mandate for Palestine shall terminate as soon as possible but in any case not later than 1 August 1948.

The armed forces of the mandatory Power shall be progressively withdrawn from Palestine, the withdrawal to be completed as soon as possible but in any case not later than 1 August 1948.

The mandatory Power shall advise the Commission, as far in advance as possible, of its intention to terminate the mandate and to evacuate each area. The mandatory Power shall use its best endeavours to ensure that an area situated in the territory of the Jewish State, including a seaport and hinterland adequate to provide facilities for a substantial immigration, shall be evacuated at the earliest possible date and in any event not later than 1 February 1948.

Independent Arab and Jewish States and the Special International Regime for the City of Jerusalem, set forth in Part III of this Plan, shall come into existence in Palestine two months after the evacuation of the armed forces of the mandatory Power has been completed but in any case not later than 1 October 1948. The boundaries of the Arab State, the Jewish State, and the City of Jerusalem shall be as described in Parts II and III below.

The period between the adoption by the General Assembly of its recommendation on the question of Palestine and the establishment of the independence of the Arab and Jewish States shall be a transitional period.

Source: Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Retrieved October 15, 2003, from <http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa>

later to remark. “That decision was equal in importance and influence to a thousand actions” (Bar Zohar 1975, 282).

The major characteristic of so-called transformative leadership is that it has a strong moral dimension. Thus for Mohandas Gandhi, moral considerations demanded that India’s struggle for independence from the British be nonviolent. Similarly, moral considerations led South Africa’s Nelson Mandela to seek reconciliation with South Africa’s whites, despite decades of black suffering under white rule. Ben-Gurion also had a moral vision. He believed it was Israel’s destiny not only to be a refuge and a home for Jews, but also a universal moral example—a biblical theme that appears in almost every one of his texts and speeches. Like other trans-

forming leaders, he knew how to turn ideas into acts of leadership. For instance, he considered it a task of primary importance “to make the desert bloom” (half the area of Israel is desert), so he went to live in the desert in order to serve as an example to others. He ascribed supreme importance to the creation of a just society embracing universal moral values while fostering its own social and cultural values. In his stubborn insistence on using the Hebrew language, he contributed to its revival: From a virtually dead language used only for prayer it was transformed into the living language of a vibrant society.

The psychological elements of Ben-Gurion’s leadership can be understood using a theoretical approach known as symbolic interactionism. The essence of this approach is that many of people’s actions and interactions are driven by the need for meaning. Places, events, people, and even certain objects have expressive meaning. Ben-Gurion knew how to invest decisions with symbolic meaning that touched his followers’ hearts and spurred them to action. For example, he decided to focus the war effort on freeing the road to Jerusalem, which was under siege, a decision that was opposed by the heads of the army, who saw the main danger in other areas. Ben-Gurion was adamant. After a failed attack (ending in a bloodbath) on the Latrun fortress, which controlled the road to Jerusalem, Ben-Gurion stubbornly insisted on two further attempts to take the fortress. He explained in a sharp discussion with the military leaders that Jerusalem was the symbol of Hebrew eternity and sovereignty, the target and symbol of thousands of years of longing. None of the commanders or local leaders could see matters from this historical perspective. The ability to see

things in such overall historical perspective when most others are not highlights another characteristic of many leaders: loneliness. And yet for the sake of their vision, great leaders such as Ben-Gurion persevere despite loneliness, and the world is the richer for their perseverance.

—Micha Popper

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 **JEFFERSON, THOMAS** (1743–1826)
U.S. president

For his tomb at his home at Monticello, Virginia, Thomas Jefferson composed the following epitaph by which he wished most to be remembered:

Here was buried
Thomas Jefferson
Author of the Declaration of Independence
of the Statute of Virginia for religious freedom
and Father of the University of Virginia.

This simple epitaph, although incomplete, indicates the scope of Jefferson's leadership: political, intellectual, cultural, and symbolic. Indeed, the range of Jefferson's interests—the breadth of his contributions—is striking. There is Jefferson the philosopher, the defender of democracy, the champion of limited government and of religious and political liberty. There is Jefferson the scientist, the architect and inventor, with an insatiable curiosity about the physical world around him. There is Jefferson the politician and statesman, who spent some thirty-five years in almost continuous public service.

Notably missing from his epitaph is any mention of those many offices of state that Jefferson occupied with distinction—legislator, governor, diplomat, sec-

retary of state, vice president, and president—omissions that reveal much about his attitude to public leadership. The man whose historical reputation centers upon his contributions to the commonweal (general welfare) professed to prefer the cloistered life of the scientist and intellectual. Upon his retirement from the presidency in 1809 he confided to an old friend, “Never did a prisoner, released from his chains, feel such relief as I shall on shaking off the shackles of power. Nature intended me for the tranquil pursuits of science, by rendering them my supreme delight. But the enormities of the times in which I have lived, have forced me to take a part in resisting them, and to commit myself on the boisterous ocean of political passions” (Lipscomb and Bergh 1903, 269–270).

EARLY CAREER

Thomas Jefferson was born at Shadwell, the family home in Albemarle County, east of the Blue Ridge Mountains in western Virginia. His father, Peter, was a planter and local official of moderate social standing. His mother, Jane, on the other hand, was a Randolph, a member of one of the most prominent families in colonial Virginia, providing the young Jefferson with a network of social and political connections that was to serve him well in his early years.



Statue of Thomas Jefferson stands in the Jefferson Memorial in Washington, D.C.

Source: Stephen G. Donaldson; used with permission.

Little of detail is known of Jefferson's childhood. After attending several boarding schools, he entered the College of William and Mary at Williamsburg shortly before his seventeenth birthday. Later he studied law under George Wythe (1726–1806), the most prominent lawyer in the colony. He was admitted to the bar in 1767 and entered into the practice of law. Soon, however, through his contacts with the leading figures in the colonial controversies of the day, his interests were drawn to politics. In 1768, at the age of twenty-five, he won election to the Virginia House of Burgesses.

As a member of the House of Burgesses, Jefferson rarely spoke in debate but was recognized for his

work in committee and in drafting legislation, a style of leadership behavior that was to be a pattern throughout his legislative career. He sided, nonetheless, with those who were in the forefront of the struggle for colonial rights. In 1774 he produced the first of his great state papers, "A Summary View of the Rights of British America," a bold statement of grievances and defense of resistance that thrust him into prominence beyond Virginia.

After the battles at Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts, in the spring of 1775, Jefferson was chosen as a delegate to the Second Continental Congress. In June 1776, he was named, along with John Adams (1735–1826), Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790), Roger Sherman (1721–1793), and Robert R. Livingston (1746–1813), to a committee to write the Declaration of Independence. Because of his demonstrated gift for the pen, Jefferson was chosen to prepare the draft that, with modifications, was approved by Congress. Although his authorship was not immediately known to the public, his masterly summary of fundamental principles has since won him his most enduring fame. Through the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson came to symbolize, more than any other founder, what Thomas Paine called "the birthday of a new world."

After independence was declared, Jefferson returned to the Virginia, where he took a seat in the new state Assembly and labored to reform the legal code of Virginia and drafted bills for the abolition of primogeniture (relating to the inheritance rights of the firstborn), for religious freedom, and for a system of public education. Few of these reforms were enacted at the time, but they reveal the versatility of his political imagination. His Statute for Religious Freedom would become law in 1786.

Jefferson was elected governor of Virginia in the summer of 1779, during the darkest days of the American Revolution. As governor, Jefferson had few effective powers with which to defend a poorly prepared Virginia against an expected invasion by British forces. At one point the state government was forced to flee from a British raiding party who nearly captured the governor. To Jefferson's chagrin, the Assembly established an inquiry into his conduct of office. Although he was cleared of all charges, his

performance as governor was to remain a question mark on his reputation.

During a brief retirement from public life, Jefferson wrote his only book-length work, *Notes on the State of Virginia*. This wide-ranging treatise was to become “one of the most important scientific and political works written by an American in the eighteenth century and one of the most famous products of the Enlightenment in America” (Cunningham 1987, 76). The Enlightenment was the period during the 1700s in Europe and the United States when humanity was emerging from centuries of ignorance into an age of reason, science, and respect for humanity.

THE NATIONAL STATESMAN

In 1783, Jefferson was elected to the Confederation Congress, where he drafted a plan that was to become the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. In 1785, he succeeded Benjamin Franklin as minister to France. From Paris, he criticized certain aspects of the new U.S. Constitution—notably the absence of a bill of rights—but ultimately gave it his approval. Jefferson witnessed the first events of the French Revolution, indeed advising some of its early leaders. He had high hopes for its outcome as a “progress of reason” and a reaffirmation of the principles of the American Revolution.

Jefferson returned from France in late 1789 to become secretary of state in the first cabinet of President George Washington (1732–1799). During Jefferson’s three years in that office, he came into increasing conflict with the forceful young secretary of the treasury, Alexander Hamilton (1757–1804). The two men represented widely different conceptions of politics: Hamilton stood for a strong central government and an alliance between government and capitalism, whereas Jefferson defended the rights of the states, the freedom of the individual, and an agrarian economy. In foreign policy, “[w]hile Jefferson sought to nurture relationships with France and to counter commercial subservience to England, Hamilton looked for opportunities to lessen ties with France and to develop links with England” (Cunningham 1987, 164).

“We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”

—The Declaration of Independence

These differences soon led to the formation of an opposition faction in Congress, led by Jefferson’s friend and colleague, James Madison (1751–1836). True to form, Jefferson preferred to work behind the scenes, subsidizing a party press and privately encouraging his followers to oppose the government’s policies. Jefferson resigned from the cabinet in 1793 and assumed a more public leadership of the new Democratic-Republican Party. In 1796 he became its candidate for president. He lost to John Adams by three electoral votes, but under the then-governing constitutional provisions he became vice president. Never a part of the new administration, Jefferson soon took issue with his old friend Adams over a number of issues, most notably the enactment in 1798 of the Alien and Sedition Acts. He joined with Madison in authoring the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, arguing that the states could nullify such unconstitutional measures as the Alien and Sedition Acts.

THE PRESIDENCY

Jefferson soundly defeated Adams in the election of 1800. Because he and his running mate, Aaron Burr (1756–1836), each received the same number of electoral votes, the final result had to await a vote of the House of Representatives. Jeffersonians also won majorities in both houses of Congress.

In later years, Jefferson referred to this election as a second U.S. “revolution.” In the political scientist Stephen Skowronek’s insightful schema, Jefferson’s presidency marked a “politics of reconstruction,” that rare but fortuitous situation where the previous regime’s programs and values had made it “vulnerable to direct repudiation.” Given such conditions, a “great opportunity for presidential action was har-

In matters of style, swim with the current; in matters of principle, stand like a rock.

—Thomas Jefferson

nessed . . . to an expansive authority to repudiate the established governing formulas” (Skowronek 1997, 37–38).

Despite the relatively free rein for innovation, however, Jefferson’s approach to power was a cautious one. His policies were to prove reformist rather than radical, with no sweeping alterations in constitutional arrangements. He sought to reduce if not eliminate party divisions. However, he intended to remold the presidency into a more popular instrument of government. Jefferson united his powers as chief executive with his new role as party leader in order to assert his own policy leadership.

As president, Jefferson cultivated his image as a popular leader. He reduced the “pomp and circumstance” of the office, relaxed protocol, and abandoned the “kingly” custom of delivering his annual message to Congress in person (he was never an effective public speaker, in any case). In his first term he reduced the scale of the national government, repealing internal taxes while trimming the national debt. His most notable achievement was the acquisition of the vast territory of Louisiana (1803). For the price of a few cents an acre, the Louisiana Purchase nearly doubled the size of the nation. Jefferson also commissioned the 1803–1806 expedition of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to explore the new lands.

Although Jefferson provided the essential principles upon which his reform policies were based—the substance of his “transforming” leadership (reforming leadership that seeks high or transcendent goals of change)—he was also a gifted “transactional” leader (maintaining leadership that engages in bargaining for the exchange of valued things). His control over his strong-minded but loyal cabinet was unquestioned. In line with his customary style, he led Congress through conciliation rather than confrontation. Jefferson always sought harmony in his personal relations, and in politics he pre-

ferred persuasion to command, the “flanking movement to the frontal assault.” His advice to others was to “take things always by the smooth handle” (Johnstone 1978, 34). His was, in the scholar Fred Greenstein’s term, a “hidden hand” presidency, in which only his closest associates were privy to his operations (Greenstein 1982). To his enemies, this “hidden hand” leadership was duplicitous. However, his style proved an effective tool in mastering the art of political bargaining in a polity (political organization) with a deep suspicion of power. Jefferson would have understood the political scientist Richard Neustadt’s well-known maxim, “presidential power is the power to persuade” (Neustadt 1960). An independent-minded Congress could best be led by cultivation rather than coercion. Although publicly deferring to Congress, Jefferson guided it from behind the scenes.

Unlike his first term, Jefferson’s second term was fraught with difficulties, notably in relations with warring England and France. Hoping to preserve U.S. neutrality without recourse to war, Jefferson persuaded Congress to adopt an embargo on U.S. trade with both nations. The embargo proved a disaster for the domestic economy. To enforce the unpopular embargo, Jefferson resorted to increasingly forceful measures, but to no avail. Congress repealed the embargo effective on the last day of his presidency.

Jefferson retired from office in 1809. His greatest achievement in his last years was in founding the University of Virginia. He guided the entire project, designing its architecture as well as its curriculum. Jefferson died a few hours after John Adams, on the Fourth of July 1826, a half-century to the day after adoption of the Declaration of Independence.

THE LEGACY

Lord Charnwood, a biographer of Abraham Lincoln, wrote of Jefferson:

He imparted to the very recent historical origin of his country, and his followers imparted to its material conditions, a certain element of poetry, and the felt presence of a wholesome national idea. The patriotism of an older country derives its glory and its pride from

influences deeply rooted in the past, creating a tradition of public and private action which needs no definite formula. The man who did more than any other to supply this lack in a new country, by imbuing its national consciousness—even its national cant—with high aspirations, did—it may well be—more than any strong administrator or constructive statesman to create a Union which should hereafter seem worth preserving. (Charnwood 1917, 34–35)

As a strong administrator and constructive statesman, Jefferson used a leadership style facilitated by his symbolic identity with that national consciousness. “Through the skillful application of his personal persuasive talents, the pioneering cultivation of new presidential roles, and the employment of additional resources and techniques of influence, Jefferson helped greatly to make the presidency and indeed the entire machinery of government more reflective of that consciousness” (Johnstone 1978, 314).

—Robert M. Johnstone

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JESUS (c. 4 BCE–30 CE)

Religious leader and founder of Christianity

Jesus has figured centrally in the shaping of two thousand years of Western and, indeed, world history. The life of Jesus and beliefs about him are fundamental to Christianity, currently the largest religious tradition worldwide, with about 2 billion adherents. Islam also recognizes Jesus as an important prophet. Even beyond religious institutions, however, political, social, and business leaders have made wide-ranging appeals to Jesus as a source of authority for their own leadership. That the programs undertaken in the name of Jesus appear to be mutually incompatible—military campaigns versus pacifist nonviolence and corporate management versus humble presence with the poor—attests to the complexities of Jesus and leadership, even as a significant part of the world’s population seeks to live as followers of Jesus.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND DEBATE

Analyzing Jesus as a leader in his own time and place is hampered by limited historical information. The four canonical New Testament Gospels of Mark, Matthew, Luke, and John are the principal sources of historical knowledge about Jesus. Even the oldest Gospel, Mark, was written at least thirty years after the death of Jesus, and the respective contexts of the Gospel authors shaped their narratives. A few other

early sources, including the Jewish historian Josephus (c. 37–100 CE) make reference to Jesus, but they offer little additional information about his life and work. The second-century-CE Gospel of Thomas also provides a collection of sayings attributed to Jesus.

Given the dependence upon the Gospel accounts, knowledge of the historical figure of Jesus is undeniably linked to the theological beliefs about him by the early and later church. One Gospel writer notes his desire to record the events surrounding Jesus “so that you may know the truth” (Luke 1:4, New Revised Standard Version), and another explicitly states that he has “written so that you may come to believe that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God, and that through believing you may have life in his name” (John 20:31 NRSV). This issue is frequently cast as the relationship between the “Jesus of history” and the “Christ of faith.”

Despite the difficulty of culling away theological beliefs about who Jesus was or is, the confidence placed in scientific and historical methods of biblical scholarship has fueled concerted attempts, since the latter part of the nineteenth century, to discover the essential basics about the life and death of Jesus. The most classic of these works is the French theologian and philosopher Albert Schweitzer’s *Quest of the Historical Jesus* (1906, trans. 1910). Schweitzer’s book and the myriad other writings on Jesus disagree vehemently on many points of historical and theological interpretation. Yet all of these works have the virtue of exploring the Gospel stories within the wider context of Jesus’ social, political, religious, and economic milieus. Recently, members of the “Jesus Seminar,” a group of scholars pursuing the historical Jesus, have sought systematically to determine what parts of the Gospel texts can be attributed to Jesus himself, and with what degree of certainty. Critics have rejected this exercise as a misplaced attempt to evaluate the modern historical accuracy of ancient texts that did not communicate truth as scientific fact.

THE GOSPELS

What can be known about Jesus’ life and times? Scholars generally agree that Jesus was born and

lived in Galilee, a marginal backwater of the Roman Empire. The authors of the “synoptic” Gospels (Mark, Matthew, and Luke) emphasize Jesus’ connection to and knowledge about Jewish scriptures and traditions. Aside from the birth narratives in Matthew (Matthew 1:18–2:23) and Luke (Luke 2:1–40), little is known about Jesus’ life until his year or two of public ministry at about the age of thirty. The birth narratives agree that he was the son of Mary, who was engaged to Joseph. Scholars have variously portrayed Jesus, in his public role, as a religious reformer, a prophet, a wisdom teacher, a miracle worker and healer, a charismatic leader, or a leader of a resistance against political, economic, and religious powers.

While it is impossible to answer many questions about his life, it is clear, according to the Gospels, that Jesus drew upon the prophetic strands of Jewish tradition to call his fellow Jews to live more justly and righteously as a community. The author of Luke reports that Jesus’ first public act is to read from the scroll of Isaiah in the synagogue: “The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to bring good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to let the oppressed go free, to proclaim the year of the Lord’s favor” (Luke 4:18–19). His public sayings urge his listeners to welcome outcasts into their community, and his deeds are directed to assist those in need—whether they are facing hunger, sickness, imminent threat of violence or disaster, or death. Jesus’ sayings, collected as the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5:1–7:27) or the Sermon on the Plain (Luke 6:17–49)—which are generally accepted as authentic statements by Jesus—call for various forms of social reversal, in which vulnerable, needy, and despised persons, not the powerful, gain God’s favor. From these sayings and other parables and accounts of Jesus, many interpreters understand Jesus to have called for a form of leadership as service (or “servant leadership”) toward God’s kingdom, or God’s reign. Jesus had many followers surrounding him in his public ministry. The canonical Christian tradition has attributed special status to his twelve apostles, although other figures, including women such as Martha and Mary, Mary Magdalene,

and Jesus' mother Mary, also play prominent roles in Jesus' band of followers.

The Gospels offer a complex picture of the self-understanding of Jesus and the perceptions that others had of him. In the famous passage between Jesus and his follower Peter, Jesus asks Peter, "Who do people say that I am?" (Mark 8:27) (the answer being "the Christ"). Multiple titles were attributed to him, including, most notably, the Messiah (from Hebrew) or the Christ (from Greek)—the chosen one or the anointed one of God. This term had been employed for earlier Israelite leaders, including David. But the early Christian community came to understand Jesus as uniquely, in some way, the chosen (and "only-begotten") Son of God, and thus not merely as a son or daughter of God in the way that all of God's people were believed to be. Other titles, including the "suffering servant" from the Book of Isaiah and the apocalyptic title of "Son of Man," are also employed to describe Jesus. The Gospel writers even use the title "Lord," generally reserved for God, to name Jesus. In Mark's Gospel, marked by a "secrecy motif," Jesus is portrayed as reticent to claim the role of Messiah. In contrast, in John's Gospel Jesus performs signs and wonders in order to demonstrate that he is God's chosen one.

All of the Gospels report that Jesus was arrested and executed by crucifixion in Jerusalem by the political authorities of the Roman Empire. All four Gospel accounts mention that Pontius Pilate, the Roman prefect of Judaea, gave the order for his crucifixion. However, the Gospel accounts themselves, as well as later commentators, disagree about the respective roles of religious and political leaders in the death of Jesus. The charge on which he was convicted—claiming to be king of the Jews—could have been understood as both blasphemy and sedition, and thus Jesus could have been a threat to both institutional Judaism and the Roman Empire, and their respective leaders.

RESURRECTION AND THE PEOPLE OF THE WAY

The events of the birth, life, and death of Jesus are interpreted by the Gospel writers in light of the expe-

riences of the Jesus community, or "people of the Way," after Jesus' crucifixion. All Gospels in their handed-down forms include accounts of the Resurrection of Jesus, by which Jesus came to life again after burial in an undeniable and life-transforming way for his followers. The Gospels include stories of his appearance several times among his followers until he ascended again to be with God (Acts 1:6–11).

The Gospel accounts and other texts collected in the Christian New Testament record early attempts to understand who Jesus was, and how his birth, life, death, and resurrection should shape his followers' lives. Christians from the first century CE until the present have also sought to make sense of Jesus and, indeed, to follow him. The description of how Jesus was uniquely chosen and sent by God, but remained a human being living among his community, has led Christians to develop a number of theological beliefs about him. Jesus the Christ came to be understood as both fully human and fully divine in nature—a view clarified by the Council of Chalcedon (451 CE). Jesus was God incarnated, taking on human form, but still God. Although the concept of the Trinity is not present in the New Testament, later theologians would come to understand Jesus Christ, Son of God, as the second person in the Trinity, along with God the Father and God the Holy Spirit. In the same way that controversy has ensued over how Jesus Christ can be fully human and fully divine, so too have Christian theologians debated how the one God can be triune, that is, existing in three persons.

APPEALS TO JESUS AS A LEADER

For many persons—and not only Christians—Jesus has served as a paradigm of a leader. Yet the historical limitations and the theological complexity surrounding Jesus together make it difficult to understand Jesus as a human leader. From Jesus' calling of his first disciples (Mark 1:16–20 and parallels), he directed his followers to heal and teach in his name. Yet the ideal of Jesus, fully divine as well as fully human, is unattainable. Leaders and theologians, in the past and in the present, have frequently lifted up his model of self-giving and strong regard for others,



Selection from the Sermon on the Mount

(Matthew 5, King James Version)

- 1: And seeing the multitudes, he went up into a mountain: and when he was set, his disciples came unto him:
- 2: And he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying,
- 3: Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.
- 4: Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.
- 5: Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.
- 6: Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.
- 7: Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.
- 8: Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.
- 9: Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.
- 10: Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.
- 11: Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.
- 12: Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.
- 13: Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men.
- 14: Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid.
- 15: Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house.
- 16: Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.
- 17: Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill.
- 18: For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled.
- 19: Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven: but whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.
- 20: For I say unto you, That except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.
- 21: Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment:
- 22: But I say unto you, That whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment: and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire.
- 23: Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee;
- 24: Leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.
- 25: Agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art in the way with him; lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison.
- 26: Verily I say unto thee, Thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing.

but few persons have been willing and able to exercise the kind of self-giving and other-serving leadership that Jesus exercises in the Gospels.

Notwithstanding the difficulties of reaching Jesus' ideal, theological understandings of Jesus Christ as the founder and head of the church have made him a paradigm for ecclesiastical leaders. The Christian Church as a whole, and local manifesta-

tions of the church, are understood theologically to be the body of Jesus Christ in the world. In many churches, certain of Jesus' attributes (such as maleness, celibacy) have been lifted up as requirements for church leaders, even as other features (language, ethnicity, height) have been regarded as less essential elements of Jesus and therefore of church leaders. Many church institutions and denominations who

permit only men to be called as clergy invoke an argument about Jesus' maleness, while some have shifted their theology to allow men who are married or noncelibate to serve as clergy. Proponents of allowing qualified women to serve as clergy appeal, in contrast, to Jesus' actions in welcoming women into his own circle and into Galilean society. Debates over gender and church leadership continue to be shaped, on both sides, by such competing understandings of and appeals to Jesus.

The historian Jaroslav Pelikan (in *Jesus through the Centuries*, 1985) has shown that political as well as religious leaders across the ages have referred to some aspects of Jesus as leader (for example, "king of kings" or "the prince of peace") to justify their own authority, even as Jesus has been portrayed variously in ways consistent with prevailing ideas and concepts. In contrast to the persecution and marginal status of Christians in the early church, Constantine the Great won control of the Roman Empire (312 CE) under the motto "One God, one Lord, one faith, one church, one empire, one emperor." Ever since that time, many political leaders in the West and elsewhere have claimed the Christian cross as part of their legitimacy.

At the end of the nineteenth century, and coinciding with the discovery of the "historical Jesus," liberal and conservative Christians alike showed a renewed interest in leading like Jesus, or following Jesus, in the newly industrialized world. Walter Rauschenbusch, the best-known "social gospel" theologian, wrote his *Social Principles of Jesus* (1916), among other works, in an effort to communicate how modern society could be made more just if Jesus' commitment to ushering in the Kingdom of God were taken on by the people. From a more conservative, evangelical standpoint, Charles Sheldon's bestselling *In His Steps* (1896) offered a fictionalized account of a church in which successful industrialists took seriously the question, What would Jesus do if he were in my situation? The pioneering advertising executive Bruce Barton claimed in his book *The Man Nobody Knows* (1925) that the "real Jesus" was an entrepreneur who can show business managers how to lead well. These attempts expressed a conviction that Jesus' will could readily be determined (though

Rauschenbusch would disagree significantly with Sheldon and Barton on the substance of Jesus' will) and that its context—from an agrarian preindustrial society on the margins of the Roman Empire—could be readily translated to the contemporary world.

One vocal critic of such efforts to employ Jesus as a paradigm for ethical action was the U.S. theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, who insisted that sinful human beings who seek to be leaders in a sinful world should not employ Jesus' ethic in any direct way. Jesus, rather, stands as an impossible ideal that calls persons to act compassionately, especially in their personal relationships, but whose demands cannot be kept in the public sphere. Given the power struggles of contemporary political and economic systems in a competitive, hard society, it is incumbent for leaders to employ all of the power at their disposal on behalf of the interests of their constituents. For Niebuhr, approximating justice, not following the love ethic of Jesus, is the best that imperfect and self-interested human beings can do in society.

Despite such realist arguments that discount the direct relevance of Jesus' life and message, attempts to lead like Jesus have continued across the twentieth century. Social and political movements have appealed to Jesus as a nonviolent peacemaker or as a radical figure standing up for justice in the face of political and economic oppression. In the management and leadership fields, in contrast, Jesus has been invoked as a paradigmatic manager. Laurie Beth Jones's 1995 book *Jesus CEO* portrays Jesus as a great leader with the strengths of "self-mastery" (p. 1), "action" (p. 79), and "relationships" (p. 175). Rather than attending to the prophetic dimensions of Jesus' thought that criticized the powers of his day, these texts attempt to cull basic insights from the Gospels, such as "take risks," "be patient," and "empower followers."

Similarly, contemporary evangelical Christians in the United States and elsewhere have renewed an interest in Sheldon's question, What would Jesus do? A host of books on "servant leadership" and "Christ-like leadership" apply Jesus' message to contemporary life. These models of leading like Jesus, whether in the church or in society, however, tend to pay little attention to contextual or historical factors.

CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENTS AND PROSPECTS

The interest in Jesus by New Testament scholars, ethicists, and students and practitioners of leadership continues to fuel widespread discussion about Jesus for church and society alike. Scholars within and beyond the church pursue an understanding about the “historical Jesus.” Despite the small likelihood that fundamentally new insights will come from the discovery of lost texts, the ongoing quest to understand Jesus within the first-century Palestinian and Roman worlds promises to shed new contextual understanding about Jesus. Within the church, discussion of Jesus remains present in cross-denominational and ecumenical dialogue, ordination debates, and biblical interpretation. The interreligious dialogues, within the so-called Abrahamic faiths (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam) and beyond, face challenges about the identity and teachings of Jesus. Political leaders in countries with large numbers of Christians continue to appeal to the teachings or example of Jesus in their own efforts. Scholars and practitioners of leadership can learn from the careful efforts of New Testament scholars to take into account the cross-contextual complexities when relating Jesus to contemporary leadership.

—Douglas A. Hicks

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🌐 JOHN XXIII, POPE (1881–1963)

Pope of the Roman Catholic Church

John XXIII was the 259th pope (earthly head of the Roman Catholic Church and bishop of the diocese of Rome) and served as pope from 28 October 1958 to 3 June 1963. Born Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli in the Italian village of Sothe il Monte near Bergamo on 25 November 1881, he was dubbed “Shepherd of the Modern World” (Hebblethwaite 1985, title) primarily because he called the Second Vatican Council (Vatican City, 1962–1965), through which the Roman Catholic Communion actively and explicitly engaged modernity. Pope John XXIII has been described as “the most significant pope of the twentieth century” (Küng 2002, 190); along with Gregory the Great (590–604 CE) as one of only two “outstanding popes” and as “the most beloved, ecumenical, and openhearted pope in history” (McBrien 1997, 430); and as the pope with an “authentically

human face” (José Oscar Beozzo, quoted in Alberigo & Komonchak 1995, 381). He is most commonly known as “good Pope John” because of his warm, humble personality and personal engagement particularly with the people of the city of Rome. He returned to ancient Christmas practices of visiting the prisoners at Regina Coeli and of visiting patients in local hospitals.

The Second Vatican Council under the leadership of John XXIII can hardly be understood apart from the Second Vatican Council (most commonly known as Vatican II): this is the council that was his own idea, that he called and implemented in order to deal with the challenges to Catholic Christianity in the mid-twentieth century. In retrospect, his life experiences are displayed by his leadership at this council. This leadership manifest itself in his transformation of the papacy into a voice for universal human rights and in the revitalization of the Catholic church’s self-understanding particularly with regard to its relationship to other Christians and people of other religious traditions as well as with the outside world. Leo XIII (served as pope 1878–1903), John XXIII’s predecessor, began in earnest the tradition that is now called “Catholic Social Teaching” with his encyclical on the rights of workers, *Rerum Novarum* (Of New Things), “On the Condition of the Working Person,” (titles of documents from the teaching magisterium of the Catholic Church are often taken from the first few words, hence “Of new things”; the topic of the encyclical is the condition of laborers). It is John XXIII, however, who laid the foundation for the current international status of the Catholic papacy. His legacy is displayed in the response to Pope Paul VI at the United Nations in 1965, where Pope Paul proclaimed, “Never again war!” and the recognition of John Paul II as a religious leader whose voice is taken seriously by the international religious and political communities. This recognition of the Catholic pontiff as a spokesperson for peace is the legacy of John XXIII.

CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

In October 1962, when the United States and the former U.S.S.R. were involved in the Cuban missile cri-

sis, Pope John acted as a neutral third party in the dispute in such a way as to allow both U.S. President John F. Kennedy and Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev to back away from war without either one acknowledging defeat. Norman Cousins, who was then the editor of the *Saturday Review*, acted as a liaison between President Kennedy and Pope John in order to solicit a message addressed to the world calling for peace. Pope John had previously been working to thaw the frosty relationship between the Vatican and the Soviet bloc that was a result of several decades of anticommunist teachings coming from the Vatican. He had received Khrushchev’s son-in-law for a papal audience in order to indicate his desire for reconciliation between the East and West, especially the Communist East. In that speech he said, “We beseech all the rulers not to remain deaf to this cry of humanity. May they do all that is in them to safeguard the peace” (Zizola 1978, 8). Pope John expanded this message born of crisis into his greatest encyclical, *Pacem in Terris* (Peace on Earth). Up to this time, encyclicals had been letters from the pope to the Catholic community in order to clarify teachings or to address special concerns of the day. Pope John addressed this letter to “all people of good will,” thus signaling his desire to speak as a religious leader to the entire human community.

EARLY CAREER AND ITS INFLUENCES UPON JOHN XXIII’S LEGACY

Angelo Roncalli was a church diplomat for most of his career, which began at the seminary in Bergamo in 1892 and continued in Rome in 1900. Roncalli was still studying for the priesthood when his studies were interrupted by military service in 1901 and 1902, a time to which he credited learning both “strict discipline” and the discovery of “practical ways” of drawing people to “all that is good” (John XXIII 1965, 415). He received his doctorate in church history in 1904 and was ordained in August of the same year at Santa Maria in the Piazza del Popolo in Rome. In April 1905, he returned to Bergamo after ordination as secretary to the bishop Radini Tedeschi. While he worked closely with Tedeschi he learned the value of episcopal visits to



Excerpt from Pope John XXIII's Radio Address during the Cuban Missile Crisis

We remind those who bear the responsibility of power of their grave duties. With your hand upon your heart, may you listen to the anguished cry that from all points of the land, from innocent babes to the old, from people to communities, rises towards heaven: peace! peace! We today renew this solemn invocation. We beseech all rulers not to remain deaf to this cry of humanity. May they do all that is in them to safeguard the peace. They will thereby keep the horrors of war from the world—a war whose horrible consequences no one can foresee. May there continue to be discussions because this loyal and open attitude testifies to each party's conscience and stands as evidence before history. To promote, favor, and accept discussion at all levels and in all times is a rule of wisdom and of prudence that will call down the blessing of heaven and earth.

Source: Zizola, Giancarlo. (1978). *The Utopia of Pope John XXIII*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Press, p. 8.

all the diocesan parishes. During this time he also taught in the seminary at Bergamo and first encountered the difficulty of the Roman church's stance toward what it then labeled "modernism." In the early years of the twentieth century, the institutional church in Rome was hostile to the growth of rationalism as it was developing as an intellectual framework. Roncalli was teaching in 1907 when Pope Pius X condemned the attempts to reconcile Christian faith with rational philosophy and the adjacent developments in science, technology, and industrialization and with the democratizing movements that flowed from the embrace of rationalism. Pius saw them as threats to the idea of the supernatural and as a rejection of a particular metaphysics upon which much of Catholic theology up to that point had been based. The emerging "historical criticism" of Scripture that would become the official method of Catholic biblical interpretation was particularly suspicious to Pius X and his fellows. In November of 1907, the statement was issued from the Vatican stating that those who opposed the teaching of Pius X, in particular the encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* (Feeding the Flock), would be excommunicated. Then a twenty-six-year-old professor of church history, Roncalli was asked to lecture in commemoration of a third-century church historian who had attempted to reconcile the secular and rational with

the sacred and the supernatural. He worked his way through this ecclesiastical minefield using tools that he would come to be famous for: his use of the Catholic tradition of renewal and reform to deal with the changing situations and contexts that the church found itself in as it became a global reality and his keen understanding of the difference between a truth and its various expressions. Perhaps his most famous and surely most cited statement follows in this tradition. He said it fifty-five years later at the opening of the Second Vatican Council, which was the assembly of the worldwide bishops in the Vati-

can to confront the challenges that the mid-twentieth century brought to Roman Catholicism. He said, "The substance of the ancient doctrine of the deposit of the faith is one thing, and the way in which it is presented is another." This statement is a lapidary summary of Pope John's fundamental theological stance as well as the signal statement that the Catholic hierarchy embraced at the Second Vatican Council in order to usher in the reforms that Pope John intended. He was determined to find ways to proclaim the gospel of Jesus Christ in keeping with the needs of the present time while remaining faithful to the essentially humane message of that gospel. He sought collaboration and dialogue with people involved in the various developments for human rights during this period. He did not see these social movements as a threat, and certainly did not see them as inherently anti-Christian or antireligious as some did. He was convinced that Christianity possessed a message that could serve the world.

During World War I, Roncalli was conscripted as a hospital orderly in 1915. In this work we find another experience that has an echo later at the Second Vatican Council. In a homily he gave in 1920, he reflected upon the war: "War is and remains the greatest evil, and he who had understood the meaning of Christ and his Gospel of human and Christian brotherhood can never detest it enough" (Hebbleth-

waite 1985, 83). Previous to Vatican II, which was the twenty-first ecumenical (worldwide) council of the Catholic church, it had been typical to issue condemnations of teachings that the council found erroneous or heretical; these condemnations were called “anathemas.” In the manner of the distinctive spirit of Vatican II, the only condemnation it made was of war.

DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

In 1921, Roncalli was appointed to a curial office (the Roman Curia is the bureaucracy composed of various agencies in the government of the institutional Catholic church in Rome); he went on to be a career diplomat for the Vatican. In 1925, he was appointed as apostolic visitor to Bulgaria; for this purpose he was ordained as an archbishop. He served there for ten years and during that time his desire for reconciliation between the Eastern and Western Christian churches was sharpened. Roncalli’s sensitivity to the issue of inter-Christian dialogue and acceptance can be traced to the time he spent as a Vatican diplomat first in Bulgaria, and then in Turkey (1934) and Greece (1941–1944). There he worked with the Orthodox and with Muslim leaders to deal with the effects of war and famine. He also tried to prevent the deportation of Jews during this time.

In 1944, he was appointed nuncio (a specific delegate who represents the Vatican to a civil government and to the local Catholic church in the same nation or state) to France. Here he had to deal with the end of the World War II and its aftereffects in France. The French Catholic Church was suspect to many in the Roman Curia because of the historical tensions between this culturally and politically powerful church and the Vatican. In addition, several reform movements, the worker-priest movement and the liturgical movement in particular, that were percolating in the Catholic community were very active in France. Roncalli acted as a calming presence while in France. The shadow of anti-Semitism and failure of Pius XII (the pope during World War II and Pope John’s immediate predecessor) to publicly condemn Nazism, as well as the collaboration of some French bishops with the Nazis, hung over postwar

Europe. Roncalli sought to find ways to heal the rift between Christians and Jews, especially the seeds of anti-Semitism that were still found in Christian preaching and liturgy at mid-century. Later, during his pontificate, he had his driver stop in Rome to bless Jews on their way to synagogue. This *bella figura* is just one of many similar symbolic actions for which Pope John became known. In a papal audience with a group of Jews, he greeted them saying, “I am Joseph, your brother.” A similar action was his removal of the offensive phrase “treacherous Jews” (*perfidis Judaeis*) that had been a part of Catholic Good Friday liturgy for centuries. During his time as nuncio to France, he was also the Vatican’s first permanent observer to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). In 1953 he was made patriarch of Venice, where he served until he became pope.

JOHN XXIII’S LEGACY

Pope John XXIII’s particular legacy for Catholic theology and practice is his pastoral style that placed what he called the “medicine of mercy” above rules and regulations. This characteristic emerged early on and can be credited in part to his first assignment while a priest as secretary to Radini Tedeschi, who was himself a compassionate man who placed Christian love and care before institutional forms. Another influence upon Roncalli was Charles Borromeo, who was also a Bergamese bishop and who worked to instantiate the reforms of the Council of Trent (1545–1563), where distortions and abuses of Catholic doctrine and practice were addressed. John XXIII became famous for repeating the adage that “history is the teacher of life.” He caused the Catholic church to finally shed the Counter-Reformation mentality that had obtained since the Council of Trent, whereby Catholicism defined itself primarily in opposition to the Protestant movement and defined those churches not as churches per se but as schismatic and/or heretical communities. Pope John began the process that at Vatican II put an end to this way of thinking. He introduced the irenic language of “separated brethren” to describe these communions.

John XXIII brought the institutional Catholic

church into active dialogue with the modern world. He gave pride of place to the method of dealing with teaching and with specific timely issues by starting with the concrete human experience of the persons involved. This move to the inductive method in contrast to beginning with supposedly timeless principles, as so many of his immediate predecessors had done, is his signal legacy in the Catholic church. He died of stomach cancer on 3 June 1963. He had made his last appearance on May 23. There was a death watch in St. Peter's Square from then until his death to honor the "most beloved pope in history" (McBrien 1997, 375).

—Sally M. Vance-Trembath

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JOHNSON, LYNDON (1908–1973) U.S. president

Lyndon Johnson was the architect of the Great Society—U.S. federal social program—and commander in chief of the U.S. military during the escalation of the Vietnam War. His life illustrated both the possibilities of a democratic leader and the tragic consequences when a president deceived his constituents about military involvement in southeast Asia.

THE HILL COUNTRY LEGACY

Lyndon Johnson was born in the rural Texas Hill Country, where people set high expectations for him as a future political leader from childhood. His father was a member of the Texas Legislature, and his

mother hoped that her son might rise to be a U.S. senator. Although he later liked to stress his family's poverty, young Lyndon grew up in decent circumstances with connections to the state's political hierarchy. When he attended Southwest Texas State College in San Marcos, he was active in campus politics and ingratiated himself with the college's president. By 1930, he was running political campaigns for legislative candidates in Texas, coaching high school debating teams, and eyeing a career in elective affairs. Soon he was hired as an aide to Congressman Richard Kleberg and was off to Washington.

During the next four years, Johnson's energy and determination carried him to a position of influence on Capitol Hill beyond his years. He was elected head of the "Little Congress," an association of congressional aides, and made valuable contacts within the Texas congressional delegation. Friendship with Congressman Sam Rayburn was especially useful. In 1934 Johnson married Claudia Alta "Lady Bird" Taylor. A year later he was offered the position of director of the Texas branch of President Franklin Roosevelt's National Youth Administration (NYA), which was established to provide work for unemployed youths.

FROM TEXAS TO WASHINGTON

Johnson used the NYA position to construct a statewide organization of friends and political allies. He impressed President Franklin D. Roosevelt with his administrative ability. Within the limits of a segregated society, he sought to assist black Texans with NYA programs. Then, in February 1937, the death of the representative for the Tenth Congressional District near Austin gave Johnson his chance. In a special election, he defeated seven other rivals to gain a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. At the age of twenty-eight, he had the chance he coveted to exercise power on the national stage.

The next eleven years were frustrating for an aspiring leader such as Lyndon Johnson. He was an excellent representative in obtaining appropriations and contracts for his central Texas constituents. The slower pace of the House and the difficulty of moving into an influential position caused Johnson to

look toward a move to the Senate. When a special election occurred for a vacancy in the Senate in 1941, Johnson made a strong campaign for the seat but lost to the popular governor, W. Lee "Pappy" O'Daniel. When war broke out in December 1941, Johnson went on active duty with the Navy and flew as an observer on one combat mission in the Pacific, for which he was awarded the Silver Star. Throughout the remainder of the war and into the peace that followed, Johnson prepared himself for another Senate race in 1948.

That race was a turning point in Johnson's career. After securing a place in the primary runoff with Coke Stevenson, a former governor, Johnson eked out a narrow eighty-seven-vote victory in an election marked by court battles, charges of fraud, and a bitter dispute with his rival. The episode won Johnson the derisive title "Landslide Lyndon." However, when the furor died away, Johnson took his seat in the Senate in January 1949.

THE SENATE LEADER

Johnson adapted readily to the practices of the Senate and soon mastered its rules and procedures. By 1952, he was elected minority leader of the Democrats. In 1954 Johnson was an important force in achieving the censure of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin, whose campaigns against alleged Communists had made him both powerful and controversial. McCarthy had attacked fellow senators, and Johnson skillfully managed the minority Democrats so that McCarthy was rebuked.

After the 1954 elections, when his party regained the majority, Johnson became the Senate majority leader. For the first time he now occupied a post that gave him a chance to direct national policy. The three years that followed were probably the happiest of Lyndon Johnson's life. He was a superb manager of the Senate and his colleagues. He knew more than anyone else about opinion among senators, and he scheduled votes and debate with a keen eye for the ultimate result. Johnson devoted endless hours to tracking the mood of the Senate and accommodating the needs of his members. Within a year, he was regarded as the master of the Senate.

With a membership closely divided between Republicans and Democrats, the Senate did not enact much significant legislation while Johnson was leader. The most important was the Civil Rights Law of 1957. Although it made only a modest advance in ensuring civil rights for African-Americans, the law was the first legislation to deal with the subject in three-quarters of a century. Johnson's skill and tenacity moved the Senate to take an important symbolic step toward the civil rights revolution of the 1960s. In the process, Johnson took some of the edge off his own record of defending segregationist laws as a southern senator.

NATIONAL AMBITIONS

By the mid-1950s, Johnson's ambition to be president took him into Democratic politics beyond Texas. A try for the party's presidential nomination in 1956 flopped, and it was evident that his southern roots would be a handicap in another race in 1960. In that race, Johnson started late and never made an all-out run for the nomination. He counted on the support of fellow senators to deliver their states to him at the national convention. Meanwhile, John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts pursued the nomination through party primaries and by the time the national convention was held in Los Angeles was on the verge of a first-ballot victory. Once nominated, Kennedy asked Johnson to be his running mate. Although many of Johnson's advisors counseled him against accepting second place on the ticket, Johnson knew that this was his best chance at presidential leadership in the future. If Kennedy won, Johnson would be the designated successor after what everyone assumed would be two terms for the winner of the 1960 election. Should Kennedy lose, Johnson would have done his best for the Democrats. The Senate offered Johnson no real future. The vice presidential nomination did. To the surprise of everyone, perhaps including Kennedy, Johnson went on the ticket and campaigned hard for Kennedy in the South.

The resulting victory left Johnson in the uncomfortable role of vice president for the next three years. He chafed under the scorn of the people around Kennedy, and he found little constructive to



Selections from Lyndon B. Johnson's Address to the Nation, 31 March 1968

At the end of a 1968 television address in which he announced steps to limit the war in Vietnam, President Lyndon Johnson stunned the nation with his announcement that he would not seek reelection.

Good evening, my fellow Americans:

Tonight I want to speak to you of peace in Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

No other question so preoccupies our people. No other dream so absorbs the 250 million human beings who live in that part of the world. No other goal motivates American policy in Southeast Asia.

For years, representatives of our Government and others have traveled the world—seeking to find a basis for peace talks.

[...]

I cannot promise that the initiative that I have announced tonight will be completely successful in achieving peace any more than the 30 others that we have undertaken and agreed to in recent years.

But it is our fervent hope that North Vietnam, after years of fighting that have left the issue unresolved, will now cease its efforts to achieve a military victory and will join with us in moving toward the peace table.

And there may come a time when South Vietnamese—on both sides—are able to work out a way to settle their own differences by free political choice rather than by war.

[...]

Our objective in South Vietnam has never been the annihilation of the enemy. It has been to bring about a recognition in Hanoi that its objective—taking over the South by force—could not be achieved.

[...]

So, I repeat on behalf of the United States again tonight what I said at Johns Hopkins—that North Vietnam could take its place in this common effort just as soon as peace comes.

Over time, a wider framework of peace and security in Southeast Asia may become possible. The new cooperation of the nations of the area could be a foundation-stone. Certainly friendship with the nations of such a Southeast Asia is what the United States seeks—and that is all that the United States seeks.

One day, my fellow citizens, there will be peace in Southeast Asia.

[...]

Finally, my fellow Americans, let me say this:

Of those to whom much is given, much is asked. I cannot say and no man could say that no more will be asked of us.

Yet, I believe that now, no less than when the decade began, this generation of Americans is willing to “pay any

price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.”

Since those words were spoken by John F. Kennedy, the people of America have kept that compact with mankind's noblest cause.

[...]

Throughout my entire public career I have followed the personal philosophy that I am a free man, an American, a public servant, and a member of my party, in that order always and only.

For 37 years in the service of our Nation, first as a Congressman, as a Senator, and as Vice President, and now as your President, I have put the unity of the people first. I have put it ahead of any divisive partisanship.

And in these times as in times before, it is true that a house divided against itself by the spirit of faction, of party, of region, of religion, of race, is a house that cannot stand.

There is division in the American house now. There is divisiveness among us all tonight. And holding the trust that is mine, as President of all the people, I cannot disregard the peril to the progress of the American people and the hope and the prospect of peace for all peoples.

So, I would ask all Americans, whatever their personal interests or concern, to guard against divisiveness and all its ugly consequences.

[...]

Believing this as I do, I have concluded that I should not permit the Presidency to become involved in the partisan divisions that are developing in this political year.

With America's sons in the fields far away, with America's future under challenge right here at home, with our hopes and the world's hopes for peace in the balance every day, I do not believe that I should devote an hour or a day of my time to any personal partisan causes or to any duties other than the awesome duties of this office—the Presidency of your country.

Accordingly, I shall not seek, and I will not accept, the nomination of my party for another term as your President.

But let men everywhere know, however, that a strong, a confident, and a vigilant America stands ready tonight to seek an honorable peace—and stands ready tonight to defend an honored cause—whatever the price, whatever the burden, whatever the sacrifice that duty may require.

Thank you for listening.

Good night and God bless all of you.

do in his secondary position. People in Washington even said he might not be on the ticket in 1964. Then came the assassination of Kennedy in Dallas, and Johnson was suddenly the president under traumatic circumstances. In the national crisis, Johnson showed his strengths as a leader by reassuring a shocked nation and promising continuity with the programs of his fallen predecessor. During the next eighteen months, Johnson was at his best in the White House.

EFFECTIVE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Johnson's command of Congress and his sense of domestic priorities enabled him to push through a measure to cut taxes, to launch the War on Poverty and, most important, to achieve enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Beating back a filibuster by southern senators, Johnson insisted on a tough law that produced a real change in how African-Americans stood with the law in regard to public accommodations. Even at the risk of losing states in the South in the 1964 presidential election, Johnson persevered to write into law the goals of a more equal nation.

In the presidential election, Johnson forged a powerful majority to defeat the Republican candidate, Barry Goldwater of Arizona. Part of Johnson's appeal lay in the idea that he would be a more cautious and careful president, particularly in respect to the crisis in southeast Asia over the struggle between North and South Vietnam. Johnson conveyed the strong impression to voters that he would not escalate the war, which had already grown in violence. Once elected with a huge majority, Johnson found that the military situation in Vietnam was deteriorating. As a result, he escalated the war in 1965, first by bombing North Vietnam and then by committing thousands more U.S. ground troops. For the next three years of his presidency, Johnson used his leadership to involve the United States more deeply in the war in an effort to coerce North Vietnam into a negotiated settlement.

THE VIETNAM DILEMMA

Johnson also pursued his Great Society program at home with a large agenda of legislation in 1965–1966.

He achieved a voting rights law for African-Americans, created the Medicare system of health insurance for the elderly, and obtained laws to protect the environment. However, by 1966 his command of Congress faltered, and resistance grew within the country to the expansion of federal power. Democratic losses in the 1966 congressional elections weakened Johnson's mastery of Congress. Racial tensions in the nation further eroded Johnson's political base and support for his liberal nationalism in the White House.

The war in Vietnam, which seemed stalemated by 1967, was the major drag on Johnson's political standing. Unable to articulate his reasons for pursuing the war to the U.S. people, Johnson became a president whose ability to travel around the country was restricted. On television he seemed overbearing and loud, and his popularity sagged. The lengthening casualty lists and the prospect of an endless involvement in Vietnam made the war less acceptable to many U.S. citizens, even when they sympathized with Johnson's anti-Communist goals.

By this time, Johnson's ability to lead the nation had been seriously compromised. On both the right and the left, faith in his honesty had receded. Within the Democratic party, first Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota and then Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York became challengers for the nomination in 1968. The Tet offensive in South Vietnam, launched by the North Vietnamese in early 1968, showed that U.S. claims of victory in the war were premature. Even though the enemy suffered heavy losses, its capacity to launch a strike against the United States convinced many of Johnson's constituents that the war could not be won at an acceptable cost.

WITHDRAWAL FROM LEADERSHIP

With his political base eroding and his renomination in doubt, Johnson took a dramatic step to renounce national leadership. Convinced that he would not survive another term because of his uncertain health, Johnson made a nationally televised address on 31 March 1968, in which he said he would not accept another presidential nomination from his party. The

address briefly revived his popularity, but he spent the remainder of his term in a vain search for a way to start negotiations with the North Vietnamese. In January 1969, he left office perceived as a failed president who had started well and then lost the confidence of the U.S. people because of his deceptions and failures in foreign policy.

Lyndon Johnson had great potential and impressive talents as a national leader, and for a time he achieved important results in domestic policy. In dealing with the Vietnam War, however, he practiced escalation on the sly and never leveled with the U.S. people about the real costs and dangers of the nation's involvement in southeast Asia. When the war went badly, his deceptions and poor judgment opened up a credibility gap with the people whom he had been elected to lead. Lyndon Johnson's tragic career is an object lesson in how not to conduct the affairs of a democracy to achieve effective leadership.

—*Lewis L. Gould*

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JONESTOWN MASS SUICIDE

In 1978, the world was shocked to learn of the mass suicide of virtually all of the members of a small, obscure church called the “People’s Temple.” More than nine hundred people took their lives in the church’s compound in Guyana, South America, drinking cyanide-laced Kool-Aid at the order of the church’s founder and leader, the Rev. Jim Jones.

The phenomenon of mass suicide is extremely rare in human history, probably because the self-preservation instinct is the most basic of all human motives, and overcoming it for a large group of people at the same time is extraordinarily difficult. In 72 C.E., the Jewish defenders of the fortress called “Masada” chose to die rather than be taken prisoner by the Romans. In Waco, Texas, in 1993 the followers of evangelist David Koresh apparently elected to die after a long siege by U.S. law enforcement (although considerable evidence suggests that many tried to flee but were murdered by Koresh’s armed guards). The next year, in an unrelated case, fifty-eight members of an obscure church called the “Solar Temple” killed themselves in Switzerland. In 1997 eighteen men belonging to a group called the “Heaven’s Gate Church” took their own lives. There are a few other known cases, but such occurrences are extremely uncommon. Those that do occur therefore deserve close examination.

Jim Jones had grown up a quiet, unsociable boy who might have become one of life’s losers had he not discovered that he possessed the gift of preaching. The power to move others with his words gave Jones a sense of satisfaction and pleasure that he had never known. He founded the People’s Temple in Indiana, and from the beginning the church stressed social activism and a commitment to racial equality. Blacks and whites were equally welcome in the People’s Temple—a phenomenon not often found in the U.S. heartland during the early 1960s.

In 1965, Jones relocated the church to San Francisco. Some of his Indiana congregation made the journey with him, and many more people joined in California. While Jones continued the church’s work of helping the downtrodden, he also became more demanding of his followers and more extreme in his

view that he and the People's Temple were surrounded by enemies who would stop at nothing to destroy them. In 1977, Jones decided to relocate the church to a compound he had purchased in the jungles of Guyana. Almost one thousand of his followers went with him.

In the isolated church compound, Jones became more strident and controlling. He required church members to submit to him in all matters—religious, financial, personal, even sexual. Shortly thereafter, Congressman Leo Ryan, who represented the area of San Francisco where Jones's church had been headquartered, began to receive anxious calls and letters from family members of those people who had gone with Jones to Guyana. These constituents of Ryan were concerned that their relatives had been incomunicado since arriving in Guyana, and they feared that some might be held there against their will. In November 1978, Ryan and a small entourage traveled to Jonestown to inspect conditions there firsthand.

Ryan apparently found Jonestown to be a productive, peaceful community whose members had nothing but praise for the Rev. Jones. However, a few people told Ryan they wanted to leave, and he agreed to take them back on his plane with him. However, as Ryan and his party were boarding their plane to leave, they were ambushed by a group of gunmen sent by Jones. Ryan and four others were killed.

Back at the church compound Jones called together members of the church community. He informed them of Ryan's death but did not mention his own responsibility in the matter. Jones then told the church members that the Guyanese government was going to use the murders as an excuse to destroy the People's Temple. Elements of the Guyanese army, he said, were already on the move, and when they arrived at Jonestown all the church members would be arrested, tortured, and then executed. Jones's followers had no way of knowing that this account was a complete fabrication.

Jones then told members of the People's Temple that it was time to die. Their final deed, he said, would be a defiant act of "revolutionary suicide." Vats of poisoned Kool-Aid were prepared, and the church members lined up to drink. Those who expressed reluctance were coerced by Jones's rifle-



Some bodies of the 900 people who died in the mass suicide in Jonestown, Guyana on 20 November 1978.

Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

wielding guards. In all, more than nine hundred people died—including Jones himself, whose body was found with a fatal gunshot wound. A few church members pretended to drink the poison and feigned death, thus surviving to provide witness to Jonestown's last horrifying hours.

SUICIDE AS ESCAPE

In order to induce the willingness to commit suicide in the mind of someone who is not severely depressed or suffering from some other severe mental disorder, a person must present death as an escape—either *from* something or *to* something. The defenders of Masada, a fortress on the edge of the Judean Desert and the Dead Sea Valley, killed themselves the night before the Romans were expected to storm the walls of the fortress. Because rebels against Rome who were taken alive invariably suffered slow, agonizing deaths, the Jews at Masada apparently decided to spare themselves such a fate while also making one last defiant gesture toward their oppressors. During the Indian Wars that accompanied the settling of the U.S. frontier, many whites feared being captured by their "savage" enemies in the belief that death by torture was sure to follow. White tales of Native American torture practices were sometimes accurate (as in the case of the Apaches), often exaggerated, and sometimes com-



Selection from *The Letter Killeth* by Jim Jones

In this 24-page pamphlet, found at Jonestown, Jim Jones sought both to criticize the shortcomings of the Bible and also establish the Biblical foundation of the Peoples Temple.

Message from the Apostle

I have come to make God real in the lives of people. My only desire is to establish the great work of Jesus Christ on our troubled globe. I have taken the true scriptures to heart, where it declares in Phillipians 2 for us to "let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus: Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God" (and we are all created in His image and likeness-form). I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless I live; yet not I (my personal ambitions), but Christ liveth in me."

It is written and proven that as a man thinketh in his heart so is he. Thus I have decided to be fully and completely the temple of the Holy Ghost, which scripture instructs us all to be. It was *declared* by the savior-teacher, Jesus, in Nazareth consciousness, that there are 30 fold, 60 fold and 100 fold. Or to interpret accurately, one can be 30 percent yielded to God or 100 percent. I have settled for nothing less than His fullness dwelling in me.

God and Jesus are as reincarnatable as a child's smile. Matthew 25 says when you feed a hungry person or clothe a naked child you have been doing it directly to Jesus Himself. Let me bring to your remembrance that after Jesus left the Body in the Sonship degree, not even those who had lived and worked with him for four years recognized the very same Jesus when he appeared in a

different likeness on the road as His followers departed from the tomb. Imagine! they thought they had been speaking with a gardener. Can you not see the mystery? God never appears the same way twice.

God is Love, therefore whoever reincarnates love more fully should be followed: As Paul the apostle related in yesterday, "follow me as I follow Christ." I am causing untold thousands to believe in the Jesus of ancient history by the great miracles of healings, prophecies and discernments I perform in His name! Many have believed God to be dead until I showed them that He is as tangible as the food they eat and the air they breathe. Oh what a privilege it is to live in this recognition and be able to personify the Mind and Works of God in Christ, therefore enabling the pure in heart to see God, and know Him aright, which is life eternal.

Jesus asked when they would stone him, For what good works do you stone me? If you cannot receive me for my name sake, receive me for my work sake. I am fulfilling His words that we are gods and sons of the Most High, and that these things that He did and greater will ye do because He has gone back to the Father. What I am doing so must ye do, that is become living epistles, read and known of all men, (the only Bible or epistle people really read and believe in nowadays).

I am letting concerned humanity see my good works that they might glorify God, the Father.

Source: Alternative Considerations of Jonestown & People's Temple. Retrieved October 1, 2003, from <http://jonestown.sdsu.edu>

pletely fabricated. However, the conventional wisdom along the frontier was, "When fighting Indians, save the last bullet for yourself."

Other individuals and groups have chosen suicide as a perceived instant path to paradise. The men of the Heaven's Gate church who took their lives did so in the belief that their souls would be immediately transported to a spaceship after passage of the Hale-Bopp comet—a spaceship that would transport them to heaven. More recently, some Islamic extremists have been willing to become suicide bombers in the belief that this form of martyrdom guarantees their souls an instant passage to eternal bliss.

Jim Jones's appeals to his followers in the final hours at Jonestown combined both of these ele-

ments. He told the church members that the Guyanese army was already en route to the church compound and that its soldiers would destroy the church community and subject its members to torture and death (whether this was a fabrication on Jones's part or a delusion will never be known). Thus, suicide was framed as an escape from painful death. Further, Jones said that the mass self-destruction he was urging would constitute an act of sacred rebellion against the power structures that had oppressed the church members all their lives. Soon, he assured them, all of them would be reunited with Jones in heaven.

Of course, for such an appeal to be successful, the church members had to have absolute faith in Jones

and his pronouncements. Most of them did—and Jones had worked hard to achieve that faith.

JONES AS CHARISMATIC LEADER

The German sociologist Max Weber described charisma as the attribution to a leader of a special quality that sets him apart from all other men. Other scholars have built on Weber's concept, but all would probably agree that the charismatic leader was embodied in the Rev. Jim Jones. Jones was an emotional speaker—both in public venues and in private conversations. He knew how to evoke strong emotions from others, as well. He was adept at portraying himself as a man specially selected by God. Jones would conduct “healing ceremonies” in which he would appear to rip cancerous tumors from the bodies of afflicted church members. Of course, this was one of the oldest conjuring tricks in existence; the “tumors” were rotting chicken gizzards, and their “removal” from the patient's body was no more than sleight of hand. Con artists masquerading as “psychic surgeons” or “faith healers” have used the same device for centuries. Another trick, this one performed by “mentalists,” involves the performer revealing knowledge about an audience member that could not possibly be known by the performer. Of course, mentalists usually have skills gathering intelligence from the audience before the show, and Jones had trusted associates who covertly went through the personal belongings of church members, read their letters and diaries, and passed on the most personal tidbits to Jones. He could thus appear to have read the innermost thoughts and feelings of church members, inspiring the belief that he had near-divine powers.

These and similar techniques allowed Jones to achieve what Ann Ruth Wilner defines as the essence as charismatic leadership: the ability to impose a view of reality upon followers. According to Wilner, a leader's relationship is one of charisma if the followers accept all the leader's statements as fact. The leader is thus permitted by the followers to define reality, and there may be no more profound power that a leader can have. Thus, when Jones told his congregation that the Guyanese army was on the

move toward Jonestown, intent on torture and murder, the church members accepted his words without questioning how Jones, isolated in the jungle, could possibly have knowledge of the army's movements or intentions. Thus, when Jones informed them that a long, painful death was coming, the church members saw the poisoned Kool-Aid as the lesser of two evils, and few paused to question whether the first evil was actually a bona fide threat.

JONESTOWN AS TOTALITARIAN STATE

Charismatic leaders are often seen as the heads of totalitarian political units, and that is exactly what Jim Jones turned the Guyana encampment into: his own private dictatorship. Most of the attributes characteristic of totalitarian states were present, and they allowed Jones to rule over almost one thousand people without competition or challenge.

Like many totalitarian political entities, Jonestown was isolated from its neighbors. Jones controlled who could enter and who could leave. The isolation of the jungle setting made unauthorized departures all but impossible, even if any people were inclined to make such an attempt. All contact with the outside world was conducted by Jones and his most trusted cohorts. All mail sent by church members was vetted by Jones first, and such communication was discouraged in any event.

Totalitarian states favor centralized communication, and in Jonestown all news and information came from one source: the Rev. Jones. Jones provided not only information, but also interpretations. As has already been shown, his view was accepted unquestioningly by people who had been conditioned to call him “Father” and to view him as nearly divine.

Like other dictators such as the Russian leader Vladimir Lenin and the German Nazi leader Adolf Hitler, Jones saw the value of coercive persuasion. His most trusted followers were the only people in Jonestown permitted to carry guns, and those guns were used to enforce Jones's will. However, punishment could be more insidious. Jones sometimes invited those who had questioned him to appear before the assembled church members to confess

their sin. Confession was always followed by punishment. In order to cement his control, Jones often had beatings administered by the sinner's spouse—in front of the whole assembly. Such practices actually served to bind people more strongly to Jones, through the induction of cognitive dissonance (psychological conflict resulting from incongruous beliefs and attitudes). The person who had just punished a spouse would be left to think, “I *must* revere this man above all others—I just beat my wife in public because he told me to.” To reject Jones would mean that one had just committed such an atrocity for no justifiable reason.

Jim Jones was a lonely man who started out looking for love, learned to crave adoration, and ultimately was satisfied with nothing less than absolute control over a community of people who saw him as their savior. He led them all too effectively—to San Francisco, to Guyana, and ultimately to hell on Earth.

—*J. Justin Gustainis*

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JUSTICE

Leaders shape the course of events in just about every group context imaginable, from corporations to social organizations to religious congregations. In accomplishing their work, leaders coordinate

with other people to articulate goals, create plans, and implement strategies. Leaders thus have to create a positive work environment for others who occupy subordinate positions. To create that work environment, leaders have to ensure that all people involved are satisfied with their work environment, including the decisions made and actions taken by the leaders.

Evaluations of fairness play an important role in people's satisfaction with their circumstances. People's judgments of justice also have important implications for how they respond to situations and interactions. In order for leaders to achieve their goals, they must understand the impact of justice concerns on people's reactions to their circumstances.

BELIEF IN A JUST WORLD

People almost always work with assumptions of justice, even when they do not explicitly articulate justice principles in a particular context. The social psychologist Melvin Lerner (1980) proposes that people experience a “justice motive,” which he describes as a need or desire for justice, the concern with “deserving” and justice, and the distress associated with inequity or injustice.

Lerner argues that people believe that the world is fair or just and apply this belief to their perceptions of interactions and situations. People have this “belief in a just world” (BJW) in order to satisfy their need for orderliness and controllability.

Perceiving acts of injustice or victims of injustice violates people's sense that the world is a fair place. People will condemn victims as a defensive maneuver to protect their belief in justice. Victims are perceived as being unattractive, deserving of suffering, conforming to authority, and controlling the situation. Lerner's research has shown that even martyrs, typically held in high esteem by society, are derogated. Presumably this derogation occurs because the suffering of an innocent or nobly motivated victim would threaten one's belief in a just world.

How do people know that the derogation of victims is an indication of a need to preserve the illusion of justice and not just an indication of general misanthropy? The answer is that derogation has been

observed in research studies only when participants have no way to compensate an innocent victim. If participants are given an opportunity to help compensate a victim, they generally take the opportunity and do not derogate the victim.

Further evidence supporting Lerner's assertion that people have a need to believe in a just world has recently been produced by Canadian researcher, Carolyn Hafer. Hafer has demonstrated that participants who hear a news story about an unpunished crime are more emotionally upset than participants who hear a news story about a crime situation in which the criminal is caught and punished. Unpunished crimes violate people's sense of justice, and when people's sense of justice is violated, they experience distress.

Whereas social psychologists such as Lerner have examined the justice motive, others have considered how people arrive at judgments of justice or injustice. On what basis do people perceive injustice? Social psychologists have considered three types of principles that may be used to make judgments of fairness. These principles are distributive justice (which addresses outcomes), procedural justice (which addresses process or procedure), and retributive justice (which addresses punishing perpetrators for their wrongdoing).

DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE

When people use distributive justice norms, they interpret fairness in terms of distributions or outcomes. The most influential theory of distributive justice is equity theory. Originally proposed by J. Stacey Adams, equity theory was further developed by Elaine (Hatfield) Walster, Ellen Berscheid, and G. William Walster. Equity theory posits that people feel most comfortable in equitable or fair situations or interactions. Generally, a situation is considered equitable when people receive rewards or goods in proportion to the level of their contribution. In an equitable exchange or interaction, one person's outcomes to relative inputs are equal to the other person's outcomes to relative inputs. A person's inputs are his or her contributions to the exchange, and a person's outputs are his or her "receipts" from the

exchange. An equitable relationship is one in which profits are proportionate to inputs.

Expressed as an algebraic formula, the central proposition of equity theory is that justice is obtained when:

$$\frac{\text{Outcomes of person A}}{\text{Inputs of person A}} = \frac{\text{Outcomes of person B}}{\text{Inputs of person B}}$$

When the proportions are not equal, inequity occurs. If, for example, the ratio of outcomes to inputs is greater for A than for B, A is overbenefited, and B is underbenefited.

Equity theory proposes that inequitable relationships arouse tension or distress, which in turn produce emotional responses, both in those who overbenefit (exploiters) and those who underbenefit (the exploited). Emotional responses such as guilt, shame, and fear are felt by the overbenefited. The underbenefited experience emotional responses such as anger, frustration, and dissatisfaction. According to Walster, Berscheid, and Walster, emotional reactions to inequity are more likely to occur among underbenefited people than among overbenefited people. Of course, different people may have different assessments of who is overbenefited or underbenefited depending on what they count as legitimate inputs and valued outcomes.

To reduce their distress over an inequitable situation, people are motivated to eliminate the inequity, either in actuality or in their perceptions. Inequity may be reduced in a number of ways. First, people can increase or decrease their own inputs or outcomes. For example, the worker who feels that he is working harder than the woman next to him may slow down the pace of his work in order to restore equity. Second, people can attempt to increase or decrease the other person's inputs or outcomes. The dissatisfied worker might steal money from the woman whom he sees as too highly compensated, or he may throw obstacles in her way as she goes about her job. Third, people can cognitively distort their inputs and outcomes. The worker might convince himself that he is not working very hard or is not very talented, or he might convince himself that he is gaining a lot of non-material benefits (e.g., great experience). Fourth,

people can cognitively distort the inputs or outputs of the comparison person. Finally, people can “leave the field.” The worker who feels inequitably treated might quit his or her job.

Although equity theory has been extremely influential in social psychology, it has not escaped criticism. One serious problem, according to Morton Deutsch, is the implication that all interactions among people are exchanges characterized in terms of inputs and outcomes. Deutsch points out that equity applies mostly to business or impersonal relationships. Other norms of distributive justice, such as equality or need, seem to be used in relationships outside the contexts of business. Some evidence from surveys and experiments indicates that equity may not be the central consideration when people make justice judgments about close interpersonal relationships.

PROCEDURAL JUSTICE

Starting with the 1975 publication of John Thibaut and Laurens Walker’s landmark book *Procedural Justice: A Psychological Analysis*, social psychologists have recognized that individuals care not only about distribution or outcomes, but also about the procedures by which outcomes are derived. Procedural justice theories hypothesize that people will find a negative or undesirable outcome acceptable if it is achieved through fair procedures and that people will find an objectively positive outcome unacceptable if it is achieved through unfair procedures. One aspect of what constitutes fair procedures is the opportunity to express one’s point of view.

Initial research on procedural justice developed out of Thibaut and Walker’s (1975) examination of third-party decisions in conflict situations. Subsequent work has found judgments of procedural fairness to be important in a variety of contexts, such as the law, politics, education, and business. Judgments of procedural justice have important implications for people’s reactions to situations or interactions. For example, people’s judgments of procedural fairness in legal procedures affect their willingness to accept decisions more than does the actual outcome of the legal procedures. Research reveals that people’s perceptions of group authorities, institutions, and rules

are influenced by procedural justice judgments. Judgments of procedural justice have also been found to (1) enhance feelings of loyalty to organizations, (2) enhance willingness to help organizations, (3) enhance one’s commitment to one’s organization, and (4) affect reactions to overall organizational rules. In business contexts people adhere to agreements over time if they feel that the initial decision is procedurally fair.

One important question to be addressed is why people care about procedures. Thibaut and Walker argue that procedures matter because they permit people to feel that they can help mold outcomes. In this view people care about procedures because, in the long run, procedures affect outcomes.

Another possibility is that people care about procedures for expressive or noninstrumental reasons. Working in concert with a number of other collaborators, Tom Tyler has developed a relational model of procedural justice. Tyler’s relational model posits that people want to feel that they are valued members of respected groups. Being well treated by authorities communicates respect.

Consistent with the relational model of procedural justice is the finding that the opportunity to express one’s opinion makes people feel that procedures are fair even when the opportunity for expression comes *after* a decision has been made. If procedural fairness mattered only for instrumental reasons, such a finding would not have been obtained. More support for the group value model of procedural justice comes from the finding that explanations help people cope with disappointing events. In one study Jerald Greenberg recorded the amount of sabotage and resignations that occurred in industrial plants that faced pay decreases. In the plant where management respectfully explained the reasons for the decreases and apologized for them, sabotage and resignations were much less pronounced than in the plant where management gave a curt announcement.

Although procedural justice concerns matter in many situations, in some situations people’s justice judgments do not depend on whether or not they assess procedures as being fair. For some issues, some people have what Linda Skitka calls “moral

mandates” by which they feel strongly about the issues regardless of the situation. Consider a person who has a moral mandate stating that abortion is wrong. For such a person, learning that the Supreme Court had followed all the proper procedures in determining that abortion is a woman’s right does nothing to change the person’s condemnation of the court’s decision.

RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE

Although retribution, revenge, and compensation are basic and pervasive justice reactions evident in even the most ancient civilizations, until recently social scientists have paid less attention to the dynamics of corrective justice than to distributive or procedural justice. Much of the research in the area of social justice borrows from the civil and criminal justice literature in the United States. Although justice researchers recognize that jurisprudence is culturally determined, they also assume the existence of some general moral imperatives.

When a wrong occurs, society sometimes reacts by focusing on the victim and sometimes reacts by focusing on the perpetrator. In the former situation the overarching concern is to make the victim whole in the sense of restoring or compensating for what has been lost. Based on the extent of “damages” suffered and “pain and suffering,” the compensation due to the victim varies. New legal conventions, such as the “victim impact statement,” aim to restore dignity and value to the victim by giving the victim voice, an important element of procedural justice.

Sometimes the overarching concern after a wrong is to punish the perpetrator. The impulse to punish is a manifestation of moral condemnation. When one does not adhere to societal rules, others feel contempt, disgust, and (most commonly) anger—which lead to moral outrage and a concern for retribution. Retribution is a “passionate reaction” to the violation of a societal rules, norms, or laws.

Punishment of the rule violator serves several purposes. Some punishment is aimed at incapacitating the perpetrator so that he or she cannot commit future harmful acts. In most cases punishment also serves to vindicate societal rules, to legitimate group norms,

and to restore homeostasis (reducing negative emotion and cognitions). Oftentimes perpetrators are demonized. Such demonization helps members of society convince themselves that the perpetrators lie outside the scope of their own moral community and thereby bolsters any threatened beliefs in the just world.

Many factors affect the extent to which perpetrators are punished for violating societal rules. The seriousness of the crime (i.e., nature of the offense) is associated with applicable punishment. The state of mind of the perpetrator and mitigating circumstances also affect the extent to which punishment is prescribed. Perpetrators tend to be punished more if the act was seen as reckless rather than negligent, if the act was seen as foreseeable and intentional rather than unforeseeable, and if there was evidence of a desired outcome and knowledge that the outcome was morally wrong. Perpetrators are punished less if they express remorse and offer confessions and apologies for their actions.

CONCLUSIONS FROM JUSTICE RESEARCH

Social psychological research has demonstrated that people care about justice and wish to believe that the world is a just or fair place. People can use three types of principles—distributive, procedural, and retributive—to determine whether a situation or interaction is just. Ample support exists for each of these principles to be used in judgments of justice, and the particular context may determine which principle(s) people use. For instance, when people wish to gain a certain outcome, they are likely to use the principle of distributive justice to evaluate the situation or interaction. If people’s relationship to a decision maker is most salient, however, they will probably use the principle of procedural justice to determine whether the situation is fair. Finally, if the context includes the perpetrator of an illegitimate harm, people will probably use the principle of retributive justice to evaluate the interaction.

IMPLICATIONS FOR LEADERS

The social psychological literature on social justice has at least two significant implications for leaders.

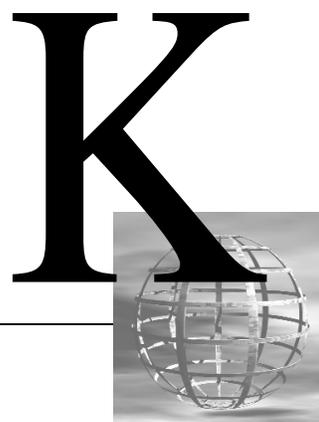
First, leaders must recognize that justice is an important concept in people's everyday lives. The fact that people would like to view the world as a just place suggests that leaders must ensure that the environments they set up for others should be (perceived as) fair. For instance, the policies and practices that govern the particular organization or workplace should be seen as legitimate, and the leader's actions and decisions should also be viewed as fair.

Second, leaders must be aware that different principles may be used to determine whether a situation or interaction is fair. They need to use the principles of distributive and procedural justice in making a situation or decision fair. Leaders should not only ensure that they apply the rules of equity in determining rewards and punishments, but also establish good relationships with everyone they work with. Only when their interactions are characterized by trust, respect, and neutrality will others perceive the leaders' decisions and actions as procedurally just.

—Aarti Iyer, Jamie L. Franco,
and Faye J. Crosby

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 **KENNEDY, JOHN F.**
(1917–1963)

President of the United States

Forty years after his assassination in Dallas on November 22, 1963, John F. Kennedy is still one of the most admired of all presidents of the United States. His popularity among the public is higher than his rating among historians. Kennedy is generally rated as an above average president, but is not among the greats or near greats. Who was John F. Kennedy, why is he so admired by so many people, and why is he regarded less highly by historians than by the public? Kennedy's charm, eloquence, wit, and handsome, youthful appearance combined to create an unusual charisma. But the specific, tangible accomplishments of his administration did not meet the promise and expectations that he created.

John F. Kennedy (JFK) was born outside Boston, Massachusetts, on May 29, 1917. His parents came from prominent Irish Catholic Boston families. His father, Joseph Patrick Kennedy, was the son of a successful saloon keeper and one-time state senator, Patrick Kennedy. Joe Kennedy showed unusual aptitude for business and banking, graduated from Harvard in 1912, and made a large fortune in shipping, liquor, and stock trading in the years before the Great Depression, which began in 1929. His business acumen made him a powerful figure in film making and

in politics. He was appointed first chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) in 1934 by President Franklin Roosevelt and ambassador to Great Britain before the outbreak of World War II. JFK's mother, Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy, came from a more established Boston Irish family, and a highly political one. Rose's father was John F. "Honey Fitz" Fitzgerald, a mayor of Boston and U.S. congressman, and one time political rival of Patrick Kennedy. Honey Fitz was not happy when his daughter Rose fell in love with Joe Kennedy, but he did not stand in the way of her marrying Joe.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy, called Jack by his family and friends, was Rose and Joe's second child. An older brother, Joseph P. Kennedy Jr., was born in 1915. Joe and Jack were followed by seven other Kennedy children, five sisters and two brothers. Joe was robust, popular, and successful. Jack was less robust than Joe, and he had numerous illnesses as a child and throughout his life. Jack followed Joe to Choate, a private school, and then to Harvard, but was constantly overshadowed by his older brother. Joe was the more conventional, authority-oriented brother. Jack was casual in the way he approached almost everything. But Jack got serious during his last year at Harvard and wrote an honors thesis that was soon published as a best-selling book. Called *Why England Slept*, it analyzed the reasons that the British ignored the growing threat of Adolf Hitler

and failed to take action to stop him before he catapulted Europe into World War II in 1939. Jack Kennedy showed intelligence and talent when he chose to work hard. Still, Joe was clearly the favorite son and was being groomed by his father to run for president of the United States. Meanwhile, Jack considered a career in journalism.

KENNEDY ENTERS POLITICS

World War II changed things. In 1943, Jack served in the Navy in the Pacific, commanding at a small patrol boat, PT 109. On a risky night mission, his boat was cut in two by a Japanese destroyer. Two men were killed, but Kennedy rescued most of the crew and led them to a small island, swimming with a seriously wounded man for more than five hours, using his teeth to hold on to the wounded man's life jacket. Jack was also wounded and returned to America as a war hero. For the first time, Jack drew more attention than Joe. Perhaps to equal or best his brother, Joe undertook risky flying missions in Europe and was killed when his plane exploded over the English Channel in 1944. That left Jack as the brother to enter politics.

At his father's urging, Jack jumped into a race for Congress in 1946. He was easily elected at the age of twenty-nine. He was a shy, thin, and unhealthy young veteran, but his smile, charm, and optimism—and his family wealth and connections—propelled him into office. Kennedy entered Congress with a large class of new representatives, including another Navy man, Richard M. Nixon of California. Kennedy was an indifferent congressman, regarded by many as a lightweight playboy. But Kennedy did take a special interest in legislation protecting or extending the programs of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, particularly that which advanced the interests of labor and the poor.

After three terms in the House of Representatives, Kennedy took a large political risk. He challenged the incumbent, Henry Cabot Lodge, for one of the two Senate seats from Massachusetts. Lodge was campaign manager for Republican presidential candidate Dwight D. Eisenhower and took JFK lightly. Even with Lodge distracted, few gave Kennedy

much chance of winning. But Kennedy made good use of two resources: his family and the new medium of television. Kennedy's mother, three of his sisters (Eunice, Pat, and Jean), and his two brothers (Robert, or Bobby, and Edward, or Ted) campaigned around the state. Coffees arranged for female voters seemed to be particularly effective in promoting the handsome congressman. In addition, Kennedy did some campaigning on television. His father had been active in Hollywood in the 1930s and understood the potential power of visual images. Kennedy upset Lodge and won a narrow victory.

During his first year in the Senate, Kennedy married Jacqueline Bouvier. They had four children, but only two, Caroline and John Jr., lived past infancy. In 1954, Kennedy's back problems, exacerbated by his war heroics, required that he undergo surgery twice. It was not clear that Kennedy would survive the ordeal. At one point he was given the last rites of the Catholic Church. However, he put his convalescence to good use and, with the collaboration of his speechwriter and close adviser, Theodore Sorenson, he wrote the Pulitzer Prize-winning book *Profiles in Courage*. Kennedy's intelligence and attractiveness made him a serious contender for the vice presidential nomination with Adlai Stevenson in 1956. Although he lost that contest, his appeal immediately made him a potential presidential candidate for 1960.

After winning an overwhelming reelection to the Senate in 1958, Kennedy began campaigning for president in earnest. His opponents for the Democratic presidential nomination included two other extremely formidable senators, Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota and Lyndon Johnson of Texas. Kennedy won two critical primaries against Humphrey and went on to win nomination for president, just barely, on the first ballot of the Democratic convention. He made an entirely unexpected choice for his running mate, Senator Lyndon Johnson. Johnson's campaigning in the South, especially Texas, was crucial to Kennedy's narrow victory over the Republican candidate, incumbent Vice President Richard Nixon.

Kennedy believed that the key to victory was television. He told his press secretary after the election, "We wouldn't have had a prayer without that

gadget” (Gergen 2000, 213). Most important were four televised debates between Nixon and Kennedy. Nixon was far better known than Kennedy and was ahead in polls before the debates started. The first debate gave Kennedy the opportunity he needed to show that he was intellectually capable of handling the presidency. But it was his appearance that won the day for him. Studies of the debates indicate that Kennedy did better among television viewers than Nixon, who did better among radio listeners. People liked what they saw when Kennedy appeared on television (McLuhan 1964).

THE NEW FRONTIER

The Kennedy Administration, dubbed the “New Frontier,” lasted less than three years. The world, the country, and Kennedy changed during that short period. Kennedy had an intimidating foreign adversary in Premier Nikita Khrushchev of the Soviet Union. When they met in Vienna in June 1961, in the wake of the Bay of Pigs fiasco of April 1961, Khrushchev successfully bullied Kennedy, who seemed unprepared to enter into tough negotiations with Khrushchev. Khrushchev came away from their summit meeting with an unfavorable impression of the “weak” American president. In August 1961, the Soviets built the Berlin Wall between the eastern and western parts of that already divided city. Believing that he could further change the dynamics of the Cold War in his favor, he authorized the placement of offensive nuclear missiles in Cuba. When the secretly placed missiles were discovered in October 1962, Kennedy demanded their removal and instituted a naval blockade of Soviet ships heading toward Cuba. The world narrowly avoided nuclear war thanks to the good sense and restraint that both Kennedy and Khrushchev showed in resolving the crisis. While Kennedy’s handling of the Cuban missile crisis is often cited as exemplary foreign affairs leadership, recent scholarship shows that luck played a large part in avoiding war. Nevertheless, the successful resolution of the crisis led both Kennedy and Khrushchev to greater mutual respect and an easing of tensions, culminating in a nuclear test ban treaty in 1963. In this domain, Kennedy’s leadership in foreign affairs was

Leadership and learning are indispensable to each other.

—John F. Kennedy

successful. At the same time, the United States was getting more deeply involved in Vietnam. One of the unanswered questions about Kennedy’s presidency is whether he would have avoided the war into which his successor, Lyndon Johnson, led the nation during his own term as president.

On the domestic front, Kennedy’s economic policies are generally regarded as successes. However, two of Kennedy’s main legislative initiatives, a strong civil rights bill and a tax cut, were stalled in Congress. After Kennedy’s death, President Johnson managed to pass both, to the benefit of the country. Perhaps Kennedy’s most important domestic accomplishments were symbolic rather than substantive. His charismatic style was inspirational to a whole generation of young people who responded to his charm and wit. His inaugural address, drafted by Theodore Sorenson, contains the oft-quoted challenge “Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country.” Kennedy also spoke of the challenge of defending freedom: “The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.” One of the initiatives at the start of Kennedy’s administration was the Peace Corps, a program through which young people, and older people, could volunteer to work in a foreign country, in areas like health care, farming, and education, helping the host country build more stable institutions.

Kennedy’s style and charisma were felt beyond the borders of the United States. In 1963, memorable visits to Ireland and then to Berlin demonstrated the willingness of people in many countries to join Kennedy and the United States in trying to improve the world. As Kennedy said in his well-known American University speech in 1963, “For in the final analysis we all inhabit this small planet. We all breathe the same air. We all cherish our children’s future. And we are all mortal.”

John F. Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963. A lone gunman, Lee Harvey Oswald, was implicated in the shooting and was himself murdered while in police custody. (In 1979, a House committee released a report, saying that Kennedy was probably killed by Oswald in a “conspiracy” with others.)

THE KENNEDY LEGACY

It is impossible to know how he might be rated by historians had he lived and perhaps served a second term. Why is Kennedy not rated as highly by historians as he is by the public? Among the reasons are early foreign policy mistakes, initial timidity in dealing with civil rights, and an inability to get his legislative agenda through Congress. But his ability to mobilize people toward unselfish goals and active engagement continue to inspire those who experienced his leadership. As with other presidents, including those as distant as the first three, George Washington, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson, new scholarship raises and lowers historical reputations. A 2003 biography by Robert Dallek raised Kennedy’s to some degree. Dallek underlines the courage that Kennedy demonstrated in performing the duties of his office while fighting illness and intense pain. In contrast to historical evaluations, the appraisal of the public seems quite stable. Millions admired Kennedy and they know why. At present students of leadership can read, remember, if they are of the Kennedy “generation,” and form their own judgments.

—George R. Goethals

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KENYATTA, JOMO (1891?–1978)

*First prime minister and president
of the Republic of Kenya*

Jomo Kenyatta was an integral part of Kenya’s long struggle to break free of colonization. A member of Kenya’s largest tribe, the Kikuyu, he was born in the last decade of the nineteenth century into a country devastated not only by the introduction of British colonialism, but also by a series of natural disasters, including disease, famine, and swarms of locusts. He rose to prominence as part of a group of young, educated Africans who sought the return of tribal lands from British settler groups. Kenyatta appealed to the British Colonial Office in 1928 for land reform in Kenya and spent the following fifteen years in Europe fighting for the independence of Kenya and other African nations and advancing his education. Upon his return to Kenya in 1946, he was accepted as a national leader. A few years later he was arrested and imprisoned by the British, who met the militant anti-colonialist uprisings throughout Kenya by declaring a state of emergency. Following his release in 1961, Kenyatta worked to craft a new constitution for an independent Kenya. He became prime minister in 1963 and president in 1964. He remained in office until his death in 1978, devoting his energies to the development of his country’s social and economic stability.

In many respects, Kenyatta’s leadership resembled that of Mohandas Gandhi, Kwame Nkrumah, and Frantz Fanon, men who inspired loyal followers and sought to break the grip of colonialism and exploitation in their countries. He worked to reconcile African cultural traditions with Western advances in agriculture and commerce and to transform his country from an environment of colonial rule to that of a self-determined independent nation.

PREPARING FOR PROMINENCE

In 1909, Kenyatta became ill, and his mother brought him for treatment to the Church of Scotland mission school at Thogoto, where he learned basic academics and was trained in carpentry. In 1914, the year after he received his Kikuyu initiation rites, he took his Christian baptism as Johnstone Kamau. However, in spite of the colonial education he received in Thogoto, which according to scholars “[destroyed] self-confidence and creativity in Africans by placing Europe in the center of its instructional objectives” (Aseka 1992, 8), his connection to his tribal heritage remained important to him throughout his lifetime.

After five years at the mission school, he left for Nairobi, the place where young, educated Kenyan Africans went to make their mark. It was here that he first exhibited two important attributes of his leadership—adherence to his principles and a powerful personality. He steadfastly refused to shift his focus from scholarship and carpentry to masonry (considered a lesser trade) when directed to do so by school administrators. He took a job as a store clerk and renamed himself, changing his name from Kamau, his birth name, to Kenyatta (Kikuyu for a type of beaded belt). Later he would change his Christian name, Johnstone, to Jomo (Kikuyu for burning spear). His political ascent began in 1924 when he joined the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), part of a protest movement organized against the increasingly restrictive legislative acts imposed by the colonial government. The British had achieved control of Kenya through a series of legal maneuverings. Kenya’s traditional governance had been mostly by councils of elders, age groups sets (a system of lifetime education that defines age groups and the specific responsibilities to society that apply to each), and tribal chiefs from its more than forty tribal and seventy ethnic groups. However, in 1888 the Imperial British East Africa Company was given a charter that authorized a monopoly of trade, in 1895 the British East African Protectorate was formed, and by 1920, the protectorate had been redefined as the Kenya Colony and Protectorate. These measures severely limited economic opportunity for Africans

while enhancing the resources of the white settlers. They enabled white settlers to exercise control over commerce, law-making, and governmental affairs and to push native Africans into concentrated areas of land.

A PAN-AFRICANIST IN EUROPE

His political ascent began when he joined the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA). In four years, Kenyatta had emerged as a leader, founded the first Kikuyu language newspaper, *Muigwithania* (Kikuyu for reconciler or conciliator), and was elected to the full-time post of general secretary of KCA. In these roles, he advanced tribal unity and self-advancement. In 1928, he traveled to London to advance the KCA’s objectives: the return of land lost to European settlers, political representation, and government-financed education. Although he was unsuccessful in getting an audience with the colonial secretary, in part because KCA was not recognized as the official voice of the Kikuyu, he established many valuable friendships with liberals, left-wing radicals, and Pan-Africanists who shared his anti-colonialist convictions, and he wrote forcefully for various journals of the liberal press, as well as communist journals, about the injustices that he and other native Africans encountered back home.

After a brief visit to Kenya in 1930, he returned to London, and for the next fifteen years, he traveled, studied, and worked unceasingly to get Kenya’s problems a better hearing in Europe. Although he struggled intermittently with poverty and illness, he studied at Woodbridge College, a Quaker school in Birmingham (1931–32); Moscow University (1932–33); and the London School of Economics (1934–37), where he studied under the noted British anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski. He wrote and lectured extensively on the negative impact of British colonialism, and in 1938 he published *Facing Mount Kenya*, the first serious study of African culture and society in Kenya. He helped organize the fifth Pan-African Congress, “Africa for Africans,” held in Manchester, Great Britain, in 1945, which was attended by many important leaders including Harold Arundel (League of Colored People), W. E. B. Du Bois



Jomo Kenyatta at a victory celebration on 28 May 1963 in Nairobi after his Kenya African National Union party takes 62 of 112 seats in the parliamentary elections.

Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

(National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), George Padmore (West Indies), and Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana). In the 1960s, young black power advocates in the United States would be inspired by these remarkable leaders.

RETURN TO KENYA

By the time he returned to Kenya in September 1946, Jomo Kenyatta was a formidable voice for a unified Kenya. Between 1946 and 1947, he led the Independent Teachers College at Githunguri and in 1947 he was elected president of the Kenya Africa Union, an intertribal party that had been organized in 1944.

But the Kenya to which Kenyatta returned had degenerated: Economic conditions had deteriorated during and after World War II, the forms of colonial control had worsened, and more militant groups had arisen. Kenyatta and other elders found themselves losing control over these younger, more militant factions. The older moderates pushed for constitutional ways to regain their sovereignty while the young militants felt that violence was the only vehicle that could restore both their land and their manhood. In this they were supported by Frantz Fanon, a black psychiatrist and revolutionary born in the French Antilles, who argued in his powerful writings that

colonization was violence and that therefore violence was necessary to free the native from his learned inferiority and subjugation.

One of the more militant groups was the Mau Mau, a secret group of primarily Kikuyu bound by oath to force the expulsion of white settlers and of the African chiefs the Mau Mau viewed as collaborators. The Mau Mau were responsible for murders, attacks on European farms and churches, and the assassination of a senior Kikuyu chief in broad daylight. On October 20, 1952, Sir Evelyn Baring, the new governor, declared a state of emergency and signed orders for the arrest of 183 Africans, including Kenyatta and five other KAU leaders. These six men were charged with “managing Mau Mau.” Their trial began in November 1952, and on April 8, 1953, they were found guilty. The maximum sentences were imposed, concurrent sentences of seven years and three years of hard labor with indefinite restriction in a remote area to follow imprisonment. Kenyatta remarked at their trial, “We know pretty well that the reason for our arrest was not Mau Mau, but because we were going ahead uniting our people to demand our rights.” (Kenyatta 1968, 57). During the state of emergency, 13,000 Kikuyu were killed and 80,000 imprisoned while only an estimated 32 Europeans were killed. British authorities destroyed Kikuyu crops, confiscated cattle, burned property, and relocated Africans en masse.

Kenyatta was confined to Lokitaung prison on the northern frontier, but because of his age and declining health, he was spared hard labor and allowed to continue his study of Buddhism, Confucianism, and the Hindu ideal of nonviolence. During his imprisonment his stature continued to rise, and he became a symbol for an independent Kenya; he was especially encouraged by Ghana’s independence in 1957. His imprisonment ended in April 1959 with his transfer to Lodwar under indefinite restrictions. The following year he was elected president in absentia by the newly formed Kenya African National Union (KANU), which would become the strongest party in the Kenya Legislative Council.

By 1961, considerable pressure had been mounted in London and across Africa for Kenyatta’s release. Nationwide elections were scheduled for Kenya, and

both major parties made it clear that there could be no stability without Kenyatta. In his first press conference following his imprisonment, he addressed many issues, including his status as a restricted person, political freedom for Kenya's Africans, and the continued importance of land reform. His comments on leadership were very instructive: "It is not for him to decide whether he would be Chief Minister or anything else when he was free. It was for his people to decide what they wanted him to be" (Kenyatta 1968, 124). In August 1961, Kenyatta was released without further restrictions.

POST-COLONIAL KENYA

As KANU's president, Kenyatta's goal was to establish himself as acceptable to all Kenyans and to set aside their fears of colonial officials and European settlers. He helped to write Kenya's new constitution, and in May 1963, as a result of Kenya's first fully franchised elections, he became prime minister. The country attained its independence on December 12, 1963, and a year later it became a republic of the British Commonwealth. Kenyatta was elected its first president.

Guiding an independent Kenya toward economic and social stability was a huge undertaking. Kenya and other post-colonial nations found themselves adrift in confusion and despair. Tribal and ethnic differences magnified the lack of an educated electorate, the lack of political institutions, and the lack of the operating systems necessary to run a free nation. As president, Kenyatta recognized that his country's progress must be a shared responsibility. Just as Gandhi appealed to colonizers and subjects as human beings, Kenyatta set forth the Swahili cry "Harambee" (all pull together) as his unifying theme. He steered his nation's people—Africans, Indians and Europeans—toward hard work, patience, and planning. He aimed to revolutionize Kenya's approach to agriculture and to help the country grow an industrial base by building infrastructure and attracting foreign investment. He oversaw the creation of over five thousand self-help groups (local and regional groups of Kenyans, guided by principles of self-determination, who took part in the

rebuilding of Kenya) who built roads, schools, and hospitals.

Following an upsurge of tribal violence and the assassination of a cabinet minister, Kenyatta exercised his presidential powers to rule Kenya as a one-party state in order to preserve stability. Affectionately known to Kenyans as "Mzee" (a Swahili title of honor meaning old man), he was reelected, unopposed, in 1969 and 1974. But even during these difficult times, he never failed to find strength in his African roots: "My works and my beliefs have always been in service to the people . . . understanding the tempo and the tribulations of their lives. . . . They know me best as I have always been: as one of them"(Kenyatta 1968, x).

Kenyatta's life is so interwoven with Kenya's struggle for independence that to speak of one is to speak of the other. At the time of his death in 1978, he is said to have asked his wife, "Is there anything I have not done?" (Aseka 1992) An innovative leader who encouraged his followers to struggle against colonialism to reassert basic rights for their people, his life and his work inspired Africans, not only in Kenya, but across the whole of Africa and the African Diaspora. His funeral was attended by dignitaries from all over the world.

—Harry Alston Jr.

See also Mau Mau Rebellion

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🌐 **KING, BILLIE JEAN** (b. 1943)
*U.S. tennis champion and leader
 in the women's sport movement*

Billie Jean Moffitt King has led by example as she has pioneered women's tennis and the women's sport movement into the twentieth century. She leads with energy and a sense of urgency to fulfill a destiny to work for gender equity and for social change.

Born Billie Jean Moffitt, King began her tennis career at age eleven in the public parks of Long Beach, California, telling her mother, "I am going to be number one in the world." To help pay for tennis equipment and excursions to tournaments, her mother went to work, and her father (a firefighter) took a second job. From this beginning in the tennis world, Billie Jean King resented the old-fashioned image of tennis as a pastime of the rich. In 1967, she



In an event of great symbolic importance to the women's sports movement, Billie Jean King shakes hands with Bobby Riggs after defeating him in the so-called Battle of the Sexes in Houston on 20 September 1973.

Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

spoke out against the United States Lawn Tennis Association's (USLTA) practice of "shamateurism"—paying top amateur players under the table so that they could afford the expenses of participating in USLTA-sponsored amateur tournaments. King felt that the practice was corrupt and held tennis back by preventing the professionalization of the game. She led tennis into a more honest era in 1968 when promoters agreed to allow professionals and amateurs to compete against each other in tournaments.

KING'S LEADERSHIP MILESTONES

Throughout her career, King has been a strong and, some would say, natural leader—pressing the margins for social justice in sports.

The "Battle of the Sexes"

Billie Jean King was celebrated by women everywhere when she won the "battle of the sexes" match against Bobby Riggs in 1973. Riggs, a tennis champion in the late 1930s and 1940s, had been critical of the quality of women tennis players. He had tried many times to get King to compete against him, and she had turned him down, saying that she was devoting all of her time and energy to promoting the new Virginia Slims Tour. Much to King's surprise, Margaret Court, the top-ranked women's player in the world, agreed to play Bobby Riggs in May 1973, and Riggs beat Court with ease. King then took Riggs up on his challenge to play a match, which turned out to be an event that created significant social change. The pre-match publicity was intensive, with Riggs sporting a "chauvinist pig" T-shirt in practice sessions and announcing, "If I am to be a chauvinist pig, I want to be the number one pig" On 20 September 1973, the match was held in the Houston Astrodome. King, then twenty-nine years old, ran the fifty-five-year-old Bobby Riggs ragged, winning the match, 6–4, 6–3, 6–3. The *London Sunday Times* called the match "the drop shot and volley heard around the world." the match itself and King's victory over Bobby Riggs came to symbolize women's struggle for equality in the 1970s

Creating Greater Opportunities for Women in Tennis

After decades of male domination in tennis, King decided to put her energy and creativity into the founding of a women's tennis tour. She led the boycott of tournaments where the ratio of prize money was 12:1, men to women, and in 1970 the Virginia Slims Women's Tennis tour was launched. In April 1973, the International Lawn Tennis Association (counterpart of the Men's Association of Tennis Professionals) declared that the women players must either submit to their national association or be banned from the Grand Slam tournaments (e.g., Wimbledon, the U.S. Open) forever. The furor over this mandate forced the groups to compromise and merge under the USLTA. King was not satisfied with the merger and recognized a need for the women of professional tennis to form a group that would improve the conditions of their profession, speak out in the players' interest, and continue to carry the torch for women's tennis rights. In June of 1973, the Women's Tennis Association (WTA) was formed. Sixty-four of the top ranked female players in the world voted for Billie Jean King as WTA president.

Expanding Opportunities for Coed Tennis

In 1974, King founded World Team Tennis with husband Larry King. World Team Tennis (WTT) has been an innovative coed tennis league designed to show young people that men and women can play together, cooperate on the court, and work together to win. King was the first woman to coach a coed team, the Philadelphia Freedoms. The popular 1975 Elton John song "Philadelphia Freedom" was inspired by the pop star's friendship with King, and the song has become the theme for that WTT franchise. Always creating new ways to promote tennis, King successfully led the negotiations to start a cable tennis channel that began in 2003.

Civil and Gay Rights Activism

In 1981, Billie Jean King's ten-year-long affair with hairdresser Marilyn Barnett came to light in a pal-

A lot of women weren't raised with the idea that competing was something they should do. Along came Billie Jean, just at the moment when a lot of the rhetoric of the women's movement was really meeting reality.

—Hillary Clinton

imony suit brought by Barnett. During the highly publicized case, King became the first American athlete to acknowledge a homosexual relationship. Although Marilyn Barnett lost the suit, King estimated the episode cost her and her husband (they were later divorced) millions in endorsements. King went on to champion civil and gay rights causes in Chicago where she lives, and in 1998, she established the Billie Jean King Foundation to fund projects that reflect or promote equal opportunity for all, with a special emphasis on ensuring the rights of gay and lesbian youth.

KING'S CONTINUING LEADERSHIP AND LEGACY

During and after her career as a player (King retired from competitive tennis in 1984), Billie Jean King has been an author, commentator, promoter, coach, and activist. In 1974, she founded *WomenSports* magazine and started the Women's Sports Foundation, an organization dedicated to promoting and enhancing athletic opportunities for girls and women. King coached and captained the U.S. Federation Cup in the late 1990s, and she coached the U.S. Olympic Gold-medal-winning tennis teams in 1999 in Atlanta and in 2000 in Sydney.

Billie Jean King has been celebrated by *Life* magazine as one of the 100 most important Americans of the twentieth century. She won twenty Wimbledon titles and seventy-one singles titles, and she was the first woman athlete to win more than \$100,000 in a single season in any sport. She is one of a very select few to have won a singles title in each of the four Grand Slam Tournaments.

King has also won many awards through the years for her leadership in sports and human rights causes, including the International Olympic Com-

mittee Women and Sport Trophy in 2002 for her work as “an advocate for women’s rights, within and outside sport.”

With her energetic and flamboyant style on and off the court and tireless efforts on behalf of women in the sports world and in society, Billie Jean King has been a highly significant leader in the cause of women’s tennis and in the fight for equality and social justice.

—Christine Shelton

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KING, MARTIN LUTHER, JR. (1929–1968)

U.S. civil rights leader

In presenting Martin Luther King Jr. with the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964, Gunnar Jahn, chairman of the Nobel Committee, stated, “He is the first person in the Western world to have shown us that a struggle can be waged without violence. He is the first to

make the message of brotherly love a reality in the course of his struggle, and he has brought this message to all men, to all nations and races” (Nobel Peace Prize 1964, para. 59). King’s leadership during the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s was crucial to passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act, and he remains the figure most identified with the struggles and achievements of the civil rights movement.

FAMILY BACKGROUND

As far back as Martin Luther King Jr.’s family memory extended, it recalled a history of Afro-Baptist leadership. His maternal great-grandfather, Willie Williams, was a slave exhorter (a preacher who tried to sustain slaves with Biblical exhortations) on a plantation in Greene County, Georgia. Claiming a birthright to freedom, his son, Adam, celebrated the day of his emancipation, 1 January 1863, as his birthday. Adam Daniel Williams had only a few months of formal education when he left the plantations of east Georgia in 1887 for Atlanta. There, he became the pastor of a small congregation, Ebenezer Baptist Church, earned a ministerial certificate from Morehouse College, and married an alumna of Spelman College. Williams nurtured a growing congregation through Atlanta’s race riot of 1906 and the great fire of 1917, served as president of the city’s branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and built a significant church building on Auburn Avenue. At his death, Williams was succeeded as pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church by his son-in-law, Martin Luther King Sr.

Leadership was not inherited, however, in Martin Luther King Sr.’s own family line. He came from a family as broken by slavery’s cruel legacy as any. His abusive, alcoholic father was probably the child of a white male and a woman of color. His mother was born to one of several women claimed by her rough-hewn father. Martin Luther King Sr. resolved to be more than his father and grandfathers had been, to leave a different legacy for his children. He did so by marrying Williams’s only daughter, getting an education, and inheriting his father-in-law’s pulpit. In the bottom of the Great Depression, Ebenezer

Baptist Church faced the possibility of a bank's foreclosing on the mortgage. King Sr. nurtured a congregation of respectable working-class people, many of whom were women who worked six and a half days a week in the homes of Atlanta's white folk.

Born on 16 January 1929, Martin Luther King Jr. was the second of three children born to the Reverend Martin Luther King, Sr. and Alberta Williams King. While Martin Luther King Jr. was a child, his father paid off the church's mortgage, encouraged his people to look to each other for goods and services, and became a leader in black Atlanta's religious and civic affairs. Thus, young King knew his father as a leader in efforts to increase black voter registration and win pay equity for black public school teachers in Atlanta.

EDUCATION

The earliest sign of Martin Luther King Jr.'s own potential for leadership was winning a local oratorical contest in which he spoke on "The Negro and the Constitution." At the same time, however, his parents' ambition for young King may have inhibited his early experience of leadership. Through grade school and high school, he was advanced three times beyond his age peers, so that he entered Atlanta's Morehouse College at fifteen. Commuting across town from home, King earned mediocre grades. He was only nineteen when he graduated in 1948, with a class that included both early admissions students like himself and veterans whose education had been interrupted by World War II. Already ordained in the Baptist ministry, he had begun years of listening and learning—from his father, from Morehouse president Benjamin Mays, and many others—how to preach, what worked and what did not work in a pulpit.

In 1948, King left Atlanta for six years in northern, predominantly white schools. His three years at Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, and three years at Boston University's Graduate School of Theology produced the first real signs of King's leadership among his fellow students. At Crozer, a predominantly white student body chose him as its president in his senior year. At Boston University, King organized black graduate students into

the Dialectical Society, which met periodically to hone their skills in theological discussion. Moreover, King's professors were increasingly charmed by the bright young student's capacity to repeat back to them what he knew they already believed, and his grades improved commensurately. Academically, it was a skill that shaded off into plagiarism, but rhetorically it hewed resonance with an audience's deepest beliefs to a brilliant degree.

In Boston King met Coretta Scott, from Alabama. They married in 1953 and were to have four children.

THE MONTGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT

Nearing the completion of his doctoral studies, Martin Luther King Jr. could have become a college professor or administrator. He believed his vocation was to preach, however, and in the spring of 1954 he accepted a call to become the pastor of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama. The choice of pulpit hardly anticipated leadership of mass movements, however, for Dexter Avenue was a small congregation of Montgomery's well-educated African-American elite. King spent his first eighteen months there finishing his dissertation and establishing his authority with the congregation. When the city's experienced civil rights leaders decided to launch a boycott of the city's buses in December 1955 because of a long series of abuses that culminated with Rosa Parks's refusal to give up her seat to a white passenger, he was an inexperienced but unanimous choice to become its spokesperson. Even at the boycott's beginning, King proved to be an eloquent public speaker. As a leader, he believed that its success depended on a militant nonviolence that would become a hallmark of his career.

As the boycott extended from days to weeks, local accommodation of the boycott's modest demands became increasingly unlikely. So King reached out to his networks of contacts—the National Baptist Convention, Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and centers of northern liberal sentiment—for advice and support. By March 1956, the Montgomery bus boycott won national attention and King spent increasing amounts of time away from the city to



Selection from Martin Luther King's "Letter from a Birmingham Jail"

April 16, 1963

My dear fellow clergymen:

While confined here in the Birmingham city jail, I came across your recent statement calling my present activities "unwise and untimely." Seldom do I pause to answer criticism of my work and ideas. If I sought to answer all the criticisms that cross my desk, my secretaries would have little time for anything other than such correspondence in the course of the day, and I would have no time for constructive work. But since I feel that you are men of genuine good will and that your criticisms are sincerely set forth, I want to try to answer your statements in what I hope will be patient and reasonable terms.

I think I should indicate why I am here in Birmingham, since you have been influenced by the view which argues against "outsiders coming in." I have the honor of serving as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an organization operating in every southern state, with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. We have some eighty-five affiliated organizations across the South, and one of them is the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. Frequently we share staff, educational and financial resources with our affiliates. Several months ago the affiliate here in Birmingham asked us to be on call to engage in a nonviolent direct-action program if such were deemed necessary. We readily consented, and when the hour came we lived up to our promise. So I, along with several members of my staff, am here because I was invited here I am here because I have organizational ties here.

But more basically, I am in Birmingham because injustice is here. Just as the prophets of the eighth century B.C. left their villages and carried their "thus saith the Lord" far beyond the boundaries of their home towns, and just as the Apostle Paul left his village of Tarsus and carried the gospel of Jesus Christ to the far corners of the Greco-Roman world, so am I compelled to carry the gospel of

freedom beyond my own home town. Like Paul, I must constantly respond to the Macedonian call for aid.

Moreover, I am cognizant of the interrelatedness of all communities and states. I cannot sit idly by in Atlanta and not be concerned about what happens in Birmingham. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly. Never again can we afford to live with the narrow, provincial "outside agitator" idea. Anyone who lives inside the United States can never be considered an outsider anywhere within its bounds.

You deplore the demonstrations taking place in Birmingham. But your statement, I am sorry to say, fails to express a similar concern for the conditions that brought about the demonstrations. I am sure that none of you would want to rest content with the superficial kind of social analysis that deals merely with effects and does not grapple with underlying causes. It is unfortunate that demonstrations are taking place in Birmingham, but it is even more unfortunate that the city's white power structure left the Negro community with no alternative.

In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: collection of the facts to determine whether injustices exist; negotiation; self-purification; and direct action. We have gone through [all] these steps in Birmingham. There can be no gainsaying the fact that racial injustice engulfs this community. Birmingham is probably the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States. Its ugly record of brutality is widely known. Negroes have experienced grossly unjust treatment in the courts. There have been more unsolved bombings of Negro homes and churches in Birmingham than in any other city in the nation. These are the hard, brutal facts of the case. On the basis of these conditions, Negro leaders sought to negotiate with the city fathers. But the latter consistently refused to engage in good-faith negotiation.

Source: Nobel Prize Internet Archive. Retrieved September 30, 2003, from <http://www.almaz.com/nobel/peace/MLK-jail.html>

raise moral and financial support for the local struggle. By then, he had shown a talent for leadership by gathering around him strong local leaders who could defer to his leadership in a common cause. The boycott stretched into the summer, demanding greater determination and resources to sustain it than anyone at its outset could foresee. Through a yearlong boycott, King faced only one threat to his local leader-

ship, and it quickly collapsed. In December 1956, federal courts ordered the desegregation of Montgomery's city buses.

Winning the bus boycott confirmed King's leadership on three levels. First, he had proven himself to be a powerful advocate for his cause. Better than perhaps any other spokesperson for the civil rights movement, King articulated local grievances in con-

vincing terms of national and religious values. Second, he was able to draw talented organizers of movement activity around him. However contentious their disagreements might be, they deferred to his leadership. Finally, despite threats to himself and his family, arrest, and emotional exhaustion, King dramatically embodied his message of “militant nonviolence” (a concept developed by Mohandas Gandhi, whose work King studied and embraced, especially after a 1959 visit to India). A further task of leadership remained: organizing and maintaining a regional agency to coordinate and lead the civil rights movement throughout the South

THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

In January 1957, Martin Luther King Jr. and others met in Atlanta to organize the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Yet it remained largely an organization on paper, with no significant accomplishment, for the next three years. Headquartered in Atlanta, understaffed and underfunded, it announced initiatives only. In 1960, King moved to Atlanta to become co-pastor with his father of Ebenezer Baptist Church and hired Wyatt Tee Walker as executive director of the SCLC. Walker brought discipline, energy, experience, and talent to an organization in need of those qualities. It was a propitious time in the civil rights movement. Black college students launched the sit-in movement, as King settled in Atlanta. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) initiated the Freedom Rides a year later. SCLC played a supportive but marginal role in both movements. It could not yet claim any major initiative as its own.

Between 1961 and 1965, however, King and Walker, and later Andrew Young, positioned the SCLC at the center of a broad coalition of organizations at the heart of the civil rights movement. To its right, the older National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Urban League were firmly based in the black middle class and pursued their goals largely through litigation and lobbying. To its left, CORE and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC),

organized by young leaders of the sit-in movement, were more volatile. Initially firmly committed to nonviolence, they would eventually burn themselves out in its cause. Led by King, Walker, and Young, the SCLC launched a series of local campaigns—to which King brought the spotlight of national attention—that became much of the framework for our understanding of the movement: in Albany, Georgia; Birmingham, Alabama, Danville, Virginia; St. Augustine, Florida; Selma, Alabama; Chicago, Illinois; and Memphis, Tennessee.

It is a matter of conjecture whether King’s and the SCLC’s strategy of identifying with and bringing attention to critical local campaigns was borrowed in part from Billy Graham’s contemporary evangelistic crusades, was a function of its organization by local affiliates, or was largely accidental. Yet, clearly, King and the SCLC were drawn into the first of the local campaigns, at Albany, Georgia, without sufficient preparation. Aiming at broad-gauge targets, they were met by a wily police chief who minimized violent confrontations with demonstrators. Albany produced little dramatic footage for national press photographers and television cameras. King came away from a draining year of demonstrations in Albany with little to show for his trouble. The lessons learned in Albany were applied to Birmingham. Birmingham’s police chief was the embodiment of violent southern law enforcement. In the mighty citadel of racial segregation, leaders of the movement narrowly targeted specific goals and directly challenged Birmingham police authorities. The confrontation produced some of the most striking pictures of the civil rights era and one of its most eloquent statements, King’s “Letter from a Birmingham Jail.”

“I HAVE A DREAM”

Later in the summer of 1963, Martin Luther King Jr. gave his best-known public address, “I Have a Dream,” at the March on Washington. Here, perhaps most effectively, his leadership as orator was manifest. He invoked biblical and national values and embodied the civil rights movement—a movement for and to which he spoke—in the first-person “I” of

The ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of comfort, but where he stands at times of challenge and controversy.

—Martin Luther King Jr.

his speech. He appealed to, and sought, the best of America. More than that, his speech was a ringing declaration of hope for all humanity. These noble aspirations were cruelly thwarted just three weeks later in Birmingham, when a bomb exploded on a Sunday morning in a church, killing four little girls. King was there to preach for their funerals. Martin Luther King Jr. knew that his vocation was to preach. He was, occasionally, awkward when cast in other roles. In 1964, the civil rights movement reached another crisis moment when it challenged the seating of Mississippi's all-white delegation to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. Cast in a highly political role, his advice failed to hold together the center of the alliance between movement leaders and the administration of President Lyndon Johnson. Yet King felt increasingly obliged to political action, even as the movement he led began to fray. The Danville and St. Augustine campaigns were frustrating skirmishes, but Selma put the major political issue—voting rights—squarely on the table.

THE FINAL YEARS

Because it was cast in the classic mold of civil rights marchers confronting brutal legal authorities, the Selma to Montgomery march was successful and eventually led to passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Yet, in Chicago, a highly political and alien context for King, his leadership of the movement had been little more successful than it had been in Albany years earlier. His critics accused King of diffusing his influence to the urban North, to economic issues, and to protesting the war in Vietnam in his final years. It was as if, they thought, the lessons of Albany had never been learned. King died, the victim of an assassin's bullet, on 4 April 1968 in Memphis, Tennessee.

KING'S LEGACY

In proclaiming a national holiday in honor of Martin Luther King Jr. on 14 January 1994, President Bill Clinton stated that Dr. King had “dedicated his life to ending the injustice of racism, gracing the world with his vision of a land guided by love instead of hatred and by acceptance instead of intolerance” (The White House 1994, para. 1).

Martin Luther King Jr. was the greatest preacher in twentieth-century America. More than anyone else, he demonstrated the power of the proclaimed word and moved a nation to confront racial issues that it had mishandled or avoided for a century before his death.

—Ralph E. Luker

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964; Civil Rights Movement; Gandhi, Mohandas K.

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KROC, RAY (1902–1984)

Founder of McDonald's Corporation

Born in Chicago, Raymond Albert Kroc spent so much time thinking up wild schemes and business ideas during his adolescent and teenage years that family and friends considered him a bona fide day-dreamer. No one in Ray's family ever believed or conceived he would eventually become a legendary entrepreneur and business genius. Although Ray ran a very successful lemonade stand and was a hardworking drug store helper as a child, his first attempt (during his sophomore year at high school) at establishing a serious business endeavor, a music store specializing in sheet music and novelty instruments, failed.

The United States entered World War I during the spring of Ray's sophomore year; shortly thereafter, Ray managed to convince his parents to let him join the Red Cross as an ambulance driver, though it meant lying about his age to gain entry. The armistice ending the war was signed before he deployed to France, so he did not see overseas action.

Ray soon realized his penchant for action and dislike of academics. He tried returning to school at his parents' request, but only lasted a semester. For the next thirty-five years, Ray honed his business knowl-



Ray Kroc stands in front of one of his franchises holding a hamburger and a drink.

Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

edge and his ability to find opportunity in places others overlooked. He was very successful during his career as a paper cup salesman, but not as successful as he would become in the hamburger business at the age of fifty-two. Later in life, Ray Kroc liked to remind people that his seemingly overnight success with McDonald's was in fact the product of more than four decades of experience as an entrepreneur and a very hard worker.

THE McDONALD'S METHOD

The story of how Ray traveled to California from Illinois in 1954 to observe the McDonald brothers' hamburger operation and how he eventually led it to become the international leader in the fast-food industry is well known and often repeated among business leaders. In fact, many university courses include the McDonald's business model as a successful case study in business administration, opera-

The quality of a leader is reflected in the standards they set for themselves.

—Ray Kroc

tions, logistics, and human-resource allocation. It is uncommon, though, for university students to study the leadership traits, characteristics, and principles that Ray Kroc lived by and that made him and McDonald's Corporation a success. Five of the principles with which Ray Kroc founded McDonald's and made it successful are his commitment to the public through "Q, S, C, & V" (quality, service, cleanliness, and value), his attention to detail, his adherence to the notion that one should lead, not manage, decentralization of authority, and education.

Q, S, C, and V

Ray Kroc continually demanded quality, service, cleanliness, and value from every restaurant franchisee and from all McDonald's corporate-owned restaurants. This mantra is an unshakable principle by which the organization's restaurants are operated. Ray took any degradation of these quality markers by any restaurant owner, manager, or employee as a personal affront on his leadership. These four words can be found inscribed on a brass marker in nearly every McDonald's restaurant as a reminder to employees and customers of the company's commitment to those principles and its desire to lead through that commitment.

Attention to Detail

Ray Kroc realized that customers returned to McDonald's for a reason, and that reason was the consistency and quality of the product. Food from McDonald's is prepared in exactly the same manner in Paris, Texas, as it is in Paris, France, and in the rest of the thousands of restaurants around the world. Ray was once accused of being in the french fry business because of the effort and detail he demanded in its preparation. Every detail—the potato harvest, the drying technique, the size and shape of the container in which the customer

receives the end product—was scientifically studied. McDonald's guarantees the same level of quality in all their products in all their restaurants.

Leadership, Not Management

Above all, Ray Kroc was a true leader and not a manager. He repeatedly hired experts and taxed their knowledge, but gave them the freedom to work effectively. In his own words, Ray said "I believe that if you hire a man to do a job, you ought to get out of the way and let him do it" (Kroc and Anderson 1977, 83). He lived and ran McDonald's by this belief. During McDonald's startup, Ray hired Harry Sonneborn to manage financial and legal matters. Ray often depended on Harry's knowledge and intuition to guide and develop his decisions as a leader. This led to successful strategic property acquisitions, necessary corporate restructuring improvements, and the company's initial public offering in 1965. Harry Sonneborn's freedom to explore and ply his trade made Ray Kroc and several other people at McDonald's instant millionaires.

Decentralization of Authority

As McDonald's grew, Ray realized that he could not be omnipresent in McDonald's operations. To ensure success at every level, Ray believed in decentralizing authority. He believed that day-to-day operations decisions should be made at the lowest levels possible and set up various regions and district units within the organization. He refused to punish honest mistakes, even when they were costly. Immediate dismissal occurred, however, when dishonesty was responsible for the mistake. In this manner, McDonald's employees learned that they were valued for more than their assigned responsibilities. This leadership belief resulted in the permanent adoption of several items developed by franchisees, including the Filet-o-Fish (1963) and Big Mac (1968) sandwiches.

Education

Although Ray was unsuccessful in his personal academic achievements, he realized the value of educa-

tion for his employees. Training and education in McDonald's operations is held at the local McDonald's restaurants as well as at Hamburger University in Oak Grove, Illinois. There McDonald's offers courses in management and operations to domestic and international students. McDonald's also operates training centers in England, Japan, Germany, and Australia.

McDonald's remains the world leader in the fast-food business niche. In its 2002 annual report summary, McDonald's reported serving more than 46 million customers daily at 31,108 restaurants located in 119 countries. This ongoing success can only be attributed to Mr. Kroc's vision and unrelenting demand of adherence to his leadership principles and philosophy.

—Jaime L. Benavides

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KUROSAWA, AKIRA (1910–1988) *Japanese film director*

Akira Kurosawa is credited with single-handedly bringing Japanese film to the notice of the world at large through such films as *Rashomon* (1950) and *Seven Samurai* (1954). Kurosawa's leadership in the field of filmmaking has made his work the benchmark against which all subsequent Japanese directors have been measured and a major source of inspi-

ration for a generation of American filmmakers. Kurosawa's career, however, is ultimately axiomatic of the rise and decline of the film industry in which he worked.

BEFORE WORLD WAR II

Kurosawa's filmmaking career began in the early 1940s, when he became an understudy to a more established director, Kajiro Yamamoto, at P.C.L. (Photo Chemical Laboratories, which would later become the powerful Toho Studio). During this early part of his career, Kurosawa trained in many aspects of the filmmaking process, from camera techniques to editing and scriptwriting. Something of Kurosawa's mature style was evident to critics even as early as his first feature film *Sanshiro Sugata*, which he directed and adapted from Tsuneo Tomita's novel in 1943. The film contains some of the camera work, like lateral tracking shots that follow the movement of characters across the screen and the intercutting of shots which acted to create a sense of movement and a layering of perspectives within a scene, which would become common techniques in Kurosawa's filmmaking. *Sanshiro Sugata* reflects therefore maturity beyond the fledgling director's years or experience, and indicates the strong artistic presence that Kurosawa would engender in almost all his subsequent filmmaking. Kurosawa's subsequent films, the World War II propaganda films *The Most Beautiful* (1944) and *Sanshiro Sugata: Part II* (1945), were more stylistically muted, as the director balanced between artistic sensibility and the requirements of those who allowed him to continue working.

THE OCCUPATION YEARS (1945–1952)

Thereafter Kurosawa began making films during the Occupation period and under Japan's studio system proper. He worked for Toho intermittently, though their relationship was sometimes strained. Kurosawa was involved with the widespread strike action that plagued the studio in the 1940s, particularly as a member of the Artist Group (Hirano, 1992: 205–240). Several of the films from this period, including *Stray Dog* (1949) and *Scandal* (1950) dealt with

Japan's postwar social conditions and psyche. In *Stray Dog*, for example, the central character, Murakami (a policeman) dresses up as a soldier and goes in search of his stolen gun. The search takes the audience through postwar Tokyo and explores the sense of confusion to be found within that cityscape. That Kurosawa's work in the intrawar years was less visually impressive than that which followed illustrates how important independence was to Kurosawa's filmmaking style. When allowed the freedom to experiment, as he does in *Stray Dog* and *Scandal* among others, Kurosawa creates strong links between his subject matter and his camera techniques, leading the way for many of the Japanese and international filmmakers who were to follow him.

It was in this postwar period that Kurosawa was first thrust into the international limelight with *Rashomon* in 1951. Recommended by Italiafilm's Japanese representative Giuliana Stramigioli to the Venice Film Festival organizers, *Rashomon* went on to win the 1951 Grand Prix and later the Oscar for Best Foreign Film. This film has been immensely influential in international cinema; such recent films as Quentin Tarantino's *Pulp Fiction* (1994) can be related back to *Rashomon*'s fractured, unreliable narrative. While it was this kind of international recognition that kick-started Kurosawa's "golden age" career, this international acknowledgment has also led to his problematic relationship with later Japanese directors.

GOLDEN AGE

During the 1950s and 1960s, Kurosawa experienced the height of his filmmaking powers, just as Toho Studio wielded extensive production powers. This enabled the studio to bankroll films like Kurosawa's *Seven Samurai*, which, costing ¥210 million, was the most expensive film ever made in Japan at that time. Kurosawa, during this period was known not only for his authoritative style of filmmaking, which earned him the press nickname "*Tenno*" or emperor, but also for his innovation in stylistic techniques such as multicamera filming, wipes (where the end of one scene is replaced by that following it by a lat-

eral, vertical or even diagonal sweep across the screen, a technique that frequently appears in the *Star Wars* films directed by George Lucas), pans and slow motion photography. Furthermore, Kurosawa has been deservedly praised for his adoption and experimentation with wide-angle, anamorphic lenses and CinemaScope widescreen aesthetics, which he first used in 1958 in *The Hidden Fortress*.

Kurosawa's significance as a filmmaker goes beyond the borders of visual experimentation. Perhaps the most significant narrative innovation Kurosawa made can be found in his presentation of his heroic characters. Many of the heroes found in his films are loners, and seem to have been intended as role models for his audiences. Several times, though, Kurosawa departed from the heroic norms of Japanese cinema, providing some of the most interesting cinematic examples of the antihero available in either Japanese or American film. *Yojimbo* (1961) and *Sanjuro* (1962) provide particularly good examples of Kurosawa's blending of the hero with the antihero. They center on a *ronin*, a masterless samurai who become warriors for hire. In *Yojimbo* and *Sanjuro* Kurosawa's heroic antiheroes attempt to right social injustices, though for morally ambivalent reasons. These heroes were largely responsible for the reenvisioning of the *jidai-geki* (period film) genre in Japan. The films they appear in marked the end of the Toei Studio's dominance in the genre, and their heroes were the central reason for Toei's failure because the rival studio's films had nothing to compete with Kurosawa's ambiguous *ronin*. These ambiguous heroes lived on as a heroic model in American and Italian filmmaking as in Sergio Leone's "Man with No Name" films starring Clint Eastwood from the mid-1960s. Thus, Kurosawa reworked an entire genre of Japanese filmmaking, while also providing a heroic template that has resonated deeply within and beyond the Western film genre.

Kurosawa, however, should not be viewed as the lone creative force behind the films he made. Others, including his long-term scriptwriting partners (Shinobu Hashimoto or Ryuzo Kikushima), composers (Masaru Sato), cinematographers (Kazuo Miyagawa) and particularly actor Toshiro Mifune,

all enabled the director to realize his visually striking films. Nevertheless, the central justification for considering Kurosawa as a significant leader in film studies can be mapped at the level of his filmmaking management. He co-wrote almost all of his films, and even edited them as well as determining the overall production style they exhibit. It is significant, however, that when Kurosawa lost the support of the studio system in the 1970s, his films declined in popularity both critically and at the box office.

After *Red Beard* in 1965 and *Dodeskaden* in 1970, Kurosawa became unable to obtain Japanese financing for his films for an extended period. Following a suicide attempt in 1971, Kurosawa left Japan for the Soviet Union to make *Dersu Uzala* (1974) for Mosfilm, collecting another Oscar for Best Foreign Film. This was followed by two other significant films made in Japan, but with American filmmakers as producers: Francis Ford Coppola and George Lucas (*Kagemusha*, 1980) and Steven Spielberg (*Dreams*, 1990)—further evidence of Kurosawa's international links. Although these films received a mixed reception from audiences and critics in Japan and abroad, they indicate just how significant Kurosawa's international success had become to the continuation of his career in later years.

INFLUENCE ON AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN FILMS

Beyond the significance of Kurosawa's films to Japanese cinematic history, the director's presence in the Japanese film industry has had impact on academic appreciation of Japanese film worldwide. Kurosawa's recognition by many European and American theorists, critics, and filmmakers as an *auteur*; a director with definable stylistic traits and a personal vision, has deeply influenced much of Japanese film theory since the 1970s as reflected in the current predominance of director-oriented studies in Japanese film scholarship. This influence has cemented and further legitimated Kurosawa's importance and leadership within the field of film, but it has also fostered a narrow view of the Japanese film industry on the part of critics and film historians.

Auteur studies of Kurosawa and other Japanese directors have provided a good understanding of Japanese film as an art, but relatively little information about the Japanese film industry has been documented outside or even within Japan.

Kurosawa's continuing influence in film is probably best viewed not in the films of Japan, but rather in contemporary American cinema. The rise of television and collapse of the studio system made Kurosawa's expensive brand of filmmaking virtually impossible within his domestic milieu. Consequently, according to Stephen Prince in *The Warrior's Camera* (1991), many of the directors who followed him, including Nagisa Oshima and Shuji Terayama, worked to devalue Kurosawa's directorial style in order to promote their own. Since the 1990s, however, there has been a move among Japanese filmmakers toward recognizing Kurosawa's legacy in Japanese cinema. Animator Hayao Miyazaki provides one example of this trend, with his record-breaking *Princess Mononoke* (1997) based in part on Kurosawa's samurai films. Although Japanese cinema is now attempting to recover and honor Kurosawa's work, American filmmakers have led the way by wholeheartedly embracing the director's filmmaking style, beginning in the 1960s. Some of the most famous examples of Kurosawa's influence include John Sturges's remake of *Seven Samurai* as *The Magnificent Seven* (1960) and George Lucas's borrowing from *The Hidden Fortress* to make *Star Wars* (1977). For it is in his impact on directors worldwide that the logical conclusions and reinterpretations of much of Kurosawa's art can be viewed, and it is in this context that Kurosawa has earned his reputation as a leader among filmmakers.

—Rayna L. Denison

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LABELING THEORY

Labeling theory was presented by the sociologist Howard Becker in his book *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance* (1963) as a unique way to understand deviance. Many perspectives on deviance, such as consensus theory and structural functionalism, assume that deviants are inherently different from conforming individuals. In contrast, labeling theory asserts that deviance develops from social processes that start with the creation of rules. Individuals who fail to conform to these rules are therefore labeled as deviant. It is social agreement about rules, rather than particular rules or internal characteristics of an individual, that produces deviance.

The arbitrary nature of deviance is illustrated by the fact that what is considered deviant can change over time. The modern feminist movement that started in 1963 with the publication of Betty Friedan's book *The Feminine Mystique*, illustrates the fluid nature of deviance. In the early 1960s, a woman who wanted a demanding career or did not want children was seen as deviant. Modern feminist leaders, such as Gloria Steinem, were considered deviant for arguing that women should pursue atypical family or career goals. But in contrast to the early 1960s, recent statistics indicate that girls in secondary school now dominate in extracurricular activities, such as student government, academic clubs, and the

performing arts. The education gap between men and women is narrowing, with more and more women earning Ph.D.s, M.D.s, and J.D.s. In a complete reversal, women today who express the desire to stay home and raise children may be viewed as deviant. Thus, what defines deviant feminine identity has completely changed in less than fifty years, a phenomenon completely in character with the assertions of labeling theory.

From the point of view of labeling theory, public awareness is required to categorize an act as deviant. In the absence of attention from others, individuals can engage in deviant behavior but avoid the deviant label, becoming what Becker called "secret deviants." In contrast once individuals receive the "deviant" label, they are "tagged" as deviants, and this socially constructed identity can influence how they are perceived and treated by others. Once labeled, a stigmatized identity can encourage them to take on a nonconformist role that further alienates them from mainstream society. Through the operation of self-fulfilling prophecies, the tendencies of others to treat them differently because of their deviant status may actually promote deviant thoughts and behaviors in marginalized individuals.

The historical root of labeling theory is found in the symbolic interactionism of George Herbert Mead and Charles Cooley. In his book *Human Nature and the Social Order* (1902), Charles Cooley developed

the concept of the “looking-glass self.” From Cooley’s perspective the self-concept develops as people imagine how they appear to others. Both an individual’s “true” nature and what others actually think of him or her are less relevant than what the individual believes others think about him or her. In a similar fashion George Herbert Mead, in his book *Mind, Self, and Society* (1934), argued that the self emerges from the mind’s understanding of social interactions and symbols. Labeling theory can be viewed as a variant of symbolic interactionism because, according to labeling theory, deviance emerges from how people define deviance in terms of the violation of socially constructed rules. In other words deviance is socially constructed rather than an objective phenomenon.

LEADERSHIP PROCESSES INVOLVED IN LABELING THEORY

Leaders and leadership play key roles in creating deviance as described by labeling theory. An important step in the social construction of deviance is the establishment of rules that, if violated, become the basis for designating an individual as deviant. Typically, leaders make important contributions toward the creation of rules. One clear example of how leaders create rules is the efforts of elected officials to create laws. The members of the Senate and the House of Representatives exist in a delicate balance with the president in the creation of rules. Although the president can veto bills created in Congress, with a sufficient majority, the House and the Senate can override the desires of the president. In the case of laws, rule violation leads to an extreme form of deviance known as “criminality.”

The actions of elected or appointed representatives of the government represent one method of rule creation. Other types of rule creation can occur with leaders with less formal power. In 1954 a psychiatrist named Frederic Wertham published a book called *The Seduction of the Innocent* that blamed comic books for deviance in the form of juvenile delinquency and ultimately led to the creation of the Comics Code Authority, which tightly regulated the contents of comic books. Although Wertham lacked the formal

authority of an elected official, his expertise as a mental health professional provided him and his book with sufficient credibility to significantly alter how comic books were written and published. Individuals who define themselves as rule creators are termed “moral entrepreneurs” by labeling theory. Retail outlets were unwilling to stock comic books without the approval of the Comics Code because such books, and their publishers, were seen as deviant.

For a rule to influence the creation of deviance, rule breaking must be identified and the rule must be enforced. Leaders and leadership processes play an important role in the detection and punishment of deviance. Enforcement requires that a system exist for the purpose of detecting rule violations. Labeling theory recognizes that rule violation systems vary in their degree of formality. At one end, formal systems, such as the police or military, maintain the status quo and by doing so identify and punish or otherwise constrain rule breakers. In a formal system, leaders play a key role in creating and maintaining an ordered system. Less formal groups, such as coworkers or classroom peers, can target deviants and apply pressure to them to conform to existing rule systems. In less formal systems, leadership roles may be established in terms of seniority, expertise, or popularity.

The importance of detection in the process of deviance creation is illustrated by the ongoing debates, often initiated by leaders such as government officials, about instituting surveillance cameras in public places. Although intended to curtail criminal activity, the prevalence of security cameras makes it more likely that noncriminal forms of deviance will also be detected. As such, the detection of deviance must be balanced by a concern for individuals’ rights, such as the right to privacy.

LEADERSHIP PROCESSES IN THE RESPONSE OF THE DEVIANT

Deviant individuals may insulate themselves from larger society. Although in rare instances a deviant becomes entirely isolated, more often the deviant seeks out others who are similarly deviant. Interactions with similar others can produce new social

structures and processes. The emergence of leaders from a pool of deviants may be included among these social processes.

Leaders of deviant groups develop goals geared toward trying to improve the group's deviant status. By the process of "neutralization," for example, deviant acts are reinterpreted as justified. Deviance may be justified in a number of ways. Deviants can deny responsibility for their actions. A deviant might argue that the way he or she was treated by society is the source of his or her deviant actions. Ironically, Frederic Wertham's condemnation of comic books provided juvenile delinquents with an external explanation for their behavior. Their crimes, it could be reasoned, should be excused because their criminal behavior should be taken as an unintended consequence of their well-intentioned reading of comic books. Another form of neutralization denies the victim's claims of injury. For example, a vandal might try to argue that the wealthy have a disproportionate share of the wealth and therefore "deserve" to have their property damaged. A third type of neutralization focuses on appeals to higher authorities. The civil rights movement was premised on beliefs about social justice and fairness. Leaders such as Martin Luther King, Jr., emphasized the importance of providing equal rights for disadvantaged minorities.

IMPLICATIONS OF LABELING THEORY FOR SOCIETY AND SOCIAL POLICY

Because labeling theory examines how society creates deviance through the process of establishing rules, labeling theory suggests that some social problems may exist more as a result of the way society has defined rules about them than because of any inherent destructiveness they possess. To the extent that society deals with forms of deviance that reflect the rule creation of moral entrepreneurs rather than the results of serious social problems, societal resources may be used less than optimally. An example of this process is the concept of "victimless crime," such as prostitution. In the typical act of prostitution, a man exchanges money for sexual favors. Each party walks away satisfied. From such a social exchange point of view, prostitution represents

a perfect example of capitalism, with each party happier after the exchange. Despite this "fair exchange" perspective on prostitution, most elements of society label prostitutes and the men who patronize them as deviants. The arbitrary nature of prostitution as a form of deviance is evident in the significant number of respectable men who at least on occasion have paid for the services of prostitutes. In addition, although generally seen as a criminal act, in parts of Nevada prostitution has been legalized, though carefully regulated.

Because prostitution is labeled as deviant, as well as criminal, a significant amount of tax dollars go toward fighting it. These efforts typically yield unsatisfactory results because it is costly to try to prevent prostitution, yet the parties involved both desire to maintain the system of economic exchange. The money spent trying to catch and punish parties involved in prostitution could be better spent on preventing more destructive forms of criminality, such as assault, murder, rape, arson, and theft.

One leadership process that has emerged in the debate regarding the legality of prostitution is the formation of advocacy groups for prostitutes and other sex workers. One influential group is known as COYOTE (Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics). Founded in 1973 by Margo St. James, the goal of COYOTE is to help all kinds of sex workers fight for their rights. The goal of this group is to neutralize deviance associated with prostitution and create more favorable environments for sex workers and their customers in the process. In other words groups such as COYOTE work to reinterpret deviant acts (those associated with prostitution) in terms of mainstream society.

LIMITATIONS OF LABELING THEORY

Like many theories developed in the social sciences, there is a great deal of debate about whether sufficient empirical evidence in support of labeling theory exists. Although some researchers have obtained findings consistent with the predictions of labeling theory, other investigators have failed to demonstrate support for the theory. Some critics have argued that labeling theory lacks sufficient rigor to be refuted, a clear requirement for a scientific theory.

One important practical limitation of labeling theory is its implications for the ways in which society deals with deviants. By identifying the cause of deviance as the interaction between the individual and society, rather than a problem within the individual, labeling theory can be used to argue that criminals should be rehabilitated rather than punished for their crimes. As such, labeling theory is inconsistent with a focus on the individual's accountability to society for his or her own behavior.

RESEARCH DIRECTIONS FOR LABELING THEORY

Because it was derived from symbolic interactionism, labeling theory can be applied more broadly than just to deviance. Researchers have examined other areas of social behavior that may be understood in terms of labeling theory. Interviews with members of Debtors Anonymous identify the importance of shame as part of the labeling process. Even something as seemingly minor as hair color can be a source of a deviant label. Children and adults with red hair report that this physical attribute can lead to their being labeled by others (e.g., as hot-tempered). Labeling theory also has shown to be useful in understanding how the elderly behave as consumers.

The development of leadership and the nature of leadership processes, from a labeling theory perspective, warrant further research. It would be interesting to compare the emergence of leaders in dominant groups with parallel processes in deviant or minority groups. Do leaders in both arenas operate in similar manners? Are the bases of power for leaders in both domains similar or distinct?

Another aspect of deviance that should be further explored concerns stigmatized but not necessarily negative behaviors or physical or psychological states. For example, a physical disability, such as blindness, creates a deviant, that is, minority, status, but is most often viewed in a sympathetic manner by society.

Much of the effort of labeling theory has focused on the experiences of the deviant, especially in the context of criminal behavior, where deviant behavior is often equated with criminal offender status. An

important, but largely ignored, issue is how the principles of labeling theory can be applied to the victims, rather than perpetrators, of crimes.

Although labeling theory takes the point of view that acts are only deviant because they are labeled as such, labeling theory cannot explain what factors cause someone to be willing to commit deviant acts, even if the deviant categorization of those acts is arbitrary and socially constructed. Further work should be directed toward a better understanding of what motivates an individual to accept and even seek out a deviant status.

—James K. Beggan

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LABOR MOVEMENT

The evolution of modern industrial capitalism brought closely associated new organizational forms, such as corporations, the welfare state, and labor organizations, but these forms had marked contrasts in trajectory, structure, and success. In the United States, nineteenth-century craft unions emerged to provide mutual aid and to promote standards and regulations but also to oppose unskilled and foreign labor. Union leaders were committed to economic objectives for their members but avoided

mobilization of a mass political movement based on workers' common interests. Union leaders opposed industrial unions that developed along with mass production, urbanization, and waves of immigration, such as the International Workers of the World (IWW), which mobilized unskilled and immigrant workers and promoted mass politics.

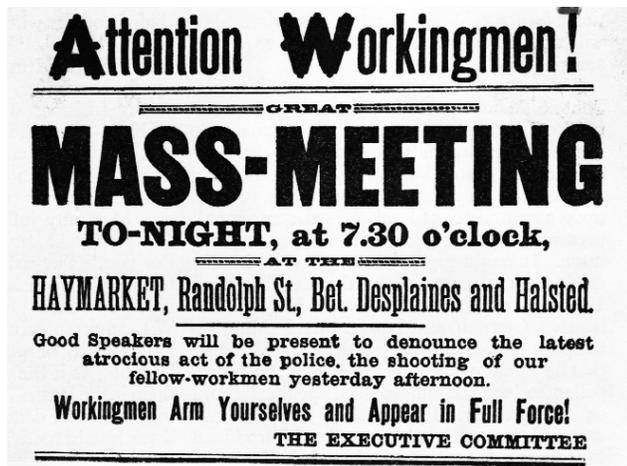
U.S. labor leaders focused on organizing and collective bargaining but not on occupying government office. In part this choice responded to Pope Leo XIII's encyclical, *Rerum Novarum* (1891), which supported worker rights but only if unions would focus on workplace economic gains, not societal transformation that challenged private property rights. U.S. labor leaders succeeded in organizing substantial majorities in major economic sectors—mining, transportation, capital goods, and durable goods manufacture—but pursued limited political goals within a two-party system. Business unionism taught leaders that union prosperity depends on internal control and discipline but also that aggressive demands can undermine union security in an increasingly global postwar economy by pushing employers overseas or undermining their competitive strength.

In contrast, European and Third World nations produced industrial unions whose leaders more often were political leaders. Thus, unions' leaders engaged in party politics, and unions became identified with social legislation defending and promoting working-class interests. Expressing this alternative vision of unions' political and social leadership, in 2002 the former Brazilian metalworker union president, Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, achieved the ultimate potential for transforming union leadership into national leadership as Brazilians elected him president. Elsewhere, the Labour Party's Tony Blair serves as the United Kingdom's prime minister, and Sweden's Social Democrats have dominated national politics for most of the past century.

Labor leaders, both in unions and in associations of unions, such as the AFL-CIO, represent a complex set of actors in a diverse population of organizational contexts and social relations. At one extreme, the local level, leadership encompasses the pragmatic duties of shop-floor stewards and union local presi-

dents. At the other extreme, reflecting unions' structural evolution into national associations, union leadership may also participate in elite power structures. For example, some U.S. labor leaders have become part of a national policy elite; AFL founder Samuel Gompers and George Meany prominently represented labor in mainstream political institutions. Others, such as Eugene V. Debs and A. Philip Randolph, founded unions and emerged as influential leaders of social movements. U.S. labor leaders have not, however, followed the path of their counterparts in Europe, where labor parties participated in electoral politics and sometimes controlled national governments. As a result of these different leadership models and political strategies, U.S. labor laws contrast with those of other nations; labor standards and collective bargaining rights lack state support found elsewhere.

During periods of organizing or union reform movements, leaders typically rise from within the ranks of workers at a workplace or from a social movement struggling for economic, social, and political gains (Gouldner 1950; Nyden 1985). Mobilization and activism embed leader identity with rank-and-file worker concerns and life circumstances. Direct unmediated communication between leaders and union members sustains democracy and leadership legitimacy (Webb and Webb 1902; Cornfield 1993). However, a substantial amount of research literature documents the existence of alternative models of union organization and leadership (MacDonald 1959). On the one hand, unions may develop into large, complex, centralized bureaucratic organizations. In such "business model" unions, consistent with Robert Michels's "iron law of oligarchy" thesis, leadership may develop an entrenched conservative elite, focused on controlling members, monopolizing communication, building a professional staff, and formalizing internal authority structures and relations with employers (MacDonald 1959; Marcus 1966). Historically low leadership turnover rates and lack of democratic structures for opposition elements provide evidence that such nondemocratic qualities exist in many unions (Kahn, Lang, and Kadav 1986). These unions may be characterized by nepotism and leadership social networks based on race, ethnicity,



A poster announcing a mass-meeting of workers to be held on the evening of 5 May 1886, the day after the Haymarket Square incident in Chicago.

Source: Corbis; used by permission.

religion, and other group identities. Finally, business unionism becomes reified (regarded as material) in policies that emphasize a contract between leaders and rank-and-file members. In the business union model, members' dues purchase services from an insulated cadre of professional union leaders who define union objectives and policies and conduct negotiations with employers. Weak accountability, low transparency, and extreme status differences mark relations between leaders and rank-and-file.

In contrast, democratic union organization sustains rank-and-file member activism and participation wherein leadership is continually revitalized by an ongoing culture of social mobilization that targets not only workplace gains, but also societal goals such as labor standards, social welfare, civil rights, democracy, and environmental protection. Democratic union leadership turnover rates and diversity, organizational protections for opposition interests, and frequent elections confirm the potential for democratic leadership structure. Democratic union leaders typically serve limited terms without opportunity to succeed themselves. Leader compensation, union-supported expense accounts, and leadership subsidies remain far lower than in business union models. Historical assessments of U.S. unions find multiple patterns of authority relations, with social movement (democratic) unionism and rank-and-file

voicing opportunities evident in numerous union contexts, from locals to central labor councils to national union leadership.

SOCIAL ORIGINS

LaPorte (1999) notes that the business (service contract) union model produces a bias toward better educated, verbally adept, and technically skilled leaders; more staff are college educated and professionals (attorneys) who equate potential for leadership as consistent with their own traits. Promotion from the rank-and-file is rare with a premium on communication skills; few resources are expended on identifying or developing leadership from rank-and-file members. Even in Mills's (Mills and Atkinson 1945) early survey, labor leaders' educational attainment was high for the time, with 22 percent college graduates, 41 percent high school graduates, and 36 percent with less than a high school degree (Mills and Atkinson 1945).

Mills found that approximately 50 percent of union leaders "are Protestants, 35% are Catholics, 10% state no religious affiliation and slightly more than 4% are Jews" (Mills and Atkinson 1945, 168). In contrast, Ganz and associates' (2003) study of California union leaders found 50 percent Catholic, 25 percent Protestant, 20 percent Jewish, and only 5 percent without religious affiliation. Moreover, only 21 percent were women, and only 11 percent were Hispanic—well below their rates in California's union membership and overall demographic profile. Fink's (1984) survey of labor leaders charts their decline from 36 percent foreign born in 1900 to 4 percent in 1976. Form (1985) observes that the southern shift of U.S. industry and unionization led to one-third of labor leaders being from the South by 1976. Thus, leadership social origins roughly tracked some U.S. labor force demographic and manufacturing trends, but minority and gender leadership representation counters these trends.

MINORITY LEADERS

In 1994, women and people of color represented 50.3 percent of union members and 53 percent of the

U.S. employed population (Roby, 1995). Nevertheless, overall ethnic and minority leadership remains disproportionately low, and striking long-term disparities continue in some unions where women and minorities constitute majorities (Greer, 1953; Gaspasin, 1998; Roby, 1995). Union leadership surveys consistently document low minority and women's representation (U.S. Department of Labor 1970; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1982; Coalition of Labor Union Women 1980) despite long-term post-World War II growth in minority union membership, especially in service and white-collar unions. The degree of minority leadership often reflects such factors as its strategic significance during union organizing, minority organizational activities within unions, and whether an official gained his or her position by appointment or by election (Cornfield 1989; Greer 1953; Lamm 1975). Cobble (1993) identified four common leadership paths: founders, inheritance, individuals with technical expertise, and promotion or election from rank-and-file status. In many established unions only the latter path is normally available to most minority leaders. Cobble (1993), Wertheimer and Nelson (1975), and Roby (1995) stress the importance of entry level leadership activities such as attendance at union meetings and election to the office of shop steward. High-profile minority leaders, such as A. Philip Randolph (Railway Porters Union) and César Chávez (United Farm Workers), did emerge in labor market niches and not only founded unions, but also led campaigns for civil rights and worker rights. Public sector unions contrast with this profile, reflecting both higher minority labor force participation in this sector and less influence from entrenched conservative social interests.

Minority union leaders have faced important barriers in bureaucratic union settings, such as their dual representation role, discrimination, and lack of mentorship or training (Greer 1953; Gaspasin 1998; Roby 1995; Lamm 1975; Kornhauser 1952; Melcher, Eichstedt, Eriksen, and Clawson 1992; Cook, Lorwin, and Daniels 1992; Cobble 1993). African-Americans, Hispanics, women, and other minority leaders must balance the roles of union officer and minority representative. Dual roles increase the pressures felt by minority leaders and may result

in minority leadership being defined as symbolic or liaison by upper union leadership (Kornhauser 1952) and of limited power. Cornfield (1993) notes that minority leadership increases during periods of intensive conflict and mobilization as the groups the leadership represents become important for success. Since 1995, AFL-CIO organizing initiatives targeting service, public, and white-collar workforces, coupled with affirmative action campaigns, have led to increased minority leadership in individual unions and in state and national labor associations. In skilled craft unions, lack of affirmative minority recruitment into apprentice programs and the absence of affirmative action and mentoring programs produced disproportionately low levels of minority participation at the rank-and-file and leadership levels.

LEADERSHIP EDUCATION, TRAINING, DEVELOPMENT

LaPorte (1999) found that business union leadership development is selective, skill directed, and biased in favor of better-educated, verbally skilled, politically adept, and technically oriented members. Increasingly, consistent with Mills (Mills and Atkinson 1945), whereas election campaigns stress leaders' union-based experience and rank-and-file origins, staff leadership increasingly stresses college-educated and professional people with no shop-floor experience in local unions. Although union leaders may be considered labor movement professionals (Nesbit 2001), union culture continues to honor shop-floor experience; leadership credibility deriving from the school of hard knocks has weighed more than formal academic training (Nesbit 2001).

When people pursue formal educational credentials, such education typically occurs after candidates achieve office. Richard Dwyer (1977) identifies labor education as three distinct stages in the twentieth-century U.S. union leadership education: (1) from 1910 to the mid-1930s, stressing social reform; (2) from 1930 to the mid-1960s, stressing "bread and butter" knowledge of organizing, collective bargaining, and grievance procedures; and (3) from 1960 to the present, stressing social science and management skills training. These stages

*The leader has to be practical and a realist,
yet must talk the language of the visionary
and the idealist.*

—Eric Hoffer

parallel changes in corporate management as growing organizational size and complexity, market expansion and integration, and increasingly complex regulatory environments changed the demands involved in union responsibility and leadership (Nesbit 2001; Clark and associates 1996). In the most recent era, labor studies programs, universities, and union-based educational centers increasingly provide formal education.

The labor movement and academia have had a long-standing but tenuous relationship (Nesbit 2001). Pragmatic union leaders often view intellectuals as outsiders and impractical. Harvard University's Trade Union Program, which provides one of the oldest examples of the relationship (Nesbit 2001), offers union officials and staff intensive training constructed around a core of strategic planning, labor history, union governance, economic analysis, and dispute resolution and arbitration. Many institutes of higher education have followed the example of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, where John R. Commons founded the first Industrial Relations Institute and initiated labor relations curriculums. An updated listing of such programs and the many state-sponsored programs may be found at the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees website at www.afscme.org. Unions also have increased their efforts at formal leadership training, and almost every union has an educational program, although resources dedicated to these programs vary greatly. The George Meany Center's National Labor College has created a year-round curriculum of short courses and has developed a bachelor of arts program for union leaders and staffers (Nesbit 2001). Providing academic credit for time involved in union leadership recognizes union emphasis on experience and performance.

With the advent of globalization, new government regulations, and varied economic concerns,

union leaders must be properly trained to respond and best represent worker concerns (LaPorte 1999). Despite their resistance to "book learning," modern unions encourage formally trained leadership. Recent patterns of leadership recruitment document the increased presence of leaders who enter leadership ranks as professionals (frequently as attorneys) but lack rank-and-file experience.

CAREER PATHS

LaPorte (1999) notes that leadership paths are dominated by political loyalties, not by broadly defined potential for leadership and selection by the rank-and-file. Those people to be appointed are mentored and groomed with a premium on loyalty to higher officials and a conformity with leadership social norms that mirrors managerial culture (Jackall 1988). Cronyism, patronage, and nepotism dominate along lines of race, gender, and language barriers. LaPorte (1999) asserts that in business model unions, when leaders don't trust members, essential functions are filled by hired staff members, many from outside the union, who have no natural base for developing their own power in the union—no threat to the leaders.

The factors motivating local union leaders' original activism typically are immediate and practical (mistreatment by management; dissatisfaction with wages and working conditions; desire for personal power, recognition, or financial gain; absence of other leaders; and prounion sympathy) (Seidman 1950). At that point, however, Mills (Mills and Atkinson 1945) notes two distinct career paths: one where labor leaders originated in rank-and-file jobs and a second where 20 percent of labor leaders originated in white-collar professional careers and then became union officials. Typically, labor leaders begin in local unions and then move to head either a state association or an international association. Either path constitutes substantial upward social mobility. Mills's survey in the 1940s concluded that labor leaders are best understood as a class of self-made men who rose through the ranks to become national leaders by virtue of personal qualities.

More recently, Ganz and associates' (2003) survey identified four motivations influencing labor leaders' career choices. Whereas some leaders saw union leadership as a means to achieve social reform objectives, others had well established community leadership goals prior to joining a union. For a third set of leaders, union leadership was a career option rooted in personal ambitions for upward mobility, status, and power. Finally, some leaders found motivation in their own experience as union members who perceived the importance of unions for their own lives and the lives of others. In contrast with conventional assumptions, Ganz and associates (2003) document a substantial exit from the labor movement between 1984 and 2002. Nearly one-third of labor leaders left during those years, one-half after losing political fights and one-half after they perceived that the union context did not best serve their social reform or personal goals.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

LaPorte (1999) notes that leadership develops around a set of core values. These values define what the union should look like or become and what the workplace should be and legitimate a larger conception of social and political goals. A transformational, participatory, or social movement form of union, however, seeks to build union member power by encouraging personal involvement and action. Cold War anticommunism and business unionism expressed moral conservatism originating with nineteenth-century craft unions. Evaluating U.S. unions between 1938 and 1955, Stephan-Norris and Zeitlin (1995) identified strongly divergent strains of political consciousness within union leadership. Radical and Communist-



The Global Compact

First proposed by U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan in 1999, the Global Compact aims to build corporate citizenship through support of nine principles that deal with human rights, labor, and the environment. As of 2003, more than 1,200 corporations around the world had signed the compact.

Human Rights

Principle 1: Businesses should support and respect the protection of internationally proclaimed human rights within their sphere of influence; and

Principle 2: make sure that they are not complicit in human rights abuses.

Labor Standards

Principle 3: Businesses should uphold the freedom of association and the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining;

Principle 4: the elimination of all forms of forced and compulsory labor;

Principle 5: the effective abolition of child labor; and

Principle 6: eliminate discrimination in respect of employment and occupation.

Environment

Principle 7: Businesses should support a precautionary approach to environmental challenges;

Principle 8: undertake initiatives to promote greater environmental responsibility; and

Principle 9: encourage the development and diffusion of environmentally friendly technologies.

Source: The Global Compact. Retrieved October 7, 2003, from <http://www.unglobalcompact.org>

led unions were much more likely to negotiate contracts that recognized a range of prolabor provisions when compared with stridently anticommunist and authoritarian-led unions.

Labor leaders' roles in influencing national social and political development reflect unions' relative labor market strength, their capacity to establish formal political representation, and the degree to which labor interests have been institutionalized in labor law and government agencies. In the United States prior to the New Deal, labor leaders failed to influence social policy generally and played only a marginal role in the passage of the 1935 Social Security Act (Cornfield 1991; Domhoff 1986–1987). Labor leaders have been more influential, however, when high levels of mobilization and union density were com-

bined with Democratic Party incumbency to provide a basis for resisting campaigns to pass anti-union security legislation (right-to-work) and passing public sector collective bargaining laws.

Labor leaders have been found to play a central role in promoting democracy and welfare state growth and improved working conditions in the United States and Europe. Barton's (1974) interviews with five hundred leaders, including those of seventy-six unions with over fifty thousand members, found distinct economic and foreign policy camps. Labor leaders' values and attitudes were found to be similar to minority group leaders and leaders from ideologically liberal organizations all held similar positions on economic issues, but business union model labor leaders typically supported business community positions on foreign policy. Labor leaders stood virtually alone in their strong support for federal government control of social programs—with many Democratic leaders differing on this issue. Labor leaders, however, often supported business associations' anticommunist, antidemocratic, and prodictatorship positions on foreign policy.

The typical labor leader's work life is dominated by a heavy, bureaucratically structured workload that concentrates on communicating with members, servicing their concerns, and representing their interests to management, government, and the larger community. As heads of democratic organizations, union leaders are also politicians whose lives revolve around the reality of elections by rank-and-file members but who often work within a leadership culture focused on limiting the opportunity for opposition. Working within a highly institutionalized environment of government regulations and contractual obligations, leaders face a contradictory set of cross-cutting demands. As movement leaders, directing mobilization and membership campaigns to recruit members, some union leaders must display charismatic qualities. As heads of complex bureaucracies, union leaders must master the skills of political negotiation, procedural calculation, and technical analysis.

These day-to-day challenges become mediated and structured by societal changes, such as immigration, technological advances, and the evolution of markets. During the past 150 years, as unions have

become core institutions of pluralist democratic societies, leadership objectives have oscillated between mobilization militancy and conservative defense of workplace gains. Current trends in globalization of trade, investment, and labor will present union leaders with an additional set of challenges in the twenty-first century. Labor leaders' ability to respond to these challenges and establish organizational structures that cross national boundaries and establish international labor standards will determine the future of union revitalization or decline.

—William Canak

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LAISSEZ-FAIRE LEADERSHIP

Laissez-faire leadership may be the best or the worst of leadership styles. If the leader follows the normally understood definition and standard practice of noninterference and "hands-off" when supposedly leading his or her followers, the worst form of leadership is

manifested. However, when the twenty-first century properly prepares his or her followers, laissez-faire leadership emerges as the ultimate form of leading.

The two words *laissez-faire* and *leadership* are absolute direct opposites. The French term *laissez-faire* was originally used relative to mercantilism, and is defined in economics and politics as an economic system that functions best when there is no interference by government, and is considered a "natural" economic order that procures the maximum well-being for the individual and extends to the community. Leadership is defined as an interactive process that provides needed guidance and direction. Leadership involves three interacting dynamic elements: a leader, a follower(s) and a situation. The leader's role is to influence and provide direction to his/her followers and provide them needed support for theirs and the organization's success.

World, political, religious, and military leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi, Mao Tse Tung, Winston Churchill, Martin Luther King Jr., and George Patton have led multitudes, and even countries, to victory against seemingly insurmountable odds. Early-twenty-first-century leaders must develop a future vision, obtain commitment for such a vision, and inspire, motivate, and empower others to attain the highest level of accomplishment.

The noted author James MacGregor Burns (2003) presents two types of leadership: transactional and transformational. Aspects of transactional leadership are almost overlays of positive and proactive management where both attempt to influence employees to improve performance toward accomplishing organizational goals and individual personal and professional growth. They negotiate mutually satisfying goals, and enabling the leaders/manager's role to become one of encouraging and guiding the employee toward satisfying these goals.

In the management-by-exception passive mode, the manager/leader establishes job expectations and standards and dictates them in a one-way, top-down fashion. He/she emphasizes the punishments associated with not meeting the standards. The role is one of indifference, non-involvement or "leave alone"; hence, this mode could be called "laissez-faire leadership" or abdication of responsibility.

The transformational leader is identified with change. He or she influences others to improve themselves and/or the company beyond what would normally be accomplished without such leadership. Transformational leaders champion the change process and continually communicates the vision to all those involved. The managers continue their functions of planning, organizing, staffing, directing, controlling, communicating, problem solving, and decision making to maintain productivity output and quality while managing the change process.

AUTOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

The autocratic leadership style thrives in highly structured, hierarchical chain-of-command environments such as the military or very bureaucratic organizations. This type of leader exercises almost absolute power and commands strict compliance and conformity. The autocratic leader generally has a well-defined and controlled disciplinary process with an emphasis on punishments for noncompliance. This leader determines prescribed policies, procedures, rules, and goals. He or she is the decision maker and such self-directed decisions are final. In this environment, little interaction or communication is expected among associates. Out-flowing information is highly restricted while in-flowing communication is well filtered and defensive.

Autocratic leaders are usually rigid in their thinking and perceptions. They believe that employees have minimal abilities and capabilities and need close supervision and direction, and that controls are needed to assure their compliant behavior. The autocratic leaders believe their style is highly efficient. Unfortunately, this style of leadership results in minimal or no innovation, and virtually no personal or organizational change, growth and development. Cooperation, commitment and achievement are stifled.

Most individuals are familiar with the autocratic leader because such leaders are prevalent even today. It is generally not considered one of the best methods of leadership; however, the autocratic leader definitely is the preferred style in the military, police, and other organizations where individuals may be in dangerous situations.

DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

Democratic leadership is sometimes referred to as enlightened leadership. An individual manifesting this type of leadership recognizes each person's self-worth and esteem. The leader's actions are based upon trust, integrity, honesty, equality, openness and mutual respect. Democratic leaders show consideration and concern for others by empathetic listening and understanding. They foster open communication among all employees at all levels. Reasons and circumstances pertaining to decisions that affect the employees, department, or organization are shared in a timely fashion. Under such leadership, a highly positive, motivation-oriented environment is established to help satisfy the higher-level self-esteem and self-actualization needs as defined by Abraham Maslow (1998) in his hierarchy of needs. Ultimately, the democratic, enlightened leader strives to empower all employees to their maximum capability and desire. At the same time, the democratic leader places a strong emphasis on teamwork, while functioning as a facilitator to develop a natural synergy among the group.

The democratic or enlightened leader practices employee involvement in considering important issues and exercises influence in reaching consensual decisions. The ultimate goal is to democratically attain commitment to and ownership of decisions. He/she has high performance and quality expectations and recognizes that the only way to attain them is through a committed workforce. Employees participate in establishing goals—both common goals for the good of the organization and goals for their own personal self-growth, learning and development. The role of the leader/manager is to guarantee each employee's success in accomplishing these goals. A feedback system is instituted whereby each employee has the responsibility of informing the leader/manager of any obstacle that prevents successful achievement of the goals, and the leader/manager subsequently removes the hindrances.

The democratic leader places a high emphasis upon rewards rather than punishment. When discipline or correction is needed, it is administered justly. This leader recognizes that mistakes will happen and

considers them learning opportunities. In this way, everyone benefits and the mistakes may not reoccur.

LAISSEZ-FAIRE LEADERSHIP

The laissez-faire leader is one who believes in freedom of choice for the employees, leaving them alone so they can do as they want. The basis for this style of leadership is twofold. First, there is a strong belief that the employees know their jobs best so leave them alone to do their jobs. Second, the leader may be in a political, election-based position and may not want to exert power and control for fear of not being reelected.

Such a leader provides basic but minimal information and resources. There is virtually no participation, involvement, or communication within the workforce. Understanding of job requirements, policies, and procedures are generally exchanged from employee to employee. Because of this, many processes are out of control. No direction is given and the laissez-faire leader functions in a crisis or reaction mode. If there are goals and objectives, employee agreement or commitment is just assumed. Even if goals and objectives are shared, rarely is there a defined plan to accomplish them.

Laissez-faire management or leadership can only lead to anarchy, chaos, and inefficiency and can be dismissed out of hand as useless. Basically, the overall effect of laissez-faire leadership seems to be negative. But there may be an aspect of such a style of leadership that is very positive. Hersey, Blanchard, and Johnson (2000) propose that leaders do not have just one style of leadership, but rather have many varying styles depending upon the situation. In one situation, the employees are essentially incompetent, and lack job knowledge and skills. Here, the leader must be the key person in charge. Being an autocratic leader seems appropriate since the followers do not know enough to make any of their own decisions. Safety may also be a key factor. It is the leader's objective to train the employees as rapidly as possible to get them to a predetermined level of competence so they can begin contributing to the department and organization. Once they have successfully reached the prescribed level, the employees pass onto the next level.

In another situation, the leader continues to function in the autocratic style; however, as each employee matures and gains competence, his/her style evolves into the democratic leadership mode. The employees continue to gain knowledge about the job requirements, to become technically skilled and gain an understanding of the job and related tasks. This is accomplished through much interaction with the autocratic/democratic leader. The goal here is to make all employees job-competent so they do not need direct supervision.

At the point that democratic leaders emerge, they leave the autocrat behind. Through mutual discussion and decision making, the leader conducts a transaction with each employee. The leader offers an opportunity for each employee to move on to a third stage in which he or she takes on additional responsibilities. Employees are expected to continue working at their given jobs, but they begin functioning as pseudo-managers in a participatory manner. The leader will guide, counsel, direct, instruct, and share pertinent departmental and organizational job information to train and develop each employee to the maximum capability. Each employee will be expected to investigate and make process improvement and quality recommendations to the democratic leader. The recommendations must be fully documented and justified to prove to the leader that the employee has sound decision-making judgment. The goal in this situation is to allow each employee to learn and to prove he/she can make good, sound decisions.

Finally, those employees who have proven their decision-making acumen are fully empowered to make independent decisions within an agreed boundaries. Once each employee is comfortable in this last mode, the leader becomes a leader by exception or a laissez-faire leader. He/she knows minimal leadership or management is needed for these individuals.

—Ronald Goodnight

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LATIN AMERICA

See Bay of Pigs; Castro, Fidel; Cuban Missile Crisis; Farm Worker Movement; Guevara, Ernesto Che; Jonestown Mass Suicide; Panama Canal, Building of; Panama Canal Treaties; Pueblo Revolt

LEADER CATEGORIZATION THEORY

Theories of leadership traditionally have focused on the leader. For example, the goal of preliminary leadership research was to identify the characteristics that enable someone to be a great leader. In addition, researchers, in an attempt to understand leader-follower processes, have examined leader behavior, power, and contingency theories that specify the interaction between leaders and their situation. More recently researchers have placed greater emphasis on followers and their perceptions of leadership. This emphasis argues that ultimately leader-

ship exists in the eye of the beholder (i.e., the follower) and stresses the process of being labeled (categorized) a “leader” by one’s followers. The catalyst for research involving leader categorization was the work on categories in the social and cognitive psychology literatures.

CATEGORIES

A category is a mental representation of non-identical objects and events, including people and their characteristics, that are perceived as belonging together. (Note that several terms are used interchangeably with the word *category*, such as *schema*, *concept*, and *knowledge structure*.) Specifically, objects, events, and people are categorized based on their similarity to either category exemplars or prototypes. Exemplars are explicit examples of category members (e.g., Wayne Gretzky for “hockey player”), whereas prototypes are abstractions of features common to the focal category (such as the characteristics of hockey players). In general, as a person’s experience with a particular category increases, categorization moves from exemplar-based to prototype-based processing. Research has shown that the activation of particular characteristics of a category, prototype, or exemplar will elicit activation of other characteristics that belong to that category.

In addition to varying by content (i.e., prototypes versus exemplars), categories can vary by hierarchical structure. Specifically, in the context of cognitive psychology, people have argued that categories exist at three alternative levels: the superordinate, basic, and subordinate levels. The superordinate level involves making general group membership judgments (e.g., deciding whether the animal in question is a mammal). At the basic level, categorization is based on an overall gestalt (a structure, configuration, or pattern of physical, biological, or psychological phenomena integrated to constitute a unit) perception, and this level is the fastest and most common level for identifying category members (e.g., recognizing the mammal as being a dog). Finally, categorization is most specific at the subordinate level (e.g., the dog is a German shepherd).

However, the ease of categorization is highest and is usually done automatically at the basic level.

The use of categorization processes is prevalent in social interactions because it helps guide information processing, especially when one's mental capacity is reduced (due to, for example, high stress or distraction), relationships are familiar, or accurate retrieval of social information is not a chief goal. In fact, scholars have argued that categorization is an automatic process that serves as the default mode in social perceptions, helping perceivers assimilate large volumes of information. Categorization also lays the groundwork for people's subsequent interactions with individuals because they guide people's social expectations. In addition, first impressions are uniquely influential, and, after an individual is assigned to a particular category, later recategorization of that individual is unlikely. Indeed, after a person is categorized, much of the subsequently encountered information relevant to that person is processed in terms of the relevant category.

Mental categories serve several purposes. For example, reliance on mental categories helps people make sense of non-identical individual members via their knowledge of the categories to which the members belong while preserving as much information as possible. In social contexts, mental categories serve as a lens through which people shape their own reality and interpret the behaviors of others. In fact, the meaning that people extract from events is determined in part by the categories they assign to those events. Similarly, categorical knowledge facilitates making inferences about members' attributes and forming expectations about the future, even though people may have limited experience with members. For example, one might infer that an individual can ice skate from one's knowledge that she or he is a hockey player, although one has never witnessed the person on ice before. Categories with shared meanings can also facilitate effective communication with others because they express a large quantity of information. Lastly, the meaning that people derive from events via categorization goes beyond influencing only their social inputs; it also influences people's social outputs (such as attitudes and behaviors). For example, an innocent joke delivered by someone cat-

egorized as offensive might be interpreted as a verbal insult directed at oneself, resulting in retaliatory action directed toward that individual. However, the same joke delivered by someone categorized as being kind would be interpreted more positively and would not provoke aggressive actions.

Views of the structure of mental categories have undergone several modifications. Three predominant views were the driving force behind categorization research for many years: the classical, probabilistic, and theory-based views.

The classical view is the most stringent of the three because it insists that categories are defined by a set of necessary and sufficient attributes. That is, for the target individual or object to be classified as belonging to a specific category, the individual or object must satisfy all the criteria of that category (i.e., group membership is based on an all-or-none decision). However, several problems exist with this view. First, one can question whether defining attributes of categories exist and are shared by all members. For example, the Austrian philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein concluded that no attribute is common to all members of most categories. Second, some category members are better examples of their respective categories than others. For example, blue jays are rated as more typical of the category "bird" and are classified as birds more quickly than are ostriches or penguins. Third, people have difficulty categorizing unclear cases. Due to these problems, the probabilistic view of categories was proposed.

The probabilistic view of the structure of mental categories employed Wittgenstein's idea of family resemblance to determine category membership. *Family resemblance* refers to a set of attributes that can potentially belong to any member of the category in question but that is not necessary or defining. As such, category boundaries are "fuzzy" (i.e., categories are graded), which addresses the problems of defining features and typicality that beset the classical view. Eleanor Rosch, an influential cognitive psychologist, maintained that clarity in fuzzy categories is attained through a comparison of the to-be-categorized stimulus to a category prototype, which is an abstraction of features common to most category members. However, two questions remain

unanswered by the probabilistic view. First, on what are judgments of family resemblance or prototypicality based? Although it was clear that group membership is determined by perceived similarity to prototypes, it was less clear why specific attributes are chosen and others were excluded. Second, the family resemblance of perceivers goes beyond discrete attributes, often considering the causal relations between category attributes and the situations in which attributes are manifested when making categorization decisions.

The theory-based view of the structure of mental categories holds that people use both family resemblance and causal knowledge for categorization, although scholars contest the relative importance of causal knowledge. Less extreme is the view that causal knowledge can aid categorization, although scholars have also argued that people's judgments of group membership require specific causal relations in order to categorize an object, event, or person in question. In sum, although some issues remain, scholars generally accept that causal knowledge, in addition to family resemblance or prototypicality judgments, is essential for categorization. This view of mental categories had a substantial impact on theories of leadership perception.

LEADERSHIP AND CATEGORIZATION

Categorization theory has been applied to a number of topics in leadership literature: (1) follower categorizations of leaders, (2) leader categorizations of followers, (3) leader categorizations of organizations, (4) recurrent network models of leader prototypes, and (5) group identities.

Examining follower categorizations of leaders is the most common application of categorization theory to leadership. In fact, scholars suggest that judgments of leadership effectiveness or leadership perception owe as much to followers' categorizations as they do to actual leader behaviors. The central idea in explaining leadership perception is that a person's characteristics and behaviors are compared to a category prototype, and if a match is sufficiently close, the person is classified as a leader. When there is sufficient person-prototype match, the leadership cate-

gory is then activated along with its associated features (e.g., charisma, intelligence, and decisiveness) that are all believed to characterize the person in question. One methodological consequence of this process is that leader behavior ratings tend to reflect categorization processes as well as actual behavior. This follower-centered recognition process, based on person-prototype comparisons, is fundamental to Robert Lord and colleagues' theory of leadership perceptions and Implicit Leadership Theory (ILT).

In addition to categorizing leaders by prototype matching (i.e., recognition processes), leaders can be categorized by inferential processes. Inferential processes involve inferring leadership from outcomes (i.e., knowledge of successful task or organizational performance) rather than from specific characteristics of the person in question. An example of this type of processing is the performance cue effect: In experiments, experimentally manipulated, bogus performance information significantly affected leadership categorization and ratings of observed leadership behavior even though subjects in all experimental conditions saw exactly the same behavioral stimuli. Considerable research shows that, in general, cues pertaining to success enhance perceptions of leadership, whereas failure cues inhibit leadership perceptions.

Related to ILT are implicit performance theories (IPTs), which refer to leaders' categorizations of followers. In IPTs, what constitutes a successful follower is determined by leaders' mental representations or prototypes of effective subordinate behaviors or characteristics. For example, citizenship behaviors belong to the "successful subordinate" category of some leaders. One consequence of using IPTs is that judgments of subordinates' performance will vary across leaders with different IPTs, even though the same performances are being evaluated. Moreover, when subordinates are perceived as being successful (e.g., based on their performance of citizenship behaviors), leaders will attribute to subordinates other qualities that also belong to the leaders' category of successful subordinates (e.g., intelligent, punctual, or hardworking).

In addition to organizing and interpreting follower-related information, mental categories guide

behavior and mediate the relationships of environmental inputs and feedback to subsequent leader behaviors. For example, Wofford and Goodwin propose that the manifestation of transformational versus transactional leadership behaviors is due to differences in leaders' mental categorization of followers. Transformational leaders motivate subordinates to transcend their self-interests and perform better than what is thought possible, whereas transactional leaders emphasize the quid pro quo nature of exchange relationships. Leaders who categorize their followers as self-reliant, innovative, and having initiative will exhibit more transformational leadership behaviors (e.g., charisma and intellectual stimulation), whereas leaders who categorize their followers as more goal- and outcome-focused will exhibit more transactional leadership behaviors (e.g., role clarification and contingent rewarding). Likewise, Wofford and Goodwin argue that leaders whose categorization of performance includes organizational goals and visions will display more transformational leadership behaviors as compared to those leader who emphasize broad or specific performance outcomes. Finally, leaders' behavioral responses also are influenced by self-categorization processes. Specifically, leaders who see themselves as possessing transformational characteristics are more likely to exhibit transformational leadership behaviors. In sum, the categorizations made by leaders impact the perceptions and behaviors of both leaders and followers.

In addition to categorizing followers, Porac and his colleagues have provided evidence that leaders form hierarchical mental representations of both their own and competing organizations. Because organizations possess a wealth of information, a complete assessment of one's own or competing organizations is not possible for perceivers, who have limited information-processing capacities. Mental categorizations offer a simplified means of processing and monitoring organizations' strengths and weaknesses, allowing perceivers to understand their immediate competitive environment in spite of their processing limitations. Specifically, leaders form categories of organizations based on their similarity to other category members or prototypes. A

leader will view organizations perceived as belonging to different categories than his or her own organization as weaker competitors or irrelevant and thus will pay less attention to them. Judgments of category typicality are also important because a leader will consider competitor organizations that are deemed more prototypical of the category to which his or her organization belongs to be stronger rivals.

MALLEABLE PROTOTYPES

Researchers recently have found that rather than being fixed, long-term memory schemata, leadership prototypes are malleable and are influenced by situational constraints in the context in which categories are used. For example, group characteristics, leaders' level within the organizational hierarchy, and leader (or follower) emotions, norms, and goals all can change the prototype guiding leadership perceptions. Because leadership prototypes are sensitive to all these influences, they are currently conceptualized as flexible cognitive structures that are regenerated on the fly to meet contextual demands. Recurrent connectionist networks provide a promising model of category structure consistent with this more flexible view of mental categories.

Connectionist networks have been used to model how information is stored and processed in the brain. They are systems of neuron-like processing units that continuously receive and integrate information from input sources and then pass on the resulting activation or inhibition to output units. For example, seeing an ice skate (an environmental input) may activate the unit or concept of "hockey" in one's mind, which, in turn, activates related units, such as "Stanley Cup" or "goalie." Activation is able to spread in this manner because the units are interconnected. The connections between units are either positive (excitatory) or negative (inhibitory) and are quantified by weights which represent the strength of association or relatedness between two units. For example, the connection between "ice rink" and "hockey" has a larger weight than that between "ice rink" and "baseball." Spreading activation is faster and more widespread among units that share connections with large weights. Furthermore, the perceived meaning of acti-

vation can be drawn from either an individual unit in a network (e.g., a unit could represent the trait of dominance) or entire patterns of activation and inhibition among units in a network. In the case of leader categories, meaning is thought to exist at the level of entire networks (i.e., it is distributed), and units within the networks are able to influence each other (i.e., relations are recurrent). Leadership categories are flexible because, in addition to leader behaviors or characteristics, situational constraints are another source that supplies inputs to the network. Thus, categorization uses the parallel processing of connectionist networks to integrate both past experiences (i.e., recollections of leader behaviors) and current situational constraints (e.g., norms and goals) to form leadership categories.

An implication of this model is that leadership prototypes are continually reconstructed on the fly. Consequently, expectations for leaders grouped in the same category (e.g., middle-level business leader) but at different times may vary depending on momentary constraints such as the existence of a crisis or the momentarily active goals and values of perceivers.

A chief advantage of recurrent connectionist networks is that different categories are represented by different patterns of activation or inhibition over the same units spread throughout a single network. This representation is more economical than traditional categorization representations, in which different categories are likened to separate “storage bins,” each of which contains its respective prototypes (many of which are redundant across various categories or subcategories). Another advantage of recurrent connectionist networks is that people do not have to learn leadership categories separately for each specific situation. Experience with leadership behaviors will eventually lead to a stable pattern of connection (via the weights associated with the connections among category units) that constitutes the leadership prototype or schema, but the emerging prototype that is associated with “leadership” can still vary as constraints and inputs vary from situation to situation. Although different situations involve unique constraints that lead to different “leadership” categories being manifested, the initial

learned pattern of connections serves as a basic template in each situation.

The final topic relevant to categorization involves the belief that membership in a group impacts members’ social perception processes (e.g., social identity theory), which Hogg and van Knippenberg have applied to followers’ perceptions of leadership. Hogg and van Knippenberg maintain that when group members have strong social or collective identities, they develop a group prototype. Members will then place greater emphasis on the group prototype when making leadership determination judgments, rather than their own idiosyncratic ILTs or leadership categories. Social identities will be especially salient when group membership (1) is chronically accessible, (2) is contextually cued, (3) makes sense of the differences and similarities among people, and (4) explains others’ behaviors.

People are more likely to perceive as leaders group members whom they perceive as being more typical of the group prototype than are less-prototypical members, and these group members will exert greater influence over other members. Similar to other leader categorization theories, social identity theory maintains that people’s judgments of leader effectiveness or leadership perception depend on a leader’s similarity to the group prototype. The difference lies in people’s emphasis on a group prototype rather than on a more individual or culturally specified prototype. This apparent point of conflict between social identity theory and categorization theories of leadership perceptions can be resolved by recognizing that group identities are a powerful type of constraint on the networks used to define leadership prototypes. Thus, social identity theory can be viewed as a special case of the more general recurrent network model that explains how prototypes can be adjusted to fit better with many situations.

—*Russell E. Johnson and Robert G. Lord*

See also Followership; Group Norms; Leader-Follower Relationships

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LEADER-FOLLOWER RELATIONSHIPS

The study of leadership has often been synonymous with the study of leaders. Although their existence was acknowledged, the role that followers play in the dynamics of leadership has historically been understudied and often even ignored. In the United States and elsewhere, leadership has tended to be glorified while the word *follower* conjures up images of sheep and serfs. Yet the success of leadership undeniably depends on the actions of followers, who can choose either to support or to sabotage, and who can influence the actions of leaders for better or worse.

Recent work has emphasized the importance of positive leader-follower relationships in successful leadership; it has also noted a trend toward expanding follower roles into what was once seen as the exclusive domain of leadership. Indeed, the leader-follower distinction is itself often arbitrary: Most senior organizational leaders are also followers, though presumably engaged in a kind of proactive followership with their bosses that makes use of their own leadership skills.

EARLY TRENDS IN THE STUDY OF LEADERS AND FOLLOWERS

Early work on leadership tended to focus on the attributes, behavior, and influence styles of leaders. It considered a leader's followers to be a homogeneous group whom the leader treated uniformly and who, it was assumed, reacted to this treatment similarly. The so-called "Great Man" (or "Great Woman") approach popular in the early and mid 20th century sought to find attributes that would distinguish lead-

ers and followers, as if the two were different species that could be clearly and consistently identified. Yet while this early research was able to identify traits associated with leadership, it did not support the idea that a person needed to possess a certain trait or set of traits to become a leader regardless of the situation. Attributes associated with leaders in one context were not necessarily associated with leaders in other contexts.

Studies focusing on behaviors associated with leaders had similar successes and difficulties. Most early work assumed that leaders behaved in a fairly uniform manner regardless of the followers with whom they were interacting. Rarely was it acknowledged that a leader might behave differently or have different styles of interaction with different followers, or that the quality and nature of a leader's relationship with one group of followers might be markedly different from the quality and nature of the relationship with another group. These studies also focused on how a leader's behavior influenced followers' behavior, hoping to identify those leader behaviors that would spur followers to increased motivation and productivity.

THE EVIDENCE FOR MUTUAL INFLUENCE

Despite the initial emphasis on leader attributes and behavior, work began surfacing that indicated that followers and the relationship between leader and follower needed to be given more serious attention. Laboratory studies started to show that followers could indeed influence leader behavior. For example, a study by Crowe, Bochner, and Clark showed that followers who responded only to autocratic leader behavior could make their more democratically oriented leaders start behaving autocratically. This makes obvious sense: If a leader wants a successful outcome and one type of behavior does not produce it, the leader is likely to try other behaviors. When this happens, it means that the followers have effectively changed the leader's behavior.

Further, leaders were shown to behave differently with different followers, for example, granting more freedom and autonomy to capable staff members than they did to their less competent followers. This

and other work showed clearly that leaders were differentiating among followers and establishing different relationships with them, at least partly in response to the followers' behavior.

The idiosyncrasy credit model put forward by the psychologist Edwin Hollander in 1958 suggested that followers give leaders the legitimacy to influence them, based on the leader's ability to exchange valued resources with followers. According to this model, leaders can earn psychological credit and raise their status in the eyes of followers by demonstrating task competence and by conforming to the norms and standards of the group. Leaders need a certain amount of credit in the eyes of followers to be able to influence them; leaders must earn the right to influence followers. When followers have the opportunity to choose their leaders (such as by election), they will choose leaders who have earned the most psychological credit. Whether elected or appointed, leaders can offer followers a sense of progress in an organizational system (through promotions, raises, and acknowledgment of contributions) and fair treatment in exchange for the followers' loyalty and productivity. As long as the exchange is balanced, credit will be given and satisfaction and productivity will result. If unbalanced, credit diminishes. Elected leaders stand to lose the support of their followers and ultimately their position; appointed leaders will lose followers' commitment and willingness to perform.

THE LMX APPROACH

Organizational psychologist George Graen further developed the interactional approach by examining the different relations leaders establish with different followers. In 1975, Graen formulated the Vertical Dyad Linkage approach, examining the relationship between a leader and individual followers as dyadic links between members of two different levels within an organization, one of whom has direct authority over the other. This approach matured in the last quarter of the twentieth century into what is now called LMX (Leader-Member Exchange) theory.

Substantial research on LMX has documented that leaders can and do establish different relation-



Loyalty to One's Followers

The following ethnographic account of the actions of a Pawnee war party and its leader point to the important role a sense of responsibility for one's followers can play in motivating leaders to develop unique solutions to difficult situations.

[The Pawnee] were surprised by a party of Sioux. There were many of them, and they drove the Skidi [Pawnee] back, and at length these were obliged to climb the steep side of Court House Rock. The Sioux dared not follow them up on to the rock, but guarded the only place where it was possible to come down, and camped all around the rock below to starve the Skidi out. The Skidi had nothing to eat nor to drink, and suffered terribly from hunger and still more from thirst. The leader of the party suffered most of any, for he thought that he would surely lose all his men. He felt that this was the worst of all. He must not only die, but must also be disgraced, because under his leadership the young men of his party had been lost. He used to go off at night, apart from the others, and pray to Ti-ra'-wa for help; for some way to save his party.

One night while he was praying, something spoke to him, and said, "Look hard for a place where you may get down from this rock, and so save both your men and yourself." He kept on praying that night, and when day came, he looked all along the edge of the rock for a place where it might be possible to get down. At last he found near the edge of the

cliff a point of the soft clay rock sticking up above the level of the rest. The side of the rock below it was straight up and down, and smooth. At night he took his knife, and began to cut about the base of this point of rock, and night after night he kept at this until he had cut away the base of the point, so that it was no larger around than a man's body. Then he secretly took all the lariats that the party had, and tied them together, and let them down, and found that his rope was long enough to reach the ground. He put the rope around the point, and made a loop in it for his feet, and slowly let himself down to the ground. He got there safely, and then climbed back again. The next night he called his men about him, and told them how it was, and that they might all be saved. Then he ordered the youngest and least important man of the party to let himself down, and after him the next youngest, and so on, up to the more important men, and last of all the leader's turn came. He let himself down, and they all crept through the Sioux camp and escaped.

They never knew how long the Sioux stayed there watching the rock. Probably until they thought that the Skidi had all starved to death.

Source: Grinnell, George Bird. (1889). *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk-Tales, with Notes on the Origin, Customs and Character of the Pawnee People*. New York: Forest and Stream Publishing Company, pp. 67–69.

ships with different followers, and that these different relationships affect a wide variety of outcomes for leaders, followers, and their organizations. Specifically, better-quality leader-follower relationships are characterized by mutual support and respect, loyalty, affection, and often are associated with followers having greater autonomy and freedom to make decisions. When LMX is favorable, leaders are more supportive of followers and may monitor them less and mentor them more. Favorable LMX between leaders and followers has also been associated with better overall performance, satisfaction, and satisfaction with supervision on the part of followers, as well as less role conflict, more role clarity, and greater organizational commitment.

Because of these and other favorable individual and organizational outcomes, theorists suggest that leaders try to develop positive exchange relationships with all followers to the extent possible. Obvi-

ously, this does not always occur. With some leaders, there are perceived in-groups that enjoy positive LMX relationships with their leaders, while others do not enjoy good relationships. Leaders have lower expectations for followers in low-quality relationships, with follower compliance exchanged for salary and benefits. This may be acceptable to some employees, who seek only a paycheck and little autonomy or challenge, but it is likely to be dissatisfying for many others. In contrast, followers in high-quality LMX relationships get more from their leaders in terms of influence, benefits, and job prospects, but they also work under the leader's higher expectations in terms of commitment and effort.

TRANSFORMING LEADERSHIP

Exchanges appeal to followers at least in part because they satisfy followers' self-interest. Based on his sem-

inal analysis of political leadership, however, James MacGregor Burns proposed that leadership could be transformational as well as transactional. According to Burns, leaders can mobilize the energies of followers by appealing to followers' moral values, raising followers' awareness of ethical issues, and encouraging followers to rise above self-interest for the sake of a greater good. Current theories of transformational and visionary leadership, such as Bernard Bass's well-known model of transformational leadership, have built on this tradition, emphasizing the importance of influencing and empowering followers to accomplish shared objectives. Again, the importance of trust and respect are evident, as followers are believed to follow and to be motivated to do more than they might have previously thought possible, because they admire and trust the leader. Leaders who are transformers articulate a compelling vision based on shared values, inspire followers to act, and empower followers to move the vision into reality.

Though theories of transformational leadership tend to focus more on the leader than on the relationship, followers of transformational leaders do report higher satisfaction with their leaders, suggesting that the relationship is a positive one. One major contribution of these theories has been to highlight the importance of emotional processes as well as rational ones, as leaders and followers are seen to relate on an emotional level, even to the point of allowing followers to put aside what is in their own rational best interests in service of the organization. Another contribution is the emphasis on empowering followers, a process of power sharing that can allow followers to develop leadership skills of their own. Empowerment changes the nature of the leader-follower relationship by potentially putting the two on more equal footing and encouraging self-determination and choice for followers within prescribed boundaries.

DEVELOPING POSITIVE LEADER-FOLLOWER RELATIONSHIPS

Positive leader-follower relations do not develop without reasonable efforts on both sides to nurture them. For both leaders and followers, LMX improves as the other member of the dyad puts forth effort in

When the effective leader is finished with his work, the people say it happened naturally.

—Lao-Tze

developing the relationship. Dissatisfaction has been found when either member perceives the other to be contributing less to the relationship than he or she is. Followers in lower-quality relationships report less intention to invest in their relationships with their leaders, suggesting that if leaders wish to improve low-quality relationships with staff, they will likely need to make the first move. If the follower reciprocates, the relationship can begin to improve.

The likelihood of a positive leader-follower interaction also may depend on followers' needs, values, and preferences. Although work in this area is just beginning, there is evidence that followers differ in their leader preferences. One follower's perfect leader may be anything but perfect for another. Specific follower characteristics that appear to correlate with preferences for particular types of leaders include achievement orientation, self-esteem, need for structure, and specific work values. Consistent with the findings of transactional or exchange approaches, followers seem to be drawn to leaders who offer them something they value, whether it is rewards, job stability, or some other desired outcome. This suggests that leaders who wish to establish positive relations with a range of different followers may need to get to know the needs and values of the followers and be willing to expend more effort with some than with others.

Aspects of the work context also can affect the quality of leader-member interactions. Although larger units and heavy workloads appear to work against the development of better relationships, positive relations with the leader can increase followers' satisfaction even in these difficult situations. There is evidence that a better-quality relationship between the leader and follower is more likely to occur when the leader perceives the follower to be competent as well as similar in attitudes and values. To the extent that the leader's perception is based on demographic similarity or dissimilarity, problems of prejudice and discrimination may emerge.

THE NEEDS OF A DIVERSE FOLLOWERSHIP

One aspect of leader-follower relations that needs further examination is the impact that differences between leaders and followers have on the quality and success of their relationships. Twenty-first-century workplaces are populated with a much more heterogeneous group of workers than were the workplaces of earlier times, and research has shown that demographic differences between leaders and followers can make a difference in both satisfaction and performance. For example, several studies have indicated that the quality of the relationship between a leader and follower is lower when the two are of different genders. It is likely that relationship quality will be affected by other demographic factors as well. Both in the United States and elsewhere, demographic differences between supervisors and subordinates have been related to leaders' giving followers lower ratings for effectiveness, to leaders' being less attracted to dissimilar followers, and to lower levels of follower satisfaction.

Leaders may need to make greater efforts to work effectively with diverse staff members, particularly if leaders have tendencies to establish higher-quality relationships with demographically similar followers. Research suggests that it is worth the effort: It appears that outstanding leaders differ from less effective ones in their greater consideration of and sensitivity to the needs of followers. Work with international executives has suggested a variety of behaviors that can help leaders establish more positive relationships with culturally dissimilar followers, including being sensitive to cultural differences, being able to bring out the best in people, flexibility, and being open to criticism and feedback from others. Developing these skills as well as paying attention to the different relational needs of different followers may become even more important as organizations become more internationally diverse.

THE IMPORTANCE OF ACTIVE FOLLOWERSHIP

Many current authors have emphasized the importance of harnessing the creativity and talents of fol-

lowers as active participants. Obedience is no longer enough: Obedient followers are ill prepared to take initiative, generate ideas, and collaborate in creating and sustaining successful modern organizations. Followers are not powerless, and they can play a key role in improving leadership by supporting their leaders when appropriate and being willing to challenge them when warranted. Followers must find their own voice in their relationship with their leaders, and have the courage to use it. The courageous or exemplary follower is responsible, proactive, willing to resist improper influence, and even willing to coach the leader if necessary. The follower with skills complementary to the leader's own may provide balance and be able to act as a sounding board, potentially preventing mistakes that might have negative repercussions for the leader, follower, and organization alike.

Such proactive followership is likely to develop only within a leader-follower relationship characterized by mutual respect and trust. There can be risk, particularly for the follower, in challenging leaders. By establishing positive leader-follower relations, leaders can create the conditions necessary for the development of effective followership, including a safe environment in which followers feel comfortable bringing the best of their knowledge and abilities to the tasks at hand. And effective followership supports effective leadership. Good leaders and good followers enhance each other, to the betterment of both.

—Lynn R. Offermann

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LEADERLESS GROUPS

Leaderless groups are those groups that exhibit the absence of formal leadership roles. At least initially, in leaderless groups no individual has responsibility for making sure that the group is progressing toward the achievement of certain goals or actions. Scholars have used the term *leaderless group* to describe a variety of situations in social groups, therapy groups, community groups, and management groups. In terms of leadership theory and practice, the idea of leaderless groups has played two key roles. First, structured leaderless group situations have been used in conjunction with the assessment of emerging leaders. Second, the idea of leaderless groups is related to the functioning of groups who may be viewed as more egalitarian, such as self-directed work groups or self-managed work groups. However, people could debate whether these types of work groups are actually leaderless groups or rather groups with shared leadership.

DEVELOPMENT OF LEADERLESS GROUPS

Research about the functioning of leaderless groups is not abundant. As Eleanor Counselman noted, we have a striking absence of knowledge about how leaderless groups actually function (Counselman, 1991). Leaderless group movements emerged most prominently in the 1950s and 1960s in conjunction with both the humanistic movement and the development of more formal theories of leadership behavior. Comprehensive reviews for this time period focused both on the psychotherapeutic field and the organizational behavior field. These reviews are exemplified by the literature reviews of Seligman and Desmond in psychology and Bernard Bass, a leadership theorist, in organizational behavior (Seligman and Desmond, 1974; Bass, 1954). Primarily, leaderless groups have been used either as a therapeutic tool or as a leadership assessment mechanism.

We likely have less information on the ongoing function of leaderless groups because the use of the idea itself has been directed to drawing out leadership behaviors. When this drawing-out occurs, the leaderless group no longer is leaderless. The question of whether leaderless groups can be viable on a long-term basis is important but beyond the scope of the discussion here.

As Seligman and Desmond note in their historical review, leaderless groups have been used in psychiatric settings to reduce the effects of institutionalization on patients. Leaderless groups have also been used in conjunction with peer self-help groups in communities (Seligman and Desmond, 1974). In these settings experts hypothesize that individuals would develop greater capacities for self-functioning if they had to take some personal actions and initiatives to organize activities, initiate structure, and generally interact in this leaderless environment. However, as Counselman asks, are these really leaderless groups or rather periodic leaderless sessions that are still under the control of a leader (Counselman, 1991)? This type of approach may also be seen in the organizational behavior field, for example, in such cases as T-groups (therapy groups) and sensitivity training practices (Porter, 1979). These practices begin to serve as a bridge into the organizational behavior and leadership fields.

The leaderless discussion group has been widely used as a method to study the emergence of leaders and leadership patterns. Bass has reviewed the literature in this regard (Bass, 1954). Leaderless group discussions have been widely used as part of management assessment techniques. Individuals are placed in unstructured situations, and trained observers watch either as a participant-observer or as an individual observing from behind a one-way mirror. The purpose of these exercises is to identify leadership behaviors and practices in an artificial situation that will be predictive of future managerial success. Scholars have conducted numerous studies of how leaders emerge in these situations and what variables determine the emergence of leadership. For example, the effect of gender on the emergence of leaders in leaderless groups has been the subject of much research (Eagly and Karau, 1991; Moss and

Kent, 1996). The effect of physical appearance has been studied (Campbell, Simpson, Stewart, and Manning, 2002). Again, the focus of the research has been more on how leadership emerges rather than on the phenomenon of “leaderlessness” itself.

EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT

The concept of leaderless groups as an assessment method is still used today. The concept of leaderless groups may have evolved during the years into the related concepts of self-leadership, self-directed work groups, and self-managed teams. These concepts may be typified by the work of Manz on self-managing groups (Manz, 1995). The concept of leaderless groups has had an impact on the development of current leadership trends. The ideas of increasing empowerment, allowing employees to be owners, and creating greater employee participation in the workforce are likely related to the concept of leaderless groups, but little formal research directly outlines this conceptual migration.

The concept of leaderless groups has been important in the development of theories about personal leadership traits and group leadership patterns. A review of how leaderless groups have functioned in practice indicates that the primary value of the concept may be more as the setting for researchers to discover how leaders emerge in groups and what individual behaviors, attributes, and characteristics are correlated with the recognition of leadership than it has been in helping us understand the dynamics of how leaderless groups actually function. This may be because in the absence of clear leadership roles or in a leadership vacuum, participants will invariably insert leadership behaviors. Additionally, though, we can make a case that in some way, the concept of leaderless groups has influenced the development of popular concepts such as self-directed and self-managed teams. Whether these types of teams are actually leaderless groups or some type of shared leadership groups remains for future researchers to determine.

—David W. Frantz

See also Invisible Leadership; Leading from a Distance; Substitutes for Leadership

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LEADER-MEMBER EXCHANGE (LMX) THEORY

Many theories of leadership focus on the nature of the interactions that occur between the leader and his or her subordinates. They attribute effective leadership to a situation in which subordinates give the leader the legitimacy and power to lead effectively in return for various valued resources provided by the leader (trust, respect, status, money, privileges). One of the best known of these transactional theories of leadership is Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) theory, which evolved from the earlier Vertical Dyad Linkage (VDL) model.

TRANSACTIONAL THEORIES OF LEADERSHIP

Transactional theories of leadership recognize that leadership is not a property of an individual, but is a relationship in which one person leads and others follow. The key question about leadership, therefore, is what kind of relationship must exist between leader and followers for the leader to be able to be innovative and to have followers comply with his or her requests, ideas, suggestions, and behavioral

leads. That is, what kind of relationship allows a leader to be an effective leader? To answer this question, transactional theorists focus on the “transactions” between leaders and followers.

Transactional theories draw on equity theory in social psychology, which argues that interactions between people are governed by the principle that each interactant should give as best as he or she can to match whatever resources are provided by the other interactant—resources can include praise, information, help, support, and punishment. Transactions lie at the core of relationships and interpersonal interactions, and people are motivated to reduce inequity in these transactions. Where a transaction takes place between leader and followers, there is great potential for inequity because the leader has a range of skills, experience, and expertise that followers cannot easily match. Thus, a state of inequity exists. To redress the transactional imbalance, group members reward the individual with social approval, praise, prestige, status and power; in other words, with the trappings of leadership and the ability to lead effectively.

One of the best-known early transactional theories of leadership was proposed by Edwin Hollander in the mid-1950s. Hollander argued that for a leader to be effective he or she needed to be allowed by the group to be innovative, to be able to experiment with new ideas and new directions; that is, to be idiosyncratic. Drawing on the equity argument, Hollander wondered what circumstances of leadership would create a transactional relationship between leader and followers in which the followers would provide the leader with the resources to be able to be idiosyncratic. Hollander famously argued that leaders who had behaved in a highly conformist manner as they climbed the organizational ladder accumulated credits, called “idiosyncrasy credits,” from the group. When they arrived at the top of the organization, followers would effectively hand over these credits (as a resource) to the leader, who could then spend them by behaving idiosyncratically, innovatively, and creatively. In one study, for example, older children, who had previously shown leadership potential, were introduced into small groups of younger children in a Hungarian nursery. The most successful leaders

were those who initially complied with existing group practices and who only gradually and later introduced minor variations.

More recent research since the early 1990s, by Tom Tyler and his associates on processes of trust among people in a group with which they identify strongly, would argue that conformist, or group-serving, behavior builds trust among members. When one member rises to a leadership position, or occupies a leadership position, the basis of trust persists and creates an environment in which the group allows the leader to be innovative, nonconformist, and idiosyncratic because the group trusts the leader to do the right thing for the group.

LMX THEORY

Vertical-Dyad Linkage (VDL) Model

LMX theory is a transactional theory of leadership. Originally called the Vertical Dyad Linkage (VDL) model, it arose in the early 1970s in reaction to the dominant behavioral and contingency models of leadership. These traditional models implicitly assumed that leaders adopt the same leadership style with all group members (the so-called average leadership style approach).

In contrast, VDL researchers believed that leaders adopt different leadership styles with different subordinates. More precisely, leaders develop different dyadic exchange relationships with different specific subordinates. These relationships can either be ones that treat the subordinate as a close and valued “ingroup” member with the leader, or ones that treat the subordinate in a more remote manner as an “outgroup” member who is separate from the leader. As the VDL model has evolved into LMX theory, this dichotomous treatment of leader-member exchange relationships—the ingroup versus outgroup distinction—has disappeared and has been replaced by a continuum of quality of exchange relationships.

LMX Theory

LMX theory focuses on the quality of dyadic leader-member exchange relationships. These rela-

tionships can range on a continuum from ones that are based on mutual trust, respect, and obligation (high-quality LMX relationships), to ones that are simply based on the terms of the formal employment contract between leader and subordinate (low-quality LMX relationships).

High-quality LMX relationships are ones where subordinates are favored by the leader and thus receive many valued resources, which can include both material benefits (e.g., money, privileges) and psychological benefits (e.g., trust, confidences). Leader-member exchanges go beyond the formal employment contract, with managers showing influence and support, and giving the subordinate greater autonomy and responsibility. High-quality relationships should motivate subordinates to internalize the group’s and the leader’s goals. In contrast, low-quality LMX relationships are ones in which subordinates are not favored by the leader and thus receive fewer valued resources. Leader-member exchanges simply adhere to the terms of the employment contract, with little attempt by the leader to develop or motivate the subordinate. Subordinates will simply comply with the leader’s goals, without necessarily internalizing them as their own.

LMX RESEARCH

LMX theory predicts that effective leadership requires leaders to develop high-quality LMX relationships with their subordinates, because these relationships should enhance subordinates’ well-being and work performance. Such relationships might also bind the subordinate to the group more tightly through loyalty, gratitude, and a sense of inclusion.

LMX relationships develop over time within groups. The motivation for developing differentiated LMX relationships is that in most groups, the leader has to relate to a large number of subordinates. In order to be effective, it is simply more efficient to select some subordinates in whom to invest a great deal of interpersonal energy and to treat the rest in a less intensive and personalized manner. The process through which this selection occurs involves the leader discovering what sort of a role the subordinate can or does have in the group. First, there is a role-

taking stage in which the leader has expectations about a subordinate's performance-motivation and capacity, and tests this out by giving the subordinate a set of tasks and assignments. Compliance with the leader's expectations regarding these tasks and assignments leads into the role-making phase in which the LMX relationship is defined. There is mutual and equitable exchange of resources within the leader-member dyad; for example, information, influence, support, attention, desired tasks, and latitude of acceptable behavior. Task performance, commitment, and citizenship are expected from the subordinate. The final stage is role-routinization in which the leader-member relationship has become stable, smooth-running, and relatively automatic.

Differentiated Leader-Member Dyads

Research on LMX theory has shown that in organizations, managers tend to differentiate among their subordinates, and establish better LMX relationships with some subordinates than with others. According to one study, over 90 percent of managers vary greatly in the quality of the relationship they have with their subordinates. There is probably a practical reason for this. Managers have limited resources, with many demands upon their time. Therefore, they direct resources to a smaller number of their subordinates who take primary responsibility for helping with work-related issues. Differentiation in quality of relationships may be a functional strategy adopted by managers to achieve optimal performance when resources are limited or when there are many demands placed upon them (e.g., work complexity, managing many individuals).

Antecedents and Consequences of LMX Relationships

Research has identified four main antecedents of different LMX relationships: member characteristics (e.g., performance, personality and upward influence behavior), leader characteristics (e.g., leader ability), interactional variables (e.g., demographic compatibility and similarity), and contextual variables (e.g., leader workload, pressure on time). For example, high-quality LMX relationships are more likely to develop when the leader and the subordinate have

similar attitudes, like one another, and belong to the same socio-demographic groups (same sex, same ethnicity, same religion). Likewise, more able leaders and better performing subordinates are more likely to develop high-quality LMX relationships.

LMX relationships have a number of important consequences. Subordinates' ratings of their LMX relationships are positively related to supervisor ratings of job performance, objective job performance, job satisfaction, well-being, organizational commitment, organizational citizenship behavior, and member career outcomes. High-quality LMX relationships are also associated with lower employee turnover, and with fewer retaliation behaviors on the part of subordinates. There is also longitudinal research that suggests that if leaders develop a partnership, rather than just an exchange relationship, with specific followers, there can be significant performance gains. Overall, then, high-quality LMX relationships may produce (though most studies are correlational, not causal) better performing and more satisfied workers who are more committed to the organization and less likely to leave.

Dyadic Partnership Building

The process of LMX relationship development (role-taking and role-making to role routinization) has reasonably good support from direct longitudinal studies. This process, however, is also quite consistent with broader theories, and associated evidence, in social psychology of group development. For example, small groups tend to go through five developmental stages to establish people's roles, and the types of role and interpersonal relationships people have with one another within the group. The first four stages are particularly relevant to the development of LMX relationships:

- **Forming:** an orientation and familiarization stage
- **Storming:** a conflict stage where members know each other well enough to start working through disagreements about goals and practices
- **Norming:** Having survived the storming stage, members achieve consensus, cohesion, and a sense of common identity and purpose

- Performing: a period in which the group works smoothly as a unit that has shared norms and goals, and good morale and atmosphere

LIMITATIONS OF LMX THEORY

The principal limitation of LMX theory is that it focuses primarily on dyadic leader-member relationships and fails to consider that these relationships occur in the context of the group as a whole. The leader-member dyads are treated as though they develop, and have their effects, in isolation from other leader-member dyads, from other dyadic relationships, or from the group as a whole. The majority of research on LMX is, quite explicitly, located at the dyadic level, with very little theorizing or empirical work examining LMX at the group or social-network level. Research and theory focus on the leader-subordinate relationship without acknowledging that each dyadic relationship occurs within a web of other relationships.

Dyadic Relations

LMX theory has been criticized for failing to conceptualize the social context. What is missed is that a specific leader-member relationship is located within the context of other leader-member relationships, and indeed the entire network of member-member relationships within the group. These other relationships will affect the members' perceptions of how other leader-member relations are structured and conducted. From social psychology, we know that people make social comparisons to evaluate the nature of their own perceptions and relationships. In a group, these comparisons will be made overwhelmingly with fellow group members' leader-member relationships—the group provides the parameters for valid social comparisons.

One consequence of the dyadic approach is that the quality of a specific LMX relationship is treated as though it is absolute. LMX theory assumes that people simply evaluate their own LMX relationship in an absolute sense. In the light of social psychological research on social exchange processes and social comparison processes, this may be rather

oversimplified. It is more likely that subordinates evaluate the quality of their LMX relationship not only in the absolute sense (low vs. high) but also with reference to their perception of other subordinates' LMX relationship. Since leader-member relations are important, subordinates will be highly motivated to compare their relationship with other members' leader-member relationships. More broadly, evaluation of LMX relationships will be influenced by concerns about what is considered to be "fair" within the context of the organization. Notions of equity, prior LMX history, comparison with other LMX relationships and procedural justice, are all likely to play an important part in determining LMX quality.

One of very few LMX studies that did focus on LMX quality as a comparative judgment (absolute LMX in relation to the average of other LMX relations in the group) showed that the higher the relative value, the lower the employee turnover eighteen months later.

Subgroup Relations

We can take the social context argument one stage further by noting that the social organization of many groups is not structured around isolated individuals but around a number of distinct subgroups, such as departments, divisions, or work teams in an organization. Social comparisons are therefore more likely to be intergroup than interpersonal comparisons. How does the leader relate to "my" subgroup in comparison with other subgroups? Intergroup comparisons—"us" versus "them"—have a quite different logic to interpersonal comparisons. Specifically, they have the familiar characteristics of intergroup behavior—ingroup favoritism, ethnocentrism, and outgroup denigration. This will have far-reaching consequences for subordinates' relations to their leader and reaction to their work, a possibility that has not been explored by LMX research.

Social Identity

The limitations of LMX theory hinge on the same overarching issue. Leadership and the nature of

leader-subordinate relationships need to be understood in the context of a deeper and more textured analysis of group processes, intergroup behavior, and the nature of group membership. Leaders lead groups that furnish group members with a sense of identity, and these groups and associated identities exist within a wider intergroup comparative context. Furthermore, differentiated leader-subordinate cliques within the group may establish powerful intergroup relations within the group. If perceived leader-member relations affect leadership effectiveness, then an understanding of such relations needs to recognize that the leader-member relationship does not exist in isolation from other interpersonal, inter-subgroup, and intergroup relationships.

In addition, the notion of “member” needs to address the member’s self-concept. Is the member conceiving of self as an isolated individual, as an individual in relation to the leader, as a member of a subgroup, or as a member of the group as a whole? From a social identity perspective, it could be argued that leader-member relations will be differently structured as a function of how strongly members identify with the group. Where people identify strongly with a group their relationships are depersonalized; they are based upon common group membership and shared group normative expectations. This contrasts with more personalized relationships, which are personal and idiosyncratic, among people who do not identify strongly with a group. The natural and preferred relationship among people, including between leaders and subordinates, varies as a function of identification with the group.

To be effective, leaders would need to cater their relationship to levels of identification. In some cases this would require depersonalized relations with high identifiers and personalized relations with low identifiers. In many cases, however, groups frame relations one way or the other: low-salience groups are characterized by personalized relations and high-salience groups by depersonalized relations. An inappropriate match between relationship style and strength and form of self-conception would violate people’s expectations and would hinder effective leadership. For example, although personalized dyadic relations catered to each individual will be

associated with effective leadership in low-salience groups, depersonalized relations that treat all members alike as important group members might be more effective in high-salience groups.

Social identity leadership researchers provide some evidence that although personalized leader-member relationships may promote effective leadership in low-salience groups, they are not so effective in high-salience groups. In high-salience groups, depersonalized leader-member relations in which followers are treated as prototypical group members are more strongly associated with effective leadership.

THE FUTURE OF LMX THEORY

LMX theory is a particularly valuable perspective on leadership because it views leadership as a relationship between leaders and followers. Furthermore, it considers the nature of the relationship to be important. The limitation of the approach is that it focuses too narrowly on the leader-member dyad, and does not consider the self-conceptual dimension of groups. The future for LMX theory is promising, but for the promise to be fulfilled LMX theory needs to widen its conceptual reach to consider social identity and self-conception processes, and to locate the dynamic of leader-member dyads in wider group and intergroup processes and structures.

—Michael A. Hogg

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LEADERSHIP, SITUATIONAL AND CONTINGENCY APPROACHES

See Leadership Development; Situational and Contingency Approaches to Leadership



LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

The concept of leadership development can be unclear or even confusing because it is made up of two terms—*leadership* and *development*—that are each ambiguous and multifaceted. There is no single,

universally accepted definition of leadership. Some researchers have gone so far as to say that it is impossible to define leadership in words, but people know it when they see it. Leadership can mean different things to different people depending on their experience, background, and developmental level. The best we can apparently do is to describe leadership as a process (not a position) that involves leaders, followers, and situations. The social-influence aspect of the proposed definition is limiting. There are potentially other forms of leadership such as relational dialogue that transcend influence processes. Also, research has shown that people hold implicit leadership theories that vary based on their experience and background. The distinction between leaders and followers is a somewhat arbitrary one. Everyone is a leader at some time or another, and everyone is also a follower at times. The roles change in a dynamic, fluid, and ongoing fashion. In a given situation, an individual may adopt both a leader and a follower role depending on whether he or she is influencing others or being influenced, setting direction or following direction, or providing support or receiving support at a particular moment.

Another aspect of leadership worth noting is that it is inherently a multilevel phenomenon. Leadership involves individuals, groups, and organizations. On an individual level, people adopt leader and follower roles. In groups and organizations, leadership emerges in the context of social structures and processes. Without a context in which to interact, there can be no leadership. Therefore, leadership is not something that is *added to* individuals, groups, or organizations; rather, it is *drawn from* those various entities.

Development, for its part, implies a change in state. It is growth from a less complex to a more complex way of thinking or acting. By this definition, aging is not necessarily development, because getting older without a corresponding change in cognitive or behavioral complexity does not constitute development. In most people, however, aging and development tend to go hand in hand. Research on adult development and in gerontology suggests that development often occurs throughout the lifespan, even into old age.

Human development has been discussed as an ongoing cycle of differentiation (acquiring new knowledge, skills, and abilities) and integration (organizing knowledge, skills, and abilities into more complex forms), moving toward increasing levels of complexity. But the change from a relatively simple state to a complex one is not always straightforward, and development is not perfectly predictable. Two individuals participating in an identical development program are likely to change in very different ways. What and how someone learns is of critical importance to development. Enhancing the ability to learn from experience is a key concern in development in general and in leadership development in particular.

DEFINING LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

Leadership development is the act of expanding the capacities of individuals, groups, and organizations to participate effectively in leadership roles and processes. In a comprehensive approach to leadership development, it is assumed that everyone (and not just top-level leaders) can learn and grow in ways that will make them more effective in the various leadership roles they take on and in the leadership processes that they contribute to. Therefore, development is appropriate at all levels—individual, group, and organization. Organizations are increasingly faced with what can be termed adaptive challenges, rather than technical problems. Adaptive challenges are situations that the organization has not experienced before and therefore is initially unprepared to handle. There are no known solutions to such problems, and it may not even be obvious how to identify or construct the problem. No single leader, no matter how talented or charismatic, can single-handedly solve these kinds of novel, hard-to-frame, and open problems. For this reason (and others), organizations need people at all levels who are prepared to share in more complex forms of leadership.

As mentioned, leadership is a dynamic process that involves leaders, followers, and situations. The first step in developing leadership is to develop individuals at all organizational levels so that they can participate effectively in this dynamic process. Sometimes the most effective way to participate is by

taking charge and setting direction or initiating structure. Other times participation may mean being considerate or supportive. Effective participation sometimes involves active listening or demonstrating commitment to the ideas or suggestions of another. Leadership is not a single role that is enacted by a single individual. Instead, it is a process that emerges as various roles are enacted, and those roles—and the people filling them—can change as the challenges change. Although leadership development begins with developing individuals, that is not where it should end. To help clarify this proposition, a distinction is needed between leadership development and leader development.

LEADER DEVELOPMENT

There is a longstanding confusion in the academic literature as well as in organizational practice between *leader* development and *leadership* development. What most researchers, theorists, and practitioners call leadership development focuses on developing individual leaders, and therefore might more accurately be called leader development. Most development programs and practices ignore the social context (including the roles that others play in the leadership process) in which leadership occurs. Instead, the focus of most programs is typically on helping individual leaders acquire or enhance knowledge, skills, and abilities in ways that are expected to improve their overall ability to lead. The focus is on developing human capital in organizations. The development of human capital is a necessary task, but alone it does not ensure more effective leadership. Leadership emerges through social interaction, and therefore it depends on the pattern and quality of networked relationships in an organization—what has been termed the social capital of an organization.

Effective leadership requires attention to both types of capital. Developing human capital without attention to social capital ignores the fact that leadership is based on interactions among leaders, followers, and the social environment. By the same token, attempting to develop the social capital aspects of leadership without preparing individuals with the necessary skills to communicate, influence, inspire, and otherwise

effectively participate in leadership is also ill advised. The key to developing effective leadership is to devote attention to both human and social capital—to link leader development with leadership development.

DEVELOPMENT PRACTICES

There are any number of practices that can be used to promote leader and leadership development. Although the most common approach is still the formal classroom program, there is a trend to embed development in the context of ongoing work. This trend can be traced back to interview research with managers in the 1980s regarding their most potent developmental experiences. Those interviews strongly indicated that managers believed experiences gained while on the job—and not classroom programs—most helped them develop leadership ability. The specific experiences were not always the same—they could be hardships or even failures, international assignments, mentoring, or receiving peer feedback (among others)—but it was the fact that the development occurred in a work-related context that made it so effective. Although people may learn worthwhile things from a classroom program, it is difficult to transfer the results back to the job and the organization. The difficulties in transferring classroom training further underscore the fact that developing individuals while ignoring the context in which they work is likely to have only limited impact.

Organizations make use of various development practices; several are briefly reviewed below. The practices are arranged below from least embedded to most embedded in the context of ongoing work.

Formal Classroom Programs

Most leadership development approaches still rely primarily on the formal classroom program. It is estimated that at least 85 percent of companies that engage in leadership development efforts use formal programs. Such programs usually offer a classroom seminar covering basic theories and principles of leadership in addition to activities designed to enhance self-awareness and self-understanding. These programs typically last several days to per-

haps a week or more and usually are held in an off-site location. Because of the considerable expense associated with program development customized for the organization, many organizations choose to send their managers to open-enrollment programs offered by private organizations or to university-based executive education programs.

Outdoor Challenges

Also known as wilderness training, this is becoming a popular method for developing teamwork and team-based leadership skills. Outdoor challenges also encourage participants to overcome risk-taking fears. Activities can include rope climbing, whitewater rafting, rappelling, and even mock boot camps followed with paintball games. Although such adventures are interesting and exciting for participants, there is no conclusive evidence that they lead to enhanced leadership or development back on the job. Obvious differences between wilderness and organizational contexts likely contribute to transfer-of-training difficulties.

360-Degree Feedback

This practice is also called multi-rater or multi-source feedback. It is a method of systematically collecting perceptions of an individual's performance and the effect he or she has on others from various perspectives (for example, peers, subordinates, supervisors). A basic assumption with 360-degree feedback is that others' perceptions of an individual vary depending on the nature of their relationship to that person. The practice can therefore help build a more complete and accurate picture of an individual's leadership ability. It is also useful for developing human capital in the form of enhanced understanding of one's impact on others. The method is especially useful if used in conjunction with other efforts that are directed at helping someone change in ways suggested by the feedback.

Executive Coaching

Coaching is a form of goal-focused, personal, one-on-one learning. It can be used to improve individual

performance, enhance a career, or work through organizational issues such as change initiatives. Coaching tends to be a relatively short-term intervention aimed at improving specific leadership competencies or addressing specific challenges. Many executive coaching assignments are linked to 360-degree feedback efforts, with the goal of helping the recipient make sense of the feedback and creating a plan for change.

Mentoring

Developmental relationships in organizations can be of a formal or informal nature. Formal mentoring programs are run by the organization, whereas informal mentoring, while typically encouraged by the organization, is not initiated or administered through formal channels. One strength of mentoring as a developmental tool is that it provides opportunities to observe and interact with people who have greater experience, such as members of senior management. These opportunities give the recipient a more sophisticated and nuanced understanding of the organization and the challenges it faces. Research indicates that both formal and informal mentoring can be effective for development, but that informal mentoring tends to have more benefits than formal mentoring.

Job Assignments

Development through job assignments provides managers with diverse experiences that help them master team building, strategic thinking, and to develop persuasion and influence skills. In order for a job assignment to be developmental, it must challenge an individual to use leadership approaches that he or she has not used before. The assignment must be made with development in mind and attention paid to its development aspect, otherwise the focus tends to be merely on how well the assignee performs, with little regard for his or her learning or development.

Action Learning

Action learning assumes that people learn most effectively when dealing with work-related issues in

Look at a man the way that he is, he only becomes worse. But look at him as if he were what he could be, and then he becomes what he should be.

—Goethe

real time. It is best described as a structured, continuous process of learning and reflection with a corresponding emphasis on addressing a problem of strategic importance to an organization. The idea behind action learning is relatively straightforward, but effective implementation is difficult. Similar to job assignments, the emphasis tends to be on performing well, with little attention devoted to learning. Without the learning component, development will be limited. One well-known action learning initiative was General Electric's "Work Out" program initiated in the 1980s by CEO Jack Welch. The action-learning process in this case involved working out problems in ways that enhanced General Electric's core values of empowerment and "boundary-less" behavior. It is notable for its efforts at making everyone responsible for leadership. Although action learning could be done using simulations, that is not typical. Also, leadership simulations are not very common. The most difficult issue with action learning is not transfer of training; rather, it is keeping the importance of learning on par with the emphasis on performance.

EVALUATING LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

Relatively few evaluative studies have empirically estimated a link between a particular leadership development program and actual leader development. Instead, evaluation efforts tend to focus on leader or group performance—that is, on how well a particular task was performed or problem solved. An implicit assumption is that if task performance was good, then development must have occurred and the initiative must have been successful. Although these are interesting and testable hypotheses, the approach does little to advance a better understanding of development. Performance could be improved with

little or no individual or group development having occurred. It is also possible that development occurs with no subsequent improvement in task performance (at least immediately). To appropriately test these hypotheses, a much better understanding of the criteria for leadership development is needed. Issues to be addressed in developing appropriate criteria include a comprehensive approach to conceptualizing and operationalizing the construct of development.

It is important to recognize that development is a relatively long-term investment in the human and social capital of an organization. There are few shortcuts to leadership development, but the potential payoffs can be instrumental in bringing about better overall organizational adaptation and effectiveness.

—David V. Day

See also Leadership Succession; Learning Organization; Mentoring

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LEADERSHIP EFFECTIVENESS

Adelphia Communications, John Rigas, CEO; AOL Time Warner, Robert Pittman, CEO; Arthur Andersen, Joseph Berardino, CEO; Bristol Myers, Fred Schiff, CEO; Citigroup, Sanford Weill, CEO; Enron, Ken Lay, CEO; Merrill Lynch & Co., David Komansky, CEO; Qwest Communications, Joseph Nacchio, CEO; Sunbeam, Al Dunlap, CEO; Tyco International, Dennis Kozlowski, CEO, and the list goes on—companies that were icons of success have now become icons of dramatic failure, unethical practice, or simply bad judgment. One day these companies and their leaders were lauded as the embodiments of leadership effectiveness and the next day as embodiments of what is wrong with the system.

The concept of leadership effectiveness is difficult to define because it is a complex concept that attempts to capture myriad components: multiple organizational contingencies and various personal and interpersonal behaviors. Here we shall attempt a normative definition and explain how its many components help us grasp a complex subject.

DEFINITION

People define the concept of leadership effectiveness in many ways. Indeed, Stogdill (1974), Bass (1981), and Bass and Stogdill (1990) catalogued and interpreted almost five thousand studies of the concept and found great variance in its definition. Burns (1978) captured the problem most vividly in a statement still widely quoted today: “Leadership,” he said “is one of the most observed and least understood phenomena on earth” (Burns 1978, 2). People seem to accept a default position that leadership is simply what leaders do and that leaders are simply people in positions of power over others. An alternative to this position will be offered later. Still, we must have a starting point for our understanding of leadership effectiveness—even if it means that almost immediately we will create controversy.

One inclusive definition of *leadership effectiveness* is “the successful exercise of personal influence by one or more people that results in accomplishing shared objectives in a way that is personally satisfy-

ing to those involved.” This definition arouses controversy when examined from perspectives based on behavior in different contexts. Although this definition most comfortably applies to the interpersonal, small-group, and network levels found within typical work environments, in almost all political arenas and in some huge organizations, leadership effectiveness will be defined differently.

For organizations in which members or employees are significantly affected by decisions and actions that take place at a distance with only representative participation at best, leadership effectiveness is the successful exercise of personal influence attempts by one or more people that results in accomplishing organizational objectives congruent with a mission while earning the general approval of their constituencies (in the case of political leadership) or stakeholders (in the case of business and civil society organizations). Stakeholders are people who have an interest in an outcome.

In both cases, the definition’s several conceptual components require further explanation because each has inspired a literature of its own to help clarify its meaning and to help us understand how to use it appropriately.

“SUCCESSFUL EXERCISE OF PERSONAL INFLUENCE BY ONE OR MORE PEOPLE”

A limited view of leadership sees it as a set of behaviors and functions specifically tied to one role or formal position. Holding this view, one would expect that only the CEO could be the leader. A somewhat wider view would recognize that leadership of a division, a committee, a department, or an office is equally important for the accomplishment of organizational goals because each person’s work contributes to achieving the overall purpose of the organization. The broadest view of leadership recognizes that everyone who exercises his or her personal influence, whether selecting office supplies, choosing a site for the company picnic, or deciding the location of a new plant, could be engaging in leadership.

Furthermore, the interaction among people before a consensus is reached or simply during the process of working together results in incremental, often sub-

tle influences that occur so quickly that the combined result of the collective exercise of influence is leadership by the group itself rather than by any one individual. Consider the performance of a planning committee. Even when it has a formal leader or convener, inevitably the input of each member, as influenced by others through discussion and decision making along the way, results in the group as a whole creating a plan no one could have managed alone. Thus, the planning committee effectively leads the larger organization when its work is done.

“THAT RESULTS IN ACCOMPLISHING SHARED OBJECTIVES”

Using influence unilaterally because one has the legitimate organizational right to do so is more illustrative of the use of intimidation than interpersonal influence freely accepted by others. The distinction is important because accomplishing shared objectives requires the participation of relevant people in the decision-making process or their tacit, if not explicit, acceptance of decisions made on their behalf. Organizations have a huge number of objectives distributed to every person and unit. To meet this criterion and to build the trust of each employee or member in the management of the organization, the organization should have a clearly articulated vision and mission. In that way, each person will know whether any particular decision or objective will help achieve the overall organizational purpose. Thus, each person, even if not directly involved in making every decision or in creating every objective, can still feel that objectives are shared when they sensibly fit the vision and mission.

“IN A WAY THAT IS PERSONALLY SATISFYING TO THOSE INVOLVED”

Although effective leadership requires the accomplishment of the organization’s objectives that serve its vision and mission in a way that is personally satisfying to those involved, both the degree to which objectives are accomplished and the satisfaction of those involved are quite subjective. Indeed, often inherent contradictions and conflicts make it virtu-

ally impossible to please everyone all the time. An organization that is meeting its financial targets but at the same time laying off people creates such a contradiction. A company that is registering many new high-tech inventions while its stock price drops precipitously is experiencing a conflicted state perceived by some as success (therefore indicative of effective leadership) and by others as failure (therefore indicative of ineffective leadership).

STAKEHOLDER VIEW OF LEADERSHIP EFFECTIVENESS

About the only statement that can be made about leadership effectiveness with any certainty is that, more often than not, it is in the eye of the beholder. In large organizations, the various objectives being served reflect the importance of serving diverse stakeholders. What appears obvious at first—that the objective of business is to increase the bottom line, or that the objective of a political party is to elect candidates—becomes rather complex and muddled when seen in the midst of either surviving in the marketplace or campaigning for office.

In the case of political parties, we can readily understand the various constituencies and interests that must be convinced. In the business world, stakeholder interests that once included only the investment community and the board of directors now include employees, customers, suppliers, regulators, local communities, civil society organizations, and even competitors in some cases when joint ventures or the development of industry standards is considered. Leadership effectiveness at the top of an organization is no longer seen as simply increasing the bottom line or satisfying any one priority because there are equally important, if competing, interests to be served.

Similarly, at other levels in the organization, leadership effectiveness is subject to a diversity of objectives. Work flow and interdepartmental decision-making processes, the pursuit of mutual efficiency targets and the development of external relationships with key stakeholders (e.g., customers and suppliers) are different objectives from those that are created within a work team or that serve the interests of one's own department and staff. All of this suggests

that leadership effectiveness includes a dimension associated not only with just one's followers but also with one's colleagues.

FORMS OF INFLUENCE IN ADDITION TO LEADERSHIP

If we see influence style as the personal product of one's power and values disposition as a continuum of possibilities, we can then distinguish several forms of influence. In other words, a value important to a person is translated into a belief system that causes one's behavior, in this case one's form of influence. Nirenberg (2002) identified six forms of personal influence in organizations. (See Table 1.) He classified only one of these forms as leadership.

These distinctions result in various behavioral styles used by an individual or a "position holder" within a group—be it at the level of the organization, division, department, bureau, shop, and so forth. With this understanding, however, not all forms of influence should be defined as "leadership" as we discuss that behavior here. Identifying various forms of influence helps us make a clear distinction between the conventional wisdom of leadership as "positionship" (regardless of the form of influence) and leadership as just one process of interpersonal interaction.

Although this perspective is new, it helps us more accurately frame the discussion by being more precise about what we mean when we talk about leadership effectiveness—especially within the context of employee-based organizations in a democratic, free-market society. With this perspective, we clearly reject German Nazi leader Adolf Hitler, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, and Cambodian leader Pol Pot as leaders, although surely they were tyrants and dictators. Influential? Yes. However, their influence was largely based on threat, coercion, intimidation, and mass murder. We must also reject Albert Dunlap (CEO, Sunbeam) and Joseph Nacchio (CEO, Qwest) as failed, if not criminal, CEOs for maintaining their position of power through the economic equivalents of mass murder (layoffs) and rape (asset stripping). They are not considered to be leaders in the sense of that term as it is used here, even though, of course,

Table 1. Forms of Personal Influence in Organizations

<i>Forms of Influence</i>	<i>Unimpeded Personal Will/Force</i>	<i>Based on Property Rights</i>	<i>Formal, Legalistic, Bureaucratic</i>	<i>Managerial</i>	<i>Leadership</i>	<i>Consensus Building</i>
Position Reference	Dictator	Owner/boss	Supervisor, administrator	Manager (transactional)	Leader (transformational)	Partner
Description	Imposes will on organization; abuses others; sees human resources as instrumental to his or her own ends	Exudes a sense of ownership and the prerogatives that accompany it	Administrative savvy; narrow vision	Trades favors for results; seeks stability and maintains status quo; rewards and punishments emphasized	Seeks to change status quo and mobilize effort through an inspired vision of what could be	Engages others in a shared vision for mutual benefit; each person a peer or team member
Example (Business)	Al Dunlap, Scott Paper and Sunbeam	Henry Ford, Ford Motor Company	Robert Stempel, General Motors	Michael Eisner, Disney	Herb Kelleher, Southwest Airlines	Jack Stack, Springfield, Remanufacturing
Example (Public Figure)	Mao Zedong, premier of the People's Republic of China	Lee Kuan Yew, prime minister, Singapore	Herbert Hoover, U.S. president	John Major, prime minister, United Kingdom	F. D. Roosevelt, U.S. president	Nelson Mandela, president, South Africa
Values Orientation	Completely egocentric, narcissistic	Organization as self	Organization as a machine	Bureaucrat entrusted with the organization	Problem solving, communicative, open	Community builder
Power Usage	Coercive, totalitarian	Coercive, authoritarian, legitimate	Legitimate, coercive, reward	Legitimate, reward, coercive	Expertise, vision	Relationship expertise, identification
Outcomes	Obedience	Obedience, compliance	Reluctant compliance	Willing compliance	Enthusiastic consent of followers	Shared ownership of process and results
Enrichment	Dictator and cronies	Owner/boss	Company	Company, manager, some followers	Company leader and some followers	Everyone
Preferred or Most Compatible Employee	Fearful, feelings of hopelessness or sociopathic nature	Feelings of powerlessness and unworthiness	Duty, obligation, or work for economic necessity, conventional	Careerists	Creative, achievers	Responsible, integrated peer behavior
Effectiveness	Possibly in short term	Possibly in stable environment	Likely only in stable environment	Most likely in stable environment	Likely in most knowledge-based environments	Highly likely in most environments

Source: Nirenberg (2002, 14).

Note: Although oversimplified, this table attempts to indicate the nature and variety of influence styles and their outcomes. Of course, the individuals mentioned here are chosen as representative of a dominant impression of them drawn in the news and popular culture media. It is not the intention to say that every influence attempt in their lives can be fairly described by this categorization or that these individuals haven't used other influence styles in a significant way.



Leadership Effectiveness as Viewed by James Fenimore Cooper

This extract from The Pathfinder (1840) by James Fenimore Cooper indicates that leadership effectiveness often has to do with how a leader or potential leader is perceived by others.

Notwithstanding his humble rank, there was something in the mien and character of Sergeant Dunham that commanded respect. Of a tall, imposing figure, grave and saturnine disposition, and accurate and precise in his acts and manner of thinking, even Cap, dogmatical and supercilious as he usually was with landsmen, did not presume to take the same liberties with the old soldier as he did with his other friends. It was often remarked that Sergeant Dunham received more true respect from Duncan of Lundie, the Scotch laird who commanded the post, than most of the subalterns; for experience and tried services were of quite as much value in the eyes of a veteran major as birth and money. While the sergeant never even hoped to rise any higher, he so far respected himself and his present station as always to act in a way to command attention; and the habit of mixing so much with inferiors, whose passions and dispositions he felt it necessary to restrain by distance and dignity, had so far colored his whole deportment that few were altogether free from its influence. While the captains treated him kindly and as an old comrade, the lieutenants seldom ventured to dissent from his military opinions; and the ensigns, it was remarked, actually manifested a species of respect that amounted to something very like deference. It is no wonder then that the announcement of Mabel put a sudden termination to the singular dialogue we have just related, though it had been often observed that the Pathfinder was the only man on that frontier, beneath the condition of a gentleman, who presumed to treat the sergeant at all as an equal, or even with the cordial familiarity of a friend.

“Good morrow, brother Cap,” said the sergeant, giving the military salute, as he walked in a grave, stately manner on the bastion. “My morning duty has made me seem forgetful of you and Mabel, but we have now an hour or two to spare and to get acquainted. Do you not perceive, brother, a strong likeliness in the girl to her we have so long lost?”

“Mabel is the image of her mother, Sergeant, as I have always said, with a little of your firmer figure; though for that matter the Caps were never wanting in spring and activity.”

Source: Cooper, James Fenimore. (1961). *The Pathfinder or The Inland Sea*. New York: The New American Library of World Literature, Inc., pp. 111–112. (Originally published 1840)

role is to facilitate the creation of a vision and a mission plus a strategy to achieve them. People naturally turn to the CEO for “leadership of an organization.” That CEO in exercising leadership—as the successful exercise of personal influence by one or more people that results in accomplishing shared objectives in a way that is personally satisfying to those involved—engages in a direct or representational process of mutual interaction. However, the act of leadership will also be a functional part of the job of everyone who works with other people within an organization. Thus, it is important for leadership skills to be dispersed throughout the organization in order to craft the ability of a diverse workforce to live the vision and achieve the mission of the organization. Leadership is most effective when it results in an organization (unit, department, school, etc.) implementing its strategy and reaching its goals while the experience of work in the organization is satisfying to its employees. In this situation the individual seeks to change the status quo and mobilize effort through an inspired vision of what could be that grabs the imagination of people whom he or she is attempting to influence.

BEST PRACTICES IN LEADERSHIP EFFECTIVENESS

they had followers—a necessary but not sufficient requirement to be a leader.

In the case of business organizations, for example, the CEO represents a point of contact to the external world of investors, regulators, and the local (perhaps even international) community. His or her

In order to identify best leadership effectiveness practices, people need to decide which intended outcomes will be sought in utilizing the leadership form of influence. Remember that the use of leadership as a form of influence doesn’t preclude the use of other influence styles such as boss, manager, partner, or

supervisor. The distinction keeps our discussion focused when using these concepts. When we are being a boss, or a manager, or a dictator, or a partner, we should recognize it as such and not simply claim that whatever behavior a person with power exercises is “leadership.”

A “leadership” influence style focuses on the mobilization of colleagues in a consensual, collective effort to achieve the organization’s vision. This mobilization may also involve some real managerial constraints. For example, organizations must be not only effective in implementing their strategy, but also efficient. A profit must also accompany management’s mobilization of resources, and the organization must be adaptable to both external demands for change and internal processes to meet customer and employee needs.

Leadership effectiveness is fundamentally the practice of the following principles:

1. Build a collective vision, mission, and set of values that help people focus on their contributions and bring out their best.
2. Establish a fearless communication environment that encourages accurate and honest feedback and self-disclosure.
3. Make information readily available.
4. Establish trust, respect, and peer-based behavior as the norm.
5. Be inclusive and patient, show concern for each person.
6. Demonstrate resourcefulness and the willingness to learn.
7. Create an environment that stimulates extraordinary performance.

An example of leadership effectiveness using these principles was described by journalist Fara Warner in *Fast Company* magazine. In 1998, Hyundai Motor America was in disarray, and its cars were common targets of ridicule. Only ninety thousand cars were sold that year. Finbarr O’Neill, the company’s general counsel, was acting CEO and meeting with Hyundai dealers at their annual retreat. According to Warner, O’Neill got up and asked the dealers where they thought the company should be

going. “They started throwing out suggestions, yelling out advice. Fin called time-out, left the room, came back with an easel with lots of paper on it, and started writing a bunch of things down” (Warner 2002, 84).

“By the meeting’s end, O’Neill had recorded 100 suggestions—and was facing a decidedly less angry mob of dealers. Fin said, ‘I can’t work on all of these at once, so let’s pick the top 10, and that’s where I’ll start’” (Warner 2002, 84). The dealers remember that as Hyundai’s defining moment. “It was the day that somebody took charge. It’s when we got leadership” (Warner 2002, 84). Apparently O’Neill’s influence in stimulating the group’s development of a set of shared objectives and helping it move toward those objectives got immediate results. His action provided momentum for desired change in a consultative fashion involving all the dealers wanting to participate.

As O’Neill began to organize the company to solve the issues raised at that meeting, the turnaround began, and the disarray ended. The board, seeing progress being made and still not having chosen a new CEO, appointed O’Neill to the position—a person who is self-described as “not a car guy.” However, he knew what was needed and exercised effective leadership as defined here.

EVALUATING LEADERSHIP EFFECTIVENESS (PERSONAL)

If being effective is important, it should be measured. How do we know we are effective leaders? We have many ways to ascertain performance. We cannot always easily know that our followers are satisfied and that objectives are being met. Regular, observable feedback is more likely at the small-group level than at the institutional level. Where it is not observable, feedback from colleagues, subordinates (followers), and other stakeholders can be obtained through 360-degree feedback instruments. The concept of 360-degree feedback is to offer individuals the opportunity to solicit meaningful performance feedback from those whom they attempt to influence and those who are related to their achieving organizational goals at all levels.

One of the ironies of determining leadership

effectiveness in this way is that it points out one of the differences between organizationally based leadership and leadership achieved, say, through the political process in the case of public office or through direct competition for other official or informal positions of power. The use of a 360-degree instrument is most useful in focusing on an individual's style, facility with leadership skills, achievements, and relationships with stakeholders (or the lack thereof). The individual, until removed by superiors, retains his or her powers conferred by the organization. Because of the concepts of chain of command and unity of command, the position holder's actions, especially when they are a problem to his or her subordinates, are less likely to be known by the person who must act to improve them. Thus, one of the major contradictions of organizational leadership (at least in a business context) is that leaders are not accountable to followers. Rather, they are appointed by their superiors to lead their subordinates as followers. If they please their superiors, no matter how ineffective they are as leaders in their subordinates' eyes, they remain in power.

In the political world, after Election Day constituents—through correspondence, lobbyists, issue-oriented campaigns, and the media—let public officials know where they stand. Polls undertaken by an officeholder enable the officeholder to gather performance feedback similar to using 360-degree instruments in the business world.

LEADERSHIP SKILLS

Leadership effectiveness requires paying attention to a four-dimensional field of behavior. In addition to paying attention to direct reports, according to Bowers and Seashore (1966), a leader needs to pay attention to three other dimensions: (1) maintaining managerial goal emphasis and clarity; (2) having the ability to provide the necessary support for individuals to do their work and achieve their objectives; and (3) facilitating followers' (subordinates') interaction with one another to create efficiencies, good feelings, and teamwork. These dimensions are recognized as part of the leadership section of the Baldrige Criteria, 2003 award, which is a national

business award given to the organizations that best exemplify quality business performance.

To succeed in addressing these four dimensions, individuals must have the following skills and attributes:

Personal

- Identifying and living up to one's and one's organization's values
- Developing self-confidence/esteem
- Being committed to keeping agreements
- Being authentic
- Communicating truthfully
- Being able to use creative, holistic (and interdisciplinary) thinking
- Giving and receiving feedback (positive and negative)
- Being able to be self-disclosing
- Being able to actively listen/empathize
- Having a capacity for self-reflection about behavior in interpersonal contexts
- Honoring and knowing how to stimulate inquiry and dialogue
- Keeping everyone informed
- Reducing stress, anxiety, and fear

Interpersonal

- Meeting facilitation
- Being resourceful, creative, adaptable
- Offering dispute resolution through mediation
- Offering peer supervision and coaching
- Maintaining process observation
- Using role clarification and self-assessment
- Suspending judgments
- Using team building (including the use of survey feedback and action research techniques)
- Maintaining creative problem identification and problem solving
- Using consensus-building methods
- Mastering half-day or full-day retreats

GLOBALIZATION, DIVERSITY, AND LEADERSHIP EFFECTIVENESS

Increasingly, successful organizations create the demand for leadership, and the successful act of leadership requires people to become more open to their whole experience of interpersonal interaction in the workplace. In effect, each person will need to see more, hear more, and understand more—in order to help the organization to see and meet the changing needs of customers and employees, and to focus the collective productive intent of their part of the organization on achieving effective results. Leadership is about intelligence—about pushing back personal limitations and being open to new possibilities for creating a better, more enjoyable, more successful organization. As Lee Kun-Hee, chairman of Samsung Electronics, South Korea, said, “To effectuate change within groups, we must initiate change within ourselves. You need to know yourself well, your habits, strengths and shortcomings. Questioning yourself thoroughly is the beginning of change” (Rosen 2000, 46–48). With the emergence of a global economy and a diverse workforce, this questioning is essential.

Most of all, perhaps, the act of leadership is about building strong positive relationships. The result of leadership effectiveness is ultimately the creation of a seamless partnership between customer, employee, and organizational purpose in order to succeed in the market.

THE LEADERSHIP-VERSUS-MANAGEMENT CONTROVERSY

People have an all-pervasive assumption in most of the business leadership literature that just because you are a boss (supervisor, manager, department head, etc.), you are also the leader—or should be. This assumption gives rise to the question, “How does leadership differ from management?” A host of other questions soon follow. Which is more important to an effective organization: leadership or management? If an organization accomplishes its goals, isn’t that good enough, wouldn’t its members or employees be satisfied? Stephen Covey best summarizes the differences and what is at stake. “Manage-

ment is a bottom line focus: How can I best accomplish certain things? Leadership deals with the top line: What are the things I want to accomplish? In the words of both Peter Drucker and Warren Bennis, ‘Management is doing things right; leadership is doing the right things.’ Management is efficiency in climbing the ladder of success; leadership determines whether the ladder is leaning against the right wall” (Covey 1989, 101). At this point in the evolution of the leadership literature—especially as it pertains to the business world and all non-elective offices—what is important is not either leadership or management but rather when to exercise each. However, as a strategy to achieve effectiveness at the personal and organizational levels, what may be most important for building effectiveness is the day-to-day climate in which people work.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL ENVIRONMENT OF LEADERSHIP EFFECTIVENESS

The purpose of leadership effectiveness is organizational effectiveness. However, at times the organization, when focusing on the leader, becomes dependent rather than more able to achieve its goals. Coca-Cola has been struggling ever since its highly effective and charismatic CEO Roberto C. Goizueta died in 1997. Similarly, after Edwin Land died in 1991, Polaroid, the company he founded, entered a period of decline resulting in its bankruptcy in 2001 (from which it has since emerged with a successful new product). To avoid the consequence of becoming overly dependent on a heroic leader, some companies are striving to institutionalize leadership. According to Pasternack and associates, at Sony, Fuji Xerox, Corning, and Continental Airlines, “Key leadership tasks are institutionalized in organizational systems, practices and cultures. . . . People at all levels take initiative to solve problems, and even to start new businesses” (Pasternack, Williams, and Anderson 2001, 71). The idea of creating organizations of leaders or a culture of leadership shifts the responsibility of effectiveness to more and more people. The culture of leadership is required to move companies to a level of effectiveness not even possible under a single “great man” or charismatic leader.

Each year, *Fortune* magazine, in partnership with the Great Place to Work Institute, surveys U.S. businesses and determines the best places to work as described by their employees (among other factors). One typical comment found on the Great Place to Work Institute website regarding a winning culture was, “Everyone’s contribution is important. Accomplishments are shared across the board. No one stands alone. Our tasks are accomplished as a result of a genuine collective effort” (www.greatplacetowork.com/great/index.php). In effect, then, the culture itself acts as what Kerr and Jermier (1978) first identified as a substitute for leadership.

Managing culture has received much attention since Peters and Waterman published *In Search of Excellence* in 1982. Since then many researchers have identified culture as a key factor in organizational longevity (De Geus, 2002), economic performance, and employee satisfaction, productivity, and commitment. Likert (1961) is considered to be the father of the concept of culture, and Collins (2001) is the latest to demonstrate that culture is the single most powerful means to creating great organizations. Culture is the collective interpersonal feel of the organization as determined by its values, norms, policies, and structure.

For a positive culture to be sustained year after year, leadership is required—emanating not from an individual but rather from everyone in the organization. To that end Noel Tichy and Eli Cohen said organizations “need to become teaching organizations . . . everyone pass[ing] their learning on to others.” In winning organizations, “leaders exist at all levels and leaders actively develop the next generation of leaders. Once this ‘engine’ gets running, it is hard for competitors to stop” (Tichy and Cohen 1997).

EVALUATING LEADERSHIP EFFECTIVENESS (ORGANIZATIONAL)

How well organizations create the right environment can be determined by surveys as well as by structured action research techniques that involve all employees in developing and assessing the criteria for the culture they will find most satisfying and productive. For Fred Fiedler (1967), a leading

researcher in the field of leadership effectiveness, key goals are high employee satisfaction and low stress accompanied by high performance.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

As we have seen, leadership effectiveness is the successful exercise of personal influence by one or more people that results in accomplishing shared objectives in a way that is personally satisfying to those involved. Because of the changing nature of organizations the definition of leadership effectiveness will also change. Organizations are becoming more dependent on creativity, innovation, and knowledge acquisition and development. This dependence requires an intelligent, professional workforce capable of independent judgment. As individuals increase their responsibilities and work in a knowledge-based environment, they are less in need of an effective leader than an effective organizational environment. To that end, organizations would leverage their human resources by creating productive norms, building structures that support learning and the expression of leadership qualities by each employee or member. Thus, the definition of leadership effectiveness will move from a focus on the individual influencer to a widespread acceptance of responsibility to ensure organizational effectiveness by each person.

—John Nirenberg

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is, individual people who have aspirations, skills, and characteristics are called to leadership by a communal problem, need, or potential. These public problems are often complex, affecting diverse groups of people and raising fundamental questions of what the common good might be. Take, for example, the AIDS crisis that began in the early 1980s and today is a global scourge. People who have become leaders in the fight against AIDS have come from a multitude of backgrounds; they are physicians, public health officials, gay activists, social service managers, UN staff, people with AIDS and their relatives, scientists, philanthropists, clergy, economic development experts, journalists, and many more. Each has taken on leadership responsibility in the AIDS crisis out of a particular commitment to reduce human suffering and each brings a unique set of skills and characteristics to this leadership work. This is true whether the leader is a relatively obscure bureaucrat in a public health agency or Bill Clinton or Nelson Mandela. These leaders have had to help diverse constituents develop a shared sense of what the common good might be in the fight against AIDS.

The central challenge of leadership studies today is to understand how individuals can draw on their unique (but culturally conditioned) set of aspirations, skills, and characteristics to enable a host of other unique individuals to work together on shared concerns in a world where—as Harlan Cleveland (2002) has put it—no one is in charge.

Increasingly, leadership scholars are shifting from a “in-charge” leadership model in which a CEO or president or general discerns the best direction for an organization or community and then issues the proper directions and incentives to obtain desired results. (See, for example, Heifetz 1994; Lipman-Blumen 1996; Heenan and Bennis 1999; Wheatley 1999; Huxham and Vangen 2000; Quinn 2000; and Drath 2001.) These scholars recognize that no one person, group, or even organization can be wholly in charge when it comes to addressing a significant public issue in today’s complex, interdependent world. This is true for the businesswoman attempting to develop and market a new product (for example, an AIDS vaccine) as well as for the public health



LEADERSHIP FOR THE COMMON GOOD

Leadership for the common good arises at the intersection of personal passions and public need. That

official trying to change individual behavior (for example, convincing teenagers in Kenya or the United States to practice safe sex).

The Leadership for the Common Good framework (Bryson and Crosby 1992; Crosby 1999) offers guidance for leaders and constituents working together to accomplish change in such a world. The framework consists of four elements: the nature of the shared-power world, the shared-power settings in which followers and constituents tackle public problems, and key leadership capabilities that will be needed over the course of a policy change cycle. It is based on the definition of leadership as “the inspiration and mobilization of others to undertake collective action in pursuit of the common good.”

DYNAMICS OF A SHARED-POWER WORLD

Anyone who has passion and a good idea for combating a problem like AIDS will soon find that he or she must attend to the varying desires, values, needs, and power bases of numerous individuals, groups, and organizations that have a stake in the proposed change. Each stakeholder has some power to facilitate this change, but cannot do so alone. (Of course, each stakeholder also has some power to block the change.) Many of the stakeholders, moreover, are linked to each other in formal and informal networks. These networks enable them to share information, coordinate activities, or engage in joint projects. In such a complex world, change advocates cannot simply construct logical arguments or make demands and expect the system to comply.

These change advocates will have to engage in political, issue-oriented, and therefore, messy, planning and decision making (Innes 1996; Huxham in press). They will have to create new networks and alter existing ones as they strive to establish a regime of mutual gain (i.e., a set of principles, and decision-making procedures that achieve lasting benefit at reasonable cost and that serve people’s deepest desires for a better world). They will need to astutely design and use forums, arenas, and courts, the key shared-power settings in which leaders and constituents tackle public problems.

SHARED-POWER SETTINGS

Traditional views of power (and, indeed, of leadership) have often focused on the social practice of decision making and implementation, which occurs in formal and informal arenas. A holistic view of power, however, recognizes the equal importance of two additional social practices: the creation and communication of shared meaning in formal and informal forums and the adjudication of disputes and sanctioning of conduct in formal and informal courts (Giddens 1984; Bryson and Crosby 1992). Moreover, analysis of change efforts indicates that the creation and communication of shared meaning may be even more crucial than making and implementing decisions, since how a change effort is interpreted has tremendous impact on what decisions are even considered (Bryson and Crosby 1992; Crosby, 1999). For example, as long as AIDS in the United States was defined mainly as a disease affecting gay men, top officials in the Reagan Administration did not feel the need to make funding for AIDS research and education a priority. Only after it was clear that many other groups were affected and that celebrities were dying of the disease were these officials ready to view AIDS as an urgent public health issue.

In a shared-power world, leaders have their greatest impact through astute design and use of the settings—forums, arenas, and courts—in which the three social practices occur. Forums include task forces, discussion groups, public hearings, formal debates, newspapers, television and radio broadcasts, and professional journals. In these settings, speakers and audiences communicate shared meaning through discussion. Arenas include legislatures, parliaments, city councils, boards of directors, cabinets, cartels, and executive committees. In these settings, leaders help constituents influence the implementation of legislative, executive, and administrative decisions. Courts include the “court of public opinion” (probably the most powerful court), formal courts or tribunals, and professional licensing bodies. In courts, decisions and conduct are judged or evaluated and sanctions imposed.

LEADERSHIP CAPABILITIES

In order to effectively design and use forums, arenas, and courts to achieve beneficial social change, leaders draw on eight capabilities.

- Leadership in context: understanding the social, political, economic, and technological “givens”
- Personal leadership: understanding self and others
- Team leadership: building effective work groups
- Organizational leadership: nurturing humane and effective organizations
- Visionary leadership: creating and communicating shared meaning in forums
- Political leadership: making and implementing decisions in legislative, executive, and administrative arenas
- Ethical leadership: adjudicating disputes and sanctioning conduct in courts
- Policy entrepreneurship: coordinating leadership tasks over the course of policy change cycles

Leadership in Context

Leaders must consider how sociological, political, economic, and technological forces enable and constrain desired change. With regard to the global anti-AIDS campaign: leaders have had to pay attention to social conditions such as cultural taboos against sex education; they have had to understand different political systems in order to obtain government assistance; they have had to understand how market forces affect drug research and treatment; they have been able to use advanced technology to develop tests for the virus, even as improved transportation technology (such as commercial airlines) made transmission of the disease more widespread. An especially important sociological context for leadership is cultural views about leadership and change; for example, who is expected to be a leader and how much reverence is accorded to tradition.

Personal Leadership

Numerous leadership scholars and advisers agree that leaders need grounding in human psychology—

that is, they need to understand themselves and others. People aspiring to leadership can begin this work by considering what is most important to them and how this personal “passion” calls them to leadership. They can then assess the strengths and weaknesses that they bring to the leadership work. Among vital leadership strengths are integrity and a sense of humor, awareness of one’s preferred or habitual ways of learning and interacting with people, a sense of self-efficacy and courage, cognitive and emotional complexity, commitment to continual learning, authority and other resources, supportive personal networks, balance, and awareness of how leadership is strengthened and weakened by one’s location in major social hierarchies. Leaders also need to understand what they have in common with others involved in the leadership work and how to bridge the differences.

Team Leadership

Those seeking to accomplish major change sooner or later will need to assemble and sustain productive work groups—that is, they will need to practice team leadership. The essentials of team leadership are wise recruitment, communication, empowerment, and leadership development of team members. Team leaders try to ensure that team members are diverse enough to contribute an array of needed perspectives, skills, and connections to the work, yet sufficiently unified around the team’s purpose. Team leaders use communication methods that align and coordinate members’ actions, build mutual understanding and trust, and foster creative problem solving and commitment. They help team members claim and develop their power in service of the group’s mission through, for example, helping the group develop a shared understanding of its mission, strategies, decision-making procedures, rules, work plan, and evaluation methods. In teams with a designated leader, a more directive leadership style may be most effective in the team’s early stages; however, in time, directive leaders should become more participatory and seek to develop leadership capacity in everyone. Leaders also help their teams celebrate accomplishments and weather adversity.

Organizational Leadership

To cope with public problems, leaders must ensure that effective and humane organizations are created, maintained, or restructured as needed. Leaders of the fight against AIDS have created new medical research foundations and new advocacy and voluntary organizations, as well as restructured public health agencies. The main tasks of organizational leadership are attending to organizational purpose and design, helping the organization adapt to internal and external change, and building inclusive community inside and outside the organization. Attention to organizational design includes creation of meaningful mission and philosophy statements, development of goals and strategies, construction of inspiring visions of success, and creation of flexible governance, administrative, and communication systems. Leaders also help establish a culture of integrity, inclusion, learning, and productivity, especially by being role models. Adapting to internal and external change requires constant monitoring of internal and external environments, experimentation, oversight of management routines and details, collaboration and team building, and planning for change. To build inclusive communities, leaders foster systems that care for organizational members, facilitate shared problem solving, and provide resources for the shared work.

Visionary Leadership

Visionary leaders interpret current reality, and shape collective visions of the future. They are adept in the design and use of formal and informal fora, the settings in which various stakeholders can present and debate interpretations of the present, past, and future, and where they can develop shared meanings and mission. Take, for example, global conferences on AIDS where officials from governmental and non-profit health organizations, scientists, public figures, experts on epidemiology, advocates of the poor, donors, and journalists come together to argue about causes and consequences of the epidemic and debate strategies for prevention and treatment of the disease—especially as it affects people in poor countries.

Certainly a critical aspect of developing shared meaning is obtaining agreement that a communal problem, need, or potential exists and that it is urgent and important enough to merit sustained attention and action. Visionary leaders will need to marshal evidence to demonstrate that the problem affects or has the potential to affect many members of the community and that failure to act will result in widespread harm or loss of opportunity. Thus, in their speeches at the International AIDS Conference in Barcelona, Spain, in July 2002, Bill Clinton and Nelson Mandela, as co-chairs of the International AIDS Trust, presented statistics and human stories to emphasize the “reality” of what is now a pandemic.

Also important is developing a problem definition, or frame, that can prompt a diverse array of stakeholders to see how solutions that flow from the definition can help them accomplish their goals. The frame, of necessity, will be multifaceted and comprehensive, combining several narrower frames. For example, the spread of HIV/AIDS can be framed as a medical problem, it can be framed as an economic problem, it can be framed as a drug abusers’ problem, or a gay problem, or an attack on families, a sexual irresponsibility problem, or a conflict between affluent and poor people. At the Barcelona conference, Clinton and Mandela spoke of an interdependent world that brings “universal vulnerability” and shared responsibility for dealing with global problems.

Finally, visionary leaders emphasize the kind of future they seek and offer specific steps that provide credible hope that the problem can be remedied. In Barcelona, Nelson Mandela suggested very specific actions for decreasing stigma and discrimination against HIV/AIDS sufferers. He emphasized the link between AIDS and poverty, and thus highlighted the importance of solutions that fight poverty, not just illness.

Political Leadership

Political leaders are adept at the design and use of formal and informal arenas, the settings in which legislative, executive, and administrative decisions

are implemented. Especially important is organizing key stakeholders into sustainable coalitions that can convince decision makers to adopt proposed changes and that can monitor implementation of the resulting new policies, programs, or projects. For example, in Brazil, a coalition of gay activists, nongovernmental organizations, and top political leaders persuaded Brazilian lawmakers in the late 1990s to pass legislation mandating “state of the art” treatment for all AIDS patients. As a result, government labs began producing generic AIDS drugs, and Brazil now offers a compelling model of how a country with a very large poor population can combine a system of well-run clinics and cheap drugs to reduce AIDS deaths and the rate of AIDS transmission.

Ethical Leadership

Ethical leaders are adept at the design and use of formal and informal courts to adjudicate disputes and sanction conduct. Ethical leaders educate others about ethical principles, laws, and norms and how they apply to particular cases. Ethical leaders help adjudicate disputes that arise when principles, laws, and norms conflict with each other. For example, they may help constituents see that one principle is more important than another, or they may find ways to balance conflicting laws or norms, or they may be able to reframe a conflict so that common ground can be found. For example, advocates for poor people with AIDS in countries like Brazil and South Africa have argued that these patients should receive generic anti-AIDS drugs free or at very reduced rates. Representatives of giant pharmaceutical companies, meanwhile, have argued that such action violates patent laws that protect their rights to market the brand-name versions of the drug and prohibit other manufacturers from selling cheap copies. The World Trade Organization provided ethical leadership when it declared in 2001 that poor countries that faced a national health emergency could buy or make generic versions of patented drugs. Perhaps the most important court is an informal one—the “court of public opinion.” Ethical leaders who continually emphasize the responsibility of drug companies that benefit from government-funded research to reduce

the prices of AIDS drugs for poor people are appealing to the court of public opinion.

Policy Entrepreneurship

Policy entrepreneurs coordinate leadership tasks over the course of policy change cycles, which consist of seven phases: initial agreement, problem formulation, search for solutions, proposal development, proposal review and adoption, implementation and evaluation, and continuation, modification, or termination. Leadership in context and personal leadership are vital at the outset of a policy change effort; visionary leadership is also very important in the early phases (initial agreement, problem formulation, and search for solutions); political and ethical leadership become more important in the subsequent phases; team, organizational, and intraorganizational leadership are likely to be needed throughout the change cycle. The success of any major policy change effort depends on the ability of numerous policy entrepreneurs to inspire and mobilize enough key stakeholders to adopt policy changes and protect them during implementation.

—Barbara C. Crosby and John M. Bryson

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LEADERSHIP IN THE DIGITAL AGE

Different epochs produce different kinds of leadership—with different patterns of hierarchical authority, different skill sets and attitudes, and different institutional incentives. Societies today are experiencing transitions potentially as far-reaching as the transition from agricultural to industrial societies. Today's epoch is in the early stages of a transition from an industrial-based society to a postindustrial digital society, and leadership patterns are beginning to reflect that transition.

The new society—variously called “information society,” “knowledge society,” or “networked society”—is marked by four key structural changes reshaping leadership: rapid and far-reaching technological changes, especially the digitalization of information and communications technology

(ICTs); accelerated globalization; a shift toward knowledge as the central factor of production (i.e., from brawn to brains); and more distributed, less hierarchical organizational forms with greatly accelerated movement within and across organizations and sectors. In this highly dynamic environment, leadership innovation and adaptability are critical, especially the leader's capacity to channel the right knowledge to the right people at the right time in the right place.

As a result, a postindustrial, digital-age style of leadership is emerging. It is characterized by stronger horizontal linkages among elites across different sectors and even different countries, especially among government leaders, private entrepreneurs and executives, and researchers and civil society leaders.

Of course, there are caveats regarding the spread of digital leadership. First, timeless and universal characteristics of leadership remain important today. These characteristics include passionate commitment, focus and discipline, charisma, and other characteristics identified by observers of leadership through the ages. These characteristics have not been supplanted, but they coexist in a different mix with other factors. Second, the new leadership will vary somewhat from country to country, culture to culture, and sector to sector and will be most visible in economically advanced societies and in the information and communication technology sectors.

New societal conditions are eliciting new forms of leadership necessary to launch and sustain the transitions toward more knowledge-intensive societies. Leadership in the digital age needs new attitudes, new skills, and new knowledge gained through unique professional experiences responsive to the societal features identified earlier.

We must distinguish between two related but different leadership categories. The most inclusive category is “leadership in the digital age,” which refers to leadership in any institution or sector embedded in the broader transitions toward a more knowledge-intensive society. All leaders, whether leaders in health, the arts, or manufacturing, must be aware of the new constraints and opportunities that ICTs provide and use them effectively. The second category, “digital leadership,” refers to leadership in the core

sectors of the knowledge society—the three C’s of computing, communications, and content (broadcasting and print and now multimedia). The two categories of leadership are closely related, and many leadership innovations, such as the use of website portals to link customers and suppliers, originated in the core ICT sectors and diffused from there.

Digital leaders can be defined functionally by their contributions to the transition toward a knowledge society. These contributions include awareness building, resource mobilization, operational leadership, and structural leadership. Awareness-building leaders convince sections of the population to attend to the new ICTs as resources that can help them achieve their goals. Resource-mobilizing leaders convince social actors to obtain and deploy valuable resources, whether money or high-level political support, to spread ICTs more widely. Indeed, mobilizing an effective pro-diffusion political coalition is an essential element of digital leadership and in leadership in the digital age more broadly. Pro-diffusion coalitions are societal groups that support legal, regulatory, legislative, organizational, and other changes necessary for the new technologies to diffuse, changes such as greater research and development budgets, ending monopolies in favor of greater competition, lower prices, private entrepreneurship, and so forth. Leadership is also expressed through operational activities, whereby leaders, often in government or private companies, actually provide and manage the hard infrastructures like telecoms networks as well as the soft infrastructures like education and research at the core of the knowledge society. When notable people are able to convince audiences that the information revolution is not only about using ICT tools but also about shifting toward a new kind of distributed, digital society, they are engaging in structural leadership.

Digital leadership innovation is not static but rather changes through time. Because technology innovation is so highly dynamic, the mix of leadership skills required also changes. For example, the Internet industry has passed through pre-commercial, commercial, competitive, and consolidation phases. In the precommercial phase the Internet was created, managed, and used for noncommercial purposes,

mostly by leading researchers and academics. The appearance of the first fully open, nondiscriminatory Internet Service Provider (ISP) marked the “commercial” phase. The third period began when several commercial ISPs were active, typically driving down prices and raising quality through competition. After this phase, consolidation occurred in the ISP market (during the period of 2000–2001). Each phase had a slightly different mix of leaders interacting across the public, private, research, and civil society sectors. First driven by campus and think tank-based leaders in the research and development community, later in the commercial and competitive phases leadership initiative shifted to entrepreneurs. In each phase, the technological, political, and resource challenges were rather different and demanded different mixes of leaders. In the early period of the transition, awareness-building and resource-mobilizing skills were useful. In later periods, operational skills were especially valued. In Silicon Valley, the development, manufacture, commercialization, and marketing of silicon chips and the personal computer were driven in part by such highly visible leaders as William Hewlett (Hewlett-Packard), Andy Grove (Intel), and Steve Jobs (Apple Computer).

INFORMATION CHAMPIONS, INFORMATION REVOLUTIONARIES, AND INFORMATION CONSERVATIVES

In the early days of the information revolution in developing countries such as Brazil and China, “information champions” shared certain personal and professional features. In the Internet sector, many came from families in the professional middle class, the children of doctors, engineers, and teachers, neither very rich nor very poor. Many in the first wave studied abroad and returned home imbued with the distributed, bottom-up, and democratizing spirit of the Internet. Leaders such as Nii Quaynor in Ghana and Edward Tien of China championed more open, liberal access to knowledge, doing battle against government information conservatives who fought to retain their own top-down, centralized visions.

Digital leaders are distinguished from non-leaders

by their different combinations of skills, attitudes, knowledge, and their professional and personal experiences. Leadership must be driven by unique attitudes appropriate for the digital age. Digital leaders must be flexible and adaptable and possess wide intellectual curiosity and a hunger for knowledge. They must be willing to see value in sharply different perspectives and be comfortable with uncertainty. Like all leaders at all times, they must possess true passion for what they do. They look globally for solutions and challenges and insist on constant learning from their collaborators and followers. They maintain a more egalitarian and results-oriented approach than earlier leaders.

A list of necessary leadership skills would include the capacities to build coalitions and forge communities of interest, to multitask, and to remain focused on one's own priorities, even while seeking common ground with leaders in other sectors. Substantive knowledge, including knowledge of how the new technologies function, is especially important in the knowledge society. Leaders must also know what they do not know, and know how to get that missing knowledge by mobilizing their own social networks. These new combinations of skills, attitudes, and knowledge require new patterns of experience, especially personal movement across different sectors in jobs where the emergent leader is forced to engage with people from different professional and demographic backgrounds. Through all these cross-border shifts, successful leaders are able to develop and sustain a moral compass to guide their behavior.

Skills, attitudes, knowledge, experiences, and ethics fit together in a mutually reinforcing "package" for successful digital leaders.

THEORIES OF LEADERSHIP IN THE DIGITAL AGE

Literature on leadership in the digital age has been only partly successful in capturing these complex, distributed, cross-sectoral dynamics. Most works on what is called "e-leadership" are written about business leadership. Business school faculty produce action-oriented analyses with actionable recommendations designed to promote a new kind of relation-

ship in firms and markets (Annunzio 2001, Mills 2001). A much smaller number of works trace the early leadership contributions of scientists and engineers, typically through histories of scientific innovation and breakthroughs (Abbate 2000). With some exceptions, mainstream "leadership studies" have not yet covered the complex interactions among the many non-business and business stakeholders in the transitions to the knowledge society (Cleveland 1997). Some scholars, such as Wayne Baker (2000), offer frameworks based on networks of social capital wherein one's social networks constitute a valuable resource like investment capital. Yet, the leading theories of the knowledge society still remain too static, too macro, too apolitical, and conceptually underdeveloped. Needed is a new framework that demonstrates both the transitory and contingent natures of these changes in the substance and style of ICT digital leadership, as well as its emerging continuities and underlying patterns.

THE QUAD: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR DIGITAL LEADERSHIP

One way to advance contemporary leadership studies is in the context of the four-sided interactions that occur across the institutions and sectors most directly involved in the technical and sociological innovations of the information revolution. These four-sided interactions, or "quads," encompass government officials, private entrepreneurs, civil society leaders, and senior researchers. In the shift toward a knowledge society, countries and communities where four-sided "quad" relationships are more robust, predictable, balanced, and interactive are more successful in effecting a sustainable transition; those countries and communities with weak quads have weak transitions (Wilson 2002). The cross-sectoral quad leadership model overcomes the limits of other models because it links microbehaviors like leadership to middle or mesolevel small-group interactions out of which new digital leadership patterns emerge. The quad model also draws attention to the ways individuals and groups employ the new distributed, interactive technologies to mobilize the necessary skills, knowledge, and attitudes required

to create and sustain the more distributed, interactive social leadership networks for the digital age.

OTHER THEMES AND ISSUES IN DIGITAL LEADERSHIP

The newness of the networked knowledge society and digital leadership means that much remains to be explored in study and practice. Leadership and institutionalization are critical areas of investigation. The German sociologist Max Weber speculated about the relationships between charismatic authority, with its sharp personal appeal to those followers who experience it most immediately, and the development of lasting institutions that can preserve the original sense of purpose. How does the first generation of digital leaders preserve its vision through institutions that persist over many generations? This is especially a challenge in developing countries, where institutions typically are weak. Generational dimensions of digital leadership are also important issues involving possible differences in leadership styles, substance, and perhaps capabilities as well (Bennis and Thomas 2003). Cross-national and cross-cultural differences in digital leadership are also critical subjects in a globalizing world (Wilson 2004).

—Ernest J. Wilson III

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LEADERSHIP SUCCESSION

Every organization must confront issues of leadership succession if it is to survive beyond its founding period. Leadership transitions are crucial in an organization's history, and yet leadership scholars are strangely silent on the issue of succession. Scholars and researchers write about becoming a leader, being a leader, and being a good leader, but rarely about leaving leadership to others.

This is puzzling, as nothing is as inevitable in organizational life as leadership transition. Like death and taxes, transitions of power are wholly foreseeable. Despite this, the issue of succession is fraught with individual and institutional anxiety. CEOs and executive directors apparently put off succession planning for the same reason most people avoid writing their wills. Founders of private businesses and nonprofit organizations identify feelings of immortality, lack of a suitable successor, and fear of retirement as some of the many factors that inhibit their own succession planning.

Although leadership scholars are silent on the topic, one might expect business gurus to devote considerable attention to the leadership issues inherent in the succession process, but this is not the case. In fact, the business literature focuses on the succession process primarily from the standpoint of shareholder value, earnings, stock prices, and organizational fluidity. Yet the business journal *Business Horizons* has suggested that numerous studies point to a crisis in succession planning and executive development. The American Society of Training and Development, a U.S.-based professional association of organizational consultants, reported in its fall 1998 membership



Joshua Succeeds Moses—Joshua I (King James Version)

- 1: Now after the death of Moses the servant of the LORD it came to pass, that the LORD spake unto Joshua the son of Nun, Moses' minister, saying,
- 2: Moses my servant is dead; now therefore arise, go over this Jordan, thou, and all this people, unto the land which I do give to them, even to the children of Israel.
- 3: Every place that the sole of your foot shall tread upon, that have I given unto you, as I said unto Moses.
- 4: From the wilderness and this Lebanon even unto the great river, the river Euphrates, all the land of the Hittites, and unto the great sea toward the going down of the sun, shall be your coast.
- 5: There shall not any man be able to stand before thee all the days of thy life: as I was with Moses, so I will be with thee: I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee.
- 6: Be strong and of a good courage: for unto this people shalt thou divide for an inheritance the land, which I swear unto their fathers to give them.
- 7: Only be thou strong and very courageous, that thou mayest observe to do according to all the law, which Moses my servant commanded thee: turn not from it to the right hand or to the left, that thou mayest prosper whithersoever thou goest.
- 8: This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth; but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein: for then thou shalt make thy way prosperous, and then thou shalt have good success.
- 9: Have not I commanded thee? Be strong and of a good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed: for the LORD thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest.
- 10: Then Joshua commanded the officers of the people, saying,
- 11: Pass through the host, and command the people, saying, Prepare you victuals; for within three days ye shall pass over this Jordan, to go in to possess the land, which the LORD your God giveth you to possess it.
- 12: And to the Reubenites, and to the Gadites, and to half the tribe of Manasseh, spake Joshua, saying,
- 13: Remember the word which Moses the servant of the LORD commanded you, saying, The LORD your God hath given you rest, and hath given you this land.
- 14: Your wives, your little ones, and your cattle, shall remain in the land which Moses gave you on this side Jordan; but ye shall pass before your brethren armed, all the mighty men of valour, and help them;
- 15: Until the LORD have given your brethren rest, as he hath given you, and they also have possessed the land which the LORD your God giveth them: then ye shall return unto the land of your possession, and enjoy it, which Moses the LORD's servant gave you on this side Jordan toward the sunrising.
- 16: And they answered Joshua, saying, All that thou commandest us we will do, and whithersoever thou sendest us, we will go.
- 17: According as we hearkened unto Moses in all things, so will we hearken unto thee: only the LORD thy God be with thee, as he was with Moses.
- 18: Whosoever he be that doth rebel against thy commandment, and will not hearken unto thy words in all that thou commandest him, he shall be put to death: only be strong and of a good courage.

report that of all the organizational issues confronting CEOs today, the leadership succession process is the least understood and most in need of further study.

Succession planning is more crucial now than ever before, given the worldwide leadership exodus predicted for the first decades of the twenty-first century. The retirement of baby boomers, as they are called in the United States, is in fact a worldwide occurrence. The U.S. Census Bureau reports that declining fertility and increasing life expectancies are leading

to greater growth in older populations than in overall populations in most of the world's countries. The workforce exodus represented by people retiring and the shrinking numbers of people replacing the retirees makes for an unsettling equation.

The departure of boomer generation leaders will have an enormous impact on the private and non-profit sectors. Maria Schafer, writing for *Software Magazine* in 2001, reported that in the private sector, for example, 20 percent of the largest U.S. companies will lose 40 percent or more of their top execu-

tives by 2005. In the late 1990s and early 2000s alone, close to two-thirds of major U.S. companies replaced their CEOs. Even in the best of times, family-owned businesses survive a generational transition only 30 percent of the time, and only 10 percent endure to the third generation. Now we expect fewer family successors overall with a constant number of family businesses and the same failure rates.

FOUNDER'S SYNDROME, SUCCESSOR'S SYNDROME

Recent attention has focused on “founder’s syndrome,” a subject introduced in an online discussion group in September 2000. This syndrome arises when a founder refuses to step down from the formal leadership of an organization he or she founded, presumably to the detriment of the organization. Although no print literature on the topic exists to date, the notion of founder’s syndrome has gained a certain currency, at least among ambitious underlings. It is rare for a founder to choose to step down from a robust organization. In fact, many U.S. boomer founders such as Marian Wright Edelman and Brian Lamb continue to enhance the institutions they founded. “I have more work to do, and this is the place to do it,” Lamb said recently when asked about his succession plans for CSPAN. Certainly there needs to be more research on the relationship between the longevity of the founder as CEO and the long-term health of an institution.

Successors suffer a syndrome too. A successor is always a Janus-like figure, looking forward and backward simultaneously. Smart successors look to the future and new horizons as well as to the past for history, wisdom, and experience. A successor is the new leader of an organization, but like it or not, he or she is also following in a founder’s footsteps. A successor is both a leader and a follower, by definition, and must come to terms with the founder’s ghost. Too often, however, the ghost of the founder threatens the successor, and the successor’s own envy, jealousy, fear, and paranoia hinder his or her best efforts. Successor’s syndrome can become utterly disabling for the individual and for the institution.

Succession is a much more nuanced process than the notions of founder’s syndrome or successor’s syndrome suggest. The use of archetypes juxtaposed against organizational condition and founder exit conditions provides a more subtle understanding of the complexity of the interactions.

THE USE OF ARCHETYPES IN SUCCESSION SCENARIOS

The psychologist Carl Jung first introduced the concept of archetypes as inherited ideas present in the collective unconscious of the human race as well as in each person’s unconscious. In an early lecture on the subject in 1936, Jung said:

The concept of the archetype, which is an indispensable correlate to the idea of the collective unconscious, indicates the existence of definite forms in the psyche that seem to be present always and everywhere. (p. 87)

In his later work, Jung saw archetypes as shaping both matter and mind, universal and yet having individual variation. Certain figures are archetypes (the mother, the hero, the trickster), but forces of nature, animals, and even situations and events also can be archetypes. The archetypes presented in Table 1 were identified through a review of business journals and news and nonprofit literature, as well as through interviews with nonprofit founders and successors, from 1999 to 2002. The identified archetypes were placed in a matrix that incorporated exit conditions of the founder, types of successors, and a descriptive rating of the overall health of the organization at the time of transition, subjectively derived from media reports.

Founder Exit Conditions

As boomer founders leave their organizations, nine exit conditions have been identified that affect the organizational environment a successor will enter: illness, death, voluntary retirement, coerced retirement, coerced departure, firing, term limitation, acceptance of another role within the organization, and voluntary departure to take a new job. A tenth possibility, not discussed here, is that of merger or

The man whose authority is recent is always stern.

—Aeschylus

acquisition—certainly one of the most common scenarios in the private sector—whereby merged organizations become, in effect, a new organization, and the resulting analysis takes on greater complexity.

Types of Successors

The above nine exit conditions interact with the two types of successors, the inside successor and the outside successor. Inside successors are most often selected when the organization is in good health and someone is needed to continue the work of the founder. In a healthy organization, the inside successor will typically continue to champion the founder's vision, in addition to honing his or her own vision for the organization. Outside successors are brought in times of crisis or decline; they represent the organization's desire to forge a new direction or to save the organization from possible demise. In the private sector, the financial district often drives the push for outside successors.

The ways in which successors enter their new role is in fact a crucial factor in their ability to lead. A recent study discussed in the *Harvard Business Review* in 1997 used a statistical model of CEO performance and found that what a CEO does in the first three years is not as important for the company's performance measures as how the CEO got there. Thus the exit conditions of leaders and the entrance conditions of successors are highly relevant.

Organizational Condition

Affecting these two successor entry conditions (inside and outside) is the variable of the health of the organization (positive or negative)—fiscal health and employee morale—as the founder exits and the successor enters. So, for example, an outside successor following a term-limited founder in a fiscally healthy corporation with high employee morale will

face a very different scenario than will an outside successor following a term-limited founder in a corporation experiencing financial difficulties and employee dissatisfaction.

Viewing succession as a product of three conditions (founder exit, organizational health, and successor type) allows a myriad of archetypes to emerge, as shown in Table 1. These images abound in the media and in the research about transitions. Some of the more common ones are the following:

- *The innocent.* An inside successor from a sick organization who succeeds a founder who steps down because of term limits is portrayed as an innocent—with the power and burden of purity.
- *The savior.* An outside successor in a sick organization who succeeds a founder who is fired is seen as a savior or messiah.
- *The assassin.* An inside successor from a healthy organization who succeeds a founder who is thrown out can be seen as an assassin or terrorist.
- *The disloyal lieutenant.* An inside successor from a healthy organization who succeeds a founder who is coerced into retirement will be seen as the architect of that coup.

ARCHETYPE SCENARIOS

By way of example, consider the three scenarios briefly described below, all of which use the archetype matrix.

Scenario 1

If a founder dies during a time of organizational prosperity, organization members perceive the inside successor as the resurrection or reincarnation of the founder. Indeed, the successor often takes on the projections of others, and some organization members report that they feel like the founder has risen from the dead. The environment may become oppressive, imbued with the sense that an omnipresent Holy Ghost is always looking over things. Conversely, a Holy Ghost may confer a sense of comfort, reassurance, and organizational stability by upholding the founder's values and enduring legacy. A recently departed Disney executive reported that even in the

Table 1. Archetypes Derived from Succession Variables

Organization Health	Successor type	Founder Exit Conditions							Term limitation	Acceptance of another role within company	Voluntary departure for new job
		Illness	Death	Voluntary retirement	Coerced retirement	Coerced departure	Firing				
Positive	Inside	Virus or clone	Holy Ghost	Inheritor or favorite child	Disloyal lieutenant	Assassin	Traitor	Pretender or functionary	Eunuch or puppet	Inheritor or abandoned child	
Negative	Inside	Martyr	Murderer or phoenix	“Neutron” or dreamer	Flawed or disloyal hero	Samurai	Flawed hero	Innocent	Diplomat or disloyal lieutenant	“Iron man” rebuilder or abandoned child	
Positive	Outside	Doctor, healer	Interloper	Pretender to the throne	Intruder	Terrorist or innocent	Saint	Usurper	Innocent or pretender or collaborator	Good step-parent	
Negative	Outside	Caretaker	Undertaker	Rebuilder or fool	Fool	Accomplice	Savior	Fool or dreamer	Prisoner or diplomat	Fixer or slash and burn	

early 2000s, some sixty years after Walt Disney’s death, employees (or rather, “associates”) of the Disney Company are still known to say in staff meetings, “That’s not the way Walt would have done it.” Companies or organizations named after their founders, such as the Walt Disney Company or the W. K. Kellogg Company, have a tendency toward the Holy Ghost archetype.

Scenario 2

The pretender archetype occurs when an inside successor assumes the leadership role after a successful founder or leader in a healthy organization steps down due to term limitation.

First, pretenders need to confront the issue of founder transference (that is, the tendency of employees to transfer the founder’s attributes and leadership style—good and bad—to the successor) directly. Second, pretenders should define a new agenda that communicates successes in new arenas while maintaining the legacy of the organization.

There have been notable examples of pretenders marshalling the support of their predecessor. If the pretender can marshal any of the favorite child/inheritor archetype, the successor can make use of the founder in a way that serves her/his own agenda. Some pretenders and favorite child/inheritors have successfully used founders as sounding boards, fund raisers, and advocates for the organization and its new leadership. John Gardner, the founder of Common Cause, is one example of a founder who continued to play an important and strong role in promoting the work of the organization long after he had left.

Scenario 3

Jack Welch was the quintessential inheritor/favorite child when he took on the presidency of General Electric. Welch succeeded Reginald Jones, whom Welch described in his recent autobiography as the United States’ most admired businessperson. Under Jones’s leadership, General Electric flourished, with sales more than doubling from \$10 billion to \$22 billion and



Hereditary Succession

Probably the most common form of leadership succession throughout history has been hereditary succession where leadership is passed from one kin to another, usually father to son. The following excerpt from Inscription of Darius on the Rock of Behistun, a Persian text dating to the sixth century BCE, traces the pattern of hereditary succession in his kin group.

Column I

I am Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of Persia, the king of the provinces, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Achaemenian.

(Thus) saith Darius, the king: My father is Hystaspes; the father of Hystaspes was Arsames; the father of Arsames was Ariyarnnes; the father of Ariyarnnes was [Teispes]: the father of Teispes was Achaemenes.

(Thus) saith Darius, the king: On that account are we called Achaemenians; from antiquity are we descended; from antiquity hath our race been kings.

(Thus) saith Darius, the king: Eight of my race were kings before (me); I am the ninth. In two lines have we been kings.

(Thus) saith Darius, the King: By the grace of Auramazda am I king; Auramazda hath granted me the kingdom.

(Thus) saith Darius, the king: These are the provinces which are subject unto me, and by the grace of Auramazda became I king of them: Persia, Susiana, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, the (Islands) of the Sea, Sparda, Ionia, [Media], Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Drangiana, Aria, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandara, Scythia, Sattagydia, Arachosia and Maka; twenty-three lands in all.

(Thus) saith Darius, the King: These are the provinces

which are subject unto me; by the grace of Auramazda they became subject unto me; they brought tribute unto me. Whatsoever commands have been laid on them by me, by night or by day, have been performed by them.

(Thus) saith Darius, the king: Within these lands, whosoever was a [friend], him have I surely protected; whosoever was hostile, him have I utterly destroyed. By the grace of Auramazda these lands have conformed to my decrees; even as it was commanded unto them by me, so was it done.

(Thus) saith Darius, the king: Auramazda hath granted unto me this empire. Auramazda brought me help, until I gained this empire; by the grace of Auramazda do I hold this empire.

(Thus) saith Darius, the king: This is what was done by me after I became king. He who was named Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, one of our race, was king here before me. That Cambyses had a brother, Smerdis by name, of the same mother and the same father as Cambyses. Afterwards Cambyses slew this Smerdis. When Cambyses slew Smerdis, it was not known unto the people that Smerdis was slain. Thereupon Cambyses went into Egypt. When Cambyses had departed into Egypt, the people became hostile, and the lie multiplied in the land, even in Persia, as in Media, and in the other provinces.

Source: King, Leonard William, & Thompson, R. Campbell. (1907). *The Sculptures and Inscription of Behistun*. London: British Museum. Reprinted in McNeill, William H., and Sedlar, Jean W. (Eds.). (1968). *The Ancient Near East*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 119–121.

earnings growing even faster, from \$572 million to \$1.4 billion. Welch started his career at GE in 1959 as a twenty-four-year-old chemical engineer, and in April 1981 he became chairman and CEO. The inheritor transformed quickly into a neutron/dreamer (“Neutron Jack”) as he dramatically downsized GE, but by focusing on the legacy of GE and Jones, he

managed to bring the organization back into alignment and went on to be recognized (at least by business school professors) as one of the United States’ top CEOs.

FUTURE

The work on leadership succession has only just begun to interest leadership scholars. The fact that such research must take into account leader exit conditions, health of organizations at the time of transition, successor conditions, follower factors, and myriad inside and outside variables makes the task complex indeed. Jungian archetypes provide a road

I have lived some thirty years on this planet, and I have yet to hear the first syllable of valuable or even earnest advice from my seniors.

—Henry David Thoreau

map to guide preliminary explorations of these interrelating variables. The worldwide turnover of current executives in the first two decades of the twenty-first century and the complexity of the issue gives this research area urgency, utility, and intellectual challenge not found in many other research arenas.

—Georgia J. Sorenson

See also Legacy

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LEADERSHIP THEORIES: OVERVIEW

Human beings have always been keenly interested in leadership; from earliest times, philosophers and thinkers have constructed leadership theories and frameworks. In sixth- and fifth-century BCE China, Confucius sought laws of order between leaders and subordinates and wrote about them in the *Analects*. Plato, the Greek philosopher of the late fifth to mid-fourth century BCE, described an ideal republic with philosopher-kings providing wise and judicious leadership. Notable works in the sixteenth century by Niccolò Machiavelli and in the seventeenth century by Thomas Hobbes were followed by works by Mary Parker Follett (1863–1933), Bertrand Russell (1872–1970), and Harold Lasswell (1902–1978), which analyzed power and leadership in modern life.

These efforts and other philosophical approaches constitute a rich and ongoing normative approach to understanding leadership and seek to provide ethical and constructive views of good leadership. Normative approaches to leadership attempt to understand and suggest ideal concepts of leadership, and emphasize how leaders and followers “ought” to behave. A normative approach asks, What is right in this situation and what ought to be done?

In contrast to the normative approach, the descriptive approach looks at leadership behavior in a more value-neutral way. It investigates not what we would like leaders to do or what we think they should do, but what they actually do. In contrast to the normative views, most descriptive work on leadership uses the tools of social science. This approach has arisen primarily in the United States and almost exclusively since the turn of the twentieth century. It has used principally empirical methods from the fields of political science, psychology, and sociology in the service of theory building.

It is important to state from the outset that these theories are not discrete or linear, but make their appearances in varying degrees throughout the his-

tory of leadership studies. Understanding leadership as a set of desirable traits (the “trait theory” approach), for example, was popular at the beginning of the twentieth century, resurgent in the 1980s, and continues to be a factor in some modern leadership theories. However, it is also true that many theories are part of the ongoing history of leadership studies in the past half-century but are no longer considered very useful. In the selection of theories that follows, we outline briefly both early attempts and more current ones, that, while incomplete, have offered important perspectives on understanding leadership.

FREUD'S PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORY

Although seldom cited in modern treatments of leadership, Sigmund Freud's book *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (1921) touched on many elements of leadership that are represented in today's descriptive theories. Freud was highly influenced by the French writer Gustave LeBon's 1895 analysis of crowds. Both Freud and LeBon emphasized the extremely strong hold that leaders and their ideas can have on groups. Quoting LeBon, Freud wrote that people in groups “place themselves instinctively under the authority of a chief” (Freud 1955, 81). A person who asserts his or her authority is quickly accepted as the leader, as long as he or she represents the ideal qualities of the group and also has great force. Such a leader is both loved and feared. As a result of these emotions both the leader and the leader's ideas are highly influential.

Under Freud's taxonomy, the leader's influence is primarily based on emotion rather than on rationality. Ideas are important, but their forceful and colorful presentation is more important than their logic. As long as the leader continues to be successful in helping the group reach its goals, he or she will continue to have prestige and influence. Freud also emphasized the importance of the leader creating the illusion that he or she loves all the members of the group equally. This is as true in highly organized groups such as a church or the military as it is in crowds. People are willing to submit to the leader if they feel that they all have the same standing in relation to the leader.

Freud's theory helps us understand retrospectively George Washington's success as a military leader during the American Revolution. Washington was an imposing figure who was clearly loved by his troops, but he was also feared. Richard Brookhiser, senior editor of the *National Review*, writes that Washington had “physical authority in its simplest form” (Brookhiser 1996, 56). He could charm both men and women, but he would at times also display a barely controlled temper. Thus he elicited fear as well as affection.

The importance of Freud's theory is that it highlights the strong emotional attachments between leaders and followers and the idea that it is the emotional impact of the leader and the leader's ideas that are important in leadership. Both of these concepts remained important as leadership emerged as an organized area of study.

TRAIT, BEHAVIOR, AND SITUATIONAL OR CONTINGENCY APPROACHES

It is fair to say that from World War II until 1975, three research schools dominated the leadership research agenda, particularly in the United States: trait theory, the behavioral approach, and situational or contingent approaches. Later, power and influence theories, group relations, and constructionists' approaches predominated.

Trait Theory

Early work on leadership focused on leaders themselves; these early theories have come to be called “great man” theories. The psychologist Edwin P. Hollander describes this period as essentially dominated by the search for the traits of good leaders. Early observational studies of U.S. industrial pioneers provided scholars an opportunity to identify the traits or abilities that appeared to set these leaders apart. Bernard Bass (1997) notes that in the early twentieth century leaders were considered to be superior individuals different from most other people because of skills and capabilities that came to them through inherited money or social standing. Later research considered hereditary properties such as

intelligence, height, and self-confidence to be distinguishing characteristics of great leaders. Hundreds of studies in the early 1930s and 1940s looked for significant correlations between leader attributes and leadership outcomes, without discerning the intervening variables that influenced those outcomes. Researchers who compiled and found statistical significance in a set of desirable leader traits found that these factors did not translate so easily from situation to situation. A leader who was decisive, fearless, and objective might produce a victory on the battlefield, but fail utterly on a school board or in a classroom.

In the end, this avenue of research failed to produce a set of generic traits that leaders must possess to be effective in any situation. The wish for a list of traits still persists, however, as evidenced by popular books such as Stephen Covey's *Seven Habits of Effective People* that answer the popular yearning for a set of attributes, traits, or goals that indicate a leader.

Behavioral Approach

The study of leadership was swept into the U.S. behaviorist movement of the early and middle decades of the twentieth century. As the notion of inherited or inherent leadership was dispelled, behavioral scientists turned their attention to the measurable behaviors of leaders. They wanted to look at what leaders actually do on the job. Their operating hypothesis was that the behaviors of effective leaders differed from those of ineffective leaders. During this period, particular attention was paid to the relationship between leaders and followers and to the implications that relationship had for the workplace. Psychologists at Ohio State and the University of Michigan in particular contributed seminal research in the behavioral understanding of leadership.

Research of that era demonstrated consistently, however, that effective task leaders were bifurcated in their leadership approach: Consideration for followers (in the workplace, employees) was crucial and statistically significant, as was a strong task orientation. Effective managers showed high concern for people *and* for production; that much appeared to be true.

This research stream yielded the questions that the next iteration of research helped to clarify: Why is it that people who are leaders in one situation are not leaders in another situation? Why did Churchill, for example, lose support in peacetime when his wartime leadership was so crucial to England and the world? Questions like these made it clear that even the behavioral approach was missing crucial ingredients.

Situational or Contingency Approach

The early situationalists felt that the context or the environment in which leadership emerges was a crucial unrecognized factor in leadership outcomes. Clearly, they claimed, leadership varies from situation to situation. As John Gardner, the founder of Common Cause, has noted, the leadership needed for a social movement is often quite different from the leadership needed for military action. Contextual variables, called moderator variables (such as the type of work environment, followership characteristics, or group task), were found to influence the leader's effectiveness.

The mid-1960s ushered in a contingency theory of leadership that focused on the impact of the situation in explaining a leader's effectiveness. The scholar Fred Fiedler's work established that certain types of leadership behaviors are more effective under certain predictable conditions. For example, when a group is engaged in a task that is boring, tedious, or dangerous, then supportive and engaged leadership helps to lower group anxiety, increase self-confidence among the members, and minimize the unpleasant aspects of the work. When the task is unstructured and complex and the subordinates are highly educated, Fiedler found that a consultative style of leadership produced stronger outcomes than directive or authoritarian styles.

THEORIES OF TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP

One of the most influential leadership developments of the past few decades has been the historian James MacGregor Burns's concept, first articulated in 1978, of transformational, or transforming, leader-

ship. Burns made a fundamental (and often debated) distinction between transactional and transformational leadership. Transactional leadership “occurs when one person takes the initiative in making contact with others for the purpose of an exchange of valued things” (Burns 1978, 19). The valued things may be of an economic, political, or psychological nature. The leader may secure economic benefits for followers who in turn grant authority and legitimacy to the leader. In this kind of leadership, Burns argues, the “bargainers have no enduring purpose that holds them together” (20). Their relationship is a kind of business arrangement.

Some leadership theorists contend that this kind of exchange describes all leadership. However Burns argues that transactional leadership should be distinguished at a very fundamental level from transforming or transformational leadership. Transformational leadership “occurs when one or more persons *engage* with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality” (20, italics in original). Burns cites India’s Mohandas Gandhi as a transformational leader who raised the aspirations of millions of Indians and in the process was transformed and elevated himself. Indians’ beliefs about what was possible for them politically and economically were fundamentally reoriented by Gandhi’s vision. He also completely redefined how such goals could be achieved, namely, through nonviolence. Clearly, leaders have the potential to radically alter the motives and morals that govern a group. And, in Burns’s view, not only are the motives and morals of the group altered, the leader embraces the transformation as well. Leader and followers share a common cause.

Burns and the scholar Georgia Sorenson were critical of former president Bill Clinton for failing to fight for real change after the failure of Hillary Clinton’s health plan; for Burns and Sorenson, Clinton failed the test of transformational leadership, although he was an exemplary transactional leader. Another former U.S. president, James Polk (1795–1849), is another example of an effective transactional leader, one of the most effective presidents in this regard. He was able to get support for certain ideas, such as annexing Texas, and he deliv-

ered on his promises. Yet he is not remembered for any transforming principles or policy changes. Abraham Lincoln, in contrast, is remembered for completely eradicating slavery in the United States. That constituted transformational leadership. Burns and Sorenson argue that transformational leaders display courage, commitment, conviction, and competence, all channeled toward creating change.

Work by Bernard Bass and Ben Avolio and by Robert House and Boas Shamir develops similar themes. They all distinguish behaviors from effects. As House and Shamir state, charismatic leadership produces transformational effects. Bass characterizes the behavior of transformational leaders as having four significant attributes. First, they have charisma, or idealized influence. They have conviction and values, and they “emphasize the importance of purpose, commitment, and ethical components of decisions” (Bass 1997, 133). Second, they use inspirational motivation, meaning that they “articulate an appealing vision of the future, challenge followers with high standards, talk optimistically with enthusiasm, and provide encouragement and meaning for what needs to be done” (133). Third, such leaders provide intellectual stimulation, pushing followers to consider new points of view, to question old assumptions, and to articulate their own views. Finally, they demonstrate individualized consideration, meaning that they take into account the needs, capacities, and aspirations of each individual follower in the effort to treat followers equitably. One of the empirical questions that Bass has addressed is whether these four factors are independent enough to be differentiated. The last three are all correlated with charisma, suggesting that charisma is the more general factor. However, the dimensions are conceptually distinct. The most useful view may be that the latter three qualities often go along with charisma and give it a fuller definition.

House and Shamir add to our understanding of the characteristics of charismatic behavior. They propose, first, that charismatic leaders articulate an ideological goal, a vision of a better future for followers. Often that vision incorporates fundamental values such as freedom, beauty, or dignity. Second, they add that charismatic leaders build a positive

image that appeals to followers. Third, charismatic leaders take risks and sacrifice themselves for their goals, thus demonstrating the courage and conviction noted by Burns and Sorenson. Fourth, like Bass and Avolio, House and Shamir note the importance of “empowering behaviors.” These include having high expectations for followers and conveying the belief that the group can attain its lofty goals. Leaders who behave in these ways have the ability to influence a group toward a wide range of behaviors. In the best instances, the behaviors will promote universal values.

In an exchange between Burns and Bass under the auspices of Kellogg Leadership Studies Project, the question of whether or not Hitler was a transformational leader was debated and discussed extensively. Some argued that Hitler transformed the German nation and the Reich party, while others held that only moral or good leaders should be considered transformative leaders. The clash between the normative and descriptive concepts of leadership was clearly apparent. In the end, Bass, who was one of the parties in the debate, concluded that Hitler’s leadership should be classified as “pseudo-transformational.” Nevertheless, the question of why people follow evil leaders remains. Issues of power, authority, and compliance seem to intrude into otherwise benign situations.

TRANSACTIONAL MODELS AND IDIOSYNCRASY CREDIT

In the last decades of the twentieth century, chiefly through the work of the scholar Edwin Hollander, we have come to acknowledge how important the role of the follower is for understanding leadership. Hollander has emphasized that leadership is a process that involves followership. Followers are crucial because they either give leaders their support or withhold it. Hollander believed that charisma, too, was a quality that followers either bestow upon leaders or take away from leaders. Whether followers accord or withdraw support or charisma depends on what they get in return. Leadership involves an exchange. Generally, the leader helps the group define reality and reach its goals. Thus leaders can be considered to be,

among other things, meaning makers. The leader helps the group toward its various goals, and in return, the group accords the leader status, recognition, esteem, and legitimacy. Legitimacy, like charisma, is given or taken away by followers. The leader must continue to deliver.

There is a particular kind of commodity that followers sometimes give leaders. When leaders have conformed to group norms and demonstrated competence in helping the group reach its goals, followers may grant them idiosyncrasy credit, also called the credit to deviate. In exchange for benefits leaders deliver to the group, they are allowed to deviate from group norms, which frees them up to innovate and produce even more rewards for the group. Deviation and innovation can spend the leader’s credits, but if those expenditures bring further benefits to the group, the leader acquires more credit.

If leaders do not have sufficient idiosyncrasy credit, idiosyncrasy or deviation may cause them to lose the group’s support. One interesting example of the use of idiosyncrasy credit is President Richard Nixon’s overtures toward the People’s Republic of China and the Soviet Union in 1972. A Democratic president would not have had enough credit built up with conservatives to take that step without generating severe criticism. Nixon, however, with his past as a vocal opponent of Communism, had enough credit to proceed without being challenged by conservatives. Once Nixon’s policies appeared to be accomplishing important goals for the United States, he built up even more credit with his Republican followers. Leaders must assess whether they have sufficient credit to deviate from group norms and steer the group in novel directions and toward unconventional goals.

As the work on followers became more salient with the subsequent work of Robert Kelly, Lynn Offinger and others, leadership scholars began to construct a more nuanced view of leadership. In a seminal paper titled “Empowerment for Change: A Conceptual Working Paper,” produced under the auspices of the Kellogg Leadership Studies Project, James MacGregor Burns challenged researchers to abandon the “power over” model and to take up the study of leadership aimed at “realizing goals mutu-

ally held by both leaders and followers.” To do so, he suggests, involves greater attention to the role of followers as well as to the motivations of potential opponents and to competition from other actors.

PROCEDURAL JUSTICE AND COMPLIANCE WITH AUTHORITY

Tom Tyler and E. Allan Lind’s relational theory (1992) focused on the ways persons in authority make decisions and the effects different kinds of decisions have on compliance. They argued that procedural justice is more important than distributive justice. That is, people’s willingness to comply with the decisions of authorities is more influenced by whether those decisions are based on fair procedures than by whether those decisions give them favorable outcomes. Tyler and Lind suggested that it is easier to judge the procedural fairness of a decision than to judge whether its resulting distributions are fair, and that people believe that they will do well in the long term if procedures are fair. Authorities who show concern for one’s needs, who consider one’s views, who are polite and treat one with dignity, and who are honest and unbiased are perceived as procedurally fair and just. When one is treated fairly by an authority, that fair treatment signals that one has value in the group. The authority powerfully represents the group, such that good treatment by the authority predicts positive treatment by the group as a whole. Under these circumstances, the individual accords the authority legitimacy and voluntarily complies with the authority’s decisions. Interestingly, Tyler and Lind described a perception similar to Freud’s idea of the illusion that the leader loves all group members with an equal love, namely, an “illusion of personal justice” (Tyler and Lind 1992, 155). People have the general expectation that they have been and will be fairly treated by legal and political authorities.

COGNITIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVIST THEORIES OF LEADERSHIP

Some of the newest work on leadership involves a cognitive or constructionist view or schema. Soren-

son writes about cognitive structures, and Sonia Ospina and her team at New York University have been looking at the leadership stories of grassroots leaders. Howard Gardner stresses the importance of a leader’s words, woven into stories. Gardner holds that the central element in leading is relating and embodying stories, typically about identity. Leaders lead “through the stories and acts they address to an audience” (Gardner 1995, 13). The most powerful stories are about identity. Effective leaders tell stories “about themselves and their groups, about where they were coming from and where they were headed, about what [is] to be feared, struggled against, and dreamed about” (14). Such stories are dynamic. They unfold over time, and the leader and followers are the “principal characters or heroes” (14).

Gardner also adds the important concept that the leader’s actions, or his or her embodiment of the story, is as influential as the actual words of the story. One of Gardner’s most interesting examples is Pope John XXIII. The architect of the Second Vatican Council, John XXIII expressed in words a story of humility, openness, and inclusion. This story ran into the counterstories of the entrenched Catholic leadership, stories that emphasized hierarchy, obedience, and formality. John’s behavior reinforced his words: His story was effective, and it appealed broadly to non-Catholics as well as Catholics, because it was so firmly grounded in the words and deeds of Jesus. A story that resonated so closely with the story of Jesus himself was difficult for the church elders to counter effectively.

LEADER SCHEMATA

The image people have of leaders has been explored by a number of psychologists studying what are known as leader schemata or implicit leadership theories. Robert Lord and his colleagues found that leaders are thought of as competent, caring, honest, understanding, outgoing, verbally skilled, determined, aggressive, decisive, dedicated, educated, kind, and well dressed. Robert Kenney and his colleagues found sixteen categories of expectations that could be grouped into four prototypes that described people’s implicit theories about new leaders’ behav-

ior: They assume new leaders learn the group's goals, take charge, are nice people, and are initially nervous. In his book *Why Presidents Succeed* (1987), Dean Keith Simonton proposed that leaders are expected to be strong, active, and good. All work on leadership schemata follows some of Freud's original conceptions that a person who asserts their authority in a group does so with the implicit approval of the followers.

These approaches characterize people's beliefs about leaders at different levels of specificity. What is common to all of them is the idea that people do have a schema about leadership and that this schema forms a standard for judging leaders. The social psychologist Michael Hogg argues that once followers have decided that a person qualifies as a leader there is a tendency for them to attribute the leader's behavior to "intrinsic leadership ability, or charisma," and to "construct a charismatic leadership personality for that person" (Hogg 2001, 190). Thus leadership schemata are used to evaluate leaders or potential leaders, and they can have a profound effect on what personal qualities are attributed to someone who has been judged to meet the leader standard.

THE FUTURE

As the study of leadership has matured, scholars have ventured across disciplinary boundaries seeking new ideas from other areas of inquiry. We have moved from a unidisciplinary approach to a more multidisciplinary approach, evident particularly from 1977 onwards. But the challenge continues to be to move from merely borrowing ideas to fully integrating them. We have many ideas about leadership but we still do not have a clear understanding of its complexities. Ralph Stogdill's 1974 *Handbook of Leadership* (Stogdill was joined by Bernard Bass for the 1981 edition) listed 4,725 studies of leadership and 189 pages of references. Stogdill eventually concluded that "the endless accumulation of empirical data has not produced an integrated understanding of leadership" (Stogdill 1974, vii). The management theorist Jerry Hunt lamented, "What is missing, in addition to quantity of theoretical for-

mulations or models is a 'grand' or generalized theory of leader-subordinate relationships—if indeed, such a theoretical development is desirable or possible" (Hunt and Larson 1977). This is still as true today as it was then.

The quest for integration across theories of leadership has led a group of scholars (the General Theory of Leadership Group) to meet over the last few years to begin to address these questions. The conceptual strengths and weakness of various approaches, the post hoc nature of inductive theory, the tensions between the normative, analytic, and descriptive approaches, the discipline-specific language and terminology, the political nature of research funding, and the U.S.- and individual-centric models of leadership have contributed to the challenge of their efforts. Yet there are universals, too, they agree, in the sense that leadership and its challenges have been at the core of the human condition and human progress.

We are far from a complete understanding of leadership. It may be ambitious to think that the study of leadership or a theory of leadership can supply all answers. Yet there is little question that informed theories of leadership and followership can and do contribute to resolving some of the most complex issues facing the new millennium. Poverty, terrorism, failing schools, racism, and global environmental degradation are problems of the human heart and the human mind, and they cry out for human leadership.

—Georgia J. Sorenson and George R. Goethals

Note: A section of this entry is from an internal memo written for the W. K. Kellogg Foundation by Georgia Sorenson and Barbara Kellerman, 2000. Used with permission.

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LEADING AT A DISTANCE

Today, leadership in organizations is generally perceived as a relationship or interaction between a leader and his or her immediate followers. Most people have personal experience of this kind of leadership. Indeed, a large part of our knowledge of leadership and followership is gained from this dyadic relation. Our experiences tend to be of leadership in groups because nearly every leadership relation is embedded in a group context. Leadership scholars have written at length about this basic constellation and have developed appropriate theories.

In contrast, our knowledge and understanding of leadership in conjunction with the concept of distance is apparently limited. In 2002, the scholars John Antonakis and Leanne Atwater still had to conclude that “with few exceptions, leadership scholars have not expressly defined nor discussed leader distance, how distance is implicated in the legitimization of a leader, and how distance affects leader outcomes” (Antonakis and Atwater 2002, 673). This might be a surprise for those who remember how scientific research on leadership started. Leadership research was inspired by myths and legends about great leaders, mostly perceived as heroes. All that was known about these people came from historians, books and newspapers, or questionable sources. Sometimes people received second-hand information, but hardly anyone made up their minds about the character of a leader or whether to follow a leader based on direct evidence and independent assessment. What people had, therefore, was an image of leaders, and that image influenced their perceptions and the actions. Distance—geographical (physical) distance—is an essential component of this leadership relation. For different reasons, leadership research has not continued to focus on this phenomenon intensively. With the exception of some psychoanalytical ideas about the effects of mass psy-

chology on leading people, mainstream research turned to methodologically isolated people or face-to-face interactions to obtain information about the traits or behaviors of leaders and their effects in concrete settings. The result has been that a very natural type of influence over people—something every one of us is confronted with regularly—has been almost ignored for quite a long time.

CONCEPTIONS OF DISTANCE IN LEADERSHIP RESEARCH

Examination of the substance and the effects of distance in leadership relations seem necessary for two reasons. First, (organizational) life is characterized by different forms of leader distance; so we should come nearer to leadership reality. Second, our leadership knowledge is still limited and focused on the dyadic level of analysis. There is hope that research on this topic can enrich the whole discipline. However, we have to bear in mind right at the beginning that “no theory currently exists that integrates the various types of distance in organizations” (Napier and Ferris 1993, 321) and that “leadership at a distance in the organizational domain,” which is our topic here, “has yet to generate much empirical work” (Antonakis and Atwater 2002, 674).

It would be a good idea to start our consideration of distance in leadership with reflections about the term and how it is used in the leadership context. The assumption is that distance between people produces a difference in the relationship and that the difference may make it difficult to lead others or may produce unintended effects in leading others. Although leadership cannot be conceptualized without positing some kind of difference between the leader and the led, some differences, resulting from various types of distance, are worth mentioning. This entry concentrates on distance in organizations.

Geographical Distance

Leaders and followers do not work at the same place, in the same building, or in the same region. In organizations, one finds this constellation quite often in the sales division. It is also common in large organiza-

tions with many subdivisions and in organizations with an international orientation.

Hierarchical Distance

Leaders and immediate followers are influenced by other leaders at higher echelons. Researchers are increasingly interested in top-echelon leaders and their effects on people down the organization. Research in this direction has relied on anecdotal evidence about the influence of CEOs, with the analysis often concentrating on the effects that are provoked by people who are assumed to be transformational or charismatic leaders. The scholar Gary Yukl warns that merely considering the influence of the top leader does not provide a complete perspective. Instead, organizations should be characterized as multidimensional influence networks. In that regard, the effects of the immediate superior of the leader (sometimes called “the boss”; herein the person in this position is called the beta leader) on the leader-follower relationship are of particular interest. The scholars Fred Fiedler and Joseph Garcia stress this point by saying that the “importance of the leader’s superior has been almost ignored by laboratory researchers. . . [but] the boss is a very important factor in understanding the leader’s behavior and the group’s performance” (Fiedler and Garcia 1987, 4). This supports the psychologist Dean Frost’s contention that “functional dependence on the immediate superior makes the ‘boss’ the most important resource in many leader environments” (Frost 1983, 124).

Social Distance

Differences of age, race, gender, or specific networks result in differences in beliefs, values, attitudes, and decisions. Some of these differences are not related to the work environment; others might be. The legitimation of people who are perceived to be different is critical when their differences are not tolerated or appreciated by others. This is conspicuous when culturally divergent groups with strong value differences interact. For instance, the researchers Shalom Schwartz and Galit Sagie have demonstrated that

value priorities are related to other differences in meaningful ways. Other researchers—for example Robert House and his colleagues at the GLOBE (Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness) research project—have shown that value differences generate different conceptions of what leadership in organizations should entail. So, social distance leads to practical consequences. The psychologist Terence Mitchell shows, for example, how specific social characteristics of followers may have an influence on how the leader assesses the performance of the follower: the greater the social distance, the greater the probability of harsh judgment in the case of a bad performance.

Psychological Distance

While geographical, hierarchical, and social distance are objective in nature, psychological distance is subjective. Some researchers do not separate psychological and social distance; they reason that the effects of social distance are psychological in the end. But this is generally true because hardly any effect of social importance provokes behavior independently from information processing. The most familiar psychological distance in leadership research is the measured difference in intelligence between leaders and followers. Here it is assumed that the distance between the intelligence of the leader and the follower should not be too high; otherwise communication problems arise. It is quite easy to think about other factors, such as emotions or motivations. For example, an extrovert leader might generate greater distance between him- or herself and an introverted subordinate than would be the case with extroverted subordinates; similarly, an extrovert leader and an introverted subordinate might have different values and expectations, leading to differences in evaluating future events.

We do not have detailed knowledge about the effects of distance and closeness on the leader-follower relationship, or even about the interplay of the four types of distance. Leadership research, traditionally near to psychology in approach and outlook, ought to be able to adapt findings from psychology on social and psychological distance to the

concept of leadership relations. But this does not address the core concept of distance in leadership, because social and psychological distance from others is constitutive for any relationship, not merely leader-follower relationships; without distance, one's sense of self-identity cannot emerge. Currently, the idea of distance in leadership research in organizations is inevitably associated with hierarchical distance. In the future, geographical distance will possibly receive comparable attention. For the time being, however, the terms *leading at a distance* and *leadership at a distance* should be reserved for the hierarchical type of distance. Social and psychological distance may have additional effects, but those effects are not important for the special kind of leadership discussed here, as they are equally relevant or irrelevant in nonhierarchical distance relationships. In organizations, hierarchy is ubiquitous and dominates the organizational experience of all organizational members—hence the focus here on hierarchical distance.

DISTANCE LEADERSHIP BY TOP LEADERS AND BETA LEADERS

Typically, studies of leadership distance in organizations have focused on world-class leaders or on CEOs of famous or important corporations. Many people are interested in knowing why some companies outperform others, and many reason that the person at the top may be responsible for the performance differences. So, Pierre Bellon, current president and director general of the French Sodexo Alliance, a world-class food and management services company, was asked in an interview, published in the *Academy of Management Executive* in 2003, if he used “any special strategies or approaches to keep everyone focused on the organization's goals and mission” (Ford 2003, 43). Anders Dahlig, the CEO of the Sweden furniture company IKEA, was asked to comment on the question “What characterizes the leadership of IKEA?” (Kling and Goteman 2003, 36). This interest in top leaders is due to the fact that these managers in particular are responsible for the choice of goal priorities and the manner in which strategy is implemented. Additionally, they symbol-

Table 1. Important Empirical Studies Describing the Importance of the Beta Leader

<i>Authors</i>	<i>Focus</i>	<i>Main Statement</i>
Pelz (1952) Wager (1965) House, Filley, and Gujarati (1971)	Strength of influence of alpha leader with respect to beta leader	There is a positive relationship between the strength of the alpha leader's influence with the beta leader and followers' satisfaction with the alpha leader.
Anderson et al. (1990a) Anderson and Tolson (1991)	Strength of influence of alpha leader with respect to beta leader	There is a positive relationship between the strength of the alpha leader's influence with the beta leader and followers' perception of control.
Meindl (1990)	Followers' attribution of responsibility to the alpha leader when he or she fails	If the beta leader shares responsibility for a negative outcome provoked by the alpha leader, followers reduce the portion of the blame that falls on the alpha leader.
Cashman et al. (1976) Graen et al. (1977)	Relationship between the alpha leader and the beta leader	The quality of the relationship is a moderating variable for different variables that are used by followers to evaluate and judge their alpha leader.
Pfeffer and Salancik (1975)	Expectations of the beta leader and the leadership behavior of the alpha leader	Expectations of the beta leader influence the work-related behavior of the alpha leader.
Bass et al. (1987)	Transmission of the leadership style of the beta leader to the alpha leader	There is a positive relationship between the transformational and transactional leadership style of the beta leader and the alpha leader.
Fiedler and Garcia (1987)	Beta leader as a stress factor for alpha leaders	Stress provoked by the beta leader reduces the utility of the intellectual abilities of alpha leaders and reduces group productivity.

ize actual power and hope for the future. The leadership scholar James Meindl and his colleagues have pointed out that ordinary organizational members attribute not only corporate performance but also favorable (or unfavorable) turns of events to organizational leaders.

The question remains how these executives are able to influence others. A standard answer is given by David Waldman and Francis Yammarino when they refer to organizational culture, and indeed, the shaping of culture has frequently been mentioned since the 1982 publication of *In Search of Excellence: Lessons from America's Best-Run Companies*, by Tom Peters and Robert Waterman. Additionally, the leadership literature notes that CEOs establish the organization's orientation and spread trust and energy through it through symbolic action, commu-

nication, and occasional personal contacts. The forming of a team of followers, sometimes called disciples when the leader in question is known for his charismatic or transformative qualities, seems to be a necessary condition if the leader is to achieve a cascading influence on as many organizational members as possible.

Although some empirical studies try to conceptualize the effects of top executive leadership on performance measures, results are mixed and confounded with methodological measures. For example, David Day and Robert Lord state that after analyzing some executive succession studies, they determined that "leadership can explain as much as 45% of an organization's performance" (Day and Lord 1988, 453), but they nevertheless conclude their article with the remark that a theory of executive

leadership “needs a much broader conceptual and methodological foundation” (459). In sum, plausible arguments, anecdotes, and mere guesswork dominate this field. Some researchers see the current interest in CEOs as representing a resurgence in heroic leadership approaches, but no one can deny that possible courses of action are chosen at the top, and people generally agree that top executives can function as outstanding role models.

But we do not have to climb so far up the hierarchy to think about leadership at a distance. With the exception of the top leaders themselves, every leader in an organization has a superior. It would be very unlikely that this fact had no influence on leadership relations. In the first of two general models of leadership at a distance (sometimes called “indirect leadership”), both proposed originally by Francis Yammarino in 1994, a beta leader affects people further down in the organizational hierarchy by acting through his or her immediate subordinate, the alpha leader (who then influences those below); this is called the cascading model. This sort of influence happens regularly in organizations. Imagine that the beta leader motivates the alpha leader to attain certain goals, and that the alpha leader is therefore energized to inspire his or her own followers.

In the second model, called the bypass model, the beta leader influences those further down not through his or her influence on the intervening alpha leader, but directly. In other words, the beta leader bypasses the chain of command. This might happen, for example, when the beta leader wants to convey technical information or instructions without losing time or when he or she wants to avoid the danger of information selection by others. It also applies when the beta leader wants to give a personal word of encouragement or praise to an indirect follower. A brief survey of leadership literature reveals that some scholars have noted these paths of influence. (See Table 1.)

Although this overview shows that the influence network of the beta leader, the alpha leader, and the alpha leader’s subordinates is acknowledged in research, it also makes clear that no compact theoretical framework exists yet. However, there are isolated results that indicate a direction of influence and

give us a guide for further research. Jürgen Weibler has tried to describe the form of the beta leader’s influence in more detail. For this he modeled a triadic influence relationship (leadership triad) and asked more than two hundred managers to depict how they influence indirect followers and how they are influenced by the beta leader. A body of evidence supported the selection of three (and not more) consecutive hierarchical levels. Weibler considered not only paths of interaction between the beta leader and the alpha leader and between the beta leader and the indirect followers, but also how the beta leader was able to shape the context in which leadership takes place.

Weibler demonstrated that there is an influence network between the three consecutive levels in the hierarchy. In an extension of conventional theory, he showed that the influence of the beta leader can be exercised both in face-to-face situations or through shaping (or co-shaping) policy, organizational structure, or organizational culture. Both directly and indirectly exercised influence has remarkable consequences for the relationship with the alpha leader and thereby for the whole leadership system. Furthermore, influence is not unidirectional; influence can also move from the lower levels upward.

The beta leader is able to influence indirect followers through the alpha-leader and directly, for example, through setting or changing goals, by the working conditions and infrastructure that are established, through qualification guidelines, and through policy decisions on (for example) salary, career planning, and promotion. In addition, the beta leader influences indirect followers by establishing rewards and punishments for follower behavior in his or her unit. When followers rated their perception of the general influence of the beta leader on a 5-point scale, with 5 being high and 1 being low, beta leaders received an average rating of around 3.5, with higher peaks in certain areas. There was no evidence that the basic structure has to be modified substantially under certain conditions. The most prominent surprise might be the insight that the actors in the leadership triad are aware of this influence network.

Weibler’s findings also indicated an overlap between the tasks and responsibilities of the alpha and beta leaders, with the beta leader’s influence

tending to be more general, normative, and strategic. In the long run, the beta leader's influence on the follower increases and may even be higher than the influence of the alpha leader. In any case, the beta leader is perceived as a counterbalancing power with respect to the alpha leader.

THE STATE OF RESEARCH TODAY

Leadership at a distance is understudied in leadership theory. Although research has revealed an influence network that can be conceptualized as a leadership triad, leadership in three or more echelons has not been examined (with the exception of top leadership). There is, however, a fair amount of anecdotal information, which is useful because it says something both about real life in organizations and about implicit leadership theories. This perspective has made us aware that the often presupposed freedom of the leader to act must be revised; leadership in practice must be seen as a more complex relationship. However, we are still arguing on a very narrow database, and any findings should be treated as explorative. Research directions yet to be explored include how strong advances in technology will affect leadership relations (e-leadership). If the communication platform changes, expectations and possibilities with regard to supporting, monitoring, and stimulating followers may change too. The result may be new leader prototypes, at least in some (virtual) situations, no doubt with consequences for working and leadership structure and processes within the leadership triad and more.

—Jürgen Weibler

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LEADING FROM WITHIN

Leadership is a process that emanates from the essence of us and requires an understanding of who we are and why we are who we are. The process of leadership is a reflection of our thoughts and beliefs. These thoughts and beliefs, in addition to a passion to make a difference, result in actions.

An understanding of their inner identity, purpose, and vision is critical for persons in leadership positions. Without the ability to identify core values, to achieve balance, one cannot authentically cope with the demands of leadership in the ever-changing fast pace of the world today. Persons contemplating leadership in any arena must take time out to reflect, to seriously consider three basic questions: (1) Who am I? (2) What is my primary purpose or passion? (3) What do I value? We lead by virtue of who we are. Understanding what makes us tick, our true nature, is unfamiliar territory to many of us. Yet, this core, our inner self, is an important factor in deter-

mining the manner in which we lead or, for that matter, follow.

Leadership development programs have proliferated greatly. Yet, chronic social and economic problems persist, schools are struggling, business organizations are downsizing, and the marketplace is in chaos. Perhaps the development of new leadership by focusing on programs that change external behaviors through the use of skill building will place us on a successful trajectory. However, do the programs ask the correct questions about the kind of leadership? Several ideals appear to be prevalent. First is the thought that youthful leadership with tremendous energy and ambition to succeed will create the new successful environment. Second is the image of the “hero” leader of old, the champion with extraordinary vision, stature, public presence, and great risk-taking abilities. Third is the idea of the leader who is a skilled strategist, analyst, and organizational expert with the ability to generate tremendous enthusiasm around a team effort. All three of these ideals are good, but they miss the essence of leadership. They emphasize the skills and personalities of leaders but neglect the deeper and more essential elements of inner spirit, values, authenticity, and hope.

Leadership development programs historically emphasize external development. They focus on leadership styles, visioning, public speaking skills, strategic planning for shared visioning, team building, conflict resolution, and so forth. Few programs, if any, take the time to help people understand that their actions are a reflection of their inner being, their beliefs, values, and passions. The leader and the inner person are not separable. Leadership development and personal development enjoy what might be termed a “symbiotic” (mutually beneficial) relationship. The words of Paul Walsh, chairman and CEO of Pillsbury, reflect this philosophy. He said that the missing link in leadership development programs is first growing the person in order to then grow the leader. The way people lead is a conscious presentation of their inner being, an authentic self-expression that proclaims their true values. Restructuring leadership development programs from a series of exercises focused on external behaviors to an integrated, personal development, as well as content-driven

In simplest terms, a leader is one who knows where he wants to go, and gets up, and goes.

—John Erksine

seminars and lectures, greatly strengthens the learners and the organizations.

Studies have shown that those people who consistently excel in leadership activities have a sense of purpose, a deep commitment, and a feeling that what they do has meaning and contributes to a worthwhile cause. Their actions are deeply rooted in values and spirituality. Leading with the power of a deep understanding of who we are and why we do what we do can be termed *leading with soul* or *leading from within*.

Many leaders appear to get results, at least temporarily. Fewer leaders create lasting value that strengthens themselves and their organization or community. Getting immediate satisfaction or short-term results is not true leadership. One can get results but destroy the long-range environment. Unfortunately many individuals are willing to sacrifice health, values, relationships, lifestyle, and eventually the success of the organization by focusing on external events that exhibit power and self-aggrandizement. To be an authentic leader, one must strengthen an understanding of core values, spirituality, ethics, and respect for the common good.

If books and other publications are an indication of interest and trends, then the focus on personal development, an understanding of core values and spirituality, is on the rise. This focus is captured well by Katherine Tyler Scott, who says that we are living in a “time between times,” a time in which traditional thinking and practices appear to be unaligned. Therefore, we are being challenged to reexamine our perspectives. The way we will teach leadership will include a focus on both competence and character. The commitment to this deeper level of educating leaders will achieve a positive transformation of individuals, organizations, and society.

—Lorraine R. Matusak

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LEARNING ORGANIZATION

According to the management scholar Peter Senge, who popularized the concept of the learning organization, learning organizations are places “where people continually expand their capacity to create the results they truly desire, where new and expansive patterns of thinking are nurtured, where collective aspiration is set free, and where people are continually learning to see the whole together” (Senge 1990, 7). Accordingly, at the heart of the idea of a learning organization is the insight that there is enormous human potential that can unfold and act in effective and fulfilling ways within social institutions such as businesses, government departments, schools, and charities. Leaders and the relationship between leaders and followers can help unlock this underdeveloped and underemployed potential and hence contribute to developing organizational learning practices.

Antecedents of the concept of the learning organization were discussed as far back as the 1920s, but the learning organization’s recent relevance as a topic for consideration did not emerge until the late 1980s, when a combinations of ideas, theories, and practices were gathered under the name “learning organization.” Learning in organizations has become increasingly vital in today’s complex, uncertain, and dynamic business environment. The increasing competitive challenges imposed by the global economy and by technological changes in

It is always easier to dismiss a man than it is to train him. No great leader ever built a reputation on firing people. Many have built a reputation on developing them.

—Unknown

products and services force corporations and their members to learn in order to increase knowledge sharing and communication, which in turn leads to increased flexibility, innovativeness, and effectiveness. Accordingly, the notion of organizational learning has gained academic and practice-oriented currency since the 1980s as a preferred model for development and to manage change. It can be seen as a cornerstone of successful economies and societies in the twenty-first century.

UNDERSTANDING LEARNING AND VARIOUS APPROACHES TO THE LEARNING ORGANIZATION

Discussions of organizational learning and learning organizations are characterized by heterogeneity and multilayeredness as well as by the absence of a uniform, generally accepted theory. How one defines organizational learning depends on one's underlying understanding of learning itself. Learning needs to be seen as a multifaceted and dynamic process. Basically, learning is the acquisition of competencies that make it possible to modify patterns of thinking and acting that help the learner to develop goal-oriented behavior for dealing with changes or new orientations. According to Peter Vail (1996), ultimately learning represents a way of being, a holistic attitude that takes all experiences as a learning opportunity or learning process.

There are different orientations for approaching learning. A behaviorist orientation uses experimental procedures to study behavior in adaptive relation to the environment, while a cognitive orientation examines the individual's mental information processes and changes in cognitions (that is, changes in preferences, assumptions, knowledge, and judgments). According to a constructionist perspective, learning results from

self-productive, autopoietic (self-forming) processes, by which meaning and reality are created. According to social constructionism, learning emerges not based on single individuals, but as a social process that occurs in community: As members create reality by sharing and coordinating certain values, thinking traditions, and interpretation practices, learning occurs. Generally, learning takes place when new facts and knowledge are acquired and transferred, opinions and beliefs are modified, or new paradigms are developed.

The scholar Gregory Bateson (1904–1980) developed a multidimensional view of learning that recognized different types and levels of learning. The researchers Chris Argyris and Donald Schön (1978) adapted this view to an organizational context by differentiating single-loop learning, double-loop learning, and deuterio-learning. According to them, an organization learns through the agency of its individual members, who are changing their theories of use. In single-loop learning, errors are detected and corrected in an adaptive process of continuous improvement. In double-loop learning, the organization's success formulas and the values, assumptions, and action strategies that it has taken for granted are questioned and challenged, leading to a deeper level of collective understanding of those values and assumptions. Deuterio-learning, the "learning of learning," occurs when organizations learn how to carry out single-loop and double-loop learning. Deuterio-learning means that organizations reflect on and inquire into previous episodes of organizational learning and modify the learning system, which may enhance the learning process and culture itself.

In addition to the cultural approach of Argyris and Schön, there are other models of the learning organization. According to the adaptive approach, learning takes place as an experience-related adaptation to the environment, while the functional-interpretative approach sees learning based on information processing as the development of organizational knowledge. According to an integrative-systemic approach, learning represents the incorporation and practice of specific learning disciplines, including personal mastery, systems thinking, mental models, team-orientation, and shared vision. Others have stressed the necessity

for “unlearning” or for considering informal learning. Meanwhile, typologies have been developed to systemize the different approaches.

AIMS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF ORGANIZATIONAL LEARNING

Essentially the aim of organizational learning is to produce “useful outcomes” (Dodgson 1993, 378). Organizations strive to increase their capacity to innovate—and therefore their ability to survive and change. Learning within and about an organization serves for a critical analysis of preexisting rules, practices, structures, and processes, which leads to the development of possible alternative approaches, strategies, and solutions. Learning helps increase an organization’s problem-solving capacity and can lead to behavior changes that bring about improved performance at the individual, team, and organizational levels. These efforts are intended to strengthen the organization’s ability to adapt in the face of radically changing internal and external environments and as a precaution against the uncertainties of the future.

However, there exists a peculiar ambivalence concerning organizational learning’s purpose and goals. Learning can be a core competence of the organization, a source of renewal, energy, and revitalization, and the employees’ tool against layoffs, cutbacks, and reengineering. But there is also a shadow side to the learning organization: Learning can be just one more way to get more out of the work force for less, or learning can be subverted or at least perceived to be subverted by management in order to aid or justify downsizing, restructuring, and invasion of privacy. It can become a “prescription to help managers retain control under dramatically changed external circumstances” (Coopey 1995, 202). Furthermore, there is tension between the goals and time perspectives involved: On the one hand, the learning organization’s primary goal of developing its ability to learn from experience requires a long-term perspective. Yet this often conflicts with the short-term bottom line of productivity, accountability, results, efficiency, and profitability. Holding learners both to the long-term vision of learning and simultaneously to short-term performance requirements creates not only time conflicts for

employees but also false expectations that set the learning organization and its learners up for failure.

CHARACTERISTICS OF A LEARNING ORGANIZATION

There are many ways to characterize a learning organization. For example, in learning organizations employees have access to knowledge, resources, networks, and learning strategies; there are multiple reward systems; and there is participative policy enabling implementation, development, and evaluation of learning processes. Importantly, a learning organization offers its members self-development opportunities, as well as support, guidance, and mutual feedback. These and other characteristics are at the same time conditions for the effectiveness of learning processes in and from organizations. In a learning organization, there will generally be both individual and transpersonal—that is, group and organization-wide—levels of learning. To avoid the problem of how to bridge the gap between individual and collective levels of learning, learning needs to be seen as an ongoing and integrative process of creating multiple realities dependent on multiple coordinations. That is, learning takes place individually by different people, while the sum of their individual knowledge is collective. For example, when an employee acquires a specific competency like a technical or language skill, this knowledge will alter not only his reality, but also that of an organization. Consequently, both realities and further plural realities involved need to be coordinated.

ORGANIZATIONAL LEARNING RELATED TO LEADERSHIP

What is the role of the leader within learning organizations? What are the specific actions that a leader can take to help his or her organization become a learning organization? What can leaders do to support a learning organization? Learning organizations require a new view of leadership and the leader-follower relationship. If, as Senge (1990) has suggested, in a learning organization leaders are designers, stewards, and teachers, it will be necessary to overcome the conventional, hero-

like conception of the leader and unidirectional monological practices of leadership in favor of shared or distributed leadership with a more dialogical orientation.

Leaders as Learners: Leaderly Learning

First of all, leaders themselves must value learning and become expert at learning in the context of the organization. That means they must develop what Argyris (1993) calls the competence of leading-learning: They must role-model continuous learning for others. Leaders with a learning orientation should have the kinds of traits that David Kolb, a scholar of organizational behavior, suggests good experiential learners exhibit: openness, lack of bias, and the ability to reflect on experiences from many perspectives and to draw those various perspectives into an integrated course of action. A leader who has the ability to learn how to learn—that is, to develop skills to handle new assumptions, new processes, and new ideas on a daily basis—is an important presupposition and condition for any learning organization. The organizational psychologist Edgar Schein defines the learning leader as one who is willing to acknowledge his or her lack of knowledge and the given uncertainty in order to advocate the importance of learning and to promote learning throughout the organization. A leader's willingness to articulate and challenge his or her assumptions encourages a culture of inquiry and innovation. It is also important that leaders learn about themselves in the process of developing as leaders. For this, they should have the capacity to reflect on their intentions, emotions, and experiences and on their effects on others and on the organization. With this, they should have the ability to make adjustments for themselves and in their interpersonal relationships. Organizations that support the process of leaderly learning have a head start in developing into learning organizations successfully.

Vision and Empowerment, Mentoring, Coaching, and Facilitation

The creation of a collective vision of the future with other members of the organization appears to be an

essential task for leaders of learning organizations, and communicating this common vision to the organization seems to be of collateral importance. To share in the creation of the organization's vision, and to enable self-organized learning processes, employees must be empowered. Empowerment can be defined as "interactive, mutual decision making about work challenges in which power for work outcomes is truly shared" (Marsick 1994, 19). Mentoring, coaching, and facilitation, as forms of hands-on support, are three additional tools for developing effective learning in the workplace. Mentoring can foster workplace learning by relating career development to personal development; it also builds self-esteem and self-confidence.

With coaching, leaders stimulate, encourage, and accompany employees' learning processes; leader coaches promote inquiry, experimentation, and dialogue. As part of this coaching, leaders help those they are coaching overcome barriers, defensive routines, and inhibiting loops that hinder the development of a learning organization. On occasion, leader coaches must gently confront themselves and their staff with the need for reality testing, which can help expose hidden assumptions in everyone's mental models of reality and can help staff to deal with anxiety.

For developing an imbedded acceptance of learning and personnel with the necessary learning abilities, collective and organizational-level factors that facilitate learning need to be identified, including emotional factors. Other facilitating factors include task variety and internal exchanges as well as continuous learning opportunities and feedback.

Because leadership plays an important role in supporting the transformation of shared mental models and in linking the individual, team, and organizational levels of learning, leadership must occur at all those levels if the organization is truly to become a learning organization. This implies that to some extent leaders must be willing to devolve authority in support of self-learning and self-management processes: Decision making and responsibility become more decentralized, hierarchical structures are flattened out, and lateral networking is favored over hierarchical control.

COMMUNITIES OF LEARNING PRACTICE

One particular way in which leaders can support learning processes is to accept and foster what are known as communities of practice. These communities are groups of people who come together to share and to learn from one another both face-to-face and virtually. They are held together by a common interest in a body of knowledge and are driven by a desire and need to share problems, experiences, insights, tips, templates, tools, and best practices. Community members deepen their knowledge by interacting on an ongoing basis and over time develop a set of shared practices in a mutual engagement, joined enterprise and shared repertoire (e.g., communal resources such as routines, sensibilities, artifacts, vocabulary, and styles). Members of these communities may discuss innovative ideas and cooperate on solving problems or develop collaborative inquiries. Unlike temporary teams, or business units, they are organized around what matters to their members, offering them chances to develop a sense of identity (Wenger 1998, 145) and situated learning.

Communities of practice form constellations of interconnected practice and networks for the negotiation of meaning, and they fulfill a number of functions with respect to the creation, diffusion, and transformation of knowledge and learning in organizations. As an embodied and emotional context for learning, they can retain knowledge in “living” ways, and make learning a vibrant process also across organizational boundaries. Even when they routinize certain tasks and processes, they can do so in ways that are responsive to specific circumstances. Learning in such communities helps build emotional and social competencies in addition to the more standard business competencies. One of the advantages of communities of practice is that they preserve the tacit and emotional aspects of knowledge and learning that formal systems cannot capture. With their interpretive sense making, they contribute to organizational community building and innovation. With regard to leadership, it is essential that these communities become what Senge (1997) referred to as “communities of leaders and learners.”

LIMITATIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND PERSPECTIVES

As we have seen, there are tremendous complexities entailed in developing a learning organization. First among the limitations one needs to consider is what the scholars Daniel Levinthal and James March called a “myopia of learning,” that is, ignoring a long-term perspective or the larger system in which learning is carried out. Additionally, learning traps can emerge when the focus is too strongly on the past (learn-restrictive holding to the status quo) or only on future-arranged discovery of innovations. Even more likely is that harmful patterns of behavior may be learned. There is also the question of whether or not the learning activity and its progress will be linked to return on investment, and more generally, how the success of the learning activity will be assessed and measured. An organization is unlikely to be able to make the transformation to a learning organization if it is too hampered by internal and external constraints or insufficient resources. Because learning does not happen only on a cognitive level but also takes place at emotional and even spiritual levels, we need a more comprehensive and integrative approach. Integrative learning must overcome reductionism and bring together thinking and feeling, individual and collective, and inner and outer realms (Beck and Cowan 1996; Wilber 1995, 2000), while also considering questions of power, politics, and ideology (Coopey 1995; Vince 2001). Only with such an integrative approach can the demand to get behind the rhetoric that “people are our greatest asset” (Sisson 1994, 7) be realized.

Future research on the connection between the learning organization and leadership needs to extend our understanding of the relationship between (learning) leaders and followers and should develop concepts and practices related to learning “leader-follower-ship.” Understanding the leader-follower relationship as an ongoing social and emotional process opens up the possibility of nonhierarchical ways of interacting and fostering trusting, authentic shared leadership or even partnership-oriented stewardship.

The concept of the learning organization is not a ready-made solution that can be introduced and

employed without specific adjustment to each company. Rather, each corporation must find its own way of learning and changing, based on its operating history, existing culture, and external environment. In a learning organization, today's performance is a product of yesterday's learning, and tomorrow's performance is a product of today's learning. The test of the utility of the approach for business is the extent to which the adoption of integrated learning leads to improvements in business performance, while for individuals it is a question of employability and quality of working life. Once this synergetic link between the learning organization and leadership is attained, an integrative development and change of both the corporation and its members in society as a whole are sure to follow.

—Wendelin M. Küpers

See also Leadership Development; Mentoring

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LEE, ANN (1736–1784)

Founder of American Shaker movement

One theory of leadership holds that “when society is in a state of flux, the conscious need of leadership is much more urgent than in a tranquil state. . . . [People] desire leadership, ask for it expressly, and are more open to guidance by others” (Wieman and Wieman 1935, Ch. 24). During times of relative stability, religious institutions become dulled and stagnant, training leaders who “are able to do certain stunts well,” (Wieman and Wieman 1935, 2) but cannot enter into a reciprocal relationship of shared experiences, fears, and hopes. But in times of instability and momentous change, leaders emerge, be they women or men, who experience that instability and claim it as their own. An American proponent of this theory, Henry Nelson Wieman, lists a sampling of leaders in history, both religious and secular, men and women, who enter into this reciprocal relationship of felt need and mutually beneficial response, giving women and men equal due. For religious cultures, such foment may include the leader’s claim to divine inspiration or even divine right. Wieman’s criterion for reciprocity among religious leaders and their followers during periods of rapid change is echoed by a nineteenth-century American Shaker apologist, F. W. Evans: “But let the following proposition be first considered: namely, that at a given part, point, and time of every cycle human affairs, in all ages, nations, and tribes, there have invariably arisen an order and people analogous (in some measure) to the American Shakers” (Evans 1849, 5). Evans reaches back to Greece and Rome, and, in characterizing these orders, includes inspiration, asceticism, often celibacy, and the leadership of women and men.

Mother Ann Lee, founder of the Shaker movement, exemplifies this type of leadership. She emerged as a religious leader in Manchester, England, at the dawn of the industrial revolution to become the cornerstone of what has been called the

longest lived communal religious order in U.S. history. The spark for that movement had been struck nearly a century before her birth in 1736.

Between 1650 and 1750, the English countryside experienced a relentless shift from an agricultural economy to an industrial one. Cottage industries were giving way to mills and factories. Women who had once worked all day in the fields, or sheared their own sheep and brought the wool to market, began to seek employment at mills springing up seemingly overnight. The English northwest, which included the region of Lancashire and the town of Manchester, where Ann Lee was born, became a bustling center for the textile industry. In 1650, Manchester already had been known for producing varieties of woolen goods. By 1690, France had imported calico printing into Manchester, increasing its importance as a manufacturing center, and in 1761, canals opened up for importing coal into town. By the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Manchester had become the cotton capital of England. And while progress seemed inevitable and praiseworthy, everyday life was anything but decent. Friedrich Engels, whose German father owned a factory in Manchester where Friedrich served as his agent, described the working-class district, old Manchester, as a hellhole:

Such is the Old Town of Manchester, and on re-reading my description, I am forced to admit that instead of being exaggerated, it is far from black enough to convey a true impression of the filth, ruin, and uninhabitableness, the defiance of all considerations of cleanliness, ventilation, and health which characterize the construction of this single district, containing at least twenty to thirty thousand inhabitants. And such a district exists in the heart of the second city of England, the first manufacturing city of the world. . . . Everything which here arouses horror and indignation is of recent origin, belongs to the industrial epoch. (Engels 1892, 45, 48–52)

In that same span of one hundred–odd years, religious movements, known collectively as “Non-Conformist” for their separation from the established Church of England, began to appear in England and in the American colonies. Influenced by English

mystics and French Protestant sects from southern France, most of whom were fleeing persecution, these communities preached an inward, individualistic piety, egalitarianism, anticlericalism, and communal ownership of property, as well as each member’s capacity to hear and respond directly to the will and word of God. Seeing visions and hearing God’s voice were to be expected. Believers roamed from town to town, calling for conversion in public squares. On both continents they were jeered, imprisoned, beaten, or flogged, and sometime executed. Children were enlisted in proselytizing and experienced persecution along with the adults. George Fox, founder of the Quaker movement in 1651, wandered over the English northwest preaching a faith of “the inner light, light of light,” a pure Johannine gospel returning to the heart of spirituality. Fox and his community finally settled in the region of Lancashire, which became the center of the Quaker movement in England.

One characteristic of these Non-Conformist movements was the ascent of women into positions of religious leadership. Jane Lead, an English mystic and leader of an early-seventeenth-century movement, the Philadelphians, heard voices when she was fifteen, which were affirmed by her community. Some of Jane’s prophetic writings found their way into Shaker communities. Margaret Fell, a disciple of George Fox, opened up Quaker schools in 1653. In that same year, another Quaker, Mary Fisher, attempted to convert the sultan of Turkey. Many women in these communities were poor and illiterate. Ann Lee, one of eight children, never attended school, nor did her siblings. They worked. Ann went to work as a child in a factory as a cutter of hatter’s fur. She was said to have been born in the very depths of poverty. Others, like Mary Fisher, had both the means and the education to approach a potentate and try to bring him into the light.

ANN LEE’S EARLY LIFE AND HER EPIPHANY

In 1736, Ann Lee was born on Toad Lane in the town of Manchester into a family of eight children. Her father, John Lee, was a blacksmith. At sixteen, she married Abraham Stanley, also a blacksmith, who



Testimonies of Mother Ann Lee and the Elders

The excerpts below—from the Shaker document *Testimonies of Mother Ann Lee and the Elders* (originally published in 1816)—offer glimpses into the leadership style of Ann Lee.

Chapter XXIV

1. Mother Ann and the Elders abounded in visions, prophecies and revelations; these, and many other gifts were administered in abundance through them, to those who embraced their testimony; they were given to strengthen, confirm, and establish the faith which the people had received; and were also preparatory to, and evidences of the real substance which was to follow.

6. Again, after Mother Ann returned from Poughkeepsie jail, Mehetabel was at Watervliet, and a number of Believers being present, Mother addressed them as follows, "You are called in relation to all the rest of mankind, and through your faith and obedience they must receive the gospel. Pain and sufferings will never cease in the Church until all souls have heard the gospel of salvation. This gospel will be freely offered to all souls; and will be a savor of life unto life, or of death unto death." She also said, "The increase of the gospel in the first opening, will be small; after that, souls will embrace it by hundreds and by thousands; for this testimony will overcome all nations; it will increase till the covering is taken off; then mankind will see the rottenness of Antichrist's foundation; then souls who are bound in their sins will call to the rocks and to the mountains to cover them. But the Saints will never be overcome again by the beastly power of Antichrist."

16. At Ashfield, Mother Ann, being under great sufferings,

said, "It will not be my lot, nor the lot of any who came with me from England, to gather and build up the Church; but, it will be the lot of Joseph Meacham, and others, to gather and build up the Church." She also said, "It will not be my nation, nor any of those that came with me from England who will lead this people, but the lead will be given to Joseph Meacham." *Sarah Bennett.*

Chapter XXV

12. While Mother Ann was at Enfield there came a woman to see her by the name of Tryphena Perkins, who made a great profession of Christianity. But, in the hearing of a number of people, Mother Ann reproved her for her wickedness, and said, "You are a filthy whore." This greatly offended her, and she went away and complained that she had been abused, which furnished Mother's enemies, as they supposed, with sufficient cause to prosecute her. They now began to flatter themselves that they were able to prove Mother a false prophetess, and determined to prosecute her for defamation. They said they could prove to a certainty, that Tryphena's organization was such that she could not, possibly, be guilty of the charge of whoredom; she was called a great Christian, and, of necessity, a pure virgin. But, behold, she was soon found to be with child, by a married man! This was well known throughout the town of Enfield, and Mother's enemies were greatly abashed and confounded.

Source: *Testimonies of the Life, Character, Revelations and Doctrines of Mother Ann Lee and the Elders With Her, Collected from Living Witnesses in Union with the Church.* (1888). (Originally published 1816) Retrieved October 7, 2003, from <http://www.passtheword.org/SHAKER-MANUSCRIPTS/Testimonies/tstmonys.htm>

came to live with Ann's family. Ann kept her own last name. Over the next six years, she had four children, all of whom died in infancy or early childhood. She would later interpret her grief and pain as a judgment upon her concupiscence. Ann's religious education at home taught her pietism, Protestant mysticism, and female leadership.

In 1758, twenty-two-year-old Ann began attending a Quaker religious society led by Jane and James Wardley, who had broken off from the mainline Quaker movement. The Wardleys had been influenced by French millennialists from the Cevenole in

southern France. Known as *les trembleurs*, these prophets preached the doctrine of the imminent second coming of Christ and the advent of his millennial kingdom, as well as a distinct form of worship that involved shaking. In Manchester, the Wardleys' group became known as the "Shaking Quakers," which was soon shortened to simply the "Shakers."

In the tradition of Non-Conformist movements, Ann and members of her society began traveling from town to town, preaching the second imminent coming of Christ, practicing their ecstatic form of worship in public, and experiencing persecution. In

1770, the testimony of salvation and life was fully revealed to Ann Lee and acknowledged by her society, so that afterwards, she was known as “Mother Ann”:

I saw in vision the Lord Jesus in his kingdom and glory. He revealed to me the depth of man’s loss, what it was, and the way to redemption therefrom. Then I was able to bear an open testimony against the sin that is the root of all evil; and I felt the power of God flow into my soul like a fountain of living water. From that day I have been able to take up a full cross against all the doleful works of the flesh. (Evans 1859, 9)

That sin at the root of all evil was sexual relations. It may have been in this vision that she saw the judgment of grief and pain which accompanied her marriage and motherhood.

Two years later, imprisoned for a brief time for “profaning the Sabbath” by her dancing and shaking, Ann had another vision, which clarified her understanding of the evil driving sexual relations and the final disclosure of God synthesizing male and female in Deity itself. According to Shaker testimonies, two of her revelations struck at the heart of the social order of church and state:

One was the duality of Deity, God both Father and Mother; one in essence, one God, not two . . . but God who possesses the two natures, the masculine, the feminine, each distinct in function yet one in being, Co-equals in Deity. The second was that the secret of man’s sin . . . his loss of purity, lay in the premature and self-indulgent use of sexual union. (Society of Shakers 1998, 14–27)

The sexual act was intended by God to have begun an ascent from a physical to a spiritual plane of existence, where all flesh and its works would be left behind. By performing the act before God gave permission, Adam and Eve regarded sexual pleasure as its own end, which became, “for all humanity, a constant curse, the source of crimes, all degrees of hideousness, of wars and sufferings untold. Women, under its sway, became in all lands and among all races, the abject slave, burdened not only with the weight of her lord’s cruelties and passions, but with her own vile passions as well” (Society of Shakers

1998, 14–27). According to Ann, it was the Wardleys who first introduced her to a life of celibacy, the couple having lived together for years without physical intimacy.

Having heard Ann’s testimony after her release from prison, the society went one step farther and proclaimed Ann Lee as the “anointed daughter.” For them, she was the second coming of Christ, the Word, completing the full revelation of God as male and female and inaugurating that millennial community of believers whose lives witnessed to the fulfillment of human community. Their beliefs did not endear them to the authorities. Persecutions only increased. Then, in 1774, Ann is said to have had another revelation, “directing her to repair to America; also that the second Christian Church would be established in America; that the Colonies would gain their independence; and that liberty of conscience would be secured to all people, whereby they would be able to worship God without hindrance or molestation” (Evans 1859, 9).

ANN LEE ARRIVES IN AMERICA

Ann and her companions embarked for New York on 19 May 1774. Those who accompanied her were Abraham Stanley, her husband; William Lee, her brother; James Whittaker; John Hocknell and his son Richard; James Shepherd; Mary Partington; and Nancy Lee (a niece of Mother Ann). Conspicuously absent were the Wardleys.

The group arrived in Manhattan on 6 August, where they took up various forms of work. Abraham Stanley, Ann’s husband, divorced her to marry another when Ann refused to cohabit with him. In 1776, Mother Ann and the rest of her group secured land outside of Albany at Watervliet. For the most part, they were left alone and at peace, receiving continued reassurances, signs, and visions from Mother Ann heralding a new humanity coming in waves to join with them. These prophecies were not entirely from out of the blue. Fifty thousand Quakers had already sailed to the shores of the Colonies, and if the “waves” of humanity, strictly speaking, would not arrive from over the sea, there was a great movement of peoples within the Colonies and later, in the

newly established United States, seeking religious freedom and the true church.

In 1780, Ann's prophecies seemed to have come true. Near Watervliet, New Lebanon was the seat of a revival movement that fizzled out as quickly as it had been ignited. Several local leaders and Joseph Meacham, a prominent Baptist pastor who lived in the area and would later lead the movement after Ann's death, had heard of her and the Shaker movement and journeyed to Watervliet. Meacham was said to be the first American convert to the movement. According to Shaker legend, General Lafayette visited the group while alive and again after his death several years later in France. The millennial community, unimpeded by the wall between life on earth and the life hereafter, communicated regularly with those considered dead or "gone." Souls were eternal. Heaven and hell were states of the soul in which it could remain on probation until that moment it turned to God and received eternal life.

Now visible and audible, the group endured persecution once again. Mother Ann was imprisoned, this time on charges of being a British spy. Soon released through the help of her supporters, Mother Ann along with a group of elders from the community set off on a preaching mission throughout New England. For two years the Shakers doggedly carried out their mission throughout the Northeast. Reminiscent of their trials in the region around Lancashire, they once again were beaten, flogged, and run out of one New England town after another. They preached the necessity of confessing sin, celibacy, renunciation of the flesh, and ecstatic dancing as the means of entering into the millennial church. They did not preach that their particular community was the last to appear upon earth. Rather, were the community in that time of the second coming, the millennial age, the duration of which was given by the prophecy that when there were fewer than five Shakers left on earth, the final spirit of Christ would pour out on world, and all would become Shakers.

At least on one occasion, however, converts did think that theirs was the last community on earth. At the opening of a Shaker community in Enfield, New Hampshire, the believers, "having more zeal than wisdom and understanding," felt that they didn't need

to provide for themselves or one another. Mother Ann reproved them: "She bade them go home and set out apple trees, and raise calves, and make provisions as though they were to live a thousand years, and gather something to do good with" (*Testimonies of Mother Ann Lee and the Elders* 1888, 207–210).

As odd, bizarre, or threatening to the established orders as their tenets seemed, the Shakers were heard. Women divorced their husbands, girls broke off their engagements. In that era, freedom for women meant freedom from marriage and its attending burdens and suffering. Testimonies abounded as to Mother Ann's tenderness, compassion, and gentle persuasion. But she had another side as well, and some remembered her as awe-inspiring, one who demonstrated her devotion through harsh punishments. Overall, she was portrayed as a formidable and charismatic woman:

Mother Ann Lee . . . was a woman rather below the common stature of women; thick set, but straight and otherwise well proportioned and regular in form and features. Her complexion was light and fair, and her eyes were blue, but keen and penetrating. . . . Her manners were plain, simple and easy; yet she possessed a certain dignity of appearance that inspired confidence and commanded respect. By many of the world, who saw her without prejudice, she was called beautiful; and to her faithful children, she appeared to possess a degree of dignified beauty and heavenly love, which they had never before discovered among mortals. (Green and Wells 1848)

In 1784, Mother Ann died shortly after returning home from a missionary journey. James Whittaker took over from Mother Ann, and then in 1787, leadership passed to Joseph Meacham. It was Meacham who actually organized the community for the "gatherings" or "orders" of the Shaker movement. New "gatherings" sprang up from New Lebanon in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Maine. Lucy Wright, another American convert, succeeded Meacham in 1811. Under her leadership, the movement spread westward to Ohio, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and Indiana. At the height of the movement around the time of the Civil War, the Shakers numbered about 6,000. Afterward they declined in number until today

less than a dozen remain in the Sabbathday Lake Community in Maine.

CONCLUSION

Born during a time of social and economic upheaval launched by the industrial revolution, Mother Ann Lee addressed the needs of her community in a way that promised personal salvation, economic autonomy through frugality and thrift, and spiritual autonomy through direct communion with God. The extreme ascetic life of celibacy made it possible for women to ascend to positions of leadership. Yet while women leaders were a regular feature of new religious movements, the second generation invariably saw men take the helm and hold on to it. The Shaker movement was unique in that women continued to function as the highest religious authorities in their communities. The final revelation of God as male and female completed a Christian anthropology in which the labor and capacities of women were, for the first time in history, equal to men in power, authority, and continuity of leadership. One result was Shaker inventiveness that drew upon women's private, unheralded labor to become the public and valued labor of the community. The circular saw joined the two technologies of the spinning wheel to the saw blade. Shakers also invented the clothespin, the cut nail, the push broom, and over 7,000 other items registered in the United States Patent Office. The Shakers' work ethic exemplified the American virtues of self-reliance, industry, and thrift; their spirituality contributed to cycles of revivalism characteristic of American religiosity. Ann Lee's admonition, "Go home and put your hands to work, and your hearts to God," (*Testimonies of Mother Ann Lee and the Elders* 1888, 207–210) is as compelling today as it was more than two hundred years ago.

—Jill Schaeffer

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LEE, ROBERT E. (1807–1870)

Military leader

Robert E. Lee is best known for his military leadership of the Confederate States of America during the U. S. Civil War. As the commanding general of the Army of Northern Virginia, Lee was widely respected as a brilliant, bold, and daring military strategist who upheld a personal code of honor, integrity, and self-discipline. His genius was respected on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line, and before he enlisted in the Confederate States Army, he was reportedly offered command of the Union Army, but declined. In addition to his intelligence and moral character, Lee's ability to selflessly inspire his officers and troops and willingly delegate vital tasks made him one of the most influential leaders of the Civil War.

Robert Edward Lee was born in Stratford, Virginia, on 19 January 1807 and was raised from the age of three in Alexandria, Virginia. His father, "Light Horse Harry" Henry Lee, was a confidant of George Washington, delegate to the Continental

Congress, and former Governor of Virginia. Following distinguished service in the Revolutionary War, his father faced financial collapse after a series of controversial and financially ruinous business speculations, and left Virginia for Barbados in 1813, leaving his family behind. His mother, Ann Carter Lee, instilled in Robert the virtues of honor, integrity, self-control, and financial responsibility.

Lee graduated from the U.S. Military Academy (West Point) in 1829. Shortly after graduation, he married Mary Custis, whose father was the adopted son of George Washington. They had seven children. Lee spent the next thirty-two years in the U.S. army. His opportunity for leadership came in 1846 during the Mexican-American War when his bravery, leadership, and strategic tactics earned the respect of General Winfield Scott, who thereafter became Lee's mentor. Lee also experienced a profound spiritual awakening while in the army, and his religious convictions played a vital role in his life.

By early 1861, the deep divisions in the nation over issues such as slavery, states' rights, and economic policies had reached a breaking point. The growing threat of secession by the Southern states caused Lee conflict and distress. He opposed slavery and felt loyalty to the nation he had long served. At the same time, he strongly disagreed with what he considered to be the infringement on states' rights by the federal government. Above all, Lee was a Virginian first and, given his family's extensive ties to the state, could not see taking a stand against it. In his view, a stand against Virginia was a stand against his family. During this time, Lee was offered command of the Union army, but on 19 April 1861, Virginia seceded,



Surrender at Appomattox

The U. S. Civil War was effectively ended with the surrender of the Army of North Virginia at Appomattox Court-House, Virginia, on 9 April 1865. The surrender was preceded by negotiations through an exchange of letters between the Union Commander, Lieutenant-General Ulysses S. Grant, and the Army of Northern Virginia Commander, General Robert E. Lee. The most important were the last two letters, from Grant to Lee and then Lee's response. To his credit, Lee demonstrated his loyalty to his troops by negotiating for them parole and the right to return to their homes.

In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th instant, I propose to receive the surrender of the army of Northern Virginia on the following terms, to wit: Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate, one copy to be given to an officer to be designated by me, the other to be retained by such officer or officers as you may designate. The officers to give their individual paroles not to take up arms against the government of the United States until properly exchanged; and each company or regimental commander to sign a like parole for the men of their commands. The arms, artillery, and public property to be parked and stacked, and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side-arms of the officers nor their private horses or baggage. This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they may reside.

—U.S. Grant, Lieutenant-General

Head-Quarters, Army of Northern Virginia April 9, 1865.

General: I received your letter of this date containing the terms of the surrender of the army of Northern Virginia, as proposed by you. As they are substantially the same as those expressed in your letter of the 8th instant, they are accepted. I will proceed to designate the proper officers to carry the stipulations into effect.

—R. E. Lee, General.

Source: "Lee's Surrender at Appomattox." (1865). *American Historical Documents, 1000-1904*. Harvard Classics series, 1909. Retrieved October 7, 2003, from <http://www.bartleby.com/43/39.html>

and Lee resigned the next day. He returned to Virginia to live as a civilian, except to defend his native state. Soon thereafter, he accepted command of the military forces of Virginia, and in early June 1862 was appointed commanding general of the Army of Northern Virginia.

As a leader, Lee viewed the development of plans and strategies as his primary responsibility. He exhibited a great talent for choosing exceptional people as his military commanders, and giving them the

autonomy to execute his plans as they saw best. Lee also placed significant emphasis on coordination and communication among his military units, recognizing that bold, coordinated efforts by a smaller, better-led and better-motivated force could defeat much larger armies.

Throughout 1862 and into the first half of 1863, Lee's leadership and his "offensive–defense" strategy produced astounding victories against much larger and better-equipped foes. Lee recognized at this time that a decisive Confederate victory on Union soil could end the war. In June 1863, Lee turned his depleted but confident army north to Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. While it was an army of invasion, Lee would not tolerate an army of conquest. Civilians in the North were treated with respect. Acquired food and other materials were not confiscated but paid for—albeit with claims on Confederate currency.

The battle of Gettysburg in early July 1863 was Lee's biggest failure as a leader. His communications broke down. His generals' boldness and aggressiveness was, at critical moments, replaced by caution. The rapid and coordinated deployment of troops was at vital times lost to piecemeal actions. The end result was a courageous but devastating Confederate defeat. Lee's army retreated back to Virginia.

Over the next two years, Lee still sought the elusive, decisive victory that he believed would secure the Confederacy's independence. He led efforts to reorganize his army's logistics, to better equip his soldiers, and to diminish the growing suffering of civilian Virginians. Lee's officers and troops were committed to continuing the war, but Lee showed perhaps his greatest example of leadership by unilaterally deciding to end four years of horrific bloodshed. He surrendered his army at Appomattox Courthouse, Virginia on 11 April 1865, after securing parole for all of his soldiers. The Civil War was effectively over.

After surrendering, Lee returned to Richmond, Virginia, where his family had lived during the war. He received a hero's welcome, but pledged to focus on the reconciliation, reconstruction, and the reintroduction of Virginia to the Union. He showed no malice toward the Union armies and no bitterness for the

failed cause, but instead a steadfast determination to help rebuild his native state.

After the war, Lee declined several offers to considerably enrich himself and his family by leading business organizations, and instead accepted an offer to become the president of Washington College in Lexington, Virginia. The war had seriously disrupted the college, and Lee led efforts to increase the size of the student body, recruit new faculty, expand the campus, repair war-torn buildings, and raise money to secure the college's future. His leadership style in all of these endeavors was similar to that which he had used as a military commander. He established bold plans and strategies, and then depended upon those with whom he worked to successfully implement them. Speaking little at meetings, he listened intently to the reports of those charged with various tasks and ensured that results were achieved.

At the age of sixty-three, Robert E. Lee died in Lexington, Virginia, in October 1870. His courage in the face of devastating loss served as an inspiration to all.

—*Kelley E. Morrell and Stephen O. Morrell*

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LEGACY

A leader's legacy lies in the patterns of behavior within his or her organization that reflect his or her contributions and impact on the organization. It may reflect the leader's vision, values, personality, achievements, general leadership qualities, or any combination of these. Legacies can be positive or negative, powerful or insubstantial, enduring or short-lived. Leaders who are mindful of their legacies can affect the direction and well-being of an

organization and its policy long after their association with the organization has come to an end. Organizations that are mindful of the motivating influence of positive legacies can mine their organizational history for rich illustrations to inspire their members.

RESEARCH ON LEGACIES

There is surprisingly little theory and research on leadership legacy. Most research on leadership has tended to focus on strategies and techniques for enhancing leaders' performance, with scant attention paid to the mechanisms underlying the development of a powerful, positive, and enduring legacy. Some researchers have addressed leaders' impression management strategies—that is, the ways in which leaders can manipulate the image that others have of them in the present. The concept of legacy, however, focuses on the future and the past. It is future oriented in that the construction of a legacy often requires leaders to visualize what future they desire for their organization after they have left it. This is necessarily a much broader and longer-term vision than one typically sees in organizational strategic plans. Legacies are past oriented in that they offer in the present something from the past: Organizations can resurrect the values and achievements of past leaders, using them to affirm organizational values, motivate members, and encourage the accomplishment of current objectives.

It is very common for organizations to build on the legacy of their founder. To motivate and inspire employees, organizations may perpetuate stories and anecdotes describing the founding leader's vision, sacrifices, successes, and ability to overcome obstacles. Current leaders at Walt Disney Company, for example, emphasize the devotion of founder Walt Disney (1901–1966) to children and to wholesome family entertainment. The goal is not only to communicate a value but also to give company members a sense of pride and identity. Research suggests that stories about seminal individuals and pivotal historical events abound in successful organizations, and these myths and legends serve an important purpose. They tend to foster group cohesiveness, feelings of

The final test of a leader is that he leaves behind in others the conviction and will to carry on.

—Walter Lippman

identification, inspiration, commitment, and continuity in an organization.

THE ROLE OF DEATH IN PROMOTING LEGACY

Some research that suggests that a leader's legacy is cemented at the time of his or her death. Death appears to trigger considerable thought and reflection about the legacy of the deceased. Research in this area suggests that people's impressions of the dead are less likely to change than their impressions of the living. "One does not know more facts about a man because his is dead," observed the British author John Berger, "but what one already knows, hardens, and becomes more definite" (Berger 1967, 160). In other words, once people die our sense of their legacy becomes heightened and sealed. Leaders who are highly visible public figures often know that their deaths will draw attention to their life achievements and raise the question of how they performed as leaders, and how they will be remembered. A leader's death signals that his or her contributions are open to final assessment and evaluation.

Researchers have also found that people tend to view dead leaders more favorably than living leaders. Philosophers, authors, and poets have long been aware of the great respect and devotion people have for dead heroes and leaders, as well as the strength people draw from these individuals. Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (c. eighth or ninth century BCE) celebrates legendary Greek heroes, and Virgil's *Aeneid* (unfinished at Virgil's death in 19 BCE) commemorates the legendary Aeneas, the Trojan whose descendants, the Romans believed, were the first rulers of Rome. More contemporary ways of exalting dead leaders have included the practice of posthumously naming universities, buildings, and awards after them.

This phenomenon is called the death positivity

bias. The bias emerges in judgments of nonleaders as well as leaders, in impressions of both males and females, in judgments of those who die young as well as old; and regardless of the cause of death. In most cases, death causes a person's legacy to be assessed more favorably than it would be if the leader were still living. The death of a leader also enhances people's impression of the organization to which he or she belonged. This connection between a leader's behavior and people's impressions of the organization is a very strong one. Surprisingly, people show a death positivity bias even in impressions of leaders who were rather ineffective.

MORAL BEHAVIOR AND LEGACY DEVELOPMENT

It is important to note that the death positivity bias does not guarantee a favorable legacy for a deceased leader who committed moral transgressions. It appears that on the dimension of morality, people show an extremization bias: Dead moral leaders are judged significantly more favorably than living ones, whereas dead immoral leaders are rated significantly *less* favorably than living ones. Compared with living immoral leaders, dead immoral leaders are viewed as weaker, as less inspirational, as less motivational, as worthy of less respect, and as engendering less pride on the part of others in the organization. Also, whereas a dead moral leader's organization is rated more favorably than a living moral leader's organization, a dead immoral leader's organization is judged as less successful than a living immoral leader's organization.

Other findings offer clues regarding the difference between current impressions of living leaders and retrospective legacy judgments of past leaders. It seems that people's current impressions of a living leader tend to be influenced by moral or immoral behavior performed early in the leader's career. A dead leader's legacy, in contrast, is most influenced by moral or immoral actions performed in the final stages of his or her career. Even leaders who were immoral early in their careers will be highly revered upon their deaths if they performed numerous moral actions toward the end of their careers. Researchers

have called this phenomenon the St. Augustine effect, named after Augustine of Hippo (354–430), a Catholic philosopher and theologian who underwent a transformation from sinner to saint during the course of his life.

The public's reactions to the terrorist attacks on New York City and Washington, D.C., on September 11, 2001, support the idea that people reserve their greatest reverence for individuals whose final act is one of self-sacrifice. Hundreds of firefighters, emergency rescue workers, and law enforcement personnel sacrificed their lives to save others from New York's World Trade Center. Although almost three thousand people perished, a disproportionate amount of media attention and national mourning focused on the loss of these emergency personnel. Their courageous and heroic actions at the time of their deaths earned them a permanent positive legacy.

MAINTENANCE AND REPAIR OF LEGACIES

The results of several studies conducted in the United States in 2003 suggest that a leader ensures a positive legacy by engaging in proactive moral leadership, particularly as his or her career advances toward its final stages. The leader's death triggers an assessment of legacy, with the leader's moral or immoral behavior—with more emphasis placed on recent behavior—as the foundation on which the legacy is built. Leaders may benefit their current reputations by ensuring that moral actions taken early in their careers are widely known, but leaders who are conscious of their future legacies are wise to increase the level and visibility of their philanthropic activity toward the end of their lives.

Although many leaders aspire to exert a positive and enduring impact on an organization after they are gone, they often face obstacles. In the political arena, the U.S. presidents Richard Nixon (1913–1994; served as president 1969–1974) and Bill Clinton (b. 1946; served as president 1993–2001) both left office with moral stains on their reputations, although for very different reasons and to a very different degree. Nixon made numerous efforts to repair his criminal image by serving as an elder statesman, writer, consultant, and informal ambassa-

dor to subsequent administrations. Upon his death, criticism of his presidency and of his personal character were softened out of respect for the dead, but his post-presidential activities did not feature the type of moral emphasis needed to overcome his past unethical behavior. Clinton's legacy is still unclear. To improve history's final judgment of him, Clinton would be wise in his remaining years to emulate the postpresidential life of Jimmy Carter (b. 1924; served as president 1977–1981), whose philanthropic activity has endeared him to the public and overshadowed a presidency that many had criticized as ineffective.

The legacy of John F. Kennedy (1917–1963; served as president 1961–1963) is a fascinating example, inasmuch as the public's idealization of Kennedy's administration as the perfect Camelot was no doubt due to a heightened death positivity bias resulting from his premature death. Admired as a president, Kennedy and his reputation have withstood posthumous revelations of numerous marital infidelities and calculating behaviors. Had he lived to run for a second term, the realities of his lechery and dealings with underworld figures would most likely have gravely damaged the presidency, debilitated his administration, disillusioned his supporters, and clouded his legacy. Similarly, the positive image of Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826; served as president 1801–1809) has endured despite recent DNA evidence supporting the claim that he fathered several children with his slave, Sally Hemings. Kennedy's and Jefferson's positive legacies remain intact due to people's reluctance to alter their impressions of the dead, particularly if such alterations violate norms prohibiting criticism of the dead. The extremization bias leads people to judge dead immoral leaders more harshly than living ones, but only if their immoral behavior was known before they died. People who are well thought of when they die continue to be well thought of when negative information surfaces posthumously, a phenomenon known as the frozen-in-time effect. The results of several studies conducted in the U.S. suggest that, in general, impressions of the dead are more resistant to change than impressions of the living.

In the business world, legacy management is pervasive. The so-called robber barons of the late nine-

teenth century left remarkable philanthropic legacies in the arts and education. Steel magnate Andrew Carnegie (1835–1919) built libraries and museums, established the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and contributed vast sums of money to social causes. As a result, he became known as St. Andrew. The Rockefeller family, the industrialist Henry Clay Frick (1849–1919), and the railroad magnate Amasa Leland Stanford (1824–1893) were other late-nineteenth-century men and women of wealth and power who left sizable philanthropic legacies, perhaps spurred into giving by the pejorative label robber baron.

Bill Gates (b. 1955), the founder of Microsoft Corporation, currently is building a similar philanthropic legacy. By 1999, he had given a total of \$2.4 billion to MIT, Columbia University, the Global Fund for Children's Vaccines, and other charities. Currently, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation is the largest foundation in the world. Americans have great admiration for people who achieve vast wealth, but it is also clear that with this admiration comes expectations of extreme generosity. Gates's philanthropy should seal his extremized, positive, posthumous legacy. Other millionaires of the technology-driven boom of the 1990s, such as Steve Case of America Online and Steve Kirsch of Propel Software and Infoseek, are also making it a priority to bestow large philanthropic gifts on various foundations and charities.

Another intriguing example of highly effective legacy management can be seen in the life and death of Walt Disney. An examination of his career reveals a man who went to great lengths to project the cleanest and most wholesome of images to the public. To create a remarkable and enduring posthumous legacy, Disney painstakingly ensured that his body of work—both his cartoon motion pictures and his theme parks—reflected positive family values and a love for children. He also employed many public relations individuals whose primary job was to ensure that all of the United States and eventually the world would associate his name with morality, innocence, kindness, and family entertainment. Disney's efforts were eminently successful, and to this day the many dark sides to his personality and behavior remain largely unknown to the public.

THE ENDURING IMPORTANCE OF MORALITY

It is evident that a leader's legacy of morality is just as important, if not more important, than a legacy of competence. Because a leader's legacy and his or her organization's reputation appear to be intertwined, a leader's actions, especially on the morality dimension, may be far more significant than either the leader or her followers realize. The implication for leaders and their organizations is that they must unfailingly scrutinize the moral tenor of the leader's actions, particularly toward the twilight of his or her career. Even if a leader's actions demonstrate exceptional competence, the morality (or lack of morality) of those actions may be of more lasting consequence than the material gain they achieved, although the focus on morality may occur only after the leader's death.

—Scott T. Allison, *Dafna Eylon,*
and Michael J. Markus

See also Leadership Succession

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LENIN, VLADIMIR (1870–1924)

Leader of the 1917 Russian Revolution

Among the world's great revolutionary leaders, Lenin is recognized for his efforts to put Marxism into practice and for creating the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which survived for over seventy

years. He was diligent, passionate, and original in his approach to achieving his objectives.

Born Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov in Simbirsk (now Ulyanovsk), Russia, he was much influenced by the fate of his elder brother, Sasha, who was caught in a conspiracy to kill the czar and sentenced to death. Vladimir later adopted Sasha's nickname, Lenin, and signed documents *Ulyanov (Lenin)*. Lenin was drawn to the social and economic theories of Karl Marx (1818–1883). In 1893, Lenin joined the revolutionary movement in St. Petersburg; in 1895, he was arrested and, in 1897, deported to Siberia for three years. After return from this exile in 1900, he led a life of material hardship but prolific literary output, in such cities as London, Munich, Geneva, Brussels, Paris, Stockholm, and Zurich. From 1903 he was the leader (from Europe) of the Bolshevik party. He published several revolutionary magazines through which he aimed to win factory workers over to his vision of a classless, worker-led society. Lenin accepted Marx's thought unaltered and was proud to be an orthodox Marxist. He opposed revisionism.

RISE OF THE BOLSHEVIKS

Lenin returned to Russia in April after the political revolution of March 1917 when the czar had abdicated. Once back in Russia, Lenin took up the leadership of the country's revolutionary movement. The March revolution had ushered in freedom of the press and amnesty for political prisoners in Siberia. It was the second phase of the revolution—the social revolution—that changed the very structure of society. It was this phase that was characterized by Lenin's strength of personality. His thought and will matched the revolutionary potential in Russia at that time. He opposed reform-minded groups categorically and refused to compromise on socialist principles. As a leader, the most important thing that he did was to create a team of dedicated followers who shared his dreams, ideas, and objectives. Among them were Leon Trotsky (1879–1940), Lev Kamenev (1883–1936), Grigory Zinovyev (1883–1936), Joseph Stalin (1879–1953), Vyacheslav Molotov (1890–1986), and Nikolay Bukharin (1888–1938).

Lenin did not believe in parliamentary republics or a bourgeois democracy. This was because in such a political system, it was the rich who were represented. Rather, he envisioned a republic of soviets (elected councils) of industrial and agricultural workers whereby such underclasses would have representation. He faced many obstacles in trying to realize this dream, however. First, his ideas were shared only by his fellow party members. Moreover, many thought his plan represented too hasty a rush from feudal to socialist society, as it skipped the intervening capitalist stage that Marx had postulated was necessary. At one stroke Lenin was trying to eliminate the historical stage of capitalism.

From "Power to the Soviets" to "Power to the Party"

When Lenin returned to Russia in April 1917 from Switzerland, he had two clear tasks: to organize the Bolsheviks and to see to it that the Bolsheviks represented the majority in local soviets throughout the country. These were daunting tasks, as the Bolsheviks were in the minority in the soviets that had formed during the March revolution, and many of the party's leaders were in exile or custody.

After his arrival, Lenin put forth his ideas clearly in his *April Thesis*. His ability to communicate well with his audience was one characteristic of his leadership. He came up with the slogan "Peace! Land! Bread!," and his idea that power should lie with the local soviets worked magic. People everywhere demanded peace for the soldiers, land for the peasants, and bread for the workers—thus radicalizing the discontented classes.

Having established his authority, Lenin convened the RSDLP (Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, also known as the Bolshevik Party) in April. Meanwhile, Trotsky organized the Red Guards. In April 1917, Lenin's slogan had been "All power to the soviets." By June, when he had consolidated his party, his slogan changed to "All power to the Party." The Bolsheviks were able to bring the peasants and the proletariat (industrial workers) together by providing a common platform against the bourgeoisie. Under Lenin's leadership, the centrality of the land question was emphasized. Because most of the sol-

diers were peasants, the issues of land rights and peace were linked.

Consolidating the Party

Lenin refused to compromise or work with other political parties, adopting a policy of total opposition to them. Consequently, while more powerful rival political groups became increasingly compromised by the unpopularity of the government, the Bolsheviks could claim to be more representative of people's wishes and also to have an independent program.

In July 1917, Lenin suffered a setback when a group of Bolsheviks tried to take control of the government by force—a move Lenin had opposed—and were unsuccessful. The Bolshevik leaders were arrested or had to go underground. Those who were opposed to Bolsheviks even claimed that the Bolsheviks were German agents. However, eventually the documents that led to the charges of being German agents were found to be forged, and the Bolshevik leaders were released without trial on nominal or no bail.

In July 1917, a military offensive launched by Russia's General Aleksey Brusilov (1853–1926) failed, and the army was faced with large-scale desertions. In August, Brusilov was replaced by General Lavr Kornilov (1870–1918), who subsequently attempted to overthrow Russia's provisional government. In this chaotic situation the provisional government appealed to Bolsheviks for defense of Petrograd (present-day St. Petersburg) and also gave arms to the Red Guards. At the end of September, when elections to the soviets were held, Bolsheviks won a majority in local soviets all over the country, as well as majorities in the Petrograd and the Moscow soviets for the first time. Once these majorities had been won, Lenin pressed for immediate action. He saw it as the right time for the Bolsheviks to seize power by force. Interestingly, he was opposed by his colleagues in this. They thought that while it might be possible to take over the twin capitals of Moscow and Petrograd, it would be difficult to hold on to power, given that they were unsure of their support in other regions. Lenin persuaded them with the reasoning that once he was in power, land would



Lenin's portrait looms over a celebration of the 20th anniversary of victory in World War II in the Great Kremlin Palace in Moscow in 1965.

Source: Corbis; used by permission.

be given to the peasants and consequently peasants would come to their support. Again it was a chance turn of events that helped Lenin's view prevail. The Petrograd garrison did not wish to be transferred to the war front, and consequently they sided with the Bolsheviks against the provisional government. The Red Guards were thus able to seize power for the Bolsheviks in a bloodless coup.

Thus, in a period of less than nine months, Lenin was able to organize his party, create a network of party workers, transform the party from a small underground organization to a legitimate power holder, and finally take control of Russia as a whole. Moreover, the Communist revolution demonstrated that revolution was a battle of ideologies—the guns came later. This small underground group was able to achieve ultimate power because Lenin outwitted his opponents in a battle of minds. He was, however, also favored by the poor judgment of his adversary, Aleksandr Kerensky (1881–1970), the head of the provisional government after the abdication of the czar, who made the same mistake the czar had made in continuing with the war. The failure of Russia in

World War I provided Lenin with opportunity to put his ideas to work.

AFTER THE REVOLUTION

Interestingly, while Lenin spurred the Bolsheviks to take control of the Congress of Soviets, they had only 300 out of 650 delegates in it, though the Council of People's Commissars was exclusively Bolshevik and headed by Lenin. Analogously, the first body was like the Parliament—one member representing roughly twenty-five thousand voters—while the latter was like the Council of Ministers but more powerful because it controlled the government. The Bolsheviks were also a minority in the Constituent Assembly that was elected on 25 November 1917. Consequently, when it assembled in January 1918, the Red Guards dispersed it, maintaining Bolshevik power by force. This was quite in line with Lenin's thinking, as he dismissed democracy as a creation of the bourgeoisie. He envisioned a communitarian socialist state that was centralized, run as a dictatorship of the proletariat. This dictatorship of the proletariat was to be a one-party rule of the Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin.

Lenin proceeded to destroy czarist Russia's class system, root and branch. The revolution did not go unchallenged, however; there was armed resistance from the dispossessed nobles, landed gentry, and others who opposed the Bolsheviks. In the ensuing civil war, thousands died and southern and eastern Russia were worst affected by it. The country's industrial infrastructure was almost destroyed. Anyone who resisted the new regime was dubbed a counterrevolutionary and enemy of the people, and was punished. All other political parties were disbanded—only the Bolsheviks remained. Freedom of press was abolished, and a revolutionary tribunal was set up to suppress opposition of any kind.

Because the Orthodox Church was, in Lenin's mind, simply another powerful organization that oppressed the proletariat, under Lenin's leadership, the Communists did all they could to discourage religious beliefs. In the field of economy, Lenin initiated full-scale collectivization. From 1918 to 1921 Lenin instituted what was known as war Communism. The

government seized property, nationalized industry, and prohibited private retail trade and the hiring of labor. The government instituted free transportation and replaced money wages with a commodity card. This extreme version of Communism meant no wages, no private trade, and food obtained for free, through rationing. The economy worsened dramatically, leading Lenin in 1921 to adopt what was known as the New Economic Policy. The New Economic Policy saw the reintroduction of some elements of a capitalist market system, rather as in a mixed economy in today's world. Such economic pragmatism indicates that Lenin had a clear idea of how to make things work. Unfortunately, in 1922 Lenin fell seriously ill (he died two years later) and was no longer able to work. His New Economic Policy was rescinded by his successors.

Many of the atrocities of the years following Lenin's rise to power were a consequence not solely of the Bolsheviks' single-minded determination to remain in power but of the prevailing anarchy. Russia had taken a beating in World War I, anarchy was rampant during the civil war, and the morale of the country was low—so radical measures were required to deal with the situation. As Lenin's wife Nadezhda K. Krupskaya (1869–1939) wrote in *Reminiscences of Lenin*, “The people were tired of the imperialist carnage and wanted a bloodless revolution, but the enemies compelled them to fight. Engrossed completely in the problems of socialist reconstruction of the entire social system, Ilyich was compelled to turn his attention to the defence of the cause of the revolution” (Krupskaya 1970). Lenin was the leader who had the vision and the ideas to rescue Russia from the ravages of war and feudal-



Lenin's Speech at the Meeting of the Petrograd Soviet on 7 November 1917

Comrades, the workmen's and peasants' revolution, the need of which the Bolsheviks have emphasized many times, has come to pass.

What is the significance of this revolution? Its significance is, in the first place, that we shall have a soviet government, without the participation of bourgeoisie of any kind. The oppressed masses will of themselves form a government. The old state machinery will be smashed into bits and in its place will be created a new machinery of government by the soviet organizations. From now on there is a new page in the history of Russia, and the present, third Russian revolution shall in its final result lead to the victory of Socialism.

One of our immediate tasks is to put an end to the war at once. But in order to end the war, which is closely bound up with the present capitalistic system, it is necessary to overthrow capitalism itself. In this work we shall have the aid of the world labor movement, which has already begun to develop in Italy, England, and Germany.

A just and immediate offer of peace by us to the international democracy will find everywhere a warm response among the international proletarian masses. In order to secure the confidence of the proletariat, it is necessary to publish at once all secret treaties.

In the interior of Russia a very large part of the peasantry has said: Enough playing with the capitalists; we will go with the workers. We shall secure the confidence of the peasants by one decree, which will wipe out the private property of the landowners. The peasants will understand that their only salvation is in union with the workers.

We will establish a real labor control on production.

We have now learned to work together in a friendly manner, as is evident from this revolution. We have the force of mass organization which has conquered all and which will lead the proletariat to world revolution.

We should now occupy ourselves in Russia in building up a proletarian socialist state.

Long live the world-wide socialistic revolution.

Source: Golder, Frank A. (1927). *Documents of Russian History, 1914–1917*. Translated by Emanuel Aronsberg. New York: The Century Co. From *Izvestia*, no. 207, November 8, 1917.

ism; he worked for Russia's reconstruction and for a society free from class distinctions. But he was limited by the strictures of his ideological thinking, by his tendency to make the ideology the absolute truth and the greatest good—a limitation and weakness shared by many visionary leaders.

—Anup Mukherjee

See also Stalin, Josef

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LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION

Named for its two intrepid leaders, Meriwether Lewis (1774–1809) and William Clark (1770–1838), the Lewis and Clark expedition is the most famous journey of exploration in American history. The brainchild of President Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), the expedition was charged with many goals, but its primary objective was to discover and map a western river system that linked the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean. Jefferson's Corps of Discovery, which ultimately included thirty-one men, a woman, a baby, and a dog, began its exploration in May 1804 from a base camp near St. Louis, Missouri. After traveling an estimated 8,000 miles, the corps returned to St. Louis twenty-eight months later. Knowledge of the expedition and its lasting fame derives from the lengthy and descriptive journals maintained by Lewis, Clark, and four other expedition members.

From conceptualization to completion, the Lewis and Clark expedition evolved in four stages. From spring 1802 to spring 1804, Jefferson's vision of western expansion was realized in the extensive planning and preparation of the expedition. The Corps of Discovery first journeyed from the vicinity of St. Louis to present-day North Dakota, where the expedition camped among the Mandan Indians

through the winter of 1804 and 1805. In April 1805, the corps traveled west, over the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Coast, where it camped during the subsequent winter. The fourth and final phase featured the expedition's return to St. Louis, and Lewis's reunion with Jefferson. The Lewis and Clark expedition stands as a remarkable and historic achievement, one rich with lessons for practitioners and students of the leadership process.

STRATEGY, PLANNING, AND PREPARATION

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the United States, a prosperous but fledgling power, with the Mississippi River as its western boundary, was boxed in geopolitically—Great Britain dominated the seas and occupied Canada; Russia owned Alaska; Spain claimed not only Florida, but also the Louisiana Territory and lands further west and south; and France, under Napoleon Bonaparte, aimed to conquer continental Europe and to establish a North American empire.

When Jefferson became president in 1801, he put into action a plan for America's eventual western expansion, one designed to displace the Europeans from the continent. Fearing Spanish and French machinations in the Louisiana Territory, he began negotiations to acquire the crucial city-port of New Orleans. Further alarmed by British exploits in the Pacific Northwest, he also planned a U.S. exploration of the Northwest Territory and the vast Missouri River system, which cut through the upper Louisiana Territory.

On 18 January 1803, Jefferson submitted a secret message to Congress requesting \$2,500 to underwrite the western expedition. The president's objectives were many: discovery of an all-water route across the continent; expansion of American commerce and territory; maps and descriptions of western waterways and mountains, and scientific examination of flora, fauna, soils, and minerals; and peaceful relations with western tribes and promotion of peace among them. His explorers, moreover, were to engage in extensive tribal ethnography and to encourage chieftains to travel east.

In planning and preparing for the mission, Jeffer-

son relied heavily upon Captain Meriwether Lewis, his personal secretary. Lewis, the son of a wealthy planter, grew up on the Virginia Piedmont, where he gained an invaluable education in plantation management and wilderness survival. He enlisted in the militia at the age of twenty, and later joined the Regular Army. In 1801, Jefferson selected Lewis as his personal aide-de-camp, and eventually chose him to lead the Corps of Discovery.

In March 1803, Jefferson dispatched Lewis to Pennsylvania and Virginia to study with America's foremost scientists and to procure several thousand pounds of equipment and supplies. In June, Jefferson discussed with Lewis the government's successful acquisition of New Orleans and the entire Louisiana Territory, and he issued written instructions for the expedition. Lewis departed Washington, D.C., on 5 July, traveling to Harpers Ferry, Pittsburgh, and Wheeling, then in Virginia, to collect outstanding materials and equipment, including a 55-foot keelboat.

Floating down the Ohio River, Lewis and the well-packed boat reached the Clarksville-Louisville area in October. There, he joined William Clark, the second officer of the Corps of Discovery. Clark, the younger brother of war hero George Rogers Clark, had met Lewis a decade earlier while in the army. Clark was an experienced frontiersman, especially skilled in land surveying, mapmaking, and boating. Technically given a lieutenant's rank by the War Department, Clark was designated by Lewis as a full-fledged cocaptain of the expedition.

Together, the captains recruited the members of their corps. The first two, Clark's slave York and Lewis's dog Seaman, had little choice, yet each proved invaluable contributors. In Clarksville, nine others were enlisted and sworn into the Regular Army. Lewis also hired local frontiersman George Drouillard as the expedition's interpreter. The captains recruited additional men and commandeered extra gunpowder at the Kaskaskia army post. Eventually, four Tennessee soldiers also joined the permanent expedition. Lewis, Clark, and their party reached St. Louis in early December, and constructed a winter camp, "Camp Wood," north of the city.

During the next several months, Lewis and Clark



A full-scale replica of the keelboat Discovery used during the Lewis and Clark expedition, on Blue Lake at the Lewis and Clark State Park in Onawa, Iowa.

Source: Connie Ricca/CORBIS; used by permission.

continued their preparations, and Lewis purchased food, whiskey, lard, shotguns, tools, and a small bronze cannon. He also inquired about Upper Louisiana's population, economy, and geography. Finally, on 22 May 1804, the Corps of Discovery abandoned Camp Wood and ventured up the Missouri River.

UP THE MISSOURI TO THE MANDANS

This phase of exploration involved cartography, scientific discovery, and contact with native tribes. While traveling, Clark and Lewis actively molded their recruits into a cohesive and formidable military outfit. The journey was often problematic, even perilous. Moving the large, heavily laden keelboat required skill, coordination, and considerable muscle. Sandbars and floating debris obstructed progress, and swift fluctuating currents threatened to overturn the boat and adjoining canoes. Gnat swarms and pesky ticks rendered the work more unpleasant. Worse, the men were made ill by tainted water and contaminated meat. They endured plagues of mosquitoes, and one man suffered snakebite. Sergeant Charles Floyd died suddenly from appendicitis.

Clark frequently worked at the boat's helm. Lewis, on the other hand, acted as the chief scientist, routinely exploring the riverbanks and the interior. With Clark's aid, he also made celestial observations



Entry from *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*

The following entry from Lewis and Clark's journals provides a view of the day-to-day management of the expedition.

Detachment Orders

Nadawa Island July 8th 1804

In order to insure a prudent and regular use of all provisions issued to the crew of the *Batteaux* in future, as also to provide for the equal distribution of the same among the individuals of the several messes, The Commanding Officers Do appoint the following persons to *receive, cook, and take charges* of the provisions which may from time to time be issued to their respective messes, (viz) John B. Thomson to Sergt. Floyd's mess, William Warner to Sergt. Ordway's mess, and John Collins to Sergt. Pryor's Mess.— These *Superintendants of Provision*, are held immediately responsible to the Commanding Officers for a judicious consumption of the provisions which they receive; they are to cook the same for their several messes in due time, and in such manner as is most wholesome and best calculated to afford the greatest proportion of nutriment; in their mode of cooking they are to exercise their own judgment; they shall (point) also point out what part, and what proportion of the mess provisions are to be consumed at each stated meal (i.e.) morning, noon and night; nor is any man at any time to take or consume any part of the mess provisions without the privity, knowledge and consent of the Superintendant. The superintendant is also held responsible for all the cooking utensels of his mess. in consideration for the duties imposed by this order on Thompson, Warner, and Collins, they will in future be exempt from guard duty, tho' they will still be held on the royster for the duty, and their regular tour—shall be performed by some one of their respective messes; they are exempted also from pitching the tents of the mess, collecting firewood, and forks poles &c. for cooking and drying such fresh meat as may be furnished them; those duties are to be also performed by the other members of the mess.

Source: *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition, August 30, 1803–August 24, 1804*. Retrieved October 7, 2003, from <http://www.kshs.org/people/lewisclark4.htm>

necessary for precise surveying and mapmaking. Lewis's scientific pursuits were wide ranging. He maintained a weather diary, analyzed soil quality, and made topographic observations. He collected, measured, weighed, and described a variety of animal, plant, and mineral specimens, and discovered many creatures previously unknown to Americans. This scholarly work was not without hazards. Once, Lewis nearly fell from a 300-foot cliff, and on another occasion, he became seriously ill after examining mineral samples that included arsenic.

Of the expedition's many purposes, none were more complex or potentially harrowing than those related to the native peoples of the West. From the perspective of the Indians, Jefferson's Corps of Discovery was both intriguing and threatening. The corps entreated with members of the Otoe, the Missouri, the Yankton Sioux, the Teton Sioux, and the Arikara. Lewis and Clark's approach to each tribe was systematic and ritualistic. Lewis gave long-winded paternalistic speeches containing both promises and threats. He and Clark marched the corps through parade drill, and demonstrated the outfit's startling rifle power. Most Indians proved receptive, even friendly, although many were ultimately disappointed by the apparent stinginess of their visitors when it came to sharing the unit's weaponry, whiskey, and sundry articles. The mission even faced disaster when some Teton Sioux demanded an entire canoe of presents. Only the calm intervention of Chief Black Buffalo averted a bloodbath.

By late October 1804, the Corps of Discovery reached the extensive Mandan and Hidatsa villages, located along the Missouri in present-day North Dakota. The travelers received a warm welcome, and Lewis, Clark, and the men established a winter camp, "Fort Mandan," which they occupied for five months. There, Lewis prepared a detailed and optimistic letter for Jefferson. In April 1805, several of the expedition's soldiers and boatmen transported this status report, a preliminary map, more than 150 botanical and mineral specimens, and several live animals to St. Louis aboard the keelboat. These items were then sent on to Jefferson.

FROM THE MANDANS TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN

The Corps of Discovery, traveling on two large and six smaller canoes, departed Fort Mandan for the Pacific on 7 April 1805. As before, the journey up the Missouri was arduous. There were forceful headwinds, falling riverbanks, protruding rocks, and sudden squalls. The men suffered from exhaustion, malnutrition, scurvy, dysentery, and lingering venereal disease. Yet, the thirty-three-member party, which now included the interpreter Toussaint Charbonneau, his teenage wife Sacagawea, and their infant son, proceeded on.

On 1 June, the corps came upon an unexpected fork in the Missouri River, but were uncertain which fork led to the Pacific. Scouting reports proved inconclusive. Pressure to make a decision intensified as the expedition needed to cross the Rockies before winter. Moreover, the group was situated in territory controlled by the Blackfeet, a powerful and potentially hostile tribe. Clark and Lewis determined that the south fork was the Missouri River. Everybody else in the corps disagreed. Still, there was no rebellion. After a year of service, the men trusted and respected their two leaders, and they dutifully ascended the south fork. According to Lewis's journal, "they said very cheerfully that they were ready to follow us any wher[e] we thought proper to direct but that they still thought that the other [fork] was the [Missouri] river" (Moulton 2003, 126).

By mid-June, Lewis discovered the Great Falls of the Missouri. The Rockies were in plain view. With further exploration came disappointing news; ahead lay a series of waterfalls and rapids. The canoes and all equipment and supplies were pulled from the river and transported sixteen miles over rough terrain. The difficult portage and Lewis's attempt to assemble an experimental boat resulted in weeks of delay. Finally, on 12 July, the canoe flotilla returned to water and headed for the snowcapped peaks.

Lewis and three men trekked overland ahead of the canoes. They sought the Shoshone Indians, who possessed horses and trail information. On 12 August, the search party discovered the mouth the Missouri near Lemhi Pass. They also realized there was no easy

waterway linking the Missouri and Columbia Rivers. The next day, they descended the pass, came upon several Shoshone, and were soon met by sixty warriors on horseback. Fortunately, the Indians, while cautious, were friendly. Some Shoshone agreed to travel east with Lewis's party, and providing thirty riders to locate Clark and bring the corps and its supplies through Lemhi Pass. At one point, the Shoshone grew suspicious of the strangers, fearing a trap. Desperate to prove their good intentions, Lewis and his men surrendered their rifles to the Indians. Clark was soon found and all returned safely to a Shoshone village.

After several weeks of rest and trading with the Shoshone, the corps set out to cross the Rockies. "Old Toby," an Indian guide, led them. The long and steep hike was treacherous. Fallen timber obstructed the route. It rained, snowed, and hailed. Nightfall brought freezing temperatures. Old Toby lost his way. On 18 September, running low on provisions, Clark and six men moved ahead of the main party. After a few days, Clark's group encountered members of the Nez Perce tribe. Clark traded for food and sent word to Lewis. The corps reunited at a Nez Perce village on 21 September.

The beleaguered corps recuperated among the Nez Perce for nearly three weeks. The men constructed new canoes and arranged for the Indians to care for their horses. On 10 October, the corps' small fleet entered the Clearwater River, which connected to the Snake and Columbia Rivers and the Pacific Ocean. While pleased to be traveling downstream, the expedition encountered numerous whitewater rapids. Eager to reach the coast, the expedition typically ran the rapids rather than endure portage delays. As the corps moved swiftly, it encountered Indian bands related to the Nez Perce. These contacts were warm and friendly. Subsequent encounters with the Chinook peoples, who lived further west and were rivals of the Nez Perce, proved problematic. Some Chinooks stole from the expedition, and this generally soured the corps' attitudes toward these Indians.

By 17 November, the expedition had finally reached the Pacific Ocean. The corps camped on the northern bank (present-day Washington State) where

they met the local Chinooks, who proved demanding trade partners. Ultimately, the corps voted to establish a winter base camp, "Fort Clatsop," on the south bank (present-day Oregon), where elk were more plentiful and the local Clatsop Indians seemed more hospitable.

FROM FORT CLATSOP TO ST. LOUIS, AND ON TO WASHINGTON, D.C.

After enduring three cold, wet months on the Pacific Coast, the expedition longed for home. The corps headed back upriver on 23 March 1806. At the Columbia's rapids, the men towed their canoes. At the waterfalls, they pulled the vessels ashore and hiked around. All along the lower river basin, half-starved Chinooks greeted the expedition. On several occasions, Indians stole from the travelers. Already short on supplies, members of the corps reacted angrily to the petty thefts. Lewis even threatened to set one village on fire.

The corps abandoned the river and their canoes after four weeks, deciding to march overland. It acquired horses from the Walla Walla and Yakima tribes, and, by early May, had established a camp with their Nez Perce friends at the base of the Rockies. Against the advice of the Nez Perce, the corps attempted to cross the mountains in early June. Lewis and Clark were forced to order a retreat after six days due to heavy snow pack. A second attempt made with the aid of Nez Perce guides began two weeks later. It was successful, with the expedition covering 156 miles in six days.

On 3 July, after crossing the Bitterroot Range, Lewis and Clark divided the corps for the purpose of exploring present-day Montana. One group was ordered to take the horses to Fort Mandan. The other squads were to reunite five or six weeks later at the junction of the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers. Clark's group headed south, then east. He subdivided his party at the Three Forks of the Missouri, sending some men, led by Sergeant John Ordway, up the Missouri to the Great Falls. Clark and the remainder of his unit crossed through Bozeman Pass and traveled east and north via the Yellowstone River. Lewis's party traveled directly to the Great

Falls. He stationed some men at the falls to await Ordway's canoe group. Together, these men would portage around the falls, and descend the Missouri. Lewis, meanwhile, led three men north to explore the Marias River and its tributaries.

On 26 July, Lewis's party encountered eight Blackfeet. The Indians appeared friendly, and all agreed to camp together. In the early morning, the Blackfeet attempted to steal the corps' rifles. A fight ensued, leaving one Blackfoot stabbed to death and another shot in the stomach. The Indians retreated, and Lewis and his men rushed back to the Missouri River. Two days later, they joined Ordway's expanded canoe party east of the Great Falls. Shortly after, while on a hunting trip, Lewis was accidentally shot in the buttocks by one of his own men. He survived.

The Corps of Discovery reunited on 11 August, and it soon reached the Mandan villages. All were disappointed by the news that fighting had broken out between various plains tribes. The interpreter Charbonneau, his wife, Sacagawea, and the baby stayed with the Mandans. One other member of the corps, John Colter, received permission to return west with some adventuresome fur traders. The expedition departed the Mandans on 17 August. Five weeks later, the corps reached St. Louis, where it received a hero's welcome. In November, Clark traveled to visit friends in Virginia. Lewis, accompanied by several Osage and Mandan Indians, also traveled to Virginia, but by late December had reached Washington, D.C., where he briefed Jefferson on the expedition's adventures and successes.

SOME LEADERSHIP IMPLICATIONS

Jefferson, Lewis, and Clark were superior, if imperfect, leaders. Moreover, most members of their Corps of Discovery proved to be exemplary followers. Together, they accomplished many of the group's ambitious objectives. Given the duration and complexity of the expedition, the leadership lessons that can be extracted seem almost innumerable. Nevertheless, aspects of several key leadership components deserve some recognition: vision, planning, organizational climate, and decision making.

The importance of strategic leadership cannot be

overstated, and Jefferson serves as a role model extraordinaire. He formulated a grand vision for the United States, one that pivoted on western expansion. After assessing multiple external and internal variables, he proceeded to implement that vision. As president, he moved to acquire New Orleans, and this led to the entire Louisiana Purchase. To further American knowledge and control of the trans-Mississippi West, he also championed a momentous mission of exploration, the Lewis and Clark expedition.

The expedition featured extensive operational planning and preparation, and the careful cultivation of the corps' organizational climate. Jefferson's most significant planning decision was his selection of Lewis to lead the expedition. Lewis's understanding of the president and his own practical experience qualified him for the mission. Similarly, Lewis's most critical decision was his selection of the multi-talented Clark as cocaptain. Together, they organized and prepared a cohesive, elite unit capable of overcoming daunting and successive challenges. Seeking to maximize the group's effectiveness, Lewis and Clark consistently monitored and actively managed the corps' morale and performance. As a result, their leadership style and tactics varied significantly depending on circumstances. Early in the expedition, Clark and Lewis frequently used dictatorial and coercive tactics to establish a military and hierarchical organizational climate. By spring 1804, when the corps departed Fort Mandan, the leaders' tactics became increasingly consultative and compensative as the group had become tightly and permanently bound by mutual trust, respect, and dedication. Moreover, the Lewis and Clark expedition offers insightful examples of tactical decision making, and not all are favorable. For example, during the corps' return trip from Fort Clatsop, Lewis and Clark did not choose the safest, most expeditious route home. Rather than return to St. Louis posthaste, they divided their group into several small squads and engaged in risky explorations of land inhabited by a potentially hostile tribe. In fact, two of the parties lost half or all of their horses to Indian raids, and Lewis's squad battled with Blackfoot warriors, resulting in two Indian casualties. In other words, Jefferson's expedition, which had already covered

some six thousand miles and achieved many of its objectives, had narrowly averted disaster.

—Jeffrey J. Matthews

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LIBRARIES

Leadership is central to the growth of service organizations such as libraries. A leader of a successful library must create a vision of the library's future, articulate a mission for the library, develop strategies for realizing that future, and earn trust from colleagues, among other challenges. Leadership of libraries requires an understanding of the principles of library services and how best to match these services to the needs of current and future users. Libraries range in size from the U.S. Library of Congress (the world's largest library with 122 million books, journals, musical scores, and other items, and more than four thousand employees) to the small storefront library in Beijing, China, with fewer than one thousand books and a staff of one person. The complexity of leadership issues varies with the size of the library; however, some issues (e.g., creativity) remain the same regardless of size. Leadership in a library is not limited to the library director.

The evolution of libraries dates back to the history of writing. For the past 5,200 years the human record has been preserved on various types of material (e.g., clay, metal, papyrus, parchment, paper, and electronic/magnetic tapes). Leadership in libraries has not been as prominent as that in other service organizations. Librarians in the United States and Canada become certified upon the completion of a master's degree in library/information science from an institution of higher education accredited by the American Library Association. Unfortunately, these accredited library/information science programs have been slow in offering leadership courses for their students. Consequently, librarians have to learn the principles of leadership through other means

(e.g., attending a leadership institute, engaging in a leadership mentoring program).

A fundamental thrust of library leadership is to create a more desirable future for the users of libraries. Essentially four types of libraries exist: academic, public, school, and special. Each type of library seeks leaders who can articulate a vision for the respective type of library and find ways to improve the research collections, reading programs, and reference services offered to users.

VISION AND MISSION

Creating a realistic and exciting vision for the library is certainly one of the first steps in the tenure of a successful library leader. "Where there is no vision, the people perish" (Proverbs 29:18, KJV). Without a thoughtful and credible vision, the leader will have a difficult time articulating the future of the library. Moreover, the vision must reflect the thoughts, concerns, and energy of the leader's library colleagues. Followers in the library must support the vision, and their energy must be obvious in the vision statement. Because the vision focuses on the future, the library's vision statement should read: "The library will become . . ." The use of past tense in a vision statement is not appropriate. Infusion of new values into the library's fabric should be reflected in the vision statement.

A library's mission statement delineates what the library is trying to achieve. The mission statement is shorter in length than the vision statement. Library leaders will include phrases such as "acquiring, organizing, preserving, and making readily available collections and other intellectual materials in all media and formats" in the mission statement. A library's mission statement addresses both the present and the future.

CREATIVITY

Owing to tradition, standards, rules and regulations, and bureaucracy, libraries are not known for their creativity, although creativity cannot be dismissed as an important responsibility of library leaders. One of the early U.S. library leaders was Melvil Dewey,

who invented the Dewey Decimal Classification System in 1873 and established the world's first school to train librarians (Columbia University, 1887). Ample opportunity exists in all types of libraries for greater creativity. Libraries offer many services, and these services can be modified slightly or radically. The leader can foster a climate that encourages the staff members to create, extend their imagination, and engage in calculated risk taking. Without encouragement of risk taking from the leader, the library could remain stagnant and fail to improve services for users. Engagement in "thinking outside the box" and "thinking upside-down" will encourage staff members to offer new ideas to make services more efficient and effective. Divergent thinking leads to creativity and innovation. The creative leader understands the importance of looking at practices and procedures and values from a different perspective. Notwithstanding financial constraints, the library's future may be limited only by the imagination of its leaders. Innovation and entrepreneurship in libraries follow creativity. All three are important components of library leadership and form an interdependent web of synergy (combined action or operation) where the three components realize greater benefits collectively than any one component would do independently.

LEADING STRATEGIC THINKING AND PLANNING

Libraries have undergone a metamorphosis during the past three decades. Technology has become an important tool in the daily operations of libraries. Library leaders are employing the principles and best practices of successful for-profit organizations in the management and leadership of libraries. Library leaders have migrated from thinking in isolation of internal and external factors to thinking strategically. In the placid world of traditional librarianship, strategic thinking was not necessary. This mind-set can no longer exist. Library leaders place a premium on thinking in strategic terms for the best future possible for their libraries. Strategic thinking, forethought, and anticipation are important factors in the repertoire of library leaders.

Strategic thinking is part of the strategic planning process. Planning is one of the more important responsibilities of a leader. The library director is the chief strategist of the library, and this responsibility should not be delegated. The future of a library depends on how well the library is planned and implemented. Unlike traditional planning, strategic planning includes finding courses of action to achieve goals. These strategies are formulated based on analysis and synthesis; they are established after careful thinking. Strategic planning is a live, ongoing process. It is not set in concrete, and a plan can be revised at any time. Strategy is the conceptual glue that holds together the complex components of the library. Strategies achieved during the course of a year are removed from the strategic plan, and new strategies are added. Questions such as "What went right?" and "What went wrong?" should be asked during the annual assessment of the strategic plan. Leaders are advised to merge some strategies and be aware that some strategies may emerge in a pattern of substrategies. Clustering of some strategies may be necessary.

To add greater credibility to the strategic planning process, departmental strategic plans should be developed. They support the library-wide strategic plan, but they lend greater focus to specific strategies (i.e., department-level initiatives). Furthermore, each departmental employee's annual evaluation should be connected to the departmental strategic plan. This connection will make the planning process more meaningful to the employee. Because people do not like planning, library leaders should be more creative in encouraging employees to enjoy the planning process and recognize evidence of its benefits.

A primary value of strategic planning is the thinking it promotes about the library and its components. In the truest sense, strategic planning does not emphasize ongoing operations; it emphasizes new initiatives. Creating a forum for the library staff to participate in planning the future (and formulating strategies to get there) is a major dividend of strategic planning.

TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Until the late 1960s, libraries filled their traditional

role in making informational resources available, primarily in paper format. Little interdependence existed in library cooperation and resource sharing. In 1967, under the leadership of Frederick G. Kilgour of OCLC (initially called the "Ohio College Library Center," now called the "Online Computer Library Center") began offering a new approach for sharing resources and reducing costs for participating libraries. This nonprofit organization now serves 43,559 libraries in eighty-six countries throughout the world. Since the inception of OCLC, libraries have been changing at an unprecedented rate. Changes are made in the way services are delivered, collections are developed, resources are shared, and human resources are managed and led. The primary driving force behind the changes in libraries is technology, which has affected nearly all aspects of libraries and librarianship. It has enabled libraries to become more efficient and effective. The catalogs (formerly called "card catalogs") of the library collections are online; they can be accessed via the Internet from anywhere in the world. Journals are online; thus, users can access them without coming into the library. Rare and special collections are becoming available online. Boundaries limiting access to informational resources have been removed by technology.

The modifications in how libraries are developed and accessed have been accompanied by a change in how they are managed and led. Directors of libraries evolved from transactional (day-to-day) managers to transformational leaders. Transformational leaders set the stage and provide the direction for implementing changes in libraries. They engage employees more in the change process. Calculated risk taking and the entrepreneurial spirit are encouraged by transformational leaders.

DECISIONS AND TEAMS

A library has leaders other than the director. A department head may be a well-known authority and leader in a library specialty; this leader influences the work of others in the same specialty and may have a large number of employees. This leader should be given the authority to make relevant deci-

sions. Decision making in libraries tends to be centralized and based on levels of hierarchy. A transforming library leader prefers to have appropriate decisions made at the lowest possible level in the library. Sharing the decision-making process is more effective when the director has self-confidence and does not feel threatened by decisions of subordinates.

In lieu of having a library staff organized as departments, some libraries have specific teams. The team approach enables the staff to participate in choosing the viable course of action for specific endeavors. Serving as a team leader gives an employee an opportunity to develop leadership skills (e.g., consensus building). Team members bring different perspectives to library services, and their collective intelligence strengthens the decision-making process. Library tasks best suited for team leadership include cataloging materials, providing reference services, ordering new materials, and circulating materials to patrons. The success of leadership by a team depends on how well the team promotes and achieves the library's vision and mission.

TRUST

The design and implementation of the library of the future rely on the trust factor between leaders and followers. Integration of individual and group efforts requires trust. Without trust, leaders cannot effectively advance the library. The U.S. public has a history of distrusting its leaders during times of significant change or crisis. A strong, dynamic library leader runs the risk of losing the trust of followers, especially during revolutionary changes. Situational leadership can either promote or deter trust. If the library staff's morale is high, budgetary conditions are positive, and collaborative efforts are obvious, then leadership will likely enjoy a culture of trust. A primary responsibility of the library leader is to build and sustain a unifying culture of trust. Having a compelling vision of the library's future and having a conviction to promote its core values are examples of how a library leader can engender trust.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Even though scholars have done little research on and promotion of library leadership, libraries need transformational and visionary leadership now more than at any other time in our civilization. Due to the influence of technology, libraries are provided an uncommon opportunity to offer more and improved services. Under compelling leadership, libraries will play a dominant role in fulfilling expectations of a democratic society (e.g., free and equal access to information). Schools of library/information science and leadership institutes must become more active in the preparation of future library leaders.

—Donald E. Riggs

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LINCOLN, ABRAHAM (1809–1865)

U.S. president

Presidential scholars unanimously rank Abraham Lincoln as the greatest U.S. president. One sign of his enduring influence as a leader is the fact that more books (estimated at seventeen thousand), journals, newsletters, and organizations have been devoted to preserving his legacy than that of any other president. His leadership is one of the greatest gifts of U.S. democracy to the world. He began developing as a leader through experiences early in life and drew on these experiences to lead the nation during its most difficult time: the Civil War.

BACKGROUND

Lincoln was born in Hardin County, Kentucky, in a one-room log cabin. His parents, Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks Lincoln, were simple farmers. He was the only son to survive. In 1816, the family moved to Indiana, where family members began to clear land and build their farm. Merely a year later, after the family was settled, Lincoln's mother fell sick and died on 5 October 1818. The family needed help, so Lincoln's father remarried. Lincoln's stepmother, Sarah (Bush) Johnston became an extremely important influence in Lincoln's life.

Lincoln had a happy childhood after his father remarried. He received minimal formal education as a child but learned to read and write. His outlook on life enlarged as a teenager in 1828, when he was hired to pilot a flatboat loaded with cargo 1,800 miles to New Orleans, Louisiana. As soon as he reached legal age at twenty-one, he left home to work in the new village of New Salem, Illinois. However, his professional direction remained open. In fact, he explored several directions.

POLITICAL LEADER

The sixteenth president is unique among the forty-two men who have served in the Oval Office: He ran for political office at a younger age than any other lawyer who became president, and he was one of the few who ran for office even before he became a lawyer. In 1833, Lincoln made his first effort to be elected a state legislator but lacked time to effectively campaign because he had become involved in the Black Hawk War as a volunteer, although he never actually fought during his ninety days of service. Although Lincoln lost his first electoral bid, finishing seventh among twelve candidates, the members of his militia unit had selected him to serve as

If you would win a man to your cause, first convince him that you are his true friend. Next, probe to discover what he wants to accomplish.

—Abraham Lincoln



President Abraham Lincoln meets with Union General George B. McClellan, whom Lincoln later relieved of his command, following the bloody Battle of Antietam.

Source: Lincoln Museums Collections; used with permission.

their captain, a tribute that he valued for life. Before running for the same seat in the next election, he bought two stores and combined them into one. He and his partner, W. F. Berry, operated the store for only a year before it “winked out” with a substantial debt. Nevertheless, Lincoln paid off what he called his “national debt.” Meanwhile Lincoln accepted two local offices: postmaster and assistant county surveyor. He was an energetic and ambitious person.

In 1834, Lincoln devoted more time to his electoral effort and was rewarded accordingly. He took his seat in the Illinois House of Representatives on 1 December 1834. He was reelected to an additional three terms. During this legislative period in his life, he met Stephen A. Douglas, a fellow legislator who would become his rival from the Democratic Party. Even more important, he realized that politics was his calling. In just a few years Lincoln rose to become leader of the Whigs—a party founded in

1834 to oppose the Democrats and “King Andrew” Jackson—in the legislature.

In 1839, Lincoln was named a presidential elector for the state of Illinois—he was renamed an elector in 1844, 1852, and 1856. In 1847, after eight years as a state legislator, Lincoln won a seat in Congress. He was a man on the move. As the only Whig from Illinois, he edged out the Democratic candidate by fifteen hundred votes. In 1849 he continued to lobby for the Whig Party but did not run for reelection. As a member of the party of senator and frequent Whig presidential candidate Henry Clay, he favored internal improvements, a national bank, and higher tariffs. In 1854, Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act—an act that was introduced in the Senate by Stephen A. Douglas. The act permitted Kansas and Nebraska to decide if they would be free or slave states after they were admitted to the Union. Lincoln opposed the act but failed in his 1855 bid for the U.S. Senate. As a result, Lincoln decided join the new Republican Party, which held its first national convention in Philadelphia in 1856. There was an unsuccessful effort at the convention to select him as the Republican vice presidential nominee. The issue of extending slavery into the territories became the basis for the Lincoln-Douglas debates, which were held during Lincoln’s second unsuccessful campaign for the U.S. Senate in 1858.

LAWYER LEADER

Always ambitious, Lincoln became a lawyer during his budding political career. His legal career began in 1837 and eventually spanned twenty-four years until he assumed the presidency. His practice paid for his marriage to Mary Todd and their growing family.

Lincoln was more than an ordinary lawyer when he practiced on the Eighth Judicial Circuit. He handled more than five thousand cases and appeared in over three hundred cases before the Illinois Supreme Court. In managing his legal-political career he continued to use his important leadership trait—the ability to juggle more than one job at the same time. This trait later would prove vital during his presidency, which required him to manage multiple political roles: commander in chief, chief executive, chief

diplomat, party leader, legislative leader, and leader of the U.S. people.

PRESIDENTIAL LEADER

On 18 May 1860, Lincoln's popularity reached its apex when he was nominated for the presidency by the Republican Party. He was elected 6 November 1860, with only 39 percent of the votes. By the time of his inauguration on 4 March 1861, seven Southern states had already seceded from the Union. Those states formed the Confederate States of America, which subsequently selected Jefferson Davis as their chief executive.

Although Jefferson Davis had far more military, executive, and administrative experience than Lincoln, Lincoln was a natural leader. He relied on his finely tuned political instincts based on his legislative experience rather than on a narrow legalistic approach that one might expect from a lawyer. During his first year in office he was barraged by criticism. Yet, the bold, extraconstitutional executive steps he used to address the nation's internal crisis elevated him above a party hack. To the surprise of most, he developed a proactive leadership style. He did not depend upon Congress; he did not take his cues from the courts. He made the presidency, to a large extent, the dominant branch, certainly to a greater degree than had been the norm. In the eighty days that elapsed between his April 1861 call for troops after the surrender of Fort Sumter and the July meeting of Congress, Lincoln performed a series of important acts by sheer assumption of presidential power. He declared that the existence of "combinations too powerful to be suppressed in the ordinary course of judicial proceedings" (secession of seven states, seizure of federal forts and armories, failure to collect federal revenues, and otherwise disregarding the country's laws) required suppression (Basler 1953, 332). He ordered the militia to carry out his order to suppress the rebellion, reoccupy forts and other seized federal properties, and otherwise ensure compliance with the laws. His language was important because although Congress held the power to declare war, suppression of rebellion was recognized as a customary executive func-



The Gettysburg Address, 19 November 1863

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.

Source: The Gettysburg Address. (1863). Retrieved October 7, 2003, from <http://eserver.org/history/gettysburg-address.txt>

tion. He also proclaimed a blockade, increased the size of the regular army, and authorized expenditure of government money without congressional appropriation. His suspension of the precious right of habeas corpus—the law prohibiting arrest and detention without following the regular processes of law so that someone so held does not have an opportunity to contest arrest or imprisonment—was criticized, but he asked Congress and the U.S. people, "Are all the laws, but one, to go unexecuted, and the government itself to go to pieces, less that one be violated?" (Basler 1953, 430). Yet, despite these extraconstitutional actions, he fully recognized that after Congress reconvened, it had the duty to pass ultimate judgment on these actions.

*Nearly all men can stand adversity, but if you
 want to test a man's character, give him power.*

—Abraham Lincoln

As president during the Civil War, Lincoln had the task of leading the country during the most difficult period in its history. The burdens of the Civil War presidency included conducting major military strategy, recruiting hundreds of thousands of troops, and engaging in conflicts with Congress over emancipation of slaves and reconstruction of the South.

COMMANDER IN CHIEF

As commander in chief, Lincoln first issued a call for seventy-five thousand volunteers. The South won the first real victory of the war at the Battle of Bull Run. The war continued in favor of the South until Lincoln found a general who would win the war, Ulysses S. Grant. Lincoln became a successful commander in chief through his innovative bending of constitutional laws within the framework of his wise, honest, restrained, inspirational temperament. As chief magistrate and commander in chief, Lincoln alternately encouraged the U.S. people and ordered arms to fulfill the destiny of the Union: to achieve its promise as “the last best hope of the earth” (Basler 1953, 537).

CONTROVERSIAL DECISIONS

Lincoln made many controversial decisions—instating a blockade, suspending the writ of habeas corpus, enlarging the army and navy, and appropriating monies for the purchase of firearms—with Congressional authorization. In July 1862 Congress passed a law to allow slaves escaping from the South to enter the Northern army. On 22 September 1862, after the North won the Battle of Antietam, Lincoln issued the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. He issued the final proclamation on 1 January 1863. It effectively declared free all slaves in those states still in rebellion. Because the Constitution protected slav-

ery, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation as a military order. The war continued, causing more casualties than the total of all other U.S. wars. On 19 November 1863, Lincoln made his most famous speech, the Gettysburg Address, at the dedication of Gettysburg, a battlefield-turned-national cemetery where many soldiers had died in July 1863. In a brief and eloquent speech, he brought the U.S. Constitution into harmony with the Declaration of Independence. Two years later, with Lincoln's support, Congress solidified his Gettysburg words with the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which barred slavery.

On 9 April 1865, the war ended when General Robert E. Lee, commanding general of the Army of Northern Virginia, surrendered to General Grant at Appomattox Court House. Five days later, Lincoln was assassinated in Ford's Theatre. He had gone to see a play with his wife, Mary Todd, when he was shot by John Wilkes Booth. Yet, the assassination furthered transformed Lincoln—once the most criticized U.S. president—into an icon of democracy both at home and abroad.

Lincoln's leadership style was both active and flexible. That unusual combination gave it an unexpected dimension. He treated leadership as a relationship involving individuals as well as large groups through his compassionate and nurturing practices, his resistance to petty quarreling, his freedom from malice, and his insistence upon remaining accessible to individuals. These qualities made possible a successful dialogue between him and his followers and in the end transformed both.

—Frank J. Williams

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LITERATURE

“Information is endlessly available to us; where shall wisdom be found?” The question, posed by the famed literary scholar Harold Bloom at the beginning of *How to Read and Why* (2001, 19), may be read as a humanistic rebuke to the social scientific orientation of much of the modern academy. Bloom’s answer to his question, as applicable in leadership studies as elsewhere, is that wisdom is found in literature, and especially in great literature—enduring works of drama, fiction, and poetry, both ancient and modern. Reading literature, Bloom says, “returns you to otherness” (2001, 19) to connections with others’ lives and feelings. Oliver Williams, a scholar of religion and business ethics, argues more directly that literature can stimulate ethical reflection: “stories that ‘ring true’ bring us in touch with the fullness of our humanity” (1997, 7). Such a view may be traced back to Aristotle, who argued in the *Nicomachean Ethics* that the best education should not only impart information but also develop our capacity to feel and sympathize, for “to feel delight and pain rightly or wrongly has no small effect on our actions” (1962, Book 2, Chapter 2, 1104b, 1105a). The writer Salman Rushdie puts the case for why literature matters even more grandly: “Literature is where I go to explore the highest and lowest places in human society and the human spirit, where I hope to find not absolute truth but the truth of the tale, of the imagination and of the heart” (1989, 11).

“The truth of the tale,” as Rushdie calls it, holds a somewhat paradoxical place in the interdiscipli-

nary field of leadership studies. Only a handful of programs—chief among them Richmond University’s Jepson School of Leadership, Claremont McKenna College’s Leadership Studies Program, and Duke University’s Hart Leadership Program—build the study of literature into their curriculums. (Alburty in “A Cast of Leaders” [1999] provides a vivid glimpse of Duke’s course in Leadership and the Arts, which takes a group of undergraduates to New York for a semester of theater, art, and leadership studies.) At the level of individual leadership courses, a few schools, like Kentucky Wesleyan University, Birmingham-Southern University, and Rice University, offer a class or two that draws heavily on literature. (History and ethics are much more common elements of what might be thought of as “leadership humanities.”) But while literature only infrequently makes it into the leadership curriculum, a remarkable number of academics labor to explore literature for leadership lessons, and there are numerous studies of literary works published in the field.

EXPLORING LEADERSHIP THROUGH LITERATURE

Eugene Garaventa (1998), for instance, considers the morality of two dramatic protagonists, Dr. Stockmann in Ibsen’s *An Enemy of the People* and Willy Loman in Arthur Miller’s *Death of a Salesman*, as well as the corrupt environment of David Mamet’s *Glengarry Glen Ross*. Patrick McDonough (1998) explores how Marlowe and Goethe each treated the Faust legend. One of the more extensive and interesting recent literary studies is Robert Brawer’s 1998 book-length study of literary texts from Chaucer to Sloan Wilson’s *The Man in the Grey Flannel Suit*. Brawer, a former CEO as well as a literature professor, holds that “the values and insights we glean from serious literature sensitize us to ourselves and, by extension, to the problems inherent in managing people in an organization” (1998, 2). In a notable work, John Clemens and Douglas Mayer (1987) provide a broad sweep of literature “from Homer to Hemingway,” making numerous connections between classic texts and



Selection from Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*

Although not a success when it was first published in 1851, *Moby Dick* now stands as a classic of American literature—and a classic example of leadership skills as exemplified in the book's main character, Captain Ahab. The excerpt below from Chapter 133, "The Chase—First Day," describes Captain Ahab's adversary—the great white whale, *Moby Dick*.

And thus, through the serene tranquilities of the tropical sea, among waves whose hand-clappings were suspended by exceeding rapture, *Moby Dick* moved on, still withholding from sight the full terrors of his submerged trunk, entirely hiding the wrenched hideousness of his jaw. But soon the fore part of him slowly rose from the water; for an instant his whole marbled body formed a high arch, like Virginia's Natural Bridge, and warningly waving his bannered flukes in the air, the grand god revealed himself, sounded, and went out of sight. Hoveringly halting, and dipping on the wing, the white sea-fowls longingly lingered over the agitated pool that he left.

With oars apeak, and paddles down, the sheets of their sails adrift, the three boats now stilly floated, awaiting *Moby Dick*'s reappearance.

"An hour," said Ahab, standing rooted in his boat's stern; and he gazed beyond the whale's place, towards the dim blue spaces and wide wooing vacancies to leeward. It was only an instant; for again his eyes seemed whirling round in his head as he swept the watery circle. The breeze now freshened; the sea began to swell.

"The birds!—the birds!" cried Tashtego.

In long Indian file, as when herons take wing, the white birds were now all flying towards Ahab's boat; and when

within a few yards began fluttering over the water there, wheeling round and round, with joyous, expectant cries. Their vision was keener than man's; Ahab could discover no sign in the sea. But suddenly as he peered down and down into its depths, he profoundly saw a white living spot no bigger than a white weasel, with wonderful celerity uprising, and magnifying as it rose, till it turned, and then there were plainly revealed two long crooked rows of white, glistening teeth, floating up from the undiscoverable bottom. It was *Moby Dick*'s open mouth and scrolled jaw; his vast, shadowed bulk still half blending with the blue of the sea. The glittering mouth yawned beneath the boat like an open-doored marble tomb; and giving one side-long sweep with his steering oar, Ahab whirled the craft aside from this tremendous apparition. Then, calling upon Fedallah to change places with him, went forward to the bows, and seizing Perth's harpoon, commanded his crew to grasp their oars and stand by to stern.

Now, by reason of this timely spinning round the boat upon its axis, its bow, by anticipation, was made to face the whale's head while yet under water. But as if perceiving this strategem, *moby dick*, with that malicious intelligence ascribed to him, sidelingly transplanted himself, as it were, in an instant, shooting his pleated head lengthwise beneath the boat.

Source: Melville, Herman. (1959). *Moby Dick or, the Whale*. New York: Dell, pp. 580–581. (Originally published 1851)

modern leadership concepts. They see in Sophocles' *Ajax*, for instance, a story of a man "unable, or unwilling, to adapt to a changing organization" (1987, 59). They draw a parallel between the "towering inflexibility" of Sophocles' Creon (in *Antigone*) and Henry Ford (1987, 66). And they consider how Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* "scrutinizes two contrasting ways to lead" (1987, 193). Beyond this work, Clemens has made a significant contribution to the use of literature in leadership studies by developing an extensive library of more than fifty "classic leadership cases," published by the Hartwick Humanities in Management Institute, covering texts from the *Iliad* to Melville and Virginia Woolf.

SHAKESPEARE ON LEADERSHIP

Shakespeare's plays, above all, are the literary texts that have attracted the most attention from leadership scholars, because of their fame but also because of their subject matter—the personal and public lives of kings, queens, and princes, and the worlds they inhabit. In recent years, at least three books have been published on leadership lessons gleaned from Shakespeare's plays: Augustine and Adelman's *Shakespeare in Charge* (1999), Corrigan's *Shakespeare on Management* (1999), and Whitney and Packer's *Power Plays* (2001). These books all draw out of Shakespeare's plays examples and principles pertinent for modern readers, in particular executives. Augustine

and Adelman, for instance, present *The Taming of the Shrew*'s Petruccio as a case study in confronting change, and explicate *The Merchant of Venice* as an instance of risk management. Corrigan draws similar lessons from the plays—*Coriolanus* shows the pitfalls of “leading from the front,” and *Henry V* presents a lesson in “learning to be a heroic leader” (Corrigan 1999, 120–79). Whitney and Packer employ the same method, drawing lessons from Shakespeare's plays on topics like “the trusted lieutenant” (1999, chapter 3) or the need to understand power before using it (1999, chapter 1).

As insightful as these secondary works are—and at their best they illuminate difficult texts and humanize the study of leadership—they are not, by and large, works of substantial scholarship. Indeed it is rare for studies of literature that are written within the field of leadership studies (or sister fields like ethics, management, and organizational behavior) to achieve the status of real, original scholarship. Those works that represent substantial scholarship tend to be written outside of the field of leadership studies, and may often not explicitly market themselves as studies of leadership, even if they explore the same cluster of topics, like authority, ethics, or trust. One interesting example is Dennis Brown's thoughtful application of contemporary group theory to *King Lear*: “At the heart of *King Lear*,” Brown argues, “is less the spectacle of the king's madness . . . than the communitarian enactment of group ‘holding’ or ‘containment’ of that madness” (Brown 2001, 23). The most stimulating of such works—books like Paul Woodruff's *Reverence: Renewing a Forgotten Virtue* (2002), Harold Bloom's *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human* (1998), or Allan Bloom's *Love and Friendship* (1993)—probe deeply into literary texts, going beyond simplifying explication. Woodruff, for instance, traces out the heritage of a seemingly simple concept, reverence, to show its importance in the past and to argue for its recovery in the present. Woodruff's scholarship ranges across classical philosophy and drama, Confucian thought, and modern poetry. While many leadership studies of literature often seem to treat texts instrumentally, as the occasion to illustrate a currently fashionable idea, more serious works like those of Woodruff, Harold Bloom,

and others accept and work with the complexities of great literature. Great literature by its nature, Bloom asserts, is beset by ironies; to read complex works flatly robs them of their power: “The loss of irony,” Bloom says, “is the death of reading” (2001, 20).

Broadly speaking, stories and storytelling have enjoyed a vogue in recent years in leadership studies. Scholars are increasingly inclined to see narratives and imagination as important parts of critical inquiry about human things. “Storytelling and literary imagining,” the philosopher Martha Nussbaum suggests, “are not opposed to rational argument, but can provide essential ingredients in a rational argument” (1995, xiii). Many scholars—for instance Gardner (1995), Teal (1996), Fleming (2001), and Ready (2002)—have argued that storytelling is a central part of the work of leaders. Stories make principles concrete, help followers understand. “Leaders achieve their effectiveness,” Howard Gardner asserts, “chiefly through the stories they relate” (1995, 9). If this is so, if stories are so central to how we make meanings and forge (common) understandings, then the humanistic impulse to approach leadership through literature, through Rushdie's “truth of the tale, of the imagination and of the heart,” may play a more significant role in leadership studies than is generally recognized.

—Michael Harvey

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LOMBARDI, VINCE (1913–1970)

Head coach of the Green Bay Packers football team

In his ten seasons as a head coach, Vince Lombardi's NFL teams had a 105-35-6 regular season record and won nine of ten playoff games. His success had an

enormous impact on football and the National Football League, and helped transform the game into the most popular professional sport in the United States. Lombardi exemplified professionalism and came to personify victory. One of his players, Jerry Kramer, acknowledged, "We knew that the only difference between being a good football team and a great football team was him and only him" (Phillips 2001, 1). The National Football League championship trophy, or Super Bowl trophy, bares his name, as does the award for the best offensive or defensive lineman in college football who also best exemplifies Lombardi's discipline. Lombardi's popularity as a leader has exceeded the sport itself: Schools, streets, arenas, and medical centers are named in his honor.

The eldest of five children in Brooklyn, New York, born to Italian immigrant parents, Lombardi grew up in a strict Catholic household. His domineering father demanded perfection from his three sons. "Before you can do what you want to do," Harry Lombardi lectured his sons, "before you can exist as an individual, the first thing you have to accept is duty, the second thing is respect for authority, and the third . . . is to develop a strong mental discipline" (Phillips 2001, 2). Vince lived by those beliefs.

Lombardi played several sports while growing up but loved football best. His football coach at St. Francis Prep School continually drilled the players on fundamentals and learning by repetition, measures that Lombardi employed later as a coach. After St. Francis, Lombardi enrolled at Fordham University, where he made the football team. His coach at Fordham, Jim Crowley, made a deep and immediate impact on him by advocating "no loafing, no half-hearted effort, no indifference either mental or physical, but hard, aggressive, brainy work from beginning to end." (Phillips 2001, 2). Lombardi played offensive guard as a member of the "Seven Blocks of Granite," one of the most famous offensive front lines in college football history.

After graduating from Fordham, Lombardi took a position as a teacher and coach at St. Cecilia High School in Englewood, New Jersey. For the next eight years, he coached both basketball and football until 1947, when he became an assistant coach at Ford-

ham and then moved on to the U.S. Military Academy as an assistant under Earl “Red” Blaik in 1949. Blaik became a mentor to Lombardi, who soon emulated his successful boss’s honesty, fairness, and fatherly approach to handling the players along with his insatiable drive to win at any cost. In 1954, the New York Giants hired Lombardi as offensive coordinator and he quickly helped turn a dismal franchise into a championship team. During Lombardi’s five years with the Giants, they won four division titles and one NFL championship.

The Green Bay Packers hired Lombardi as coach and general manager in 1959. He took over a team that had won only one game the year before and had suffered through eleven consecutive losing seasons. As general manager, he had complete say over building and running the team. He immediately began to examine game film to learn about his team and its individual players as well as the strengths and weaknesses of his future opponents. He took extensive notes and charted every play for both offense and defense. Then he organized everything into an orderly and easily accessible filing system. He graded every player, wrote a report on each of them, compared reports, and then decided on whether players would stay or go. When he finished evaluating the individual players, he began looking at the team in terms of strengths and weaknesses. Along with his work in the film room, Lombardi launched a personal marketing and public relations blitz. He traveled the state of Wisconsin to promote the Packers not just as Green Bay’s team but as Wisconsin’s team.

Only after all that work did he meet his players in person—one-on-one and in group meetings. He informed them he was getting rid of players with losing attitudes or who were unwilling to give 100 percent effort all the time. Believing his men were professionals just like businesspeople and doctors, he instituted one of the first dress codes in professional football: Everyone was required on trips and at meals to wear dress shirts, ties, and a green sports coat with the Packer emblem. He instilled a sense of teamwork and professionalism that few had seen before. He always credited teamwork as the reason for his success.

Leaders are not born. They are made. They are made just like anything else . . . through hard work. That’s the price we have to pay to achieve that goal or any goal.

—Vince Lombardi

Lombardi compiled a 7-5-0 record his first season. In his second season, the Packers won the Western Division title but lost to the Philadelphia Eagles, 17-13, in the league’s championship game. It was the last time a Lombardi team was beaten in postseason play. Under his direction, the Packers had nine winning seasons in a row and collected six Western Conference titles, five NFL titles (three of them in a row), including victories in the first two Super Bowls. Over a nine-year span as head coach, Lombardi went 98-30-4 (.758) and his winning percentage of .758 is one of the highest in the history of professional football. As a head football coach, he never had a losing season. In postseason play, he went 9-1 (.900), winning nine consecutive playoff games, a feat incomparable in professional sports.

Lombardi retired as coach in 1968 but remained as Green Bay’s general manager. That year the Packers finished 6-7 and did not make the playoffs. Not coaching that season made for one of the most miserable years of his life. He decided to return to coaching and became executive vice president, general manager, and head coach of the Washington Redskins, a team that had just been through fourteen consecutive losing seasons. Applying the same measures that had worked in Green Bay, he turned that team around, too, from a 5-9-0 record to 7-5-2 in his first year. But he developed cancer in the summer of 1970 and died shortly after Washington opened the season. He was inducted into the Football Hall of Fame the following year.

—James G. Lewis

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LONG MARCH

The Long March (October 1934–October 1935) was the epic 6,000-mile flight of the Chinese Communists from their beleaguered bases in southeast China to safety in northwest China. After breaking through Nationalist leader Jiang Jieshi's (Chiang Kai-shek's) encircling armies, the Communist units marched for almost a year, averaging twenty-seven miles per day across hostile terrain, including mountain ranges, rivers, grasslands, and swamps. During the march, Mao Zedong bested his party rivals to emerge as the leading figure in the Communist movement.

THE FALL OF THE JIANGXI SOVIET

In the early 1930s, Chinese Communist forces controlled base areas in parts of rural southeast China, the most important of which was the Jiangxi Soviet base area, founded by Mao Zedong and Zhu De (1886–1976). From 1930 to 1934, the Nationalist government of Jiang Jieshi launched five military “extermination” campaigns designed to annihilate Communist forces. The first four expeditions were repulsed by Mao's use of mobile warfare and guerrilla tactics.

Despite these military victories, Mao Zedong was in a losing struggle with the national leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, which had moved from its illegal underground headquarters in Shanghai to a safer location in Jiangxi. Dominated by the Moscow-oriented internationalist faction, headed by Bo Gu (1907–46) and Zhou Enlai (1898–1976), the Central Committee removed Mao from the party's Military Committee in 1932, but temporarily allowed him to retain other offices in recognition of his support among local activists. Mao's

opponents, condemning his reliance on guerrilla tactics, gave control of military policy to Zhou Enlai and Otto Braun, a German military advisor sent by Moscow.

During the fifth extermination campaign, from 1933 to 1934, Nationalist leader Jiang Jieshi took personal command and employed almost a million men, including his best German-trained units. This overwhelming force was backed by an air force of 400 planes and a new strategy of encircling the Jiangxi Soviet with concentric rings of fortifications and blockhouses, while units advanced forward in a slow, methodical fashion. Braun's adoption of conventional positional warfare against the more numerous and better-armed Nationalists led to military disaster.

In August 1934, the Communist leadership concluded that the Jiangxi Soviet had to be abandoned. On 15 October 1934, 85,000 troops and 15,000 administrative personnel broke through enemy lines. Left behind was a rearguard of 28,000 men (of whom 20,000 were wounded) and most of the wives and children. Mao's pregnant second wife, He Zizhen, joined the Long March, but his children and younger brother remained behind.

THE CUNYI CONFERENCE AND THE RISE OF MAO

Despite an auspicious start, the First Front Army columns—slowed down by the Central Committee's decision to bring along cumbersome baggage trains—suffered grievous losses from aerial bombardment and pursuing troops. Prevented from moving north to link up with He Long's (1896–1969) forces in the Sanzhi Soviet, the army instead swung westward into Guizhou province. At a Politburo meeting in Cunyi in January 1935, Mao emerged from political disgrace to begin his ascendancy as party leader. He convinced his colleagues that fundamental policy errors by the internationalist faction caused the fall of the Jiangxi Soviet and unnecessary military losses on the Long March. The Cunyi Conference gave Mao control over the military and endorsed his political policies as the correct approach to the Chinese revolution.

CONFLICT WITH ZHANG GUOTAO

From Cunyi the Long Marchers moved north, where Mao hoped to link up with Communist forces in Sichuan under the command of Zhang Guotao (1897–1979). Against near-impossible odds, the army evaded Jiang's Nationalist forces to cross the Yangtze River, secured the Luding River crossing by storming across a chain link bridge in the face of enemy fire, and then marched across the 14,000-foot Great Snowy Mountains. In June 1935, Mao's depleted forces joined with Zhang Guotao's Fourth Field Army—almost four times larger—in northern Sichuan. The two leaders clashed. Mao proposed to move northeast to Shaanxi province, where he would promote a united Chinese front against Japanese aggression. Zhang preferred moving to the sparsely populated areas of Xinjiang, close to the Soviet Union. Tensions were so high that for a time armed conflict seemed likely. In the end, the two armies merged and then subdivided. Zhang, accompanied by Zhu De, went west to Xinjiang. Mao's troops advanced through swampy grasslands, where men had to sleep standing up, crossed the Yellow River, and on 20 October reached the safety of a local Chinese Soviet in northern Shaanxi. Only 7,000 to 8,000 Long Marchers—one out of twenty—who had started out from Jiangxi with Mao survived.

In Shaanxi, the survivors gradually reconstituted their political and military strength. In December 1936, Mao moved his capital to the nearby city of Yan'an. As Mao had predicted, Zhang Guotao's units were unable to sustain themselves in the backward regions of Xinjiang. Survivors of Zhang's forces (including Zhu De) straggled into Yan'an in 1936. At Yan'an, the Communists resurrected themselves during the War of Resistance against Japan (1937–1945) and laid the foundations for their eventual conquest of power, resulting in the People's Republic of China, in 1949.

THE LEGACY OF THE LONG MARCH

By conventional measures, the Long March was a terrible military defeat, with the loss of almost 90 percent of those who started on the trek, but it did not

lead to the annihilation of the Communist movement. The Long Marchers' ability to endure unimaginable hardships and surmount overwhelming odds generated a myth of invincibility and a belief in the inevitability of ultimate success. It validated Mao's military-political judgment and his capacity to inspire fanatical dedication within the rank and file.

The Long March marked Mao's rise to a dominant position within the central leadership, although his power was not fully consolidated until the Rectification Campaigns of the early 1940s. Two powerful rivals, Bo Gu and Zhang Guotao, were discredited by their failures during the Long March; other rivals, such as Zhou Enlai, converted to Mao's side. From the Cunyi Conference onward, Mao's methods were defined as the correct path to ultimate victory. The horrific hardships of the Long March also created a lasting bond among the surviving veterans that helped create China's political and military inner circles. Until the 1970s, the top leadership of the People's Republic of China consisted of those revolutionaries who had participated in the Long March.

—Arthur Lewis Rosenbaum

See also Mao Zedong; Xian Incident

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LUMUMBA, PATRICE (1925–1961)

Congolese politician

Had he not been assassinated, Patrice Lumumba, first prime minister of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, might have become one of the most astute national leaders and revolutionaries of the twentieth century. The life of Lumumba sheds light on the history of decolonization in Africa, and Lumumba serves as a symbol of national unity for many Congolese.

EARLY YEARS

Lumumba was born in Onalua in Kasai Province to the Otetela ethnic group, a Mongo subgroup. A product of both Catholic and Protestant missionary schools and deeply influenced by the writings of the French philosopher and author Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the French writer Voltaire, and the French writer Victor Hugo, Lumumba became politically active in 1951 while working as a clerk in the District Revenue Office of the Colonial Postal Service. He joined both the Association des evolves de Stanleyville, a prestigious club, and the Association des Postiers de la Province Orientale (Association of Postal Workers of the Eastern Province), where he served as secretary-general. In 1952, he began to direct Congolese cultural clubs, conduct research, and write for such journals as *La Voix du Congolais* and *La Croix du Congo* and local newspapers such as *Stanleyvillios*. Although they were within the limits of the Congo's Belgian colonial restrictions, Lumumba's writings emphasized Belgian racial, political, and socioeconomic selectivity. He later became involved in the Association du Personnel Indigene de la Colonie (Association of Indigenous Personnel of the Colony), a new Congolese labor party.

In July 1956, Lumumba was arrested and charged

with embezzlement of colonial funds, thus disrupting his political activity. After his acquittal, Lumumba became publicity director of the Polar Beer Brewery in the capital of Leopoldville (Kinshasa), an appointment that helped further his political ambitions. While in the capital he became president of the Association des Batelela (Batelela Association) and vice chairman of the Circle Liberal d'Etudes et d'Agreement. He also became a member of a Christian Democratic study group (a group that sensitized individuals to the rules of political engagement) and the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Sociales (Student Center of Social Research), an organization that featured prominent political figures such as Joseph Ileo, moderate nationalist and founder of the Movement National Congolais (MNC) (Congolese National Movement) party. In October 1958, Lumumba became formally involved in Congolese national politics, joining the then-moderate MNC.

FROM POLITICAL ACTIVIST TO NATIONALIST LEADER

As chairman of the MNC's Central Committee, Lumumba sought to broaden the basis of the organization by declaring in October 1958 the MNC to be a national movement dedicated to the national liberation of the Congolese people. Already a popular spokesperson of liberal ideas and an effective speaker in French and Swahili, Lumumba quickly became the Congo's nationalist leader.

Lumumba's early stance on independence was reformist rather than revolutionary because he sought to create a Belgian-Congolese community. However, his pro-Western stance slowly evolved during and after the All African People's Conference in Accra, Ghana, in December 1958. There Lumumba projected himself onto the international stage and became exposed to African nationalists from around the continent, such as Ghanaian politician Kwame Nkrumah, French West Indian psychologist Frantz Fanon, and Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser. The conference sensitized Lumumba to the ideology of Pan-Africanism (attempting to create political solidarity or unity among either African

nations or Africans on the continent and in the diaspora). In Accra, Lumumba spoke of the fundamental aims of the MNC, which were emancipation based on the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the establishment of a democratic state that would “grant its citizens freedom, justice, social peace, tolerance, well-being, and equality, with no discrimination whatsoever” (Van Lierde 1972, 57). Lumumba, as other African anticolonialists would later do, proclaimed that the enemy was not the Belgian people, but rather colonialism and its consequences.

After his return to the Congo, Lumumba was ready to demand total independence from Belgium. At Leopoldville (Kinshasa) before ten thousand people, on 28 December 1958, Lumumba outlined the tactics for Congolese independence and African unity. “The objective of the MNC is to unite and organize the Congolese masses in the struggle to improve their lot and wipe out the colonialist regime and the exploitation of man by man” (Van Lierde 1972, 62). Lumumba further stated, “The notion of Belgian sovereignty in the Congo must disappear from the colonialist vocabulary. The Congo is not Belgian property; it is a country like any other, and it must enjoy sovereignty just as Belgium does” (Van Lierde 1972, 67). Lumumbism, as it was later known, was a political ideology based on national unity, economic independence, and Pan-African solidarity.

In the face of unequivocal demands for independence, Belgium announced that self-government was to become a reality for the Congolese people “without undue haste.” In April of 1959, the MNC demanded independence by 1961, but the Belgian minister for the Congo later announced that independence would come in 1960. After a move toward independence and the emergence of ideological differences between moderates and liberals, many MNC supporters withdrew support to form their own political parties. As a result, Lumumba vowed to rebuild the MNC and throughout 1959 continued to spread the idea of African unity and national independence by traveling throughout Africa and Europe, lecturing at institutions such as Ibadan University in Nigeria and the Free University of Brussels. Accused of mak-



Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba and Belgian Premier Gaston Eskens sign the document which grants the Congo independence on 3 July 1960.

Source: Corbis; used by permission.

ing seditious statements, in late 1959 Lumumba was sentenced to jail for a second time at Likasi prison. Despite loss of support and imprisonment, Lumumba remained the nationalist leader of the Congo.

NATIONAL LIBERATION

After serving only three months of his six-month sentence, Lumumba was released to attend the Brussels Roundtable Conference in January and February 1960. The purpose of the conference was to outline the details of unconditional independence and set a date for independence, which was to be 30 June 1960.

In the May 1960 parliamentary elections, the MNC emerged as the strongest party, claiming 40 of the 137 seats and the majority in the Provincial Assembly of Orientale and of Kasai and Kivu Provinces. Continuing to mobilize support in both urban and rural areas, Lumumba and the MNC organized a coalition of both major and minor political parties in April 1960, working with Parti Solidaire Africain (African Solidarity Party), the Balubakat party, and Centre de Regroupement Africain (CEREA) (Center of African Regroupment) party. After cutting across ethnic and regional affiliations, Lumumba proved to be a capable leader. With the coalition, Lumumba became prime minister of the Congo, while Joseph Kasavubu, leader of the



Patrice Lumumba's Last Letter

Just before his death on 17 January 1961, Patrice Lumumba wrote a moving, eloquent final letter to his wife. The text of the letter appears below.

My dear companion,

I write you these words without knowing if they will reach you, when they will reach you, or if I will still be living when you read them. All during the length of my fight for the independence of my country, I have never doubted for a single instant the final triumph of the sacred cause to which my companions and myself have consecrated our lives. But what we wish for our country, its right to an honorable life, to a spotless dignity, to an independence without restrictions, Belgian colonialism and its Western allies—who have found direct and indirect support, deliberate and not deliberate among certain high officials of the United Nations, this organization in which we placed all our confidence when we called for their assistance—have not wished it.

They have corrupted certain of our fellow countrymen, they have contributed to distorting the truth and our enemies, that they will rise up like a single person to say no to a degrading and shameful colonialism and to reassume their dignity under a pure sun.

We are not alone. Africa, Asia, and free and liberated people from every corner of the world will always be found at the side of the Congolese. They will not abandon the light until the day comes when there are no more col-

onizers and their mercenaries in our country. To my children whom I leave and whom perhaps I will see no more, I wish that they be told that the future of the Congo is beautiful and that it expects for each Congolese, to accomplish the sacred task of reconstruction of our independence and our sovereignty; for without dignity there is no liberty, without justice there is no dignity, and without independence there are no free men.

No brutality, mistreatment, or torture has ever forced me to ask for grace, for I prefer to die with my head high, my faith steadfast, and my confidence profound in the destiny of my country, rather than to live in submission and scorn of sacred principles. History will one day have its say, but it will not be the history that Brussels, Paris, Washington or the United Nations will teach, but that which they will teach in the countries emancipated from colonialism and its puppets. Africa will write its own history, and it will be, to the north and to the south of the Sahara, a history of glory and dignity.

Do not weep for me, my dear companion. I know that my country, which suffers so much, will know how to defend its independence and its liberty. Long live the Congo! Long live Africa!

—Patrice

Source: "Lumumba's Last Letter." Retrieved October 7, 2003, from http://www.africawithin.com/lumumba/last_letter.htm

Alliance des Bakongo (ABAKO), became president. From the beginning the relationship between Lumumba and Kasavubu was strained due to ideological and philosophical differences. Lumumba desired a strong centralized government that would withstand territorial balkanization (division of territories into small, often hostile units), whereas Kasavubu desired a federated independent Congo.

On independence day, both King Baudouin I of Belgium and Kasavubu praised Belgian colonial rule. Lumumba, on the other hand, denounced Belgium rule by stating, "The wounds that are the evidence of the fate we endured for eighty years under a colonialist regime are still too fresh and painful for us to be able to erase them from our memory . . . [because] we have been the victims of ironic taunts, of insults, of

blows that we were forced to endure morning, noon, and night because we were blacks" (Van Lierde 1972, 221). Lumumba continued to outline the future of the Congo and the liberation of the entire African continent in his proclamation speech. Amid applause, Lumumba ended by stating, "Long live African independence and African unity! Long live the independent and sovereign Congo" (Van Lierde 1972, 224). After he reminded Belgium of its unbridled rule of terror, Lumumba became seen as a threat and an impediment to Western neocolonial interests in the Congo.

THE ROAD TO MARTYRDOM

Shortly after independence, the government of Lumumba and Kasavubu faced widespread military

revolt and secessionist movements in Katanga and Kasai Provinces; the Congo was torn asunder. A mutiny within the armed forces began on 5 July 1960, intended to discredit Lumumba. In order to restore order, Lumumba Africanized the Force Publique (the colonial army), dismissed General Emile Janssen and other Belgian officials, renamed the armed forces the “Armée nationale congolaise” (ANC), and appointed Joseph Mobutu colonel and chief of staff of the ANC. Both Lumumba and Kasavubu also took several trips into the interior as part of the effort to restore a sense of calm to the newly independent Congo.

On 11 July 1960, Moïse Tshombe and Godefroid Munongo of the Confédération des Associations Tribales du Katanga (CONAKAT) (Confederation of Tribal Associations of Katanga) declared the secession of the mineral-rich province of Katanga. The Katanga secession was supported by Belgium, Britain, France, and segregated South Africa. Committed to the territorial integrity of the Congo, Lumumba, fearing a reinstatement of Belgium colonial rule, appealed to U.N. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld for military assistance. Unfortunately, Lumumba interpreted the U.N. as a neutral instrument of international law and order, but the U.N. openly protected Western interests in the Congo. Although hesitant at first, Lumumba and the Congolese government turned to the Soviet Union and Ghana for help in quelling the civil unrest. In August 1960, Soviet military aid arrived. Quickly Lumumba was labeled by the west—and the United States in particular—a “Communist,” and a United States–Belgian initiative to assassinate Lumumba was ordered to prevent Soviet expansion. U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) director and chief Allen Dulles sent Sidney Gottlieb, a scientist, to Kinshasa to poison Lumumba.

The secessionist movement in south Kasai in August 1960 had a major impact on the political fate of Lumumba because unarmed civilians were massacred by ANC troops as they sought to halt the movement. This was considered an act of genocide and grounds for dismissing Lumumba. Charged with being a Communist and an agent of genocide,

Lumumba was dismissed as prime minister by Kasavubu on 5 September 1960. Parliament rejected Kasavubu’s dismissal of Lumumba, and Lumumba in turn dismissed Kasavubu, a dismissal that the parliament also rejected, thus creating a constitutional crisis.

With the support of the United States, Belgium, U.N. officials, and anti-Lumumba Congolese, Colonel Mobutu staged a military coup on 14 September 1960 to neutralize both Lumumba and Kasavubu. In the meantime, the assassination of Lumumba—Operation Barracuda—was planned by the United States, specifically the CIA. Lumumba was put under house arrest by Colonel Mobutu on 10 October 1960.

THE DEATH OF LUMUMBA

Realizing that the only way to regain control of the Congo was to set up a provincial government and wage an armed struggle, Lumumba escaped house arrest on 27 November 1960 and went to Stanleyville (Kisangani). However, Mobutu’s soldiers captured him and supporters on 1 December in Lodi, Congo, and tortured Lumumba.

While detained in the Thysville (Mbanza-Ngungu) military base on 13 January 1961, Lumumba organized soldiers into a garrison mutiny to demand higher wages. The next day the disaffected soldiers were given a pay increase. As Lumumba remained a prisoner, Lumumbists began to take control of the eastern Congo. Fearing a pro-Lumumba coup, Belgium senior officials and others ordered the execution of Lumumba, Youth and Sports Minister Maurice Mpolo, and Senate Vice President Joseph Okito. On 17 January, Lumumba, Mpolo, and Okito were delivered to Tshombe in Katanga.

After being beaten, Lumumba, Mpolo, and Okito were shot by a firing squad on 17 January 1961. For more than a month the whereabouts of Lumumba was questioned until Katanga radio announced that unknown Congolese had killed Lumumba and others. People had little doubt, however, about who the assassin was. To determine why Lumumba was so brutally killed is difficult, for we are just starting to get an idea of what really went on. However, it is safe

to say that the torture was indeed intended to intimidate and was the result of the hate that he engendered, especially among those in the Katanga province.

LUMUMBA AS A SYMBOL

Patrice Lumumba could have influenced the course of history in the Congo for the better. The dream of a unified nation and economy that would serve the needs of the Congolese people was not to be realized. However, Lumumba even after death inspired many political writers and activists because, as the French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre once stated of Lumumba, he was “a meteor in the African firmament” (De Witte 2001, xxiv). As a staunch anti-imperialist, internationalist, and martyr of Congolese independence, Lumumba continues to serve as a symbol of struggle and freedom. Lumumba lives on as a leader for thousands of people who try to find a way out of the impasse of global oppression.

—Paul Khalil Saucier

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LUTHER, MARTIN

(1483–1546)

Protestant Reformation leader

Known for leadership in the Protestant Reformation, Martin Luther was an Augustinian monk who spent his mature years as a professor of biblical studies at the University of Wittenberg. Religious norms and impulses marked his approach to leadership. Non-religious leaders, therefore, find his claims that God guides leaders a limiting feature today. Yet how he used this vision of the sacred and its spin-offs and by-products does inform people in many disciplines and professions in the modern world.

MINGLING THE ACCIDENTAL AND THE THEOLOGICAL

Luther saw himself as an accidental leader who did not choose the role of Protestant Reformer. That was not part of job descriptions then and is not now. It is true that in many ways he was cast into that role by circumstances that were no part of his training as a member of a monastic community and that he did not seek.

Luther said of his most dramatic act, the assault on the papacy that helped split Western Christendom, that all he did was preach the Word of God. Then, he went on, while he and two friends, Philipp Melancthon and Nicholas von Amsdorf, sat and drank beer in Wittenberg, God dealt the papacy a mighty blow. Those who are not convinced that they can call upon God to blast earthly powers still find many things of value to observe about leadership, even from such jaunty summaries.

THREE DIMENSIONS OF RHETORICAL OR PERSUASIVE LEADERSHIP

First, Luther the leader had to persuade and therefore depended upon rhetoric. He saw himself opposing two coercive systems, rulers in each of which could take his life: the Holy Roman Empire, centered in territories that became Germany, and the Roman Catholic Church, headed by the pope. While he had the protection of a friendly prince, Elector Frederick

the Wise of Saxony, he could not call on armament or major funding for support. When in the 1520s he left the monastery and, seven years later, married an ex-nun, he was nearly penniless. His wife, Katherine von Bora, became an adept leader herself, raising living expenses as a housemother to boarding students, secretary and treasurer for the Luthers, plus farmer and brewer. Still, funds for her husband and for the priests who followed him into Evangelical (Protestant) ministry were few.

Luther depended on words, written and spoken. His collected writings make up over one hundred large and densely packed volumes in German. For thirty years he was publishing sizable tracts, pamphlets, and books on the average every fortnight. He exploited the recent invention of the printing press that depended on movable type and his followers dispersed his writings at a pace unmatched by his enemies.

Through all his years he taught and preached in Wittenberg and on the road, and spoke defenses against emperors, cardinals, and debating opponents. Just as most of his unsystematic publications reflected a stormy soul, so his verbal messages always called for commitment. In a German pun, he said that the Word of God was to be *geschrien*, shouted, more than *geschrieben*, written; that the church was a *Mundhaus*, a “mouth-house,” more than a *Federhaus*, a “writing-pen-house.”

Leaders who employed rhetoric the way Luther did formally depended on rhetoric, reflecting some themes of Aristotle, Cicero, and other ancients, whether they read them or not; they knew they needed much art to persuade publics.

First, in Aristotle’s terms, one had to be aware of pathos, the situation of hearers and readers. Here Luther fit the leadership pattern of those who discern ill-defined discontents among audiences, give names to these, name the enemy, and then summon response. Northern Europeans on whom he drew for support were chafing under the Roman Catholic Church’s system. They resented buying indulgences to aid in their salvation and to help pay for St. Peter’s Church in Rome. He gave the restless a voice, a motive, and legitimacy.

Second, in rhetorical leadership, the ethos or

character of the speaker or writer is decisive. Luther’s was a conflicted character who loved paradox and often embodied inconsistencies. Yet there was an inner continuity to his teachings, and he brought a compelling and alluring sense of risk to his work. Literary critics speak of the “hermeneutics of testimony” (coined by philosopher Paul Ricoeur), stressing the way audiences are drawn to interpret the words of someone at risk. Luther, despite the princely protection, was in danger of death from his excommunication in 1521 until the end. He did not invite others to take risks unless his own were more radical and daring.

Leaders in rhetorical modes, third, have to deal with *logos*, the word, the message. They have to have something to say. Here if nowhere else, Luther was a genius. His translation of the Greek and Hebrew Testaments of the Bible into vernacular, even colloquial German attracted scholars and common people alike, and shaped modern literary German in decisive ways. Leading congregations from Latin, which was unintelligible to most, into worship using colloquial speech and song was empowering.

As for the theological word, while ancient rhetoric depended upon the rational case the speaker or writer could make, Luther used as a warrant for argument a rhetoric based on faith and life in community. A modern bearer of his name, Martin Luther King, Jr., did precisely that when invoking sacred texts of the nation (e.g., the Declaration of Independence) and the Bible, in ways that resonated in the experience of a majority of citizens.

FRIENDSHIP AND COLLEGIALLY AS LEADERSHIP INSTRUMENTS

Another clue to Luther’s leadership was in the incident mentioned above, wherein he referred to two friends. While Luther was capable of dealing in isolation as well as making top-level enemies, he also inspired friendships. Superiors spotted the young monk as a leader and gave him titles and duties in the monastery and then the university. While some monks and scholars who got passed over resented this—old colleagues at his alma mater Erfurt were envious of his rapid rise—he also depended on and



Selection from *The Ninety-Five Theses*

From a zealous desire to bring to light the truth, the following theses will be maintained at Wittenberg, under the presidency of the Rvd. Fr. Martin Luther, Master of Arts, Master of Sacred Theology and official Reader therein. He therefore asks that all who are unable to be present and dispute with him verbally will do so in writing. In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

When our Lord and Master Jesus Christ said, "Repent" (Mt 4:17), he willed the entire life of believers to be one of repentance.

This word cannot be understood as referring to the sacrament of penance, that is, confession and satisfaction, as administered by the clergy.

Yet it does not mean solely inner repentance; such inner repentance is worthless unless it produces various outward mortification of the flesh.

The penalty of sin remains as long as the hatred of self (that is, true inner repentance), namely till our entrance into the kingdom of heaven.

The pope neither desires nor is able to remit any penalties except those imposed by his own authority or that of the canons.

The pope cannot remit any guilt, except by declaring and showing that it has been remitted by God; or, to be sure, by remitting guilt in cases reserved to his judgment. If his right to grant remission in these cases were disregarded, the guilt would certainly remain unforgiven.

God remits guilt to no one unless at the same time he humbles him in all things and makes him submissive to the vicar, the priest.

The penitential canons are imposed only on the living, and, according to the canons themselves, nothing should be imposed on the dying.

Therefore the Holy Spirit through the pope is kind to

us insofar as the pope in his decrees always makes exception of the article of death and of necessity.

Those priests act ignorantly and wickedly who, in the case of the dying, reserve canonical penalties for purgatory.

Those tares of changing the canonical penalty to the penalty of purgatory were evidently sown while the bishops slept (Mt 13:25).

In former times canonical penalties were imposed, not after, but before absolution, as tests of true contrition.

The dying are freed by death from all penalties, are already dead as far as the canon laws are concerned, and have a right to be released from them.

Imperfect piety or love on the part of the dying person necessarily brings with it great fear; and the smaller the love, the greater the fear.

This fear or horror is sufficient in itself, to say nothing of other things, to constitute the penalty of purgatory, since it is very near to the horror of despair.

Hell, purgatory, and heaven seem to differ the same as despair, fear, and assurance of salvation.

It seems as though for the souls in purgatory fear should necessarily decrease and love increase.

Furthermore, it does not seem proved, either by reason or by Scripture, that souls in purgatory are outside the state of merit, that is, unable to grow in love.

Nor does it seem proved that souls in purgatory, at least not all of them, are certain and assured of their own salvation, even if we ourselves may be entirely certain of it.

Therefore the pope, when he uses the words "plenary remission of all penalties," does not actually mean "all penalties," but only those imposed by himself.

Thus those indulgence preachers are in error who say that a man is absolved from every penalty and saved by papal indulgences.

Source: Luther, Martin (1517, October 31). Retrieved October 7, 2003, from <http://www.calvarykc.com/Beliefs/95Theses.htm>

empowered an impressive cast of loyal coworkers. Instinctively he encouraged their specializations.

Thus his closest colleague Melancthon was a more systematic theologian than he; Luther had him write the philosophical-sounding works. John Bugenhagen was more pastoral than the impatient Luther; he was a town pastor and confessor, including of parishioner Luther. More riskily, Luther trusted friends in secular government such as the prince Philip of Hesse, who led him into some

embarrassing and compromising situations. Friends and students, many of them strong characters and not sycophants or lackeys, gathered around the table at the Luther house, and produced volumes of his engaging conversations as *Table Talk*.

Luther was a less effective leader in matters of administration. He could not have conceived of working with an organizational chart, being patient with bureaucrats, or establishing coherent orders of church life. He violated the intellectual boundaries

of his university discipline, gave inconsistent and often-changing guidelines for congregational and supercongregational polities, was abrupt, too ready to advise others, and too ready to move on. When he died, the new Evangelical church, ruled more by princes than by clerics, inherited and contributed to church polities that veered from being incoherent on one hand to being too subservient to civil authorities on the other.

If effective leadership depends upon someone's ability to converse, to listen to and entertain the viewpoint of an opponent, to be able to say, "You may have a point," and then to engage in diplomacy, Luther was a bad example. He did learn much from various situations and encounters, and cited philosophers and theologians from the past to whom he gave credit. But he quickly turned what he learned into grist for his proclamations, which he ordinarily delivered in a style marked by cocksureness.

Similarly, his concept and expression of diplomacy styles, important in so many kinds of leadership, was undeveloped. He genuinely struggled, by his own account, toward a theological "breakthrough" between 1514 and 1518 or 1519. His central theme, his *logos*, became justification by faith, an affirmation, indeed a contention, that God declares sinners who have faith in Jesus Christ "just," not on account of any merits or works of their own. Once he was firm in this belief, he propagated it zealously and even in the 1540s, in a kind of spiritual last will and testament, wrote that it was the doctrine on which the whole of the church stood or fell. Such conviction gave him great strength among those who chose to follow but was alienating to potential allies who differed, they thought, only slightly.

DIVISIVE LEADERSHIP IN THREE CONTROVERSIES

The same ability to mingle conviction with alienating power in his leadership was evident in a controversy that, more than any other, divided the Evangelical or Protestant movement. This had to do with a debate among the Saxon (Lutheran) and Swiss reformers, the latter of whom were most influenced by Huldrych Zwingli, over the "presence" of Christ

in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Luther took the biblical word "is" seriously and insisted that that bread and wine "is" the body and blood of Christ, when connected with Christ's words. Zwingli stressed the memorial aspects of the ritual and said that the bread and the wine "represented" the body and blood. Civil and religious leaders who surrounded the two worked to move them toward some compromise. Luther, insisting that Zwingli and his company had "a different spirit," drove them off.

Another illustration of leadership based on conviction going wrong focuses on the single most blighting aspect of Luther's life and reputation: his anti-Jewish outbursts, which became vehement in his declining years. The sources of these were multiple and complex, not racial but religious, based less on millennium-old European Christian cultural prejudices than on his interpretation of the Bible. He had been convinced that his translation of the Bible and his preaching, because it gave Jews a more attractive and less legalistic version of Christian faith as an option, would lead Jews to mass conversion. Almost none accepted Evangelical Christianity, so with a vengeance he attacked the rabbis as false teachers. It is hard to measure how many people were led into anti-Judaism by his pamphlets, but he was a leader, and he was voicing it.

These illustrations out of dozens of possibilities reveal the strength and weaknesses of a courageous and convinced leader who saw life in terms of black and white and allowed for no subtleties, no shades of gray. His admirers say that had he been a leader who could empathize with those who could have been allies, he might have compromised away the very elements that attracted souls who were looking for leaders. His critics say that he arrogantly dismissed potential allies and led to fragmentation among Protestant Reformation movements.

LEADERSHIP THROUGH PIETY AND DEVOTION

Compensatory aspects of his approach to leadership show up in some of the quieter dimensions of his life. In the modern ecumenical movement, Roman Catholics, even on the official level, have come to

value some of his evangelical emphasis, his biblical witness, his stress on Christian liberty. Some “liberation theologians” have seen him as an inspiration, even if he did not carry the realization of individual and personal freedom into the political realm in any consistent way.

Similarly, his lifelong emphasis on prayer and the development of new styles of devotional leadership remain influential. Nowhere did this show up more than in Luther’s realization that music, especially song, was attractive to followers. Where Latin chanted by clerics had been the conventional form of worship music, leaving ordinary congregants at a distance, he praised song, provided hymns, and encouraged poets and composers to help him lead a singing movement.

Believing that the faith was to be passed on less by official coercion than by parental, pastoral, and pedagogical care for the young, he led in the development of religious and even public education. He did not trust lackadaisical or ignorant pastors and parents to do the transmitting, but he did trust the power of the words of faith transmitted, for example, through the *Small Catechism* that he wrote in 1529.

In that domestic sphere, he encouraged departing priests to marry and eventually married himself, contributing thus to the challenge to celibacy and the celebration of conjugal sexual life; these actions are an illustration of his leadership by word and by

example, which had immeasurable consequences for the church and in society.

THE PLUSES AND MINUSES OF SUCH LEADERSHIP

Luther’s leadership style demonstrates the power of the language of persuasion when in the hands of someone who is charismatic, who can exploit situations and depend upon friendly and popular support. Luther became one of the most influential European figures of his millennium. In company with other Reformers, he left a permanent schism in Christendom, even as he inspired large populations to make choices about their version of Christian faith. He also quickened curiosity among those who, through the centuries, have been engrossed in understanding how turmoil in the inner life of an individual can affect churchly and imperial powers alike.

—*Martin E. Marty*

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Encyclopedia of
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Volume 3

Encyclopedia of
LEADEERSHIP

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This list is provided to assist readers in locating entries on related topics. It classifies entries into nineteen general categories: Arts and Intellectual Leadership, Biographies, Business, Case Studies, Cross-Cultural and International Topics, Domains, Followership, Military, Personal Characteristics of Leaders, Politics/Government, Power, Religion, Science and Technology, Situational Factors, Social Movements and Change, Study of Leadership, Theories, and Women and Gender. Some entry titles appear in more than one category.

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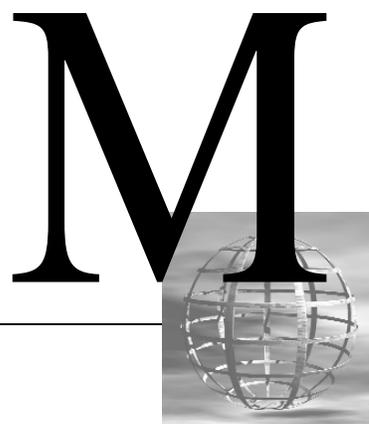
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 **MACHIAVELLI, NICCOLO**
(1469–1527)

Political philosopher and diplomat

Niccolo Machiavelli was probably the first great political philosopher of the Renaissance. His book *The Prince*, he said, was rooted not only in theory but also in historical fact. It was not so much a prescriptive book—a handy guide for dictators—as a book that revealed how the world actually worked and what leaders had to do to stay in power and to protect the state and its citizens. However, seldom has a single book provoked such outrage, then and now. It was “A handbook for gangsters,” according to the British philosopher Bertrand Russell, whereas the French emperor Napoleon Bonaparte regarded it as “The only book worth reading.” So which, if either, of these reviews is the most appropriate?

BACKGROUND

Machiavelli was born in Florence into a moderately well-off family (his father was a lawyer). At that time, what subsequently became Italy was divided between five rival “Italian” powers: the four city-states of Venice, Florence, Milan, and Naples and the papacy itself, all of whom vied with each other for political supremacy and with the external states (Spain and France) that constantly intervened politi-

cally and militarily. Florence was controlled by the Medici family during Machiavelli’s life except for a period of reform between 1494 and 1512. When the Medicis regained control, Machiavelli was briefly imprisoned and tortured for his role in facilitating the reforms and, on his release, retreated to his home at San Casciano just outside Florence. There he wrote his great work on realpolitik (politics based on practical and material factors rather than on theoretical or ethical objectives), *The Prince*, between 1513 and 1514, partly in an attempt to curry favor with the Medicis and to return to his favored job as a Florentine diplomat. Eventually he did achieve public employment, but it did not last long, and he died in June 1527, leaving his wife, Marietta Corsini, and six children to live in relative poverty.

THE PRINCE

The Prince, written as a guidebook for all political leaders, attempted to show political life as it actually was rather than how contemporary leaders professed it to be: The Christian principles that all the leaders articulated were fine in theory, but in Renaissance Italy they were seldom to be seen in practice—and for Machiavelli this was for good reasons. In fact, Machiavelli, although detested by the Catholic church, was not anti-Catholic, but he was bitterly opposed to the Catholic clergy and to the papacy. Yet,

The Prince was not only a book to ingratiate the favor of the Medicis but also a call to arms to defend Florence and—through Florentine domination—Italy from the “Barbarians,” by whom he meant the Spanish and French invaders. However, in this aim the book failed because in the year Machiavelli died, 1527, Rome was sacked, and most of Italy came under Spanish control.

Machiavelli had lived through the golden age of Florence but also through some of the excesses invoked by critics such as the Dominican preacher Girolamo Savonarola, who encouraged the Florentines to burn their worldly goods, their books, pictures, and jewels in a “pyre of vanities.” Eventually Savonarola was himself burned at the stake, but it taught Machiavelli a lesson about the vulnerability of the “unarmed prophet.” In 1498 Machiavelli was appointed to a senior position within the Florentine civil service as secretary to the Ten, the committee concerned with foreign and military policy, but his attempt to organize the recovery of Pisa (which had secured independence from Florence with French help) using mercenary troops failed miserably, and his antagonism to the mercenaries—and desire to replace them with a citizens’ army—played a significant part in regaining Pisa in 1509.

Also important was his next mission: to fend off Cesare Borgia, the illegitimate son of Rodrigo Borgia, who had become Pope Alexander VI in 1492. Cesare Borgia led the papal armies and threatened Florentine independence, but Machiavelli soon recognized a different category of leader in Cesare because here was a man who murdered his own lieutenant (Remirro Orco) when Orco appeared to be unnecessarily cruel in his control over the Romagna region in Italy. As Machiavelli recalled, “. . . one morning Remirro’s body was found cut in two pieces on the piazza at Cesena, with a block of wood and a bloody knife besides it. The brutality of this spectacle kept the people of the Romagna at once appeased and stupefied” (Ch. 7). Cesare subsequently invited those conspiring against him to dinner, only to have them all slaughtered as they ate. Machiavelli, then, used Cesare as a good example of the realpolitik of life because he believed Cesare had restored peace through the selective use of violence.

The alternative, as professed in public by most leaders at the time, was to act nobly and morally, but for Machiavelli the consequence of acting morally in an immoral world was simply to allow the most immoral to dominate. “The fact is,” he suggests in *The Prince*, “that a man who wants to act virtuously in every way necessarily comes to grief among so many who are not virtuous. Therefore if a prince wants to maintain his rule he must learn how not to be virtuous, and to make use of this or not according to need” (Ch. 15).

Cesare Borgia was accounted cruel; nevertheless, this cruelty of his reformed the Romagna, brought it unity and restored order and obedience. On reflection it will be seen that there was more compassion in Cesare than in the Florentine people who, to escape being called cruel, allowed Pistoia to be devastated. . . . (Ch. 17)

In effect, Machiavelli did not suggest that leaders should always act immorally but rather that to protect the interests of a community a prince has to do whatever is necessary—but only for the greater good. Thus, an act should be contextualized and not analyzed against some mythical moral world. The problem, of course, is defining “the greater good.”

As far as Machiavelli was concerned, his ideas amounted to no more than disclosing what was already happening rather than advocating something radically new, but he has usually been interpreted—and certainly was at the time—as suggesting that leaders should always act immorally and subordinate the means to the end because this would generate an advantage over others. However, he actually insists, more clearly in one of his other great works, *The Discourses*, that a leader’s action can be legitimated only by reference to the greater good of the community and not to the benefit of the individual. Of course, how this greater good is defined is a moot question, but in *The Discourses* Machiavelli sets himself firmly on the side of the republic and the populace (although he was not a democrat) and against princes and those who led for their own self-interest (especially the “idle” aristocracy). Nevertheless, he also suggests that there are times when the ruthlessness of a prince is necessary



Selection from *The Prince*

CHAPTER XXIII

How Flatterers Should Be Avoided

I DO NOT wish to leave out an important branch of this subject, for it is a danger from which princes are with difficulty preserved, unless they are very careful and discriminating. It is that of flatterers, of whom courts are full, because men are so self-complacent in their own affairs, and in a way so deceived in them, that they are preserved with difficulty from this pest, and if they wish to defend themselves they run the danger of falling into contempt. Because there is no other way of guarding oneself from flatterers except letting men understand that to tell you the truth does not offend you; but when every one may tell you the truth, respect for you abates.

Therefore a wise prince ought to hold a third course by choosing the wise men in his state, and giving to them only the liberty of speaking the truth to him, and then only of those things of which he inquires, and of none others; but he ought to question them upon everything, and listen to their opinions, and afterwards form his own conclusions. With these councillors, separately and collectively, he ought to carry himself in such a way that each of them should know that, the more freely he shall speak, the more he shall be preferred; outside of these, he should listen to no one, pursue the thing resolved on, and be steadfast in his resolutions. He who does otherwise is either overthrown by flatterers, or is so often changed by varying opinions that he falls into contempt.

I wish on this subject to adduce a modern example. Fra Luca, the man of affairs to Maximilian, the present emperor, speaking of his majesty, said: He consulted with no one, yet never got his own way in anything. This arose because of his following a practice the opposite to the above; for the emperor is a secretive man—he does not communicate his designs to any one, nor does he receive

opinions on them. But as in carrying them into effect they become revealed and known, they are at once obstructed by those men whom he has around him, and he, being pliant, is diverted from them. Hence it follows that those things he does one day he undoes the next, and no one ever understands what he wishes or intends to do, and no one can rely on his resolutions.

A prince, therefore, ought always to take counsel, but only when he wishes and not when others wish; he ought rather to discourage every one from offering advice unless he asks it; but, however, he ought to be a constant inquirer, and afterwards a patient listener concerning the things of which he inquired; also, on learning that any one, on any consideration, has not told him the truth, he should let his anger be felt.

And if there are some who think that a prince who conveys an impression of his wisdom is not so through his own ability, but through the good advisers that he has around him, beyond doubt they are deceived, because this is an axiom which never fails: that a prince who is not wise himself will never take good advice, unless by chance he has yielded his affairs entirely to one person who happens to be a very prudent man. In this case indeed he may be well governed, but it would not be for long, because such a governor would in a short time take away his state from him.

But if a prince who is not experienced should take counsel from more than one he will never get united counsels, nor will he know how to unite them. Each of the counsellors will think of his own interests, and the prince will not know how to control them or to see through them. And they are not to be found otherwise, because men will always prove untrue to you unless they are kept honest by constraint. Therefore it must be inferred that good counsels, whencesoever they come, are born of the wisdom of the prince, and not the wisdom of the prince from good counsels.

Source: Machiavelli, Nicolo. (c.1505). *The Prince*. Translated by W. K. Marriott. Retrieved October 15, 2003, from http://www.the-prince-by-machiavelli.com/the-prince/the_prince_chapter_23.html

to restore a society to health, something that republics find difficult to do. Thus, in the long term (and for Machiavelli the long term could exist only within an expansionist state) a republic is preferable, but an occasional prince may be a necessary evil. In fact, Machiavelli was not just distraught at the contemporary weakness of his beloved city-state and country but also fascinated by its imperial Roman

past, and his book *The Art of War* was explicitly concerned with learning from the Roman past, especially the use of conscript armies, not mercenaries, and how coercion must be tempered by a spiritual bond between citizens and between leaders and followers. Yet, coercion was essential—as shown by the answer to his own rhetorical question of “Whether it is better to be loved or feared, or the

reverse.” In *The Prince* Machiavelli unequivocally sides with the fear factor:

The answer is that one would like to be the one and the other; but because it is difficult to combine them, it is far better to be feared than loved if you cannot be both. One can make this generalization about men; they are ungrateful, fickle, liars and deceivers . . . when you are in danger they turn against you. Any prince who has come to depend entirely on promises and has taken no other precautions ensures his own ruin. . . . The bond of love is one which men . . . break when it is to their advantage to do so; but fear is strengthened by a dread of punishment which is always effective. The prince must nonetheless make himself feared in such a way that, if he is not loved, at least he escapes being hated. (Ch. 17)

Most certainly Machiavelli would have warned Margaret Thatcher, prime minister of Britain from 1979 to 1990, that although she was right to want to be effective rather than want to be loved (a common but often fatal error for leaders) and that although she need not fear the hatred of those she did not need (lifelong Labour Party supporters), she should have avoided the hatred of people she did need: Sir Geoffrey Howe for one, then the British deputy prime minister, whose resignation speech set in motion the events that led to her downfall.

On the other hand, Machiavelli also insisted that conflict within society between the rulers and the ruled is a necessary evil because from such conflict emerges the civic institutions that prevent the rulers from exploiting the ruled and simultaneously tie the ruled to the rulers. In effect, power is the essence of society, and organization has to be imposed upon it by leaders to prevent anarchy. The solution is an endless cycle of forms of organization, but they should all be judged by reference to the question that Machiavelli held to be the basis for political life: Under what circumstances would people commit themselves to the state?

That commitment is important because leaders cannot trust mercenaries whose loyalty is only to themselves and to money. The importance played by followers in the leadership situation seems to strengthen Machiavelli’s argument. Further, his works on leadership mirror many recent leadership

texts in that women are significant only by their absence. Finally, with Machiavelli one can detect the beginnings of the “modern” age. The religious values that allegedly endured throughout the medieval age were replaced by self-interest and greed. The self-interest and greed may be true because many people have probably experienced workplace leaders who “accomplished great deeds [but] who have cared little for keeping their promises and who have known how to manipulate the minds of men [sic] by shrewdness” (Ch. 25).

For all that Machiavelli committed himself to Florence, he acknowledged that this commitment was seldom sufficient because fate itself often intervened. Indeed, he was firmly of the belief that luck (*fortuna*) is a crucial element in life, although it can be “channeled.” However, Cesare Borgia remained his model prince because Machiavelli believed that Cesare embodied *virtù*, that combination of ruthlessness and courage that alone can master the vagaries of *fortuna*. In effect, fortune favors the brave, not the timid, and that means knowing when to be forceful, like a lion, and when to be cunning, like a fox.

—Keith Grint

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MAJORITY AND MINORITY INFLUENCE

The existence and influence of majority and minority factions within small groups have been topics of interest since the 1950s and the seminal work of

Solomon E. Asch on conformity to group pressure with respect to perceptions. The effects of majority and minority influence on behavior and attitudes with consideration for a leader's role in managing the influence process are becoming more important as the diversity of groups within the workforce as well as within other contexts continues to increase.

MAJORITY INFLUENCE IN GROUPS

A wealth of evidence about majority influence in groups suggests that majorities tend to dominate group decision making. "Majority" in this context refers to an opinion majority, not to a group that is dominant as a result of demographic or personal characteristics. In general, a group likely will carry out the will of the majority of its members, as indicated in the common saying "majority rules."

Evidence indicates that a majority can influence a minority with respect to a judgment even when the majority's judgment is objectively wrong. In the classic studies conducted by Asch, groups were shown slides depicting lines of differing lengths. The groups were comprised entirely of the researcher's confederates, with the exception of one study subject. The confederates all provided inaccurate judgments about line length first, leaving the study subject to provide his response last. The subject's responses were generally consistent with the majority opinion, even though the subject could clearly see that the judgment provided by the majority was incorrect.

As illustrated in Asch's research, people have strong norms toward compliance with majority opinions in interacting groups. Group majorities are able to marshal resources to enforce compliance with majority-imposed rules and norms that minorities do not have available. Majorities can utilize approval and status as rewards for compliance. By the same token, the majority can also punish, in both obvious and subtle ways, deviant opinions and behavior. As an extreme measure, the majority can ostracize a member who persists in deviant behavior or opinions. If group membership is important to the member's social identity, compliance with the majority is the most likely result of group pressure.

The tendency to comply with majority opinion

may become so strong that it leads to a group dysfunction that Irving L. Janis termed *groupthink*. Groupthink, as Janis defined it, is pressure toward unanimity within a decision-making group that is so strong that the group ignores evidence indicating that it has chosen a poor (or even disastrous) course of action. When the pressure for unanimity grows to this point, any dissenter is ostracized from the group, first by ignoring the warnings that the dissenter might provide and eventually by simply cutting off all communication with the dissenter. The removal of the dissenting opinion from the group ensures that the group will not be disturbed by the necessity of incorporating minority suggestions into its decisions. Unfortunately, because the group also isolates itself from feedback regarding the course of action taken, poor decisions cannot be recognized and corrected in time to avoid negative consequences. Groups suffering from groupthink also hold an illusion of invulnerability that prevents acknowledgment of failure, and, as a result, any individual willing to point out shortcomings is either brought into compliance with the group opinion or removed from the group.

Janis provided a number of examples of groupthink from the political and business spheres, including the decision by U.S. President John F. Kennedy to invade Cuba (the Bay of Pigs decision) and the Ford Motor Company's willingness to continue to produce the Edsel model for two and one-half years despite its complete failure to capture a market. A contemporary example might be decisions made by Enron corporate executives with respect to engaging in questionable accounting practices. More important than identifying examples, however, is suggesting ways that groups can avoid excessive pressure toward conforming to a majority opinion, even when such pressure is not so strong as to merit the label "groupthink."

A leader can implement a number of techniques to counterbalance majority pressures. Janis suggests, first of all, that the group leader avoid expressing his or her preference with respect to the decision at hand until after all of the other group members have been able to offer opinions and after discussion has taken place. In this way the leader can help the group to avoid pressure toward agreement with the higher

status members, including himself or herself. In addition, the leader may institutionalize a “devil’s advocate” role to ensure that the potential drawbacks to the group’s proposed course of action are considered. Leaders, then, can be responsible for providing the opportunity for minority views to be aired, but the leader cannot ensure that the minority can successfully influence the majority’s position.

Given the strong pressures for compliance with the majority, the notion of minority influence may seem unlikely or nearly impossible. However, anecdotal evidence, particularly in the context of jury decisions, suggests that minority influence can and does take place. Due to its counterintuitive nature, experts have done a great deal of theorizing and research on the process of minority influence within groups.

MINORITY INFLUENCE IN GROUPS

The dominant paradigm (framework) for studying influence within groups until the 1970s was the study of majority influence on smaller group factions. Ironically, the study of how and when minorities influence the larger group was itself an example of minority influence when Serge Moscovici proposed the dual process theory. Dual process theory, also called “conversion theory,” suggested a mechanism by which minorities can exert influence on a group majority.

DUAL PROCESS THEORY

According to Moscovici, majorities and minorities exert influence within groups through different processes. The process through which a majority influences members is comparison. That is, when a group member realizes that his or her position differs from that of the majority, the member compares his or her position to that of the majority and usually brings it into compliance with that of the majority. Through compliance with the majority, the member avoids the sanctions that groups can impose on deviant members. This compliance need not be internalized, however, because the majority concern is only with the group member’s overt behavior, not with internalized attitudes or beliefs.

The cognitive processing that takes place during the comparison process is relatively superficial. The member uses the simple heuristic (aid in learning) that the majority is right and brings his or her viewpoint at least superficially in line with the majority viewpoint. In-depth inquiry into the reasons for the majority viewpoint is absent in this comparison process. The group member accepts the influence with a minimum of cognitive effort, and the group continues to function smoothly.

The process is different when a group member realizes that his or her opinion differs from that of a minority faction of fellow group members. If this minority faction states its position consistently and with confidence, the majority group members will need to understand why the minority would take this deviant position. Rather than use simple heuristics, the majority will engage in deep cognitive processing of the minority position in an attempt to make sense of it. As a result of this sense-making process, the majority validates the minority position. Thus, the mechanism through which a minority exerts influence within a group is a validation process.

The validation process does not result in an immediate change in the majority opinion. The majority still can use sanctions against those with deviant positions, and because the cognitive processing has taken place internally, the publicly espoused position is still that of the majority. Attitude change has taken place internally, however. This change can be noted in measures taken privately, later in time, or with respect to related attitudes. This change is termed *conversion* rather than *compliance* because it is internalized. A minority can over time influence a majority to accept its position through conversion.

TESTING THE DUAL PROCESS THEORY

The original studies conducted by Moscovici and his colleagues to test the dual process theory involved the perception of color slides. Individuals participated in the studies in groups, and as in the Asch studies, all of the group members except one were research confederates. Study participants were presented with color slides that were known to be blue,

but a small minority of individuals (two out of six) consistently gave their response as “green.” The level of direct compliance with the minority opinion was quite small—about 8 percent of the participants indicated a green, rather than a blue, slide.

Dual process theory predicts that minority influence will be private rather than public and indirect rather than direct. Thus, the researchers also collected data on perceptions of after-images of the slides, and these responses were made privately. A blue slide should result in an orange or yellow after-image, whereas a green slide should result in a red or purple after-image. Consistent with the predictions of dual process theory, minority opinion influenced the judgment of the after-image toward red/purple (as if a green slide had been viewed), despite the fact that the direct responses with regard to the slide color were unaffected by the minority’s perception.

Following Moscovici’s groundbreaking work, studies were conducted with respect to decision-making tasks as well as perceptual tasks. Following the logic of dual process theory, if a member of a decision-making group discovers that his or her position differs from that of a majority, a comparison process focusing only on the two discrepant positions will be initiated. If a group member discovers that his or her position differs from that of a minority, there is little pressure to conform to that particular position. However, consideration of the discrepant position initiates a more complete review of alternatives, including others in addition to the minority position. Minority influence in decision-making groups, then, should produce more divergent thinking than majority influence would.

This prediction was tested in several studies. In one such study participants were asked to form a three-letter word from a string of six letters. The string suggested an obvious choice—for example, the string “brTONc” suggests the three-letter word *ton*. Participants were given feedback that either a majority or a minority of other group members had identified a different word—for example, *not*. In subsequent trials participants were willing to adopt a differing strategy, such as backward reading, which was utilized by a majority. When a minority adopted a differing approach from the participants, however,

participants utilized a variety of strategies in subsequent trials, not just the one suggested by the minority. This result suggests a more complete consideration of alternative procedures rather than a simple switch to the minority strategy.

LEADER EFFECTS IN DUAL PROCESS THEORY

The research on dual process theory, although extensive, has been silent with respect to the effect of leader behavior on minority influence. As indicated earlier, leaders have an important role to play in preserving a place for minority opinion within the group. Minority dissent will not only protect the group from the dysfunctions of overconformity, but also can lead the group to greater creativity and innovation. As indicated in the research on minority influence in decision-making groups, minority opinion with respect to group decisions can lead to the identification of a greater range of alternatives and perhaps to novel solutions that might not otherwise surface. The research on brainstorming confirms that the generation of a greater number of alternative solutions to a problem situation will result in a higher quality decision.

Dual process theory suggests that one important aspect of leader behavior is the leader’s willingness and ability to prevent the group from reaching premature closure on a particular course of action. To the extent that the leader can skillfully lead group discussion so that both minority and majority opinion can be fully and effectively presented, the group should benefit in terms of enhanced performance. The leader must ensure that the minority has the opportunity for full expression because the impact of minority influence will be greatest when the minority can advocate its position consistently and confidently. If minority group members hesitate to explain their position due to concern about pressure to conform to the majority opinion, the opportunity for the development of innovative solutions may be lost. Leaders who adopt a more participative style of leadership are more likely to see the benefits of minority influence.

Additional benefits that may accrue to the group as a result of minority influence include increased indi-

vidual satisfaction and greater group cohesion. Individuals who are permitted a full expression of their views, even when they are unsuccessful with respect to direct influence on the majority opinion, are likely to be more satisfied with their membership in the group. Further, individuals who feel that the group values their contributions are more likely to support the group in its activities and to desire to remain as members of the group. Leader behavior that promotes expression of minority views, then, has the potential to provide a number of benefits to the group.

To this point majority and minority groups have been defined on the basis of opinions or judgments, with little consideration of minority or majority status based on demographic or personal characteristics, yet these characteristics can have a great deal of influence on group interaction.

DEMOGRAPHY AND MINORITY STATUS

Individuals with certain demographic characteristics often find themselves in the minority within a group. Demographic characteristics such as age, gender, and ethnicity are readily observable, so individuals who differ from the majority of group members with respect to such obvious characteristics can be immediately identified as a “minority” within the group. The field of relational demography proposes that diversity on demographic characteristics within groups will have an effect on group functioning.

The research on demographic diversity within groups, and particularly on demographic minorities within groups, is consistent in suggesting that the phenomenon of relational demography does make a difference. The presence of a demographic minority within a group generally leads to a less positive experience for all of the members of the group. The research suggests that demographically diverse groups are less cohesive and are less effective at task performance. Group members are less likely to identify with the group, are less satisfied with the group experience, and tend to communicate with one another less frequently. Members who are demographically different (in the minority) are more likely to leave the group.

Members who are demographically different from

other group members frequently find that they have less influence on the group. Demographic minorities frequently find that they are in the position of being, in conversion theory terms, a “double deviant.” That is, the individual is a minority in terms of some demographic characteristic and also expresses an opinion that is a minority opinion within the group. Although a member of a minority group with respect to opinion can have an influence on the group if that member expresses the minority opinion consistently and confidently, it is not so clear that a “double deviant” (both an opinion minority and a demographic minority) can exert influence in the same way.

A demographic minority group member is an “out-group” member with respect to the social identity of the majority of the group. If the out-group member attempts to influence the majority of the group to a minority attitudinal position, the influence attempt likely will be unsuccessful. The majority of the group does not feel a social identification with the demographic minority group member in any case and thus feels no obligation to attempt to understand the position taken by the out-group member. Any attempt at influence will likely result in the opposite outcome—movement away from the position advocated by the minority group member.

The result of the coupling of demographic minority status with opinion minority status is that often demographic minorities will not be able to exercise much influence within their group. This situation is most unfortunate because sometimes a demographically different member has been invited to join the group in order to bring diverse perspectives to the group. If the individual is unable to get a fair hearing for his or her viewpoint, then the goal of a greater diversity of opinion has not been achieved, and there may be detrimental consequences to group functioning as well. Further, the minority individual will be socially isolated, will often be treated in rather stereotyped ways, and will feel powerless with respect to influencing the group. Under these circumstances it is not too surprising to find that demographic minorities are the most likely to leave a group.

Leaders must exercise some direction for the group in order to ensure that demographic minority group members are effectively integrated into the

group. Limiting the diversity within the group is simply not possible. Limiting diversity is unethical and in many cases would be illegal. The leader must ensure that the group manages its diversity effectively.

One approach to helping the group to manage its diversity effectively is actually to increase representation of demographically different individuals. The leader may actively encourage demographically different individuals to join the group. As the size of the minority group increases, the majority is less likely to stereotype the minority group members. With greater minority representation, the group can see individual differences within the group, rather than respond to minority group members in stereotyped ways. Group members are then free to focus on task-related variation, rather than on demographic differences.

Another option for the leader is to emphasize the similarities—rather than differences—among the group members. We can see social identity as fluid and subject to contextual effects. If the group leader stresses those aspects of identity that are common within the group, then demographic effects may be less pronounced in the group situation. A leader can highlight deep-level similarity (similarity with respect to values, attitudes, and personality) so that such similarity can overwhelm the surface-level effects of demographic diversity. With the proper direction from the group leader, the effects of surface-level differences should diminish over time.

A LOOK AT THE FUTURE

In a pluralistic society, we cannot avoid conflicts of majority and minority rights. Group leaders walk a fine line as they try to protect the rights of the minority and ensure that the minority viewpoint is heard while not at the same time alienating the majority. Given the delayed and indirect type of influence that opinion minorities exert, minority input has the potential to enhance creativity and innovation within groups. Demographic minorities, in particular, may have to battle effects of “double deviance,” but with skilled leadership that allows for full participation and emphasizes similarity rather than dissimilarity, the rewards can be great.

—S. Gayle Baugh

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MALCOLM X (1925–1965)

African-American ideological and religious leader

Malcolm X was born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Nebraska. His father, an itinerant preacher, was a fol-

lower of the black nationalist movement of Marcus Garvey (1887–1940). After the death of his father, and his mother’s subsequent psychiatric hospitalization, Malcolm X lived in various foster homes until moving to Boston to live with his sister. In Boston, he became involved in the zootsuit-wearing subculture, took up petty crime, and eventually spent six years in jail for burglary. During his time in jail, he joined the Nation of Islam, the black nationalist interpretation of Islam championed by Elijah Muhammad (1897–1975). After his release from prison in 1952, he adopted X as his surname and became a minister for the Nation of Islam, in this capacity providing a powerful voice for black dignity and black nationalism. He was assassinated by other members of the Nation of Islam after a split with the Nation of Islam over the integrity of the Nation’s leadership.

IDEOLOGICAL LEADERSHIP

Ideological leadership is a form of vision-based leadership. Like visionary leaders, ideological leaders influence others by articulating a vision, describing how people or social systems should act and interact. Malcolm X may be viewed as an ideological leader, in the company of Vladimir Lenin, the architect of Russian Communism; John L. Lewis, the U.S. labor leader; and Margaret Thatcher, the United Kingdom’s Conservative prime minister in the 1980s.

Like other ideological leaders, Malcolm X defined his vision in opposition to the status quo of his day. This oppositional theme is apparent in the core principle upon which Malcolm X built his vision: the notion that the white race, in particular white America, was “the devil.” The notion that the white race was the devil should not be taken literally, however. Rather, it should be viewed as a metaphor. In Malcolm X’s view, a view consistent with the teachings of the Nation of Islam, whites would never work to alleviate the suffering of black America but would continue a historic pattern of exploitation—exploitation that had robbed blacks of their dignity and was systematically destroying blacks through poverty, family disruption, and drug addiction.

Given these assumptions, it is unsurprising that Malcolm X was unresponsive to the call for integration voiced by Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929–1968), and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. In Malcolm X’s eyes, that vision was futile. Instead, what was required was a separation of black and white America, resulting in a black community that could pursue its own future through black economic and social development and recognition of the unique value of black culture.

Malcolm X’s vision had little impact in the South and among middle-class blacks. In the North, however, where black migration and discrimination had led to ghettoization and the disruption of black culture, his vision proved more attractive; indeed, it continues to influence inner-city blacks today, remaining a viable force shaping inner-city black politics while serving as a plank in the black nationalist platform, emphasizing as it does the need to strengthen the black business community.

THE ORIGINS OF MALCOLM X’S VISION

Malcolm X’s vision did not arise in a vacuum. As noted earlier, Malcolm X’s father was a follower of Marcus Garvey, who advocated a return to Africa and the creation of a black empire capable of standing on equal terms with the then dominant European imperial empires. His father’s advocacy of this view brought unending trouble to Malcolm X’s family, and may have resulted in the father’s murder, although the evidence is unclear. What is clear is that Malcolm’s father instilled in his children nationalist principles, a point underscored by the fact that many of Malcolm X’s siblings joined the Nation of Islam.

Although the tenets of the Nation of Islam are complex, basically they hold that, for eons, black civilization was the one true civilization. The “local” dominance of whites in the present historical period is attributed to a dissident angel, or scientist, who created whites from degenerate black genes. However, in the near future, blacks will be delivered through Allah’s destruction of the whites. Although many of the Nation’s beliefs diverge from traditional Islamic teachings, particularly with regard to the relationships between blacks and whites, the accept-

ance of Allah as God's true prophet led followers of the Nation of Islam to adopt a number of other fundamental Islamic beliefs, such as abstinence and a focus on family. It seems likely that Malcolm X's upbringing prepared him to accept these teachings of the Nation of Islam, which later provided a foundation for his vision.

However, Malcolm X's commitment to those teachings was based also on personal experience. Malcolm X turned to the Nation of Islam and its leader, Elijah Muhammad, as a result of a personal crisis. This crisis had begun to take shape when he moved to Boston in 1940. In Boston, Malcolm X held a series of low-level jobs, using his income to adopt the "zoot suit" lifestyle, which took its name from the characteristic suit (long, oversized jacket, baggy trousers with a sharp crease) that young participants adopted. The zoot suit was the emblem of a lower-class counterculture that stressed hedonism as an alternative to the anomie of workaday life. This lifestyle led Malcolm X to drugs, prostitution, burglary, and, eventually, imprisonment.

In prison, Malcolm X read, apparently seeking to understand the problems in his life, and through his readings he encountered the teachings of Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam. Here he found the mental model, or worldview, that provided personal meaning in his life; it was a model that stressed dignity, probity, the value of black culture, and black defiance. After leaving prison and becoming a minister of the Nation of Islam, Malcolm X began articulating this vision, which provided the basis for his exercise of influence.

THE POWER OF MALCOLM X

Why did Malcolm X, as opposed to some other black nationalist leader, emerge as the preeminent spokesman for the Nation of Islam? One answer may be found in Malcolm X's commitment to the principles of the Nation of Islam and black identity. Another answer to the question may be found in the conditions that led to his conversion. Malcolm X had lived the life of the streets during the "zoot suit" years and therefore understood life in the ghetto better than other black leaders, such as the leaders of the South-



Malcolm X speaks at a press conference in Washington D.C. on 10 May 1963 upon arriving from New York to set up a national headquarters for the Black Muslims in the nation's capital.

Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

ern Christian Leadership Conference who came from middle-class backgrounds. This understanding of the problems confronting inner-city blacks, combined with his substantial persuasive skills and impressive intelligence, made Malcolm X a compelling speaker. Moreover, his message, a message of distrust and confrontation, came at a time when inner-city residents were about to explode with anger over being excluded from the rising prosperity experienced by the rest of the United States. Not only have crisis conditions been linked to the emergence of visionary leadership, but when positive future-oriented change is seen as impossible, as it was by many members of the black community, the conditions are right for the emergence of ideological leaders.

Effective ideological leadership also depends on



Tribute to Malcolm X

This tribute to the murdered Malcolm X was published by the Young Socialist Alliance, the youth group of the Socialist Workers Party, which was one of the first youth groups to support the ideas of Malcolm X.

Fidel Castro's dedication to political independence and to economic development for Cuba led him eventually to opposition to capitalism. So also Malcolm's uncompromising stand against racism brought him to identify with the revolutions of the colonial people who were turning against capitalism, and finally to conclude that the elimination of capitalism in this country was necessary for freedom. Just as Fidel Castro discovered that there can be no political independence and economic development in a colonial country without breaking from capitalism, so Malcolm had come to the conclusion that capitalism and racism were so entangled in the United States that you had to uproot the system in order to eliminate racism.

Malcolm's black nationalism was aimed at preparing black people to struggle for their freedom. "The greatest mistake of the movement," he said in an interview in the February 25 *Village Voice*, "has been trying to organize sleeping people around specific goals. You have to wake the people up first, then you'll get action." "Wake them up to their exploitation?" the interviewer asked. "No, to their humanity, to their own worth, and to their heritage," he answered.

All he said to the black people was designed to raise their confidence, to organize them independently of those who oppressed them, to teach them who their enemies were, who was responsible for their condition; who were their allies. He explained that they were part of the great majority—the non-whites and the oppressed of the world. He taught that freedom could be won only by fighting for it; it has never been given to anyone. He explained that it could only be won by making a real revolution that uproots and changes the entire economic, social and polit-

ical structure of this society.

Thus it is not surprising that many who considered themselves socialists, radicals and even Marxists could not recognize and identify with Malcolm's revolutionary character. They could not recognize the revolutionary content in this great leader clothed in the new forms, language, and dark colors of the American proletarian ghetto.

Even with all his uniqueness and greatness as an individual, he could not have reached this understanding unless the conditions in this country were such that it was possible. Even though no one can fill his shoes, the fact that he did what he did, developed as the revolutionary leader he was, is the proof of more Malcolms to come.

He was a proof like Fidel was a proof. Fidel stood up ninety miles away from the most powerful imperialism in the world and thumbed his nose and showed us, "See, it can be done. They can't go on controlling the world forever."

Malcolm went even further than Fidel. Because Malcolm challenged American capitalism from right inside. He was the living proof from our generation of revolutionists that it can and will happen here.

Our job, the job of the YSA, is to teach the revolutionary youth of this country to tell the difference between the nationalism of the oppressed and the nationalism of the oppressor, to teach them to differentiate the forces of liberation from the forces of the exploiters; to teach them to hear the voices of the revolution regardless of the forms they take; to teach them to differentiate between the self-defense of the victim and the violence of the aggressor; to teach them to refuse to give an inch to white liberalism and to reach out to Malcolm's heirs, the vanguard of the ghetto, as brothers and comrades.

Source: *The Young Socialist* (1965, May–June). Reprinted in P. Jacobs & S. Landau. (1966). *The New Radicals: A Report with Documents* (pp. 200–202). New York: Vintage Books.

the leader's personal commitment to the values and standards being articulated. Malcolm X's commitment both to his vision and to the black community is aptly illustrated in a quote found in Peter Goldman's biography of Malcolm X, describing Malcolm X's social service work: "His work with the addicts became the envy of Harlem's social service community. 'I've seen him do it,' one black worker said in those days. 'He asks the guy, 'Are you an addict?'

The guy says yeah. 'Where do you get your stuff from.' 'Well—from a guy downtown.' Malcolm would trace this back until he showed the addict that narcotics is a multi-million dollar business controlled by the whites and then he asks the guy, 'Do you want to give money to the white man who's putting you down?' This shakes the guy up" (Goldman 1979, 85). The credibility resulting from this commitment, self-sacrifice, and concern for followers'

well-being allows ideological leaders to exert a particularly powerful form of influence.

By the same token, however, the rigid commitment of ideological leaders may prove problematic when they must work with other leaders in institutional settings. In fact, in the case of Malcolm X, it was his commitment that led to his death. Beginning in the early 1960s, Malcolm X became troubled by the behavior of other Nation of Islam leaders. Essentially, he saw the leaders of the Nation as living on easy street rather than living with the people in the streets. The initial break was exacerbated when word came to Malcolm X that Elijah Muhammad was having extramarital affairs. Shortly after confronting Elijah Mohammed over this issue, a serious issue in a faith stressing probity and family, Malcolm X was silenced; he was not allowed to preach or lecture, as a result of comments he made following the Kennedy assassination. This rejection led Malcolm X to withdraw from the Nation of Islam and, after a period visiting Africa and the Middle East, to found his own mosque in 1964. The threat implied by Malcolm X's defection and his founding of a splinter group led to his assassination by members of the Nation of Islam in 1965. True to his ideology to the end, when the police, whom he saw as agents of the repressive white establishment, warned him of an impending threat to his life, he rejected their offer of police protection in the weeks leading up to his final speech.

FINAL ANALYSIS

Malcolm X's career illustrates both the strengths and limitations of ideological leaders. Articulation of, and adherence to, a timely ideology is a potentially powerful tool for the exercise of influence. Indeed, ideological ideas—for example Malcolm X's ideas about black dignity and the economic conditions that might advance black life in the inner cities—take on a life of their own, often outlasting the ideological leader who articulated them. Indeed, it often falls to others to implement those ideas, because ideological leaders find it difficult to adapt their values, standards, and ideas to extant institutions and cooperation with other leaders, who may hold different views. In this sense, ideological leadership may rep-

resent a less effective form of leadership than charismatic and transformational leadership. The tragedy of Malcolm X is that he died at a time when he was groping toward a more inclusive, proactive, vision. While his impact was not insignificant, particularly with regard to the ideas he articulated, it is interesting to ask what his impact might have been if he had been granted the time to transition to a more charismatic, or transformational, style.

—Michael D. Mumford and Richard T. Marcy

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MANAGEMENT

The uncertainty and public cynicism that characterize modern times have led many observers to doubt whether the art of management or leadership can effectively be studied, much less taught. The terms *management* and *leadership* are often used interchangeably, but the latter connotes a person who innovates rather than copies, keeps an eye on the horizon rather than merely on the bottom line, inspires trust rather than merely relying on control, and is able to lead meaningful organizational change.

One may reasonably ask whether people have or even need a current theory of organizational change. A variety of researchers and consultants have done much good work on leading organizational change, on major interventions of change management, yet there is no solid consensus regarding the major strategic variables that can lead to sustainable organizational change.

However, leadership matters. The past hundred years have been shaped, more than by anything else

(and for better or worse), by six leaders: Russian leader Vladimir Lenin, U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt, English leader Winston Churchill, German leader Adolf Hitler, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, and Chinese leader Mao Zedong. The caliber of leadership makes a dramatic difference in the bottom line of businesses that shape the life of the economy. The stock price of companies perceived to lack good leadership rose only 74 percent over a recent decade, according to the Institute for Strategic Change; however, the stock price of companies perceived to be “well led” rose more than 900 percent. These are a few of many signals that the destiny of organizations is not left to fate.

THREE DIMENSIONS OF LEADERSHIP

How then can one begin to study good management and good leadership? Three dimensions of leadership come into play. The first is that which is inside a leader, primarily the leader's character. The second is that which is outside a leader, the particular environmental context in which the leader finds himself or herself. For leaders in this post-September 11th, globalized world, this dimension involves working in an age of vulnerability. The third is the interaction between the leader and the led within their environmental context. This dimension involves a number of leadership competencies if the interaction is to be meaningful.

Looking inside the Leader: Character Counts

The U.S. psychologist and philosopher William James wrote:

I have often thought that the best way to define a man's character would be to seek out the particular mental or moral attitude in which, when it came upon him, he felt himself most deeply and intensively active and alive. At such moments, there is a voice inside which speaks and says, “This is the real me” (Bennis 1989).

In the book *On Becoming a Leader*, Warren Bennis began to articulate a central finding of decades of study, which is that, in the final analysis, “leadership is about character. The process of becoming a

leader is much the same as the process of becoming an integrated human being. Life itself is the career” (Bennis 1989).

The exemplary organizational leader—modeled over the centuries by Thomas Jefferson, the biblical King David, U.S. reformer Susan B. Anthony, Indian nationalist Mohandas Gandhi, former South African President Nelson Mandela, U.S. civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr., and many others—tends to have a number of essential traits, but a foundational trait is a strong understanding of oneself. That understanding translates into a meaningful deployment of self and others.

How does one go about finding this understanding of self—or to put it better, how does one find one’s voice? Exemplary leaders have typically found their voice through “crucible experiences”—they were tested by the searing heat of life’s disappointments, challenges, and tragedies and found such events to be “meaning-making” moments. U.S. television journalist Mike Wallace was devastated by the loss of his son, but it was the turning point in his journalistic career, convincing him to take more risks and follow his passions. Some people are defeated by the temperatures of the crucible, whereas others, such as Wallace, come through transformed into significant leaders. Think of the manner in which alchemists used crucibles in hopes of turning ordinary things to gold; great leaders *are* that gold.

The process of finding one’s voice can frequently be a lengthy, if not lifetime, process. Although his early life in South Africa was highly formative, Gandhi’s voice as the champion of the Indian people was not found until he was close to the age of fifty.

*The Outside Context:
A High-Speed Age of Vulnerability*

Today’s established leaders and aspiring leaders do not have the advantage of walking on solid ground, and those who cannot adjust to this reality will not succeed. *New York Times* columnist Thomas Friedman, in his 1991 book *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, wrote that the world is “only 10 years old.” He meant that the Berlin Wall fell in November of 1989, mark-

Most of what we call management consists of making it difficult for people to get their jobs done.

—Peter Drucker

ing the end of the Cold War and ushering in a new era of freedom and ambiguity. The symbol of the Cold War, he wrote, was the Berlin Wall; the symbol of today’s “important age” is the World Wide Web; the former was an armed fortress, the latter is a boundariless world. In the Cold War world people feared destruction at the hands of an enemy they knew all too well; but Friedman presciently noted a few years before 11 September 2001, that today people would fear economic and political forces that they can’t see, touch, or feel—forces that can change their lives at any moment.

Much has been said about how the world was altered after the terrorist strikes against the United States in 2001. The essence of that alteration is that ambiguity and suspense multiplied exponentially.

Further, U.S. citizens have always lived on the fast track, but today’s hyperturbulent, spastic, volatile technological environment is qualitatively different, more “chasmatic,” to coin a word, more consequential, affecting more of their life space than have other great changes they’ve experienced, even electricity or the turbine engine.

Take, for example, the proliferation of the Internet, which less than a decade ago was the peculiar domain of a few tech junkies. The Internet took just four years to reach an audience of 50 million users; television, by contrast, needed thirteen years, and radio needed thirty-eight. Whereas electricity needed a half-century to attain 25 percent of the market share of U.S. homes, the Internet needed only seven. Only its contemporaries—cellular phones and personal computers—come anywhere near this achievement. In short, the communication revolution is churning consumers faster than all of the past revolutions combined.

Given the dizzying, churning pace of society, it is small wonder that the concept of the long-term chief executive officer (CEO) is becoming a thing

of the past. This fact is borne out by a few important statistics:

- CEOs appointed after 1985 are three times more likely to be fired than CEOs who were appointed before that date.
- Nearly half of all current CEOs have held their job for less than three years. In the past five years alone close to two-thirds of all companies have installed a new CEO.
- CEO turnover occurred at nearly the same rate in companies throughout the world, regardless of country or industry. (The average number of CEOs per company: 1.9 in ten years.)
- Thirty-four percent of Fortune 100 companies have replaced their CEOs since 1995.
- A Harvard Business School study shows that boards of directors are 30 percent more likely to oust a CEO than they were a decade earlier.
- In recent years many high-profile companies—including Lucent, Coca-Cola, Procter & Gamble, Gillette, and Xerox—pushed out CEOs in only their second or third year on the job.

Organizations will need to keep their eyes and ears open to new and potentially disruptive inflection points. Does luck play a part, or are executives just not up to the warp speed nature of change, and if so, why? If the tsunami (tidal wave) of senior executive churning is attributable to other factors, these must be explored.

Interaction between Leader and Constituents

The West, and the United States in particular, clings to the Lone Ranger myth that great things are accomplished by a larger-than-life individual shouting commands, giving direction, inspiring the troops, decreeing the compelling vision, leading the way, and changing frameworks with vigor. However, this myth neither captures important aspects of the past accurately nor prepares leaders for coming challenges.

Traditional leadership—which could be called “topdown”—is based on the myth of the triumphant individual. It is a myth deeply ingrained in the West-

ern psyche and unfortunately fostered and celebrated in the daily media, business magazines, and much of academic and popular writing. Most people who study leadership have been guilty of this deification of the icons of U.S. business: the Jack Welch (former General Electric CEO), the Percy Barneviks (former CEO of ABB, the Swedish-Swiss engineering conglomerate), the Bill Gateses, and so on. Whether the hero is midnight rider Paul Revere or basketball player Michael Jordan, the United States is a nation enamored of heroes—rugged self-starters who meet challenges and overcome adversity. Contemporary views of leadership are entwined with notions of heroism, so much so that the distinction between the words leader and hero (or *celebrity*, for that matter) often becomes blurred.

Could one imagine a magazine entitled *Systems* becoming as popular as a magazine entitled *People*? Yet, people do understand the significance of systems. After all, systems encourage collaboration, and systems make change not only possible but also effective.

Leadership scholar Ronald Heifetz’s research (1994) has found that, with relatively simple, “technical problems,” leadership is relatively “easy.” In other words, topdown leadership can solve them. However, with “adaptive” problems, complex and messy problems such as dealing with a seriously ill cancer patient or cleaning up an ecological hazard, many stakeholders (those who have an interest in an outcome) must be involved. Adaptive problems require complex and diverse alliances. Decrees and orders often may accomplish little.

FIVE COMPETENCIES FOR LEADERS

Where does all of this lead in the current organizational context? The post-bureaucratic organization requires a new kind of alliance between leaders and the led. Today’s organizations are evolving into federations, networks, clusters, cross-functional teams, temporary systems, ad hoc task forces, lattices, modules, matrices—almost anything but pyramids and their obsolete topdown leadership. Within this environment five competencies in leader-constituent interaction determine success.

Exemplary Leaders Provide Purpose, Passion, and Meaning

In an interview with the *Wall Street Journal* in January 2000, a young business leader, Kim Polese, CEO of Marimba, Inc., observed that “I think there will be a backlash against all the greed. I have so many friends worth \$50 million and more and they are depressed. What really attracts them is connecting with other people. It is the team. It’s creating something. It’s having a mission. That’s what turns people on. That’s what life is about” (Petzinger 2000).

Organizations drift into entropy (disorder) and the bureaucratization of imagination when they forget what’s important. Simple to say, but that one sentence is one of the few pieces of advice that Bennis offers to leaders: Remind employees of what’s important. Even in education, occasionally a teacher will say, usually in half-jest, that the university would be a great place to work if only there weren’t students around. What else is there but helping students to become successful at life? What can be more ennobling?

A vision that is powerful enough can transform what would otherwise be routine and drudgery into collectively focused energy, even sacrifice. Witness the Manhattan Project, which was the U.S. project to develop a nuclear bomb during World War II. The scientists on the project were willing to put their careers on hold and to undertake what was, in essence, a massive engineering feat because they believed the free world depended on their doing so.

Reminiscing about the work at Los Alamos, New Mexico, Richard Feynman, the irreverent future Nobel laureate, told a story that illustrates how “reminding people of what’s important” can give meaning and value to work. The U.S. Army had recruited talented engineers from all over the United States for special duty on the project. They were assigned to work on the primitive computers of the period (1943–1945), doing energy calculations and other tedious jobs. However, the army, obsessed with security, refused to tell them anything specific about the project. They didn’t know that they were building a weapon that could end the

Leadership is the capacity to translate vision into reality.

—Warren G. Bennis

war or even what their calculations meant. They were simply expected to do the work, which they did, slowly and not very well.

Feynman, who supervised the engineers, prevailed on his superiors to tell the recruits what they were doing and why. Permission was granted to lift the veil of secrecy, and physicist Robert Oppenheimer gave them a special lecture on the nature of the project and their own contribution.

“*Complete* transformation,” Feynman recalled. “They began to invent ways of doing it better. They improved the scheme. They worked at night. They didn’t need supervising in the night; they didn’t need anything. They understood everything; they invented several of the programs we used” (“Scientists in Uniform” n.d., http://www.lanl.gov/worldview/welcome/history/23_engineers.html). Ever the scientist, Feynman calculated that the work was done “nearly ten times as fast” after it had meaning.

Exemplary Leaders Model Organizational and Personal Integrity

Modeling organizational and personal integrity is most decidedly a stumbling block in today’s post-Watergate, post-Enron world. Yet, given how the terms of the social contract of work have changed, trust becomes the emotional glue that can bond people to an organization. *Trust* is a small word with powerful connotations and is a complex factor. The ingredients of trust are competence, constancy, caring, fairness, candor, and authenticity—most of all the latter. Authenticity is achieved by exemplary leaders when they can balance successfully the tripod of forces working on and in most people: ambition, competence, and integrity. Authenticity, as the U.S. comedian Groucho Marx joked, cannot be faked. To be redundant, it’s real. The current cliché is “walk your talk.” However, authenticity is far more than that.

Exemplary Leaders Practice the Power of Appreciation

All people pay lip service to acknowledgment and appreciation. To generalize just a tad, most organizations are woefully neglectful of bestowing either. Acknowledgment and appreciation are among the most powerful motivators, especially for knowledge workers.

Exemplary leaders are connoisseurs of talent, more curators than creators. They have a smell for talent, an imaginative Rolodex, unafraid of hiring people better than they are. In the book *Organizing Genius*, Bennis looked at the leadership of great groups, and in most cases, the leader was rarely the cleverest or the sharpest. Bob Taylor, former head of the Palo Alto Research Center, where the first commercial personal computer was invented, wasn't a computer scientist. Oppenheimer, although a brilliant physicist, never matched the accomplishments of the future Nobel laureates working for him at Los Alamos. However, they and other successful leaders could, as business executive and leadership theorist Max DePree puts it, "abandon their ego to the talents of others."

Exemplary Leaders Have an "Adaptive Capacity"

Exemplary leaders have an "adaptive capacity"—what could be described as "applied creativity." They are hardy, resourceful, and inventive, and followers respond to those traits powerfully. What the English poet John Keats saw as being essential to the genius of Shakespeare was adaptive capacity, an ability to tolerate ambiguity and thrive amid chaos.

Good leaders don't simply observe and act; they learn, they adapt. One theory of management involves a continuous loop known as "OODA": observing, orienting, deciding, and acting. However, the leaders whom Bennis interviewed used a loop known as an "AILA" loop: acting, inventing, learning, and adapting. They moved according to the prompts of their internal compasses, taking risks along the way; they stumbled; they learned and adapted accordingly. However, they didn't learn simply because life forced lessons upon them; they were *active* learners. In other words, they made indeterminacy work for them.

Exemplary Leaders Have a Bias toward Action, Risk Taking, and Courage

Springing forth from adaptive capacity is exemplary leaders' readiness to walk the high wire in their realm of influence. Such leaders demonstrate a peculiar combination of vision, persistence, consistency, and self-confidence that Bennis has called "the Wallenda factor." Like the late aerialist, who said that "the only time I feel truly alive is when I walk the tight-rope," they throw themselves into their vocation with a sense of play, not dwelling extensively on the risks. (Strikingly, after Wallenda fell to his death in 1978, his widow observed that he had seemed to uncharacteristically shift his attention to the perils rather than the attendant joys of his work.)

The opportunity to define the future belongs to exemplary leaders, not to the topdown leaders. The "future" is a word that embraces a number of notions. It involves an exercise in imagination that allows people to compete with and try to outwit events that lie ahead. The attempt to control what is to come is a social invention that legitimizes the process of planning in order to resist the "tyranny of blind forces." Yet, as was argued earlier, only exemplary leaders will be able to stand in the midst of the swirling complexities of today, hold their ground, and move their organizations forward with confidence. People can say that they have seen the end of leadership as they once knew it, and they can be glad that a powerful new manner of leadership is rising up to replace it.

—Warren Bennis

See also Business; Management, Business; Nonprofit Organizations

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MANAGEMENT, BUSINESS

Leadership theories and practices in business management have changed dramatically since the 1950s, from hierarchical command and control within single organizations to participative, consultative, and collaborative styles within and among organizational networks. Changes were driven by the increasing complexity of modern business organizations, the emergence of interdependent supply chains, relentless technological innovation, and the shift from manual-labor-based to knowledge-based productivity. Changes were later accelerated by increasing international business transactions and growth in the size and number of international mergers, acquisitions, and alliances. Leadership is now seen less as the function of a single chief executive and more as

the responsibility of inter- and intraorganizational teams, which must decide on a corporate vision, make decisions, solve problems, and implement strategy. Accompanying these changes have been new perceptions about the ideal behaviors, traits, and roles of successful executives.

COMMAND-AND-CONTROL LEADERSHIP STYLES

Until the 1960s, business management was generally understood in one of two ways: either as analogous to military leadership, or as amenable to so-called scientific management—the application to business of principles from engineering, physics, and so on. In both ways of thinking of business management, good business management was primarily directive; it was believed that decision making should be centralized in the hands of top executives and that strategies were best implemented through a strong organizational hierarchy.

The Military Analogy

The analogy to military leadership implied that the role of corporation presidents, board chairmen, managing directors, and senior executives was to control organizations through a descending chain of command. That chain of command ran down the corporate hierarchy from the board of directors to the president, through his staff, to vice presidents in charge of various functions or divisions, and then through middle management to supervisors and employees. When Thomas J. Watson, Jr., succeeded his father as chief executive of IBM in 1956, he was dismayed to learn that “by the mid-1950s just about every big corporation had adopted this so called scientific management—the application to business especially of engineering principles. It was modeled on the military organization going back to the Prussian army in Napoleonic times” (Watson 1998, 429). Watson noted that “in this sort of arrangement, line managers are like field commanders, their duties are to hit production targets, beat sales quotas, and capture market share” (ibid).

The chief executive's role was to set strategic

goals and ensure their effective implementation. As Chester Barnard (1886–1961), president of New Jersey Bell Telephone and the Rockefeller Foundation, argued in his influential book *The Functions of the Executive*, the business leader's role, like the military general's, was to identify those strategic factors "whose control, in the right form, at the right place and time, will establish a system or set of conditions which meet the purpose" (Barnard 1938, 9). The dominance of the directive leadership style was reinforced by the fact that many of the largest U.S. corporations had been founded by bold entrepreneurs such as Henry Ford, Andrew Carnegie, A. Montgomery Ward, Thomas Edison, William Randolph Hearst, and David Sarnoff, whose powerful personalities and obsessions with controlling the fate of their companies easily accommodated a command-and-control approach.

Scientific Management

The other influential stream of thinking during the first half of the twentieth century was scientific management. The U.S. efficiency engineer Frederick W. Taylor (1856–1915) believed that management was largely a matter of improving worker productivity by applying clearly defined and tested engineering principles. His ideas were first embodied in the widespread adoption of standard operating procedures during the 1930s and 1940s, and later in operations research and systems analysis. Herbert Simon (1915–2001), winner of the 1978 Nobel Prize in Economics, saw the decision-making process in industrial organizations as one of gathering information, structuring options based on assessment of production systems, and selecting optimal solutions based on statistical analysis, a process that he called "intelligence, design and choice" (Simon 1960, 14).

Both the military and scientific analogies for business management were based, as Peter Drucker, a scholar in the field of management, pointed out, on two underlying assumptions that dominated management thinking from the 1930s to the 1970s: that there is or must be one right organizational structure and that there is or must be one right way to manage people. Business management theory and practice,

Drucker contends, were also shaped by the assumptions that "1) technologies, markets, and end uses are given; 2) management's scope is legally defined; 3) management is internally focused; and 4) the economy defined by national boundaries is the 'ecology' of enterprise and management" (Drucker 2001, 70).

CHALLENGES TO CONVENTIONAL BUSINESS MANAGEMENT THEORIES AND PRACTICES

The effectiveness of a command-and-control style of business management had always been questioned by some scholars and practitioners, but came under increasing scrutiny in the 1970s. Convinced that his father's leadership style and structure no longer suited IBM, Thomas Watson, Jr., reorganized the company in the 1960s, decentralizing authority and increasing participation in decision making.

David Packard and William Hewlett consciously avoided the military style and structure of leadership at Hewlett-Packard (HP) in the 1950s. Working on innovative products at HP, Packard also rejected the notion that management was simply an engineering process controlled by top executives. Leadership in rapidly expanding high-technology industries involved problem solving and creativity that required the widespread participation of the organization's many highly skilled and highly specialized workers (so-called knowledge workers). In Packard's own words, "The close relationship among HP people encouraged a form of participatory management that supported individual freedom and initiative while emphasizing commonness of purpose and teamwork. In the early years we were all working on the same problems. We solicited and used ideas from wherever we could get them" (Packard 1995, 128).

Increasing complexity in business during the 1970s and 1980s led management scholars to question all the assumptions underlying conventional approaches to leadership. As early as the 1940s, the psychologist Abraham Maslow (1908–1970) had concluded that people's needs differed at different times in their lives and careers, and that managing them effectively required diverse incentives and leadership styles. Maslow laid the foundation for human-relations theorists who later attacked the

assumption that there was only one right way to manage people. In the 1950s, the studies of the leadership scholar Ralph M. Stogdill (1904–1978) began to shift the role of good business leadership from one of setting goals and implementing them through command and control to one of “influencing the activities of an organized group in its efforts toward goal setting and achievement” (Stogdill 1950, 3). He and others noted that because leadership depends on the willingness of members of an organization to follow, successful executives had to learn to persuade and not just command.

These conclusions were further reinforced by research on business organizations. In the early 1960s, the scholar Douglas McGregor (1906–1964) proposed a distinction between what he called Theory X management—the traditional form of directive, centralized leadership—and what he termed Theory Y management, in which the essential task “is to arrange organizational conditions and methods of operation so that people can achieve their own goals best by directing their own efforts toward organizational objectives” (McGregor 1960, 315). Distinguishing between “boss-centered” and “subordinate-centered” leadership, the scholars Robert Tannenbaum and Warren Schmidt wrote in 1973 of the importance of delegating authority and engaging employees in identifying solutions to problems. Fred E. Fiedler concluded that the most effective style of leadership changed depending on specific situations and conditions; the relationship between leaders and members was shaped by group atmosphere, task structure, and position power.

BUSINESS LEADERSHIP IN AN ERA OF ORGANIZATIONAL COMPLEXITY

Scholars of business and management have continued to enrich our understanding of successful management practices. Observing executives at work, Henry Mintzberg and others cast further doubts on the validity of the assumption that there was just one correct way to manage businesses and only one correct structure for businesses to take. Mintzberg found that executives play a variety of roles in complex organizations—they represent the firm to the

outside world, liaise with external networks, monitor information about organizational performance, disseminate information throughout the organization, initiate change, handle disturbances and settle conflicts, allocate resources, and carry on negotiations, among other tasks. Bernard M. Bass and his associates documented at least five styles of business management—directive, negotiative, consultative, participative, and delegative—all of which were effective in certain situations and less effective in others.

In a series of research studies during the 1980s, Gary A. Yukl identified nineteen categories of leadership behaviors that he considered essential to good management. Focusing on the management of innovative companies, Rosabeth Moss Kanter found little value in a purely directive style of leadership. She noted that leadership in creative companies required entrepreneurship, coalition building, and bargaining and negotiation to accumulate the information, support, and resources needed to proceed with innovation. Flat, lean organizational structures were preferable to hierarchies and, in such organizations, networking and communicating were far more valued leadership traits than commanding and controlling. Charles Handy observed that leaders whose organizations were enmeshed in complex networks of relationships required influence more than authority. In such circumstances, he argued, “a leader shapes and shares a vision which gives point to the work of others” (Handy 1992, 10).

The shifts from manufacturing to services and from manual-labor-driven to knowledge-driven productivity and the need for agility in responding to global customer needs all led to wider acceptance of empowerment as an essential leadership role. Fred Smith, the founder and CEO of Federal Express and a pioneer in a new service industry, emphasized that “empowered people have the necessary information to make decisions and act; they don’t have to wait for multiple levels of approval. Empowered people identify problems and fix them” (Smith 1998, 212).

John F. (Jack) Welch, Jr., the legendary CEO of General Electric during the 1980s and 1990s, recognized early in his tenure that to survive and grow, GE and similar companies would have to compete in

rapidly changing high-tech global markets. Successful executives would have to lead their corporations in dominating the market in a boundaryless world by making product quality and customer satisfaction their highest priorities. Welch argued, despite his own reputation as a tough, directive-style executive, that leaders of boundless corporations could not succeed, in his metaphor, as someone on a horse commanding the troops. He proclaimed that good corporate leaders succeeded through other people's success. Welch believed executives had to shape a vision, set goals, empower managers to innovate and act, and hold them responsible for performance if they were to improve product quality and maximize productivity.

GLOBAL BUSINESS LEADERS IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Globalization of business during the 1980s and 1990s further undermined most of those assumptions that had buttressed conventional business management theories. After years of observing corporate executives, Warren Bennis declared the end of the "great man" as leader. Technology, complexity, networking, knowledge-based productivity, orientation toward customers, and globalization made it virtually impossible for any single executive to know enough to direct a corporation through command and control. In the high-tech, fast-changing, global markets of the twenty-first century, Bennis argued, important work would have to be done and organizations had to be led by "great teams." Leaders of teams would need more subtle and sophisticated traits; the ability to integrate, coordinate, empower, and collaborate would become far more effective than commanding and controlling. Nancy Adler concluded through research on international executives that global corporations would have to recruit and develop leaders who, in addition to other collaborative leadership traits, possessed cultural sensitivity, could learn to use diplomatic means of achieving goals, forged relationships that created respect for all parties, communicated clearly, solved cultural problems, and synergistically negotiated across cultures.

Others extended the argument that successful

business leaders in the twenty-first century would require much more than technical expertise, intelligence, or command presence. Daniel Goleman's studies of international executives in the United States, Japan, Europe, and Latin America found many cases of failed leaders who were highly intelligent or experts in their field. He and his colleagues attributed their failure to the lack of emotional intelligence—the self-awareness, self-regulation, empathy, and social skills that are essential for leading teams effectively in complex organizations. They concluded that diverse leadership styles are needed to lead teams well under variable circumstances. Commanding styles may be appropriate in crises, but visionary, coaching, affiliative, democratic, and pace-setting styles can, in other circumstances, more effectively motivate, connect, empower, harmonize, and excite teams to achieve corporate goals.

Debates continue over whether, as John Kotter argues, there are significant differences between managers, who seek to stabilize organizations and operations, and leaders, who seek change. Similar arguments have yet to be resolved over whether business leaders are born or made; the former implying the need for careful recruitment, the latter for extensive training and development.

—Dennis A. Rondinelli

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MANDELA, NELSON (b. 1918)

South African resistance leader and president

Nelson Mandela is recognized as a key figure in ending white minority rule in South Africa, and as a great statesman who set an example of reconciliation for his countrymen. From his early years as an angry, radical resistance fighter, Mandela was transformed into a leader of exceptional stature. Upon his 1990 release from prison after twenty-seven years, he led the African National Congress's negotiations with the ruling National Party, winning the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize for his reconciliatory efforts. He

became the nation's president in 1994 after its first all-race elections.

Born in 1918 in the Transkei, Mandela was raised by his uncle, the Thembu regent, after his father's death. Mandela credits his leadership style of compromise and conciliation to African traditions that were practiced at court, which he witnessed firsthand as a boy. At tribal meetings all were free to voice their opinions, and meetings continued until some kind of consensus was reached. Trained to be the advisor to the regent, Mandela was educated at Healdtown and at Fort Hare. Suspended from Fort Hare in 1940, Mandela found his way to Johannesburg, where he earned a bachelor's degree from the University of South Africa in 1941 and continued his education in law at the University of Witwatersrand. With Oliver Tambo he opened the country's first black-owned law firm in 1952.

BECOMING A FREEDOM FIGHTER

In Johannesburg Mandela was exposed to the African National Congress (ANC), a group formed in 1912 to advocate for the political rights of black South Africans under white minority rule. He joined the ANC in 1944 and was elected to its National Executive Committee in 1949. In 1951, he was elected president of the ANC Youth League, which was dedicated to pushing the organization in a more militant direction.

The Youth Leaguers were highly suspicious of whites, feeling they would try to control the movement. At the time the Youth League was formed, Mandela was firmly opposed to joining forces with other races: "While I was not prepared to hurl the white man into the sea, I would have been perfectly happy if he had climbed aboard his steamships and left the continent of his own volition" (Meredith 1998, 66–67).

The Youth League drafted a Program of Action calling for peaceful but nevertheless illegal boycotts, strikes, stay-at-home protests, and demonstrations to replace the polite and fruitless deputations and petitions the ANC typically employed. By 1950, Mandela was finding it more difficult to justify his prejudice against the mainly white members of the

Communist Party of South Africa. Not only were there communists whom he admired, but also his reading of Marx, Engels, and Lenin convinced him that a classless society would have much in common with traditional African culture, which cared for the needs of all.

It took a while longer for Mandela to alter his view on Indians; many African supporters viewed them as a merchant class of exploiters of black labor. When the ANC decided to embark on a Defiance Campaign against unjust laws in 1952, Mandela was opposed to allowing the Indians to join it—but he was voted down by the other members of the ANC executive committee. Mandela biographer Martin Meredith notes his personal transformation as a result of the Defiance Campaign: “For practical reasons, Mandela had come to accept that a multiracial strategy was necessary in dealing with the government, abandoning the Africanist notions that he had held for so long. In time, his support for a multiracial strategy developed into a unshakeable conviction about the importance of a multiracial approach in striving for non-racial democracy which never wavered, even under the greatest pressure the government could inflict.” (Meredith 1998, 98).

Shortly after serving as national volunteer-in-chief of the Defiance Campaign, Mandela became president of the Transvaal ANC, and later one of the ANC’s four deputy presidents. By 1953, Mandela was at odds with the ANC’s strict policy of nonviolence. Later he wrote, “Nonviolent passive resistance is effective as long as your opposition adheres to the same rules as you do. But if peaceful protest is met with violence, its efficacy is at an end. For me, nonviolence was not a moral principle but a strategy; there is no moral goodness in using an ineffective weapon” (Mandela 1994, 137).

The ANC joined with other groups in a Congress of the People in 1955 to adopt the Freedom Charter, which affirmed that “South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white . . . and no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people.” Mandela was among 156 defendants in the Treason Trial of 1956, which focused on the period from the Defiance Campaign through the Congress of the People. The prosecutor insisted that

the defendants advocated the violent overthrow of the state—since the Freedom Charter’s goals could be met only by overthrowing the state, so unwilling would whites be to share political power. Although personally Mandela had come to accept the necessity for violence in the struggle for African rights, this was not the official position of the ANC, and all defendants were, in time, acquitted. The ruling, by three white judges who rose above “their prejudices, their education, and their background,” proved to Mandela that “there is a streak of goodness in men that can be buried or hidden and then emerge unexpectedly” (Mandela 1994, 226). Incidents like this one, although few in number, nevertheless encouraged Mandela’s basic optimism about human nature and confirmed his belief in the capacity of whites to change.

A group of young Africanists broke away from the ANC in 1960 to form the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). These militants objected to the Freedom Charter’s inclusiveness. “Africa for Africans” became their credo, and they objected to the participation of whites and Indians in the Congress alliance. Mandela has admitted that while he too had felt this way at an earlier stage in his life, his thinking had evolved. “While I sympathized with the views of the Africanists and once shared many of them, I believed that the freedom struggle required one to make compromises and accept the kind of discipline that one resisted as a younger, more impulsive man” (Mandela 1994, 199). It was this break-away organization that called for a pass campaign in March 1960 to protest against the law that required Africans to carry an identity document, or “pass,” at all times. During the resulting Sharpeville Massacre, police fired on unarmed protesters turning in their passes in that township. The PAC and ANC were declared illegal organizations the following month. Shortly afterwards the ANC, along with the Communist Party—the Communist Party of South Africa had reorganized itself in 1953 as the South African Communist Party—established a military organization known as Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), or “Spear of the Nation,” to fight the government, beginning with acts of sabotage against government installations. Mandela’s explanation was that violence

would begin whether the ANC initiated it or not. “Would it not be better to guide this violence ourselves, according to principles where we save lives by attacking symbols of oppression and not people?” he asked (Mandela 1994, 237). Mandela justified the strategy: “Because it did not involve the loss of life it offered the best hope for reconciliation among the races afterward” (Mandela 1994, 246). The ANC agreed and modified its half-century commitment to nonviolence.

While serving a five-year prison sentence for inciting people to strike and for leaving the country without a passport, Mandela—along with the entire high command of MK—was charged with sabotage in 1963, when documents highlighting MK’s underground activities were found at a farm in Rivonia. At the conclusion of his trial, Mandela read from a prepared statement: “I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if need be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die” (Mandela 1994, 322). The verdict: life imprisonment.

LEARNING AT ROBBER “UNIVERSITY”

Mandela’s journey had only begun. He later recounted, “We regarded the struggle in prison as a microcosm of the struggle as a whole. We would fight inside as we had fought outside. The racism and repression were the same; I would simply have to fight on different terms” (Mandela 1994, 341). The everyday struggles for practical needs—sunglasses, long trousers, study privileges, and fairly distributed food—were corollaries to the struggle on the outside.

Mandela was clear in his mind that the enemy was the system; he saw beyond race to one’s commitment to the struggle, realizing that some whites, especially the communists, were as committed as black Africans were to the cause of liberation. But Mandela’s commitment to nonracialism would be sorely tested in prison. Some of the guards, known as warders, were cruel and vindictive. He saw his jail time as an opportunity to convert to the cause not only the nonpolitical African inmates but also the white warders. “I always tried to be decent to the

warders in my section; hostility was self-defeating. There was no point in having a permanent enemy among the warders. It was ANC policy to educate all people, even our enemies; we believed that all men, even prison service warders, were capable of change, and we did our utmost to try to sway them” (Mandela 1994, 365). When a particularly unpleasant warder was to be transferred to another prison, Mandela was called to his office. The warder told him, “I just want to wish you people good luck.” Mandela wished him luck in his endeavors as well. Later he wrote, “I thought about this moment for a long time afterward. Badenhorst had perhaps been the most callous and barbaric commanding officer we had had on Robben Island. But that day in the office he had revealed that there was another side to his nature, a side that had been obscured but that still existed. It was a useful reminder that all men, even the most seemingly cold-blooded, have a core of decency, and that if their heart is touched, they are capable of changing. Ultimately, Badenhorst was not evil; his inhumanity had been foisted upon him by an inhuman system. He behaved like a brute because he was rewarded for brutish behavior” (Mandela 1994, 402–403).

During his time at Robben Island (from 1964 to 1982), Mandela developed an appreciation for the importance of compromise. For instance, when informed that his wife, Winnie, could visit him only if she carried a pass—clearly an attempt to humiliate both of them, since the ANC had been protesting passes for years—he advised her to consent. “I thought it was more important that we see each other than to resist the petty machinations of the authorities” (Mandela 1994, 370). Mandela demonstrated that he knew when to compromise and when not to. In 1976, Jimmy Kruger, the minister of police, offered Mandela a reduced sentence if he would recognize the legitimacy of the Transkei government; the South African government had established an independent Xhosa “nation” to demonstrate to the world that black South Africans had political rights in their own “homelands.” (These homelands were, of course, unrecognized by any other government.) The decision was simple: “It was an offer only a turncoat could accept” (Mandela 1994, 420). Periodically, proposals came from the government offering



Statement by Nelson Mandela on Building a Global Partnership for Children (Johannesburg, 6 May 2000)

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Graca and I are proud to be here today with our esteemed friend Carol Bellamy, the Executive Director of the United Nations Children Fund, to announce our commitment to work closely with her and her respected organization on a cause we hold most dear to our hearts—the rights of the children and adolescents of this world to live safe from violence and exploitation, free of poverty and discrimination, and to grow healthy and strong.

Here in my beloved country where people once divided by apartheid now work together in the name of justice Graca and I pledge our energies to building a global partnership for children of leaders from every sector and every calling who share a dogged determination to change the way the world sees our children and the way the world treats our children.

Our purpose is to get specific commitments from these leaders and specific results.

We will be insistent gracious yes but unyielding as we make phone calls, write letters, provide consultations, and make speeches on behalf of children—pressing a wide circle of leaders from business civil society and governments to rethink what they do every day to better the lives of children. And whatever it is they do today we will coax them to do more tomorrow.

We will urge these leaders to take their turn in reaching out to a wider circle still inviting, cajoling, carrying each other along in an unprecedented international movement a collective global force that will herald the rights of children and act to ensure them.

This global partnership will be guided in its work by the Convention on the Rights of the Child, that luminous living document that enshrines the rights of every child without

exception to a life of dignity and self-fulfillment.

We are not seeking nor will we accept vague promises. We will challenge enlightened government leaders to join us and turn their words into deeds, enforce the laws, enact the policies and search out the excluded children—the girl child the poor child the one little one with disabilities the one from the wrong tribe wrong caste—and find the ways to embrace them.

We will ask innovators in the business world to put their unique abilities to work for children. Use distribution networks that deliver cola drinks to the most remote towns and get textbooks and vaccines there first. Share profits, share talent, share advertising space—all in the name of children.

We will call upon leaders in academia the media and other sectors to join with us to ensure that the world honours its obligation to children. Be ever vigilant, hold governments accountable, struggle for peace and justice. Do not let up for a moment for there is no circumstance in which the neglect or abuse of children can ever be tolerated.

And to all who would be leaders we will issue the challenge that if met will speak louder than any document, reach out to children and adolescents themselves, involve them, engage them and listen to what they have to say. Make certain that the global partnership for children includes children.

This new partnership for children builds on the promises made nearly a decade ago at the World Summit for Children when national leaders from every part of the world made a solemn commitment to ensure the well-being of all societies by giving high priority to the rights of children to their survival and to their development. Those leaders pledged to act together in international cooperation as well as in their respective countries to enhance child health and pre-natal

Source: UNICEF. Retrieved September 17, 2003, from <http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mandela/2000/nm0506.html>

release in exchange for renouncing violence as a political instrument. Mandela's loyalty to the ANC was beyond question, and he refused to renounce unconditionally the use of violence, which had been ANC policy since 1961 when it set up its military wing, MK. However, he was open to negotiations with the government. Africans had been engaged in armed struggle for over two decades with little success. "We had right on our side, but not yet might. It was clear to me that a military victory was a distant if not impossible dream. It simply did not make

sense for both sides to lose thousands if not millions of lives in a conflict that was unnecessary. . . . It was time to talk" (Mandela 1994, 457).

Prisoners including Mandela continued their education in prison, working on degrees through correspondence courses and running political seminars for the inmates. Mandela even learned Afrikaans in prison and encouraged others to do the same. To those who argued that it was the language of the oppressor, Mandela replied that it was a means of understanding the oppressor's mind—useful in the

care to promote optimal child growth and development's to work toward strengthening the role and status of women's and to mount a global attack on poverty.

In the ensuing years some objectives—but far from all—of that noble agenda have come to pass.

Now at the dawn of the 21st Century we have a unique opportunity to fulfill the remaining commitments of the World Summit for Children—while simultaneously tackling new and emerging problems including poverty, HIV/AIDS and the scourge of armed conflict.

In this world in which we have the means to cure many of the cancers that only a decade ago were considered lethal, surely we are able to vaccinate all children against child killing diseases. In this world of such abundance surely we can find the means to assure that no child will go hungry, no pregnant woman will be too weak to survive childbirth, and that every one of the nearly 6 million children who will die next year because of malnutrition will be saved.

Surely in a world where communication technologies let some children exchange messages across oceans in seconds, we can provide every child with a basic education of the very best quality. In this world of such invention there can be no excuse for not ensuring that all our children will have the knowledge and skills for success and the capabilities to work with others reach their full potential and transform their society.

Surely when children and adolescents in every part of the world can name their favourite soft drink, running shoe, or sports we are able to ensure that they will have access to the information they need to stay healthy. In a world that so often decries the apathy of its youth we can open our arms for the millions of adolescents eager to contribute their new ideas and bounding enthusiasm. And surely we can stand by the commitments that nearly every government in the world has made to children in signing the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Governments remain the primary actors in addressing such challenges—and indeed in playing a leading role in all development cooperation while involving the poor and the young themselves as full participants.

But now amid growing economic interdependence among nations we see a new global reality with additional protagonists including non-governmental organisations, grassroots groups, private enterprise, the business community and other diverse elements of civil society.

These new actors possess both the knowledge and the resources to make a difference. Thus their involvement in a global partnership for children is not only desirable—it is vital. The task before us is to bring them together.

But time is short—for if we do not act now in concert, the brushfire crises that are proliferating around the world may yet become an uncontrollable conflagration.

Graca and I hope that we can act as catalysts helping to persuade leaders of government and civil society at every level to recognise that if we want a more just, equitable and thriving world we need to invest in children now.

This must include efforts that take full account of the immense peril that HIV/AIDS and armed conflict pose to every aspect of child survival—and the recognition that global poverty which has already consigned some 3 billion people to living on less than \$2 a day, half of them children—is not only a moral outrage but a profound political and economic threat to the whole world. The knowledge, the resources and the strategies all exist to make this a better world for all children—and Graca and I are convinced that if we start now we can build a truly global alliance to bring it about.

To dear Ms. Bellamy, to UNICEF and to the children of the world we say, you have our word to help.

To our friends and colleagues we say, expect our call. To you here today who have afforded us your kind attention, thank you.

longer term as well as in prison. “It was long-term possibilities that Mandela always managed to keep in sight,” notes Meredith (Meredith 1998, 297). Even before his imprisonment, Mandela sensed that he would one day be South Africa's president. This is perhaps the key to Mandela's strength of character. He was willing to compromise and to forgive because he knew that he would need the goodwill of whites to support the new democracy. Thus, his sense of his historical destiny sustained him and fostered his magnanimity toward his enemies.

Mandela's experiences on Robben Island, at Poorsmoor Prison (from 1982 to 1988,) and at Victor Verster (from 1989 to 1990) were the perfect training for leadership. His positive encounters with white warders enabled him later to see National Party leader F. W. de Klerk as a person capable of change. He learned the importance of compromise. So while Mandela would not renounce violence to gain release, once free he was willing to temporarily suspend the armed struggle to help de Klerk with his constituency as long as the government was negoti-

ating in good faith. On the ANC alliance with the South African Communist Party, he would not compromise: "Which man of honour will desert a life-long friend at the insistence of a common opponent and still retain a measure of credibility with the people?" (Mandela 1994, 476). Upon his release in 1990, he called his former enemy de Klerk "a man of integrity," words that went far in placating white fears (Mandela 1994, 494). Relations between the two were often strained, and Mandela publicly criticized de Klerk for not stopping the violence in Natal in the early 1990s. But when asked how he could accept the Nobel Peace Prize jointly with de Klerk in 1993, Mandela insisted that de Klerk had made a genuine and indispensable contribution to the peace process. Ever the pragmatist, Mandela explained: "To make peace with an enemy one must work with the enemy, and that enemy becomes one's partner" (Mandela 1994, 533). During negotiations with the National Party, the ANC was willing to make concessions by accepting amnesty for security officials, honoring contracts of civil servants for five years, and agreeing to share power for five years—as determined by the parties' percentages of the national vote.

RECONCILING THE NATION

When the ANC won South Africa's first democratic election in 1994, Mandela saw his mission as "one of preaching reconciliation, of binding the wounds of the country, of engendering trust and confidence" (Mandela 1994, 540). Meredith notes that during those four years after his prison release, Mandela attained such stature thanks to his lack of bitterness, his insistence on reconciliation, and his willingness to compromise. While the white community would not vote for him, they would accept a government under his presidency. When criticized for bending over backwards to placate whites, Mandela argued that reassuring whites involved no cost. Without reassuring them, the transition to democracy would have been problematic, and civil war might have broken out. Commented one of his colleagues: "You never quite know whether he's a saint or a Machiavelli" (Sampson 1999, 515).

For whatever reasons—moral or pragmatic—reconciliation was the hallmark of his presidency and remains the hallmark of his leadership. People have marveled at his lack of bitterness. He simply has none. "In prison, my anger toward whites decreased, but my hatred for the system grew. I wanted South Africa to see that I loved even my enemies while I hated the system that turned us against one another," he wrote (Mandela 1994, 495). Mac Maharaj has observed: "In his political life in the early years he gave vent to the anger he felt. In prison he got his anger almost totally under control. That control has come about through a deliberate effort by Mandela, for political reasons as well as personal" (Frost 1998, 4). Mandela explains his transformation in prison this way: "It was during those long and lonely years that my hunger for the freedom of my own people became a hunger for the freedom of all people, white and black. I knew as I knew anything that the oppressor must be liberated just as surely as the oppressed, for all had been robbed of humanity. When I walked out of prison, that was my mission, to liberate the oppressed and the oppressor both" (Frost 1998, 6).

Analysts look in vain for the key to this personality trait, expecting to find it perhaps in some religious conviction. Mandela admits he is "not particularly spiritual" (Frost 1998, 14), though he admires the faith community's anti-apartheid contributions. Even as a young man he believed he would be president, and he knew that he simply did not have the luxury of succumbing to hate and revenge. He was aware of the larger-than-life expectations thrust upon him to exemplify moral leadership. Overcoming whites' fears of a nonracial democracy was crucial, and earning their trust and confidence made the political settlement possible. How did the man who left prison differ from the man who had entered it? His simple answer: "I came out mature" (Meredith 1998, 407).

In varied settings and through symbolic gestures, Mandela used his leadership to model forgiveness and to set an example of reconciliation between the races. Who would have expected him to invite former adversaries to his inauguration as president? Yet three of his former warders were invited to sit in the VIP section at his inauguration on May 10, 1994.

The warders, along with the entire nation, were mesmerized by Mandela's inaugural address in which he set the tone for the incoming government: "Let us stretch out our hands to those who have beaten us and say to them that we are all South Africans. Now is the time to heal the old wounds and to build a new South Africa." His address was full of words of conciliation, forgiveness, and hope.

At a luncheon he held for the wives of former South African prime ministers, presidents, and liberation movement leaders, Mandela again played the role of reconciler. Along with the expected invitations to Albertina Sisulu and Adelaide Tambo—wives of ANC luminaries Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo—Mandela included Tiene Vorster and Elize Botha, wives of former prime ministers John Vorster and P.W. Botha, to help them feel comfortable in the new dispensation.

Even more remarkable was his invitation to Percy Yutar to join him for lunch. Yutar had been the prosecutor in the Rivonia trial who had argued unsuccessfully for the death sentence for Mandela, and expressed regret when he received a life sentence instead. Yutar was struck by this gesture: "I wonder in what other country in the world you would have the head of government inviting someone to lunch who prosecuted him thirty years ago" (Meredith 1998, 529).

A more public example of Mandela's willingness to reconcile with former enemies was seen in his handling of the 1995 Rugby World Cup games, the first significant international event to take place in post-apartheid South Africa. Rugby in South Africa had been considered a white man's sport and a symbol of white Afrikaner pride dating back to the Boer War. Like most black South Africans, Mandela had always supported any team opposing the South African Springboks. Yet when the president presented the South African and New Zealand teams, who had made it to the finals, he did so wearing the number six rugby jersey of the once despised Springboks, referring to them as "my sons." The mostly white crowd went wild at this magnanimous gesture on the part of their new president. Black Africans, too, accepted this reidentification of the team, and the day after the Springboks beat the All

Blacks in overtime, *The Sowetan*, a popular black newspaper, ran the headline "Amabokoboko"—Zulu for "Our Springboks." By example, Mandela was able to teach a new way of thinking and behaving to his people.

Mandela also encouraged his countrymen to follow his lead and embrace the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which held hearings from 1996 to 1998 to investigate human rights abuses committed during the apartheid era. The TRC thoroughly embodied the notion of reconciliation: Perpetrators were offered forgiveness through amnesty in exchange for disclosure of past offenses against victims, who were encouraged to turn the other cheek. If this man could endure twenty-seven years of captivity and remain forgiving, how could others who had suffered less do otherwise?

Hailed an "icon of forgiveness" by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Mandela has been praised worldwide. Remarkd U.S. President Bill Clinton: "Every time Nelson Mandela walks into a room we all feel a little bigger, we all want to stand up, we all want to cheer, because we'd like to be him on our best day" (Sampson 1999, 557). Retired from the government in 1999, Mandela continues to exert moral leadership, urging other nations to solve their differences through mutual understanding and conciliation.

—Lyn S. Graybill

See also Apartheid in South Africa, Demise of; Truth and Reconciliation Commissions; Tutu, Desmond

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MANHATTAN PROJECT

The Manhattan Project was a secret U.S. military engineering project undertaken during World War II to develop the world's first atomic bomb. Lasting from 1942 to 1946, it was carried out under the tight supervision of the U.S. military and government and combined thorough scientific research and industrial engineering. The project was conducted so secretly that Vice President Harry Truman was unaware of it until after he was sworn in as president upon the death of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1945. The man in charge of the project was Gen. Leslie Groves. Groves, born 17 August 1896, was the deputy chief of construction of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. His engineering and military background gave him the necessary experience to head the project. Groves would oversee the project throughout, proving to be a capable and determined leader. His leadership was best exemplified by his obsession with completing the task. His primary concern with the Manhattan Project was to get fast and effective results without jeopardizing the secrecy of the project, and his aggressive and assertive leadership style was exemplified by his relentless pursuit to create the atomic bomb. Although many of the scientists who worked under Groves found him to be offensive and intimidating, the greatest secret military project in modern history would be a success, with its scientists and engineers able to develop the first atomic bomb under immense pressures.

At the beginning of the Manhattan Project, research was being conducted at many universities throughout the country, but under Groves's attention, research would be condensed to three main sites. The most famous of these sites was Los Alamos, New

Mexico, where under the supervision of its director, scientist J. Robert Oppenheimer (1904–1967), the bomb was designed and constructed. At the project's peak, more than 130,000 people were working on the project. The Manhattan Project marked the first time that the fields of industry and science had worked together with government on a major project. Thus, the interaction between the military officials and the scientists was crucial to success. At Los Alamos, the developers and researchers worked together in a tight-knit community while remaining isolated from the outside world because secrecy was a top priority. Under such arduous conditions, strong leadership and organization were vital. Both Oppenheimer and Groves would prove to be men capable of handling the most difficult of tasks under the most stressful times.

THE BIRTH OF THE MANHATTAN PROJECT

The first indications of the possibility of atomic energy became evident in 1938 in Berlin, with the splitting of the first uranium atom. On 11 October 1939, U.S. physicist Albert Einstein wrote to President Roosevelt to tell him that the Germans were probably attempting to construct an atomic bomb. A receptive Roosevelt ordered the formation of a committee whose purpose was to finance U.S. universities in uranium research. By December 1941 research had begun on the properties of fissile materials, which were crucial for the explosion of the atomic bomb. Much of the research was done at the Metallurgical Laboratory at the University of Chicago.

This research was handed over to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in June 1942. On 17 September 1942, General Groves was placed in charge of the project and promptly named the project the "Manhattan Engineering District," which would become more commonly referred to as the "Manhattan Project." His main task was to carry out the project as quickly and as secretly as possible so that other countries would remain unaware of it. This was a difficult task because the project was spread out across the country and because to complete the project's objective Groves had to ensure that the people working on the project were unaware that their

research was intended to produce an atomic bomb. His plan was to carry out the project in an industrial format, with the military, rather than the scientists, governing. This format was alien to the scientists, who believed that at all times they should be the authoritative figures of their research.

Groves's organizational strategy was known as "military compartmentalization." The scientists were assigned to individual groups with separate tasks. A military advisor would oversee each group, ensuring that the scientists could communicate information only to this advisor. This strategy eliminated the free flow of information that was commonplace during scientific research. As a result, the scientists were unable to determine that their individual assignments were part of the grand scheme of building the bomb. Compartmentalization was successful in that it kept the project a secret; however, under such conditions the scientists found work difficult.

In his labs at the University of California at Berkeley, Oppenheimer was placed in charge of the theoretical design project in the spring of 1942. During the summer of 1942 he supervised a group of theorists, including Edward Teller, whose purpose was to decide how to create an atomic bomb. Scientists had many uncertainties regarding how to cause the most effective and powerful atomic explosion. They determined that although achieving results would take a tremendous effort, it was possible, and they proposed a few hypothetical methods to create the necessary explosion. These methods would be the basis of the research at Los Alamos, which is significant in that the entire project was based on untested theories.

THE TEST SITES

One of Groves's greatest leadership assets as overseer of the project was his ability to recognize problems and make adjustments. He was aware that their being spread across the country made progress difficult for the workers. To alleviate this difficulty, one of his first decisions was to purchase land in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, which would be used for uranium research. Oppenheimer was also aware of the problem, especially for the scientists who could not work effectively without being able to access information

from one another. In their isolated groups, Oppenheimer believed, the scientists were wasting valuable time trying to relay information to one another. Under these circumstances, the decision to create a private site solely for the scientists was approved. Groves chose Oppenheimer to be the scientific director of the project in November of 1942. Some people wondered if Oppenheimer would be a successful leader. Groves and Oppenheimer nevertheless agreed to use an isolated boys' ranch at Los Alamos, New Mexico, as the site for scientific research. By April 1943, the ranch was ready for the scientists, whose sole objective was to create an atomic bomb.

On 2 December 1942, the project received a major breakthrough. After three years of research, Enrico Fermi (1901–1954), a renowned scientist at the metallurgical labs in Chicago, produced the first sustaining uranium chain reaction. The significance was that both uranium and plutonium could be potential materials for the atomic bomb. Based on Fermi's discovery, the Manhattan Project directed its attention to creating large amounts of both materials. A third test site was built at Hanford, Washington, where the engineers' task was to produce large amounts of plutonium.

The idea to create three test sites was a major boost for the project. The solution for the scientists was simple: consolidate all of the scientists into one isolated location where they could work among their peers and freely exchange information yet remain in secrecy from the rest of the world. In February 1943 construction began at Oak Ridge, where the scientists faced the daunting task of separating the uranium isotope U-235 from natural uranium. The workers remained unaware that they were contributing to construction of the atomic bomb. Two months later, construction began at Hanford. Groves chose to have the Hanford site supervised by both his army engineers and the du Pont corporation, which was responsible for assembling the plant at Hanford where research would be conducted. Groves chose du Pont because of its ability to construct a functioning plant in a short period of time. When he approached du Pont with his proposition, Groves never disclosed the fact that du Pont would be helping to create a bomb to be used to end the war.



Einstein Warns Roosevelt

Deeply concerned about the possibility that the Nazis would take the lead in atomic energy research (and the making of an atomic bomb), physicist Leo Szilard prevailed upon Albert Einstein to warn President Franklin D. Roosevelt that the United States needed to accelerate its own work in atomic energy. Below is the text of the letter Einstein sent to Roosevelt in August 1939.

Sir:

Some recent work by E. Fermi and L. Szilard, which has been communicated to me in manuscript, leads me to expect that the element uranium may be turned into a new and important source of energy in the immediate future. Certain aspects of the situation which has arisen seem to call for watchfulness and, if necessary, quick action on the part of the Administration. I believe therefore that it is my duty to bring to your attention the following facts and recommendations:

In the course of the last four months it has been made probable—through the work of Joliot in France as well as Fermi and Szilard in America—that it may become possible to set up a nuclear chain reaction in a large mass of uranium, by which vast amounts of power and large quantities of new radium-like elements would be generated. Now it appears almost certain that this would be achieved in the immediate future.

This new phenomenon would also lead to the construction of bombs, and it is conceivable—though much less certain—that extremely powerful bombs of a new type may thus be constructed. A single bomb of this type, carried by boat and exploded in a port, might very well destroy the whole port together with some of the surrounding territory. However, such bombs might very well prove to be too heavy for transportation by air.

The United States has only very poor ores of uranium in moderate quantities. There is some good ore in Canada and the former Czechoslovakia, while the most important source of uranium is Belgian Congo.

In view of this situation you may think it desirable to have some permanent contact maintained between the Administration and the group of physicists working on chain reactions in America, one possible way of achieving this might be for you to entrust with this task a person who has your confidence and who could perhaps serve in an unofficial capacity. His task might comprise the following:

to approach Government Departments, keep them informed of the further development, and put forward recommendations for Government action, giving particular attention to the problem of securing a supply of uranium ore for the United States.

to speed up the experimental work, which is at present being carried on within the limits of the budget of University laboratories, by providing funds, if such funds be required, through his contacts with private persons who are willing to make contributions to this cause, and perhaps also by obtaining the co-operation of industrial laboratories which have the necessary equipment.

I understand that Germany has actually stopped the sale of uranium from the Czechoslovakian mines which she has taken over. That she would have taken such early action might perhaps be understood on the ground that the son of the German Under-Secretary of State, von Weizsacker, is attached to the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut in Berlin where some of the American work on uranium is now being repeated.

Yours very truly,
Albert Einstein

Source: Dannen, Gene. (1998). *Einstein to Roosevelt, August 2, 1939*. Retrieved August 14, 2003, from <http://www.dannen.com/szilard.html>

Rather, he gave du Pont only information relative to its assignment, which was consistent with his belief that with few exceptions, the workers needed to know only what their task was, leaving the overall objective to himself and his advisors to oversee.

LOS ALAMOS

The assignment at Los Alamos was named “Project Y,” and its task was to develop the bomb. The men

and women at Los Alamos were scientists, civilian engineers, metallurgists, and military officials. Many different backgrounds and personalities had to be blended as one team for the project to produce quick and effective results. The University of California was contracted by Groves on 15 April 1943 to conduct the research under Oppenheimer’s supervision. Oppenheimer’s task was to supervise the technical and scientific work. All information would pass to him, and then he would report back to Groves. The

decision to allow the scientists to work together in an isolated camp addressed two important purposes. First, it produced an environment conducive for scientific work because scientists could exchange important information easier. Second, the scientists remained isolated from the general public, thus preserving the project's secrecy.

In April 1943, Oppenheimer briefed his first group of scientists at Los Alamos, telling them that their task was to construct an atomic bomb. He told them of the recent discoveries in fast-fission research, and by the end of the briefings the scientists were up to date with the project. To most of the scientists, the enormous task of creating an atomic bomb brought a much-needed enthusiasm to the work, an enthusiasm that had been suffocated by military compartmentalization. Ensuring that the scientists were excited and intrigued by the challenges of their work was important to Oppenheimer. The scientists were informed of the various potential experiments relating to their work, which was mostly based on theories rather than fact. Their work would be unprecedented, and the scientists readily accepted the challenges.

EARLY PROBLEMS IN NEW MEXICO

In an effort to make the workers more comfortable, their families were allowed to live with them for the duration of the project. However, problems at Los Alamos surfaced early because on-site housing facilities were not ready for everyone. Alternative living areas were provided at ranches in Santa Fe, but these proved to be overcrowded and poorly equipped. Transportation to and from the test site was equally as burdensome, with too few vehicles to transport everyone. Because of the need to begin the project quickly, the workers had to endure dismal conditions and focus on their tasks.

To counteract the housing problems, Oppenheimer was determined to make the working environment as conducive to scientific research as he could. Under his supervision the laboratory and its two hundred scientists were broken into five groups, each with its own set of tasks. However, unlike in military compartmentalization, each group had a better outlet for the transfer of information between the other groups.

Oppenheimer needed to keep the scientists focused on their individual research tasks because their work was the most challenging. Many of the scientists were working with plutonium, which was relatively new to the scientific field and whose properties remained unknown. In addition, acquiring the proper equipment immediately was often difficult, and thus scientists were often handicapped in their research.

Through all of these problems, Groves was relentless about the scientists pressing on. Groves expected problems to arise, but rather than wait for the problems to be resolved, he fiercely pressed the scientists to not only continue their work, but also to make positive findings in their work, no matter how disadvantaged they were. He refused to let the project slow down in fear that the Germans would produce a bomb first. Under such conditions, Oppenheimer was an effective leader. He was not an aggressive or intimidating leader, and as a scientist he was able to relate to the problems the other scientists faced. He made sure that Los Alamos was organized as a civilian laboratory, as opposed to Groves's initial plan to organize Los Alamos as a strict military-run laboratory. One of Oppenheimer's greatest virtues was his ability to have a good relationship with both Groves and the other scientists, thus allowing him to bridge their differences. A more aggressive director would have only added to the problems that the scientists already faced. Oppenheimer embodied the leadership skills necessary for the situation that he faced. His greatest gift as a leader was his ability to meet the situational demands that he encountered at Los Alamos.

RESEARCH AT PROJECT Y

The main research problem confronting the scientists was finding a way to sustain a neutron chain reaction. The more neutrons released during a chain reaction, the greater the explosion of the bomb. The difficulty lay in trying to release the most neutrons before the bomb exploded. As neutrons were released, the energy that they produced could cause the bomb to explode prematurely. The scientists had to find ways to prolong the time before the bomb exploded to enable more neutrons to be released.

By the spring of 1944, small amounts of plutonium had arrived at Los Alamos for experiments. The properties of plutonium continued to confuse and frustrate the scientists. Its unpredictability caused the scientists to have to rethink part of their research. Previously the scientists had concluded that the best type of bomb would use the gun-assembly method, which worked by shooting one fissionable material into another. This would produce the explosion needed to explode the bomb. With regards to plutonium, the scientists were skeptical that the gun-assembly method would cause an explosion. They needed a new way to cause the plutonium to explode, and so they focused their attentions to the idea of implosion.

The theory behind implosion was that instead of shooting the particles into one another, implosion directed the blast inward, where large amounts of fissionable materials would squeeze themselves together until they caused an explosion. The problem with implosion was that, unlike the gun-assembly method, it had never previously been attempted. By July 1944, finding a way to use implosion became the top priority at Los Alamos. However, even with much attention being put into plutonium implosion, results were slow.

ALAMOGORDO AND THE TRINITY TEST

Groves and Oppenheimer had first begun discussing the notion of a test in the spring of 1944. Both men were confident that the gun-assembly bomb would work, but doubts lingered over the plutonium implosion-type bomb. The uranium bomb was constructed in May 1945 and needed only enough uranium. On 13 July, the implosion-type bomb was built, although no one knew whether it would work. By testing the plutonium bomb, the scientists could see if their design had faults.

Scientists had two concerns over the test. The first involved simply whether the bomb would explode. The second involved the weather and the potential radioactive fallout if the bomb did explode. The test was conducted in the desert to be far from human population, but because the after-effects of the bomb were unknown, Groves had vehicles ready in case he

needed to evacuate civilians who were unaware of the test. At 5:30 A.M. on 16 July 1945, the first atomic bomb, named "Gadget," was detonated in the deserts of New Mexico. Scientist Kenneth Bainbridge was given the role of test director and spent over seven months preparing for the test.

When the bomb was detonated, its explosion filled the sky. The test proved that the implosion bomb would work. Witnessing the explosion, both Oppenheimer and Groves knew that they had effectively helped to win the war. Although the explosion was greater than expected, there was no danger of radioactive fallout. The test symbolized the triumph of the most organized and important national project of the century. Twelve months earlier the idea of creating an implosion-type bomb was thought impossible. The Manhattan Project had proved this assumption wrong.

SIGNIFICANCE

The creation and detonation of the atomic bomb led to the end of World War II. A uranium bomb, Little Boy, and a plutonium bomb, Fat Man, were dropped on Japan on 6 August and 9 August 1945, respectively. On 2 September 1945, Japan formally surrendered aboard the USS *Missouri*.

Although Oppenheimer has been called "father of the atomic bomb," General Groves deserves the primary credit. The Manhattan Project was not simply a scientific operation, but rather was foremost an engineering operation that combined science and engineering to create the atomic bomb. Groves was the man who oversaw every aspect of the project, and his determination to develop the bomb was the driving force. He died on 13 July 1970.

The success of the Manhattan Project was a vindication of the effective leadership of both Groves and Oppenheimer. Each man was a capable leader in his own right, and although they differed in their leadership styles, they proved to be an effective team. Groves's relentless pursuit of excellence kept the project focused. Oppenheimer's understanding of the circumstances that the scientists faced allowed him to create an atmosphere most suitable for scientific research.

—David W. McBride

See also Hiroshima; Roosevelt, Franklin Delano

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MAO ZEDONG (1893–1976)

Leader of China’s Communist revolution

Mao Zedong was the military-political architect of the Communist victory in the Chinese civil war, the

leading Marxist proponent of guerrilla war and continuous revolution, and the supreme ruler of the Chinese People’s Republic from 1949 to 1976. Throughout his career, he sought to use Marxism to transform China while retaining Chinese characteristics. In his early years of heading a Marxist-led rural insurrection, his utopian impulses were balanced by a meticulous concern for detail and an awareness of rural realities. Long years fighting in rural areas and the persistence of traditional Chinese modes of thinking shaped his understanding of socialism and technological modernization. Once Mao obtained power, he became the center of a cult of personality that transformed him into an infallible supreme leader. His self-confidence in the correctness of his own ideas and disdain for the caution of experts and administrators grew more pronounced and contributed to catastrophic policy initiatives such as the Great Leap Forward (1958–1962) and the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976).

YOUTH AND EDUCATION

Mao Zedong was born in the small rural village of Shaoshan in Hunan province in southeastern China. The son of an upwardly mobile peasant who rose from poverty to become a rich grain merchant, Mao’s clashes with his domineering father taught him “that when I defended my rights by open rebellion my father relented, but when I remained meek and submissive he only cursed and beat me more” (Snow 1938, 115). It is simplistic to treat Mao’s subsequent career as a simple act of rebellion against paternal authority, but his attitudes toward authority were conditioned by his childhood experiences and stories of martial heroes in popular novels who struggled against injustice.

Forced to quit school at thirteen to work full time in the fields and keep the family accounts, Mao aspired to greater things. Three years later he ran away from home until his father agreed to send him back to school in a nearby city. He joined the pro-Republican army at the outbreak of the Revolution of 1911 but did not see combat. He left the army to attend the First Provincial Normal School in Changsha, where he learned about China’s classical tradition as well as the



In September 1966, Chairman Mao greets a young female member of the Red Guard in Beijing. The Red Guard was charged earlier in the month with the task of spreading the Cultural Revolution throughout rural China.

Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

new reformist thought sweeping the country. From the outset, he believed strong leaders with martial spirits (and strong bodies) were the answers to China's problems. Even when he advocated democracy and science, he never believed Western culture should completely displace Chinese culture.

CONVERSION TO MARXISM

In the winter of 1918–1919, Mao moved to Beijing, where he was first exposed to Marxist ideas. Mao returned to Changsha in the spring of 1919. He edited radical journals, served as a school principal, and organized radical study groups. In late 1920, he concluded that a Leninist dictatorship was most appropriate for China, but he always valued Marxism primarily as a weapon against oppression rather than as scientific dogma. In 1921 he served as a delegate to the first Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP); he also established the Hunan branch of the party and worked as a labor organizer. In between, he found time to marry Yang Kaihui, the daughter of his former professor.

From 1924 to 1927, the Communist Party worked together with the Nationalist Party, or Guomindang (GMD), and Mao helped run the Guomindang's propaganda department and its Peasant Movement Training Center. His orientation took a dramatic shift in the winter of 1926–1927, when he visited his home province of Hunan. He was astounded by the sight of local peasant unions seizing power from landlords. In "A Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan" (March 1927), he argued that in China, contrary to Marx's prediction, it would be peasants, not workers, who would decide the fate of the revolution: "several million peasants will rise like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent no power, however how great, will be able to hold it back" (Mao 1969, Vol. 1, 23). Liberating the peasants also would require attacks on superstition, clan authority, and paternal authority because those comprised the cultural basis for landlord power.

The optimistic visions of a revolutionary high tide ended in the spring of 1927 when Jiang Jieshi (also known as Chiang Kai-shek, 1887–1975), head of the GMD, turned on the Communists. In the aftermath of the bloody wave of terror, Mao and his surviving peasant forces fled to the inaccessible Jinggang Mountains and subsequently to south central Jiangxi Province. Mao quickly realized that survival of the movement depended on building a trained military force, not on mass movements. He devised a strategy of "people's" warfare that emphasized guerrilla tactics, strict disciplinary standards, political indoctrination, and a close rapport between soldiers and peasants. In contrast to doctrinaire urban-oriented party leaders in Shanghai, he saw the value of rural base areas within which he could mobilize men and resources.

His forces and those of other regional Communist leaders, operating independently, carved out small territorial bases that they called soviets. Mao's base in Jiangxi was the most successful; Mao combined an adroit use of guerrilla tactics with local participation in implementing land reform. His Agrarian Land Law of February 1930 called for confiscation of all landlord holdings but allowed middle and rich peasants to retain the land they worked with their own labor. Mao's "mass line"—usually summarized

as “from the people to the center and then back to the people”—combined active local participation with guidance from above. Local activists whipped up class antagonism against local tyrants; associations of poor peasants, backed by outside organizers, then carried out the redistribution of land. Both land reform and the military struggle against government forces were conducted with extreme violence and brutality on all sides. Among the victims was Mao’s first wife, although by then he had left her and was living with a young activist, He Zizhen.

Mao’s most valuable assets remained his remarkable understanding of the realities of rural-based revolution and his great flexibility in adapting Marxist doctrine to those realities. The pro-Russian “Internationalist” faction that controlled the party, however, regarded Mao’s preference for guerrilla tactics and rural bases as deviations from dogma. In 1931, the party leadership moved to Jiangxi, where with support from Russian advisers they pushed Mao aside and revised his policies. Adoption of their inflexible forward defense strategy contributed to the fall of the Jiangxi soviet in 1934. Communist forces managed to escape encircling Guomindang forces and began the Long March (1934–1935), a 10,000-kilometer trek to northwestern China. During the Long March, Mao wrested control of the party from his opponents, whose position had been discredited by constant military defeats. Only 15,000 survivors of the original 100,000-person strong force reached safety in the remote and poverty-stricken mountains of Shaanxi Province.

WARTIME COMMUNISM (1937–1945)

Japanese military aggression (1937–1945) transformed the fortunes of the Chinese Communists by allowing Mao to assume the mantle of nationalism in the struggle against Japan. During the war, the CCP established itself as the main resistance force in northern China, and Mao further consolidated his grip over rivals in the Communist Party.

At various times in his career, Mao’s nationalist orientation led him to view the entire Chinese people as oppressed by imperialism; at other times, he stressed the importance of class struggle and social

revolution. Both nationalistic concerns about Japanese aggression and an opportunistic desire to end GMD attacks on his forces led Mao to suggest joining with the GMD to fight the Japanese. The result was the second United Front.

In his wartime capital in Yan’an, Mao envisioned a war that would both unite the entire people in patriotic resistance while simultaneously addressing the people’s desire for a better life: In “On Protracted War (May 1938), Mao stated: “the political aim of the war [is] to drive out Japanese imperialism and build a new China of freedom and equality. . . . Any tendency among the anti-Japanese armed forces to belittle politics by isolating war from it and advocating the idea of war as an absolute is wrong and should be corrected” (Mao 1969, Vol. 2, 152–153).

Many of the elements of post-1949 Maoist China have their roots in the spirit of the Yan’an period: utopian egalitarianism, the cult of Mao, and the idea of a party dictatorship. While in Yan’an, Mao began to write about Marxist-Leninist theory in order to bring Marxism to a Chinese audience and enhance his position as party leader. The Seventh Party Congress (1945) formally endorsed “Mao Zedong Thought.” By now Mao was head of the party; his person had been elevated above all other leaders and his thought became the basis of doctrine.

During the dark days following the 1941–1942 Japanese counteroffensive, Mao required all officials to engage in manual labor, sent down thousands of government personnel from the towns to the countryside, and called on people to sacrifice for the common good. These programs were realistic responses to wartime stringencies, but in time they also came to symbolize such quintessential Maoist ideals as self-sufficiency, self-reliance, anti-bureaucratism, and grassroots participatory “democracy.” In Mao’s eyes, Yan’an Communism represented the epitome of the revolutionary spirit, when all shared a commitment to serve the people, and confirmed that human will, when politically inspired, could overcome all obstacles.

Mao’s wartime writings contain hints of a utopian vision. Convinced that struggle and contradiction were the natural conditions of man and nature, Mao, like the ancient Daoist philosophers, interpreted

dialectic contradiction as meaning that things that oppose each other complement each other. Perpetual change, not incremental development, became both means and ends in the political process. In a similar fashion, Mao's theory of the unity of knowledge and practice made action the ultimate purpose of knowledge, echoing a traditional Confucian belief that the ultimate goal of the sage was to transform the real world.

Despite the existence of democratic and populist impulses in wartime Communism, Mao always intended that the Communist Party would remain the ultimate repository of correct thought and proper policy. In the Rectification Campaign of 1942–1944, he reasserted centralized control over the party apparatus while concurrently making Maoist doctrine the official ideology of the party. His targets included Soviet-oriented dogmatic ideologues, liberal intellectuals, writers, and artists. Small-group thought reform pressured individuals to evaluate their own behavior against the idealized norms of party life. Others were sent to the countryside to learn from the masses.

THE MAOIST VISION

Mao Zedong and his thought evolved in a violent, unforgiving revolutionary environment. His first wife and all three of his brothers and sisters were executed during the revolution, as were countless comrades. Waging war in backward rural regions against superior forces reinforced utopian strains in Mao's thought and personality: the idea of struggle and contradictions, the centrality of human will, and the elimination of elitism. Many countries advocate a Spartan egalitarianism in wartime, but as the Yan'an tradition assumed mythic proportions, it reinforced Mao's belief that the proper values for the new Communist man and woman could be forged even in backward conditions. Mao never discounted the importance of technological development and expertise, but he often gave greater weight to culture and ideas.

At the same time, as Mao's power expanded he became more comfortable dominating those around him and expected to be treated with appropriate deference. His personal life also changed with the

departure of his second wife to Moscow for medical treatment. Mao soon took up with and then married a Shanghai actress named Jiang Qing (1914–1991).

THE MAOIST PATH TO SOCIALISM

The Chinese Civil War (1946–1949) that followed Japan's surrender ended with a stunning Communist victory that further vindicated Mao's leadership. In 1949, on the eve of victory, he confidently anticipated that the next stage would be a Leninist-style people's democratic dictatorship and the transition to a Soviet-style industrialized socialist society. That spring he also proclaimed that the cities would lead the country and that several years must pass before moving to socialism. As Mao so aptly predicted in "On The People's Democratic Dictatorship" (30 June 1949), "The serious task of economic reconstruction lies before us. We shall soon put aside some things we do well and be compelled to do things we don't know well. This means difficulties" (Mao 1969, Vol. 4, 322).

The first four years of the People's Republic of China were devoted to completing land reform, economic recovery, building a state apparatus, and instituting a new marriage law. Despite resentment over Stalin's failure to back his rise to power, in 1950 Mao aligned China with the Soviet Union through a treaty of mutual assistance. When American troops approached China's borders in the Korean War (1950–1953), Mao overrode the objections of his senior colleagues to order Chinese troops into Korea. This was the start of over two decades of unrelenting Sino-U.S. hostility.

In 1953, Mao announced China would emulate the Soviet Union's model for developing a modern, socialist nation. He authorized an orthodox five-year plan approach emphasizing urban-based industrialization, creation of a centralized profession bureaucracy, and collectivization of agriculture. It was not long, however, before his impatience led him to disregard orthodoxy and seek shortcuts. Whereas previously he had argued that several five-year plans were needed to prepare China for collectivization, in July 1955 Mao urged fast-track collectivization. Many experts did not agree with his assessment that a radical social transformation could make possible technological modern-



Selections from Mao's Speech "In Commemoration of the 28th Anniversary of the Communist Party of China," 30 June 1949

Communists the world over are wiser than the bourgeoisie, they understand the laws governing the existence and development of things, they understand dialectics and they can see farther. The bourgeoisie does not welcome this truth because it does not want to be overthrown.

[. . .]

The Russians made the October Revolution and created the world's first socialist state. Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the revolutionary energy of the great proletariat and labouring people of Russia, hitherto latent and unseen by foreigners, suddenly erupted like a volcano, and the Chinese and all mankind began to see the Russians in a new light. Then, and only then, did the Chinese enter an entirely new era in their thinking and their life. They found Marxism-Leninism, the universally applicable truth, and the face of China began to change.

There are bourgeois republics in foreign lands, but China cannot have a bourgeois republic because she is a country suffering under imperialist oppression. The only way is through a people's republic led by the working class.

[. . .]

"Who are the people?" At the present stage in China, they are the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. These classes, led by the working class and the Communist Party, unite to form their own state and elect their own government. They enforce their dictatorship over the running dogs of imperialism—the landlord class and bureaucrat-bourgeoisie, as well as the representatives of those classes, the Kuomintang reactionaries and their accomplices—suppress them, allow them only to behave themselves and not to be unruly in word or deed. If they speak or act in an unruly way, they will be promptly stopped and punished.

[. . .]

Here, the method we employ is democratic, the method of persuasion, not of compulsion. When anyone among the people breaks the law, he too should be punished, imprisoned or even sentenced to death; but this is a matter of a few individual cases, and it differs in principle from the

Source: Mao Zedong. (1949). *Selected Works*, vol. 5. New York: International Publishers, pp. 411–423.

dictatorship exercised over the reactionaries as a class.

As for the members of the reactionary classes and individual reactionaries, so long as they do not rebel, sabotage or create trouble after their political power has been overthrown, land and work will be given to them as well in order to allow them to live and remould themselves through labour into new people. If they are not willing to work, the people's state will compel them to work.

[. . .]

The people's democratic dictatorship is based on the alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie, and mainly on the alliance of the workers and the peasants, because these two classes comprise 80 to 90 per cent of China's population. These two classes are the main force in overthrowing imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. The transition from New Democracy to socialism also depends mainly upon their alliance.

The people's democratic dictatorship needs the leadership of the working class. For it is only the working class that is most farsighted, most selfless and most thoroughly revolutionary. The entire history of revolution proves that without the leadership of the working class revolution triumphs. In the epoch of imperialism, in no country can any other class lead any genuine revolution to victory. This is clearly proved by the fact that the many revolutions led by China's petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie all failed. . . .

To sum up our experience and concentrate it into one point, it is: the people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class (through the Communist Party) and based upon the alliance of workers and peasants. This dictatorship must unite as one with the international revolutionary forces. This is our formula, our principal experience, our main programme. . . .

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is our best teacher and we must learn from it. The situation both at home and abroad is in our favour [if] we can rely fully on the weapon of the people's democratic dictatorship, unite the people throughout the country, the reactionaries excepted, and advance steadily to our goal.

ization, but Mao's personal prestige made his position unchallengeable. When the speed-up campaign concluded without significant resistance, Mao concluded that the experts always underestimated the capacity of the Chinese people to overcome objective limitations.

Within a few years, Mao discerned deficiencies and "contradictions" in the orthodox Soviet model that could alienate the people from socialism. The persistence of inequality within China and the abuses of the entrenched bureaucracy were undermining the

vitality of the revolution. His proposed solution was to return to the mass line approach, whereby unity resulted from subjecting party cadres to criticism by the masses. In 1957, Mao overrode the opposition of senior colleagues to launch the so-called “Hundred Flowers” campaign. He called upon intellectuals and others to criticize party abuses. When criticism got out of hand, Mao concluded that intellectuals were unreliable naysayers and authorized a campaign against them.

The peak of Mao’s ventures into utopianism came in 1958 with the Great Leap Forward, an unattainable vision that proposed to accelerate industrialization, double rural production, reduce urban-rural inequalities, and move China from socialism to pure Communism within a period of three years. Although there were other contributing factors, more than anything else it was Mao’s utopian belief in shortcuts to Communism and worries that technocratic paths to development were compromising the egalitarian tradition of the movement that drove the decision. Senior colleagues were accustomed to deferring to Mao; provincial leaders vied to demonstrate their loyalty by exceeding target goals. Overnight the small agricultural collectives created in 1955–1957 were merged into massive people’s communes with tens of thousands of members. They were to double farm production, create rural industries, and provide social services previously available only to the urban population. In fact, the result was economic disaster and the Great Famine of 1959–1962.

Mao’s response to the failures of the Great Leap suggests that he now regarded his person and his thought as above criticism. He recognized that the Great Leap was creating chaos but refused to entertain criticism of the program. In 1959, when Peng Dehuai (1898–1974), the minister of defense who had been with Mao since 1928, submitted a private letter critical of the Great Leap, Mao published the letter, purged Peng, and then renewed his commitment to the program. After that no other leader dared to criticize Mao openly.

Mao retired as chairman of the People’s Republic in 1959, turning the day-to-day administration over to his chosen successor, Liu Shaoqi (1898–1969). However, he prudently retained the more important

position of party chairman and the right to decide major issues. Only after the Great Leap had degenerated into a full-scale famine (eventually claiming the lives of 20–30 million people) did Mao allow Liu to decentralize the communes and restore material incentives for production. This backpedalling was enough to cause top party members to lose faith in Maoist-style mobilization campaigns and the exaggerated claims made for Mao Thought, although they remained personally loyal to him.

Meanwhile, Mao’s irregular work habits and lifestyle further isolated him from his colleagues. He spent most of his time in his private residence in Zhongnanhai, attended by a bevy of young female attendants and security guards. There, far from the day-to-day concerns of administrators responsible for the consequences of their actions, Mao brooded on international and domestic trends. He became more sensitive to real and imagined slights from senior colleagues, who he felt no longer believed in his vision and aspired to a status equal to his own. Mao feared that China, like the Soviet Union, was becoming a “revisionist” country. As he saw it, the problem was the emergence of a “new bourgeois” elite within the party and state.

Mao’s unexpected calls in 1962 to renew mass mobilization and revive class struggle divided the leadership. The commander of the People’s Liberation Army, Lin Biao (1907–1971), transformed the armed forces into the standard bearer of Maoist ideology; he also allied with radical intellectuals, including Mao’s wife, Jiang Qing, to push the cult of Mao to unprecedented heights. In contrast, party officials led by Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping (1904–1997) were more interested in preserving bureaucratic continuity and orderly production. They interpreted Mao’s directives so as to insure tight party control of mass movements. In 1965, a frustrated Mao concluded that so-called “capitalist roaders” existed in the very highest echelons of the Communist Party.

THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

In one sense, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was Mao’s response to the genuine problems posed by revisionism, urban stratification, and

bureaucratism; it also was a campaign to dislodge party leaders and party structures that impeded his desires. At the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth Party Congress (1966), Mao demoted Liu Shaoqi and other capitalist roaders. Having proclaimed the start of Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Mao closed the schools and called upon student Red Guards to struggle against old ways of thought and oppose capitalist roaders. Having been educated to believe that all truth derived from thoughts of the great leader, the students exploded in a paroxysm of revolutionary violence against anyone suspected of bourgeois tendencies. Mao expected that Red Guards, with surreptitious support from the army, would purify the party and rekindle revolutionary élan. Instead the movement splintered into a bewildering array of hostile factions, each claiming to represent correct Maoist thought and advancing their own interests. It probably would have been impossible for anyone to provide coherent direction, but Mao never made the effort. Instead he expressed his views through vague aphorisms and cryptic statements that were impossible to interpret definitively.

Throughout 1967 and 1968, China descended into near anarchism as Mao switched his support from one faction to another and then back again. In 1968, Mao finally conceded the necessity of rebuilding party and state structures. Most Red Guard groups were disbanded and millions sent into the countryside to be reeducated.

The final years of Mao's life were spent in ill health amidst intense factional infighting between coalitions of veteran cadres and supporters of the Cultural Revolution. Mao died on 9 September 1976, at the age of 83. One month later, a coalition of veteran cadres and military leaders arrested the radical Gang of Four (champion supporters of the Cultural Revolution), thereby bringing to an end the Maoist era.

MAO THE LEADER

Mao Zedong's leadership made possible the Communist victory of 1949 and laid the foundations for a powerful, independent, and unified nation-state after a half century of disunity and war. During his rise to power, Mao blended a disciplined organization with

techniques of grassroots participation. He was a master of tactical-strategic flexibility, fully attuned to rural realities and able to adapt dogma. By contrast, his leadership style and policy orientation after the summer of 1957 were characterized by impatience, indifference to practical problems of implementation, and the absolute conviction in the correctness of his own views. Always believing that China required a strong leader, his self-image as an omniscient ruler fed upon the sycophancy of those around him. The charismatic leader now stood supreme, towering above party and state.

Mao's temperament was less suited to the requirements of the day once the Chinese revolution progressed to the stage of socialist transformation and economic development. A charismatic leader who enjoyed stirring up things, he disliked the wearisome details of routine administration and was unwilling to see his chosen successors strike out on their own. His insights about the need to combat bureaucratism, to accelerate production, to promote egalitarian values, and to maintain the spirit of the revolution all spoke to genuine issues within China. In addition, calls for continuous revolution served as an invaluable weapon to be wielded against opponents. The paradoxical and contradictory elements of Mao's thought and leadership make a final assessment difficult. The imposition of a dictatorship, and the chaos and hardships of the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, must be balanced against his contributions in reunifying the nation, speaking on behalf of those at the bottom, and helping to catapult China into the modern age.

—Arthur L. Rosenbaum

See also Long March

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MARX, KARL (1818–1883)

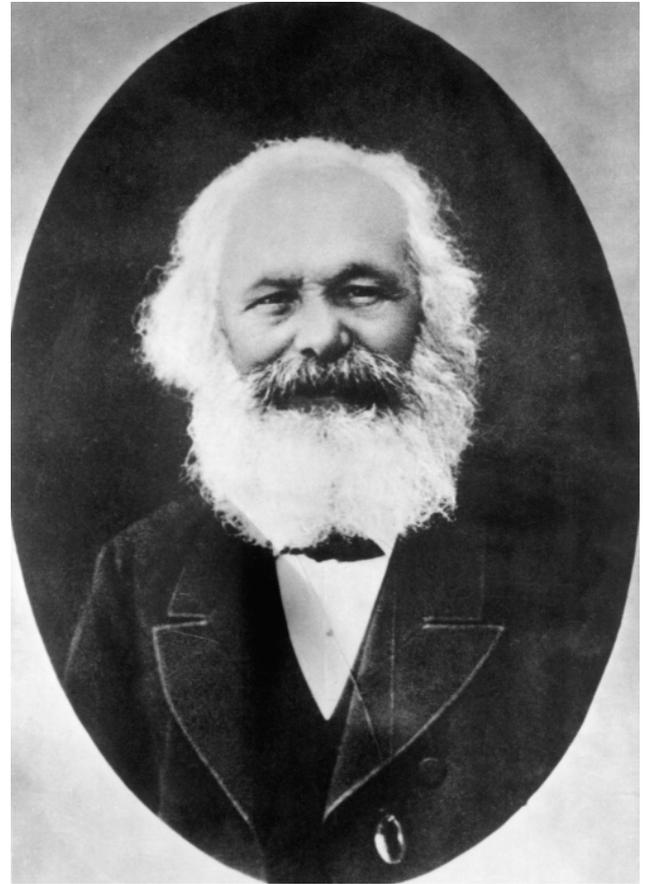
German political philosopher

It has been said that the three most important ideas that shaped the twentieth century came from Charles Darwin, Sigmund Freud, and Karl Marx. How and why do certain thinkers significantly influence their times, and even launch new eras? Darwin's theory of evolution and Freudian psychoanalysis both fundamentally altered humanity's understanding of itself. But Marx, his ideas, and what his followers did with his ideas were among the most important factors shaping the political and economic course of the twentieth century. How and why did the ideas of Marx have so much influence as to shape the world? And how might they continue to shape it? While some pundits have pronounced Marxism a flawed analysis and a failed ideology, the proclamation of the death of Marxism may be a bit premature—as witnessed by such current activism as the anti-globalization movement and even the massive protests against the 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq.

Marx's ideas influenced not only the rise of unionized labor and of the welfare state (with its leveling mechanisms such as income tax and universal education) but also the Russian Revolution, communism, socialism, and Zionism; even the ethic of the kibbutz owes a debt to Marx. The political consequences have been immense. Fascism arose as a reaction to communism; some 100 million people died in World War II. Following the war, the geopolitical competition between capitalism and socialism (roughly divided east and west), defined the contours of world politics—always with the potential for a nuclear Armageddon. (In 1962, the Cuban missile crisis almost triggered it.) The formation of the state of Israel in 1947 has shaped the politics of the Middle East to this day. The Chinese Communist Revolution of 1949 still shapes the lives of over a billion people. Worldwide, the postwar anti-colonial struggles for independence were often cast in the Marxist rhetoric of imperialism, class analysis, and socialist revolution. But in 1989, the failures of the Soviet Union either to deliver goods or to fulfill Marx's vision of a humanistic society led to its implosion. Still, Soviet Communists had managed to transform a backward, rural society into a major industrial power, despite external pressures that strained its budgets and sustained dictatorships.

THE MAKING OF A RADICAL

Marx was born in 1818 in Trier, Germany, and educated in Prussia. After studying law in Bonn, he attended the University of Berlin and earned his doctorate in philosophy at Jena in 1843. Like most philosophy students at that time, he was much influenced by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), the German idealist philosopher. Following Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), Hegel stressed the primacy of ideas—that consciousness precedes the objects of consciousness. Through reason, Hegel claimed, people could overcome domination and find freedom; he argued that religion was a human invention that served to keep them subdued. Hegel's radical ideas encompassed theories of alienation, domination, and historical change. Ludwig Feuerbach (1804–1872), Marx's teacher, argued for a more materialistic



A portrait of Karl Marx photographed in Algiers in April 1882. It is the last known photo of him.

Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

interpretation of Hegel, rooted in human sensory experience.

Marx became a member of a group of radical students, the antireligious Young Hegelians. As a radical, Marx was unable to find a teaching position so, turning to journalism, he became editor of the radical *Rheinische Zeitung*. At about this time, he met the political philosopher Friedrich Engels (1820–1895) who became his lifelong companion, colleague, and often patron.

Marx's early work consisted of his critiques of Hegel's idealist philosophy as removed from actual people's lives, and of his theses on the materialism of Feuerbach's elaborations of Hegel. Marx offered commentaries on religion, politics, and indeed, one of his most important early writings was concerned with how labor under capitalism led to alienation—

how the person became estranged from his or her work and the products of that work, estranged from others and indeed, estranged from one's very humanity. He or she was rendered powerless and meaningless. The worker was little more than an animal. His work proceeded to offer materialist interpretations of history and of then contemporary French politics, such as its civil wars and the coup d'état of Louis Bonaparte; he also served as a correspondent for the *New York Tribune*. Most important, he began his studies of capitalist political economy. In 1848, he penned the *Communist Manifesto*, which would become the foundational document for communist parties. In it Marx offered a critique of capitalism: While he praised its power to liberate people from feudalism, he pointed to the inherent injustices of its class system and called for workers to revolt and overthrow the forces of capital. He soon moved to London where he wrote on French history, class struggle, and political economy, arguing that the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century theories of Adam Smith and David Ricardo, among others, were in fact ideologies that merely served to legitimate the activities of the bourgeoisie.

In 1864, socialists and communists formed the International Working Men's Association. Its world congress in Geneva was the first *Internationale*. Marx assumed leadership of the organization and devoted a great deal of effort on behalf of workers. Marx proceeded to research and write his magnum opus, *Das Kapital (Capital)*, a book that is still widely studied and debated. While he did not live to see the political fruits of his efforts, he would influence generations of radical activists from Lenin and Trotsky to Mao Zedong to Ho Chi Minh, as well as Tito, Castro, and Che Guevara.

If Marx had become a professor of philosophy who approached debate academically, he might have been regarded as merely the most important post-Hegelian philosopher. (In much the same way, had Freud remained a neurologist and not become a psychiatrist, he might have ranked with the nineteenth-century neurologist Paul Broca and had a region of the brain named after him.) But the power of Marx's intellect, the passion of his politics, and his compelling vision of overcoming capitalism and its

adversities, would attract many followers who would forever change the politics of the world. Let us consider why. Whether in the world of ideas, politics, or business, key leaders must have a powerful message, a reasoned analysis, and a desirable vision that appeals to large numbers of followers and wins their devotion. Marx's critique of capitalism struck a powerful chord among the rapidly growing work forces of industrial societies. At the same time, the profundity of his intellect, spanning history, economics, and philosophy, has inspired generations of progressive scholars to this very day. Timing, too, may play a role. At certain moments social conditions enable certain ideas to flourish, and a leader's influence is greatly magnified. Such was the case with Marx.

MARXISM AS THEORY AND PRAXIS

Marx began writing as industrialization was rapidly changing the social fabric of Europe. The last remnants of feudalism were fading. While new forms of production, transportation, and finance created enormous wealth for the owners of capital (such as factories, banks, railroads, and steamships), and profited other such as wholesalers, for the great masses of peasants who came to cities in search of jobs, the working and living conditions were harsh and inhumane. Their jobs paid little; their hours were long; tenement conditions were unhealthy and dangerous—indeed, brutal. It was in this context that Marx began to criticize capitalism as not only economically exploitative but also morally bankrupt, dehumanizing and alienating workers. When people sell their labor on the market, said Marx, labor becomes a commodity. When people sell themselves as commodities, when they own neither the tools nor the raw materials nor the fruits of their labor, they become powerless, devoid of their humanity and shorn of community. Such people often turn to prayer, which Marx saw as the expression of “real suffering.” But religion, controlled by elites, cannot ameliorate the economic basis of that suffering, said Marx; rather, it acts as the “opiate of the people,” promising relief in the next life and sustaining class-based oppression in this one (Marx 1972). In his

most accessible work, *The Communist Manifesto*, he presented his theory of history as class conflict, his critique of domination under capital, his analysis of why capitalism should and will be overcome, and the concrete measures that would be instated upon the overthrow. The agents of history are classes and class interests, Marx argued, not individual kings, generals, or presidents, and surely not religion, political ideas, or cultural factors—all of which merely disguise ruling class interests. He claimed that communism represents the “real interests” of the working classes whose labor creates the wealth of the bourgeoisie. Capitalists prosper while workers are exploited and alienated. Furthermore, capital creates a *lumpenproletariat*, a surplus population of the jobless—beggars, thieves, and prostitutes.

Marx was not the first person to criticize capitalism and suggest alternatives. Indeed, nineteenth-century romanticism, with its quest for emotionally gratifying authenticity and meaning, could be understood as seeking an alternative world apart from the cold, gritty, grimy realities of commercial urban factory life. But this option was limited to a wealthy few.

Three main influences on Marx were Hegel, as noted; the French socialists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and the British political economists. The French socialists had deplored the living conditions of the workers and argued for communal ownership. Comte St. Simon had sketched out a materialist theory of history while Charles Fourier suggested a vision in which work and play were joined and human dignity realized. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon would declare that property was theft and the basis of modern misery. As a system builder like Hegel, Marx absorbed these ideas and developed a comprehensive, materialist explanation of power and ideology.

For Marx, history as commonly understood was obscured by ideologies that masked the economic and political motives of the elites. He provided a way of comprehending the general misery of the poor in a broader context. In the nineteenth century the poor were commonly seen as lazy, impulsive, and morally deficient and thereby *they*, and not the class system, were deemed responsible for their adverse conditions. In *Das Kapital* Marx demonstrated the nature of exchange value (goods produced for the market to



Karl Marx on the Ruling Class

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e. the class which is the ruling *material* force of society, is at the same time its ruling *intellectual* force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence of the relationships which make the one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of its dominance. The individuals composing the ruling class possess among other things consciousness and therefore think. Insofar, therefore, as they rule as a class and determine the extent and compass of an epoch, it is self-evident that they do this in its whole range, hence among other things rule also as thinkers, as producers of ideas, and regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age: thus their ideas are the ruling ideas of the epoch.

Source: Marx, Karl. *The German Ideology* (1845–46), p. 61. Reprinted in McLellan, David. (1971). *The Thought of Karl Marx: An Introduction*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., p. 58.

be exchanged for money as opposed to being used by the producer and/or traded for other goods), the valorization process (profit based on exploitation), and “commodity fetishism”—the way in which goods produced and sold for the market were embodiments of social relations. In so doing, Marx transformed the way people understood the world thereafter.

But perhaps the most politically salient and influential part of his work was his analysis of capitalism’s inherent contradictions, which would lead inevitably to its overthrow. Business cycles and crises of overproduction would create unemployment, forging workers into a revolutionary class, whose eventual victory would overturn the economic order and abolish private property. Communism would usher in an era of freedom, an order that acknowledged all people’s needs, allowing them to realize their full creative potential and find meaning, recognition, community, and empowerment.

Comprehensive and sophisticated, Marx’s analysis “put it all together” and offered a meliorative

vision that held enormous allure. For the growing masses of impoverished workers and those sympathetic with workers' struggles, Marx provided a rationale and agenda for the revolutionary change that he said was inevitable. Like many great leaders he gave people hope. The *Internationale*, the anthem of the Communist Party, promised that a "better world was in sight."

THE POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF MARX

To temper the lure of communism, Europe's bourgeois and monarchist governments initiated a variety of reforms—in the wake of the 1848 revolutions and the brief rule of the Paris Commune in 1871. Indeed, the first social security legislation laws, unemployment compensation, and pensions were passed in Germany in 1872. Marx's own analyses hinted at ways in which workers could be pacified by socialist reforms providing them some material benefits. But as wage laborers, they would remain dehumanized, alienated, and dominated—even if less harshly. The very threat of communism disposed the capitalist classes first to initiate reforms, unions, and entitlements (such as pensions and unemployment insurance) that would benefit the workers, and second, to promulgate ideologies such as consumerism and nationalism that would mask the class interests of the bourgeoisie as the "general good" and secure their hegemony by obscuring the operations of class. Thus owner and worker might both do patriotic service in armies, and might both own cars. But it was the rich citizens who sent poor citizens to die in their wars—their service cloaked as the national interest and celebrated in rituals of national greatness. Germany was the first country to establish social security benefits. Since that time, workers have been ever less than enthusiastic about toppling governments that provided unemployment benefits and pensions. (In the twentieth century, consumerism would further dull revolutionary impulses.) But Marx's ideas and theories of revolution would be widely embraced by revolutionaries in pre-industrial societies struggling against either colonial rule or wealthy elites.

Like Moses, Marx did not live to see his prom-

ised land. But also like the biblical leader, his mantle was picked up by others who would lead subsequent generations. Among the most important of his successors would be Nikolai Lenin (1870–1924) and Leon Trotsky (1879–1940), who would lead impoverished masses of Russian people and the disaffected czarist armies in a communist revolution. From the storming of the Winter Palace to the conflicts with the Mensheviks, with desperate masses and determined leadership came victory and the first major communist government. In the wake of World War II, Marxism inspired a number of "peasant revolutions," the most important of which was the Chinese revolution led by Mao Zedong in which the Communists eventually defeated Chiang Kai-shek's nationalists. There were a number of other societies in the second half of the twentieth century whose Marxist revolutionaries were armed not only with guns, but with faith in the inevitability of success and a vision of a humane society. Consider only Josip Tito in Yugoslavia, Jomo Kenyatta in Kenya, José Eduardo dos Santos and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, Fidel Castro in Cuba, Cheddi Jagan in Guyana, Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam, the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, or the Sandinistas led by Daniel Ortega in Nicaragua. Each movement blended Marxism, nationalism, and peasant struggles into liberation movements seeking autonomy from colonial rule and/or capitalist domination. This is not to say all such movements were successful. With strong military and financial aid from the United States, Suharto in Indonesia and Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines defeated communist insurgencies, at the cost of millions of lives.

Communism as practiced in the USSR bore little relation to Marx's humanistic vision of a just society. For a number of reasons—partly due to the totalitarian leaders who claimed the mantle of Marx in an attempt to legitimate their tyranny, partly due to pressures from the West, by 1989—the USSR had collapsed. China had meanwhile embraced capitalist business practices to become one of the most powerful countries in the world. Bourgeois leaders attempted to see the demise of communism as a vindication of capitalism and the death of Marxism. Bourgeois intellectuals celebrated their "victory"

and announced the “end of history.” But Marx should not be blamed for the totalitarian nature of formerly existing socialism. Rather, he was a humanist who defended freedom, democracy, and self-fulfillment. Marx was no more responsible for the gulags, secret police, and political murders of these dictatorial regimes than Christ was responsible for the Inquisition. For many contemporary Marxists, the humanistic side of Marx, and his critiques of alienation, exploitation, and domination, remain a salient warning of the dysfunctions of global capitalism. Further evidence of these dysfunctions can be seen in the planet-threatening environmental pollution due to capitalist modes of production and consumption.

THE INTELLECTUAL INFLUENCE OF MARX

For decades, Marx’s ideas had little or no direct impact on the Western academy, dominated as it was by bourgeois ideologies. Such ideologies generally proclaimed “value neutrality” but occasionally allowed some reformist impulses—which nevertheless often blamed the victims for their hardships. While a few theorists might have footnoted the influence of Marx on Max Weber (1864–1920), more often than not, it was to counterpoise Weber’s emphasis on values and motives as an alternative to Marx’s historical materialism—but without a political agenda. Moreover, Weber’s view on stratification by status and power served to obscure the role of class dynamics. Further, during the Cold War, and especially during the paranoia of the McCarthy era, any reference to Marx might cost one a job.

Following the demise of McCarthyism, America witnessed the rise of civil rights struggles, the mobilization against involvement in Vietnam, and the feminist movement. The irrelevance of American social theory, then dominated by the twentieth-century sociologist Talcott Parsons, became evident. Parsons’s theory not only ignored domination, social conflict, and struggles by workers, the poor, and racial minorities, but further, avoided any critique of American capitalism, its patriarchy, or its imperialism. In the search for more comprehensive understandings, many social scientists began to rediscover the writings of Marx and some of the intellectual tra-



Karl Marx on the State

The Commune—the reabsorption of the state power by society as its own living forces instead of as forces controlling and subduing it, by the popular masses themselves, forming their own force instead of the organized force of their suppression, the political form of their social emancipation instead of the artificial force—appropriated by their oppressors (their own force opposed to an organized force against them)—of society wielded for their oppression by their enemies. The form was simple like all great thing. The general suffrage, till now abused either for the parliamentary sanction of the Holy State Power, or a play in the hands of the ruling classes, only employed by the people to choose the instruments of parliamentary class rule once in so many years, now adapted to its real purposes: to choose by the communes delusion as if administration and political governing were mysteries, transcendent functions only to be trusted to the hands of a trained caste—state parasites, richly paid sycophants and sinecurists, in the higher posts, absorbing the intelligence of the masses and turning them against themselves in the lower places of the hierarchy. Doing away with the state hierarchy altogether and replacing the haughty masters of the people with always removable servants, a mock responsibility by a real responsibility, as they act continuously under public supervision.

Source: Marx, Karl. Drafts for *The Civil War in France* (1871). Reprinted in McLellan, David. (1971). *The Thought of Karl Marx: An Introduction*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., p. 193.

ditions rooted in Marx such as that of György Lukács; the Frankfurt School integrations of Marx, Weber, and Freud; Antonio Gramsci’s notions of hegemony, and British Marxist thought. A number of feminist theorists began to see gender stratification in terms of class and ideologies of dominance—in this case, patriarchies. Similarly, while the field of economics today is dominated by neoliberals, some contemporary economists have been much influenced by Marx; for example, this influence can be seen in the work of Joan Robinson and Richard Wolff, with respect to the value they place on equality and redistribution. Today, class analysis, the economic basis of power, and the roles of ideology, alienation, reification, and commodity fetishism are fundamental

concepts for a number of disciplines in the social sciences, arts, and literature.

MARX AND THE FUTURE

The power of Marx as an intellectual leader has often been said to be on the wane. But Marxism has been pronounced dead a number of times—even as throughout the world growing numbers of people suffer from the adverse consequences of neoliberal globalization. Marx suggested that the use of machines and overproduction of goods would lead to economic crises; indeed, this does seem to be happening. Millions have mobilized to challenge and contest contemporary capitalism. While these movements represent the diverse interests of progressive workers, feminists, environmentalists, gay activists, and so on, one of the common themes heard across this wide spectrum is concern for the onerous consequences of global capitalism—often articulated in Marx’s language of class analysis and colored by his humanistic vision. The vast numbers of writings critical of globalized capital, the massive anti-globalization demonstrations, and the World Social Forum under whose banner 100,000 activists and intellectuals gather regularly, all affirm the continued influence of Marx as one of the greatest intellectual leaders in history. Perhaps the power of Marx has yet to be fully realized.

—Lauren Langman

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MAU MAU REBELLION

The Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya, Africa, which began in 1952, led the British colonial government to declare a state of emergency. The rebellion by the Mau Mau insurgent organization was eventually crushed with heavy loss of life among Mau Mau, but until late 1954 many people in the government believed that the Mau Mau rebels were winning. The rebellion was largely confined to one tribe, the Kikuyu, and the Mau Mau (Kikuyu for “burning spear”) rebels were poorly armed because they had no outside source of weapons or financial support. Still, twenty-one thousand paramilitary police, thousands of armed “loyalist” Africans, and the equivalent of a full division of British government troops, supported by the Royal Air Force, needed more than four years to control the Mau Mau threat, and the state of emergency did not officially end until 1960.

The Mau Mau rebellion fascinated the world press with its mystery and menace. U.S. newspapers gave prominent coverage to the rebellion, and magazines contributed frequent photographic essays. Interest was also great throughout western Europe and the Soviet bloc countries, as well as in newly independent countries such as Egypt and India. The colonial government of Kenya steadfastly refused to admit

that Mau Mau were fighting for land and freedom. Instead, the colonial government convinced the world press that the rebellion was a “crime wave” and that Mau Mau rebels were bestial “gangsters” who, crazed by ghastly oaths—primitive ceremonies involving cannibalism, the drinking of menstrual blood, and sexual orgies—indiscriminately terrorized white settlers, especially women and children. In fact, some Mau Mau attacks were brutal by any standard, and the Kenya government released photographs and even newsreels showing mutilated victims—hamstrung cattle, burned children, decapitated men, and disemboweled women.

Ever since Kenya had been opened to British colonization shortly after the beginning of the twentieth century, colonists had referred to it as a “white man’s country.” In 1952, Kenya’s more than forty thousand whites were determined that they would never relinquish control over “their” beautiful and prosperous country to the 6 million Africans who also resided there. The white settlers’ prosperity was not shared by Kenya’s Africans, most of whom remained desperately poor. White settlers not only exploited these Africans economically, but also imposed a color bar more extreme than the one that existed in the U.S. South.

In 1961, Sir Charles Eliot, commissioner of the East African Protectorate, as Kenya was then known, made clear his plan to confine natives to “reserves” and exploit them as cheap labor on white farms. Britons flocked to this paradise of cool rolling highlands with fertile soil. Many of these Britons were so upper class that their first hotel in Nairobi was known as “the House of Lords.” Their leader, Lord Delamere, declared that he would re-create the Virginia plutocracy where white men of wealth and “breeding” would rule blacks and earn fortunes. Delamere soon owned 71,000 hectares, and others did nearly as well. Most Africans were treated as



Soldiers in the British Lancashire Fusiliers escort a suspected Kikuyu Mau Mau member from his home in Kenya in the early 1950s.

Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

slaves had been in Virginia. Called “niggers,” “baboons,” and “vermin,” they were worked hard, paid little, abused physically, and denied the right to own land. These Africans had, as the British said, “not been down from the trees” long enough to live as anything but indentured servants. Yet, during World War I, 165,000 Kenyans served in the British Army, and 42,000 of them died. They also served bravely and died in World War II. As the years passed, Kenya’s colonial policy of white supremacy grew ever stronger.

THE LAND AND FREEDOM ARMY

By 1952, the year that the rebellion erupted, fifteen thousand Europeans lived in Nairobi, with another twenty-five thousand living in the surrounding countryside. Also in Nairobi were 100,000 impoverished Kikuyu, many of whom had nowhere to sleep and were lucky to eat one meal a day. Evidence of their hunger can be seen from British Army attempts to recruit Kikuyu as soldiers during World War II. Over 90 percent were rejected due to their malnutrition. Some Kikuyu men who did serve in the British

Army, such as Bildad Kaggia and Fred Kubai from Kenya's trade union movement, joined to form the Mau Mau central committee. The ten men who made up the central committee called themselves "the Land and Freedom Army," but the white settlers did not want this movement known in these plaintive terms; they preferred the sinister sound of "Mau Mau." They also preferred to believe that the leader of this dangerous movement was the Kikuyu politician Jomo Kenyatta. In reality Kenyatta had no involvement in the creation of Mau Mau.

Mau Mau central committee leaders took an oath to serve their organization in all ways required and never to betray another member or else "die of this oath." White settlers immediately portrayed this oath as bestial and primitive, something that only savages could engage in, and they did all that they could not only to arouse white passion against Mau Mau but also to arm and pay African loyalists, especially Kikuyu, who would defend white supremacy and fight against Mau Mau. Meanwhile, the leaders of Mau Mau were doing all that they could to obtain firearms, paying persons willing to sell them, asking prostitutes to demand bullets rather than money from their clients, and stealing guns in any way they could. With no support from any other nation, the leaders of Mau Mau were desperate, and many followers were commissioned to produce homemade pistols.

While the search for firearms went on, the central committee rapidly lost control of the movement. Some men betrayed it to the government, others advocated open violence, and still others used it to enrich themselves, often extorting money from Kikuyu farmers. The few Kikuyu who owned land quickly sided with the white settlers, becoming known as "loyalists." Instead of quietly arming themselves and preparing for a coordinated attack, the leaders of Mau Mau allowed their movement to become highly visible long before they were ready. By October 1952, government officials had identified 187 leaders of Mau Mau, and on the night of 20 October a state of emergency was declared, and police burst in upon them, arrested all 187, including Jomo Kenyatta. British troops also began arriving on 20 October, something the Mau Mau leaders had not

reckoned on. By arresting the senior leadership of the Land and Freedom Army, the government left the movement's leadership in the hands of younger and more violent men who promptly took action, killing several defenseless whites, including a six-year old boy, on their farms, then moving into the dense forests of the Aberdane Mountains.

Governor Sir Evelyn Baring, an imperious man known as "Over-Baring," ordered that all Kikuyu who were not living in the Kikuyu "reserve" be rounded up and, forced to leave behind all of their cattle, clothing, and other valuables, taken at gun point to the reserve. There they became homeless people who quickly gave their support to Mau Mau and focused their hatred on the Kikuyu loyalist Home Guard, a kind of landed gentry who had been enriched by government patronage. British Commanding Gen. W. R. N. Hinde was outraged by Baring's action. Although Hinde's nickname was "Loony," he saw the situation much more clearly than Baring did.

FIGHTING FLARES

Fighting flared, with Mau Mau bands attacking Kikuyu loyalists and even raiding army and Home Guard positions. With his troops scattered widely to protect settlers and the Home Guard, General Hinde could not mount a coordinated offensive. Distraught settlers were joined by Governor Baring in urging Hinde's replacement, and in May 1953, command was given to General Sir George Erskine, a friend of British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. Hinde would serve as Erskine's deputy. The settlers immediately tried to dominate Erskine, but he would have none of it, expressing open contempt for all white Kenyans. He also concluded that the "rotten administration" had caused Mau Mau. He also clashed with Governor Baring. While Erskine gathered more troops, he unleashed his four-engined Lincoln heavy bombers on the Mau Mau forest camps. Dropping 453-kilogram bombs on the forest and strafing with machine guns, Erskine's planes eventually dropped more than 22 metric tons of bombs and fired 2 million rounds from machine guns. Some Mau Mau were killed, and many were terrified, but most of the vic-



The African View of Mau Mau

Below are excerpts from a speech Jomo Kenyetta delivered at the Kenya African Union (KAU) Meeting at Nyeri on 26 July 1952.

I want you to know the purpose of K.A.U. It is the biggest purpose the African has. It involves every African in Kenya and it is their mouthpiece which asks for freedom. K.A.U. is you and you are the K.A.U. If we united now, each and every one of us, and each tribe to another, we will cause the implementation in this country of that which the European calls democracy. True democracy has no colour distinction. It does not choose between black and white. We are here in this tremendous gathering under the K.A.U. flag to find which road leads us from darkness into democracy. In order to find it we Africans must first achieve the right to elect our own representatives. That is surely the first principle of democracy. We are the only race in Kenya which does not elect its own representatives in the Legislature and we are going to set about to rectify this situation. We feel we are dominated by a handful of others who refuse to be just. God said this is our land. Land in which we are to flourish as a people. We are not worried that other races are here with us in our country, but we insist that we are the leaders here, and what we want we insist we get. We want our cattle to get fat on our land so that our children grow up in prosperity; we do not want that fat removed to feed others. He who has ears should now hear that K.A.U. claims this land as its own gift from God and I wish those who are black, white or brown at this meeting to know this. K.A.U. speaks in daylight. He who calls us the Mau Mau is not truthful. We do not know this thing Mau Mau. We want to prosper as a nation, and as a nation we demand equality, that is equal pay for equal work. Whether it is a chief, headman or labourer he needs in these days increased salary. He needs a salary that compares with a salary of a European who does equal work.

We will never get our freedom unless we succeed in this issue. We do not want equal pay for equal work tomorrow—we want it right now. Those who profess to be just must realize that this is the foundation of justice. It has never been known in history that a country prospers without equality. We despise bribery and corruption, those two words that the European repeatedly refers to. Bribery and corruption is prevalent in this country, but I am not surprised. As long as a people are held down, corruption is sure to rise and the only answer to this is a policy of equality. If we work together as one, we must succeed.

Our country today is in a bad state for its land is full of fools—and fools in a country delay the independence of its people. K.A.U. seeks to remedy this situation and I tell you now it despises thieving, robbery and murder for these practices ruin our country. I say this because if one man steals, or two men steal, there are people sitting close by lapping up information, who say the whole tribe is bad because a theft has been committed. Those people are wrecking our chances of advancement. They will prevent us getting freedom. If I have my own way, let me tell you I would butcher the criminal, and there are more criminals than one, in more senses than one. The policeman must arrest an offender, a man who is purely an offender, but he must not go about picking up people with a small horn of liquor in their hands and march them in procession with his fellow policemen to Government and say he has got a Mau Mau amongst the Kikuyu people. The plain clothes man who hides in the hedges must, I demand, get the truth of our words before he flies to the Government to present them with false information. I ask this of them who are in the meeting to take heed of my words and do their work properly and justly. . . .

Source: Cornfield, F. D. (1960). *The Origins and Growth of Mau Mau*. Sessional Paper No. 5 of 1959–1960. Nairobi, pp. 301–02.

tims were the forests' monkeys, antelope, and other animals.

While this slaughter was taking place, the thousands of Kikuyu in Nairobi attacked whites; in one especially horrendous incident, a four-year-old boy was decapitated with a *panga* (machete) as he rode his tricycle outside of his house while his parents were inside making breakfast. Infuriated, Erskine organized what he called "Operation Anvil," in which his troops and police were to sweep the city clean of Mau Mau suspects. Operation Anvil arrested

so many Kikuyu that detention camps were filled. A few days before Operation Anvil, British troops had captured a Mau Mau commander named "General China." Under interrogation, he revealed few secrets but decided that if Erskine and Baring agreed to offer safe passage and amnesty to Mau Mau fighters, he would urge Mau Mau to surrender. With assurances of safe passage and amnesty, he wrote twenty-six letters to Mau Mau commanders asking them to surrender. The letters were left in secret tree mailboxes in the forest that General China identified.

So many Mau Mau leaders were receptive to the offer that a cease-fire was declared and a meeting was arranged to discuss a mass surrender. However, as several thousand Mau Mau converged on the meeting place, they encountered a battalion of King's African Rifles, African soldiers led by British Brig. Gen. John R. Orr, who opened fire, killing twenty-five and capturing others. Mau Mau members were convinced that a trap had been laid, and the fighting resumed. Seven large battles followed, and the Mau Mau forces inflicted many casualties on their opponents. Moreover, recruits joined Mau Mau, many of them from the Kikuyu's neighboring tribe, the Kamba.

Late in 1954, Churchill urged the leaders of Kenya's government to come to terms with Mau Mau, arguing that the Kikuyu had proven not to be the primitive, cowardly people described by white settlers, but rather people of courage and ability who deserved just treatment. In an attempt to achieve a position of strength from which to begin such negotiations, Erskine sent ten thousand British troops into the forest after Mau Mau. Only ninety-nine Mau Mau were killed and ninety-two captured. A few weeks later the same British force attacked again with similarly inconclusive results. Some Mau Mau now sought surrender with amnesty, and it was granted to many. However, Mau Mau units remained active in the forest. In October 1956 their most senior leader, "Field Marshal" Dedan Kimathi, was captured. Sentenced to death, Kimathi converted to Christianity but was hanged on 18 February 1957. Some Mau Mau units, led by men with self-proclaimed names such as "General Highclass," "Major King Kong," and "General Hitler," continued to maintain their discipline and carried on the fight, sometimes brutally.

KENYA COWBOYS

However, the brutality of Mau Mau was more than matched by the white settlers. Known to the British as "Kenya Cowboys," some of the white settlers killed indiscriminately, sometimes dragging victims to their deaths behind their Land Rovers. The Kenya police and Home Guard were even more brutal, tor-

turing captives to produce confessions or simply, it seemed, to punish. Electric shock and fire were widely used. Sir Michael Blundell, a political leader of the white settlers, received a letter from a twelve-year-old boy in Texas requesting a Mau Mau "sword with blood on it." Blundell happily sent the boy a blood stained sword. As atrocities mounted, even British troops who ordinarily refrained from brutality began to lose control. General Erskine appealed to his troops to behave with "honor." The army responded well, but the K.A.R. Home Guards, the Kenya police, and the white settlers continued their barbarous behavior.

Similar horrors took place in the detention camp "pipeline" system, where captives or suspects were tortured to confess, then sent to detention camps where every means was used to force them to denounce the oath they were suspected of having taken. A few of these camps were directed by honorable men who forbade torture, but most were directed by men who openly encouraged torture. Prisoners were abused in every way. Many prisoners refused to work, claiming that Geneva Convention rules forbidding forced labor applied to them; however, in Hola camp, a fiercely hot desert prison, an officer in charge, G. M. Sullivan, used armed guards to force men to work. They resisted, and eleven were killed and another twenty so badly injured that they had to be hospitalized. Pressed for an explanation by the provincial commissioner who happened to be visiting, Sullivan lied, saying that the prisoners had died from drinking contaminated water. However, another officer from Hola told the truth in 1959, and news of the "massacre" evoked outrage in Britain. The result was public outcry to end the detention system, and in a short time the Mau Mau detainees, whether they had confessed or not, were released.

The political leader of the new Kenya, now abandoned by most of the white settlers, was Jomo Kenyatta. He spoke openly against Mau Mau, urging those fighters still holding out in the forests to give up their weapons in return for amnesty. In 1963, as he stood on a stage to accept his election as Kenya's president, scores of Mau Mau handed him their weapons. In turn, Kenyatta told them to turn their efforts toward peaceful tasks, but these were poor,

landless people who could not easily support themselves. When they asked for land Kenyatta refused, saying “we all fought for freedom,” then sent troops to crush their rebellion. As the years passed and the former land and freedom fighters struggled to stay alive, Kenyatta continued to ignore their pleas for land and government aid.

—Robert B. Edgerton

See also Kenyatta, Jomo

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MAYER, LOUIS B. (1885–1957)

U.S. film executive

As the head of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM), which, under him, became the one of the world's largest and most prestigious film studio, Louis Mayer created the star system and had under contract the outstanding screen personalities of the day. Under his leadership as vice-president of production, MGM gained the reputation for entertaining films of consistently high quality. Elaborate sets, gorgeous costumes, and morally uplifting stories characterized the studio's productions. Mayer emphasized glamorous stars, many of whom, such as Greta Garbo, Joan Crawford, Rudolph Valentino, and Clark Gable, Mayer discovered. Mayer also formed the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences (1927), which hands out the Academy Awards for achievements in film annually. In 1951, Mayer was forced out of MGM, and he died before he could gain control of another studio.

EARLY YEARS

Born Lazar Meir in Dymmer in the Ukraine, he immigrated to Canada with his family as a young child. After graduating from high school, he moved to Boston and then Brooklyn. There he became a successful junk dealer, like his father. Bored by the business and interested in the new pastime of nickelodeons and movies, he borrowed money in 1907 for a down payment on a rundown burlesque theater in nearby Haverhill and converted it to a movie theater. Building on that success, he began to assemble a chain of movie theaters.

In 1914, Mayer joined two other men to form Alco Film Company to produce and distribute films to the theaters the three owned. When that company faltered a year later, Mayer formed Metro Pictures. Mayer made his initial fortune as sole distributor in New England of the film *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), by the

director D. W. Griffith (1875–1948). Mayer received returns of at least \$500,000 on his \$20,000 investment, which gave him the economic freedom to bring stars, directors, and stories together to make films that reflected his high morals. In 1917, Mayer left Metro to form a production company, Louis B. Mayer Pictures, and moved its operations to Hollywood, California in 1918. In 1923 Metro was on the brink of collapse when its owner, Marcus Loew (1870–1927), combined it with Goldwyn Pictures and bought out Mayer's production company. Impressed by Mayer and his production studio, Loew appointed Mayer vice-president in charge of all production for Metro-Goldwyn in 1924. In his speech at the gala opening of the new studio, Mayer added his name to that of Metro-Goldwyn when he declared that the company would soon be known not by "three long words, but three short letters: M-G-M." He also vowed to make it "the foremost movie studio in the world" (Altman 1992, 105).

MAYER AND HIS STARS

One of Mayer's innovations was the creation of the contract system, which bound actors legally to the studio for years. Instead of taking established Broadway or vaudeville stars and making them movie stars, as other studios were doing, Mayer hired inexperienced performers for no particular role, generated publicity about them, and turned them into stars. The actors were introduced to the public in movie magazines and on personal tours while the studio tried to find the right vehicle for them; they were beholden to Mayer for their success and bound to him by the long-term contracts he required them to sign. Other studios followed suit, placing actors and directors under long-term contracts. MGM and Mayer differed from the other major studios by first choosing its stars and then finding them the right film vehicle; other studios acquired the films first and found the stars for them later.

To Mayer, the studio was a factory, and his employees were part of a team effort to turn out the best product. Filmmaking at MGM was an assembly line of departments, each answerable to a producer, each producer answerable to the head of production, and each head responsible to Mayer. Employees who

did not abide by his methods were fired and, not infrequently, blackballed and unable to work anywhere else in town. As a leader, Mayer was paternalistic. He treated his actors like he treated his own daughters; he was dominating and dictatorial, yet kind and generous. If an actor approached him for a raise, he would talk about how box office revenue was down, begin to cry and plead while explaining that if actors continued to work hard and respect their elders, they would get a raise in due time. If such blatant manipulation did not work, he did not hesitate to blackmail stars to keep them in line. In 1931, when Clark Gable demanded a salary increase, Mayer refused to pay him what he was worth. Gable did not push the issue because Mayer knew of Gable's adulterous affair with Joan Crawford, and Gable settled for \$2,000 a week instead of the \$10,000 that he could have commanded.

Mayer micromanaged the lives of his actors, dictating what certain stars could eat at each meal to control their weight and ordering them placed on drugs if necessary. He told them whom they could marry, whether it was time to have a baby or not, and even how to obtain an abortion if a film was at stake. Yet he also coddled and pampered them. His actors traveled everywhere in first class and stayed in good hotels. If they ran short of money, it was advanced to them and then deducted from their paychecks. He protected them from the press and even prison: Twice he covered up acts of manslaughter by actors. He also gave homosexual performers similar protection to aid their careers. Until the blacklist era following World War II, he tolerated Communists and fascists alike on his payroll, as long as they did a good job. They feared and respected him because he held so much power yet willingly wielded it to protect their careers. Despite Mayer's overbearing and heavy-handed managerial style, morale at the studio remained high through much of his tenure. Employees knew they were at the top studio, and benefited from its high production values, good salaries, and outstanding publicity machine.

MAYER'S DOWNFALL

In 1936, Mayer became the highest-paid executive in the United States, making well over a million dollars

a year. Despite his power and control over production, Mayer was an employee who had to answer to his boss, Nicholas Schenck (1881–1969), in New York, just as his actors did. Mayer was forced by the New York office to take a company man as his assistant in 1936, but Mayer replaced him with writer-producer Dore Schary (1905–1980) as his supervisor of production in 1943. Schary left shortly thereafter, only to be brought back by Schenck in 1948. Between 1936 and 1948, despite clashes with Schenck, Mayer remained in charge at MGM because he kept the studio profitable and maintained its reputation. With the end of World War II and the development of television, Mayer's style of movies became less popular and the studio began losing money. His insubordinate attitude irritated his superiors, who compelled him in 1948 to accept Schary as his supervisor of production. Schary wanted to produce more realistic fare than had been typical of Mayer. During Schary's tenure as supervisor of production from 1948 to 1951, the studio had begun making a profit again. When Schary clashed with Mayer in 1951, their boss, Schenck, had to make a choice of who to keep. Schenck had long believed that Mayer was too powerful and that he had grown out of touch with the movie-going public. To the astonishment of no one but Mayer, Schenck picked Schary. After twenty-seven years of nearly uncontested power, Mayer was dismissed as head of production, though he remained on the board of directors for Loew's Inc., the parent company of MGM.

Immediately after his dismissal, Mayer tried to buy RKO Pictures, a smaller rival of MGM. When that deal failed to materialize, he tried to engineer a takeover of Loew's by joining forces with fellow board member Joseph Tomlinson, the majority stockholder, but that bid was successfully fought off by other board members. In the midst of this fight, Mayer found out he had late-stage leukemia. Nearly three weeks after his ouster from the board in October 1957, he died.

—James G. Lewis

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MEAD, MARGARET (1901–1978)

U.S. anthropologist

The most famous anthropologist of her time, Margaret Mead was perhaps the most famous anthropologist of all time. She was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and died in New York City. The force of her personality and the pioneering nature of her work made her an outstanding leader. She took anthropology to the general public, demonstrating its usefulness in understanding problems of modern complex societies as well as those technologically simpler ones. She pioneered the study of gender, anthropological feminism, the use of film in anthropological studies, the influence of culture on human development—especially adolescence—the generation gap, and numerous other topics of widespread interest and importance.

EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION

Margaret Mead came from a line of strong-willed females and from time to time was educated at home by her grandmother. Both of her parents were social scientists, and it is not surprising that she majored in sociology as an undergraduate and earned an M.A. in psychology before turning to anthropology. In 1919, she was a freshman at De Paul University, later transferring to Barnard College. At Columbia University, she came under the influence of anthropologists Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict.

She received her Ph.D. in 1929 for her work on Samoa, based mainly on her 1925 field trip there. That trip also resulted in the first of her twenty-three books, *Coming of Age in Samoa* ([1928] 1968). The

As the traveler who has once been from home is wiser than he who has never left his own doorstep, so a knowledge of one other culture should sharpen our ability to scrutinize more steadily, to appreciate more lovingly, our own.

—Margaret Mead

book is still in print and sells well. It also demonstrates her use of observation to draw conclusions as well as her skill in using traditional societies to shed light on modern problems.

Her editors asked her to write a final chapter that looked at adolescence in the United States. It was that chapter that caught the attention of the general public. In the nature versus nurture controversy that was raging in the 1920s and continues into the present day, Mead was basically on the side of nurture or environment or, as it is sometimes termed, cultural determinism. However, she did not ignore biology as Derek Freeman, a late-twentieth-century anthropologist and others believed. She was simply interested in what culture does to shape or work on biology.

It is a point she sought to make clear in a number of her writings and books, but which some other anthropologists chose to ignore, seeking to make a name for themselves through using her as a straw person. While she was alive, Mead was perfectly capable of taking care of herself and as helpful as she could be to students who sought her help; she could also be a bitter opponent in a debate. And Mead loved to debate.

She wrote many other influential works over her career, including *Growing Up in New Guinea*, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, *Balinese Character: A Photographic Analysis*, *Continuities in Cultural Evolution*, and *A Rap on Race* (1971, with James Baldwin). In addition to books, Mead wrote a regular column in *Redbook*, appeared on television numerous times, wrote popular articles for many magazines, testified at Congressional Hearings, gave numerous lectures, and taught from time to time.

She never held a permanent teaching position, although she was a brilliant teacher. She chose to work at the American Museum of Natural History in

New York City because she did not want to get involved in the politics of academic life at a time when women were openly discriminated against in favor of less qualified men. She saw how badly her former teacher and lifetime friend Ruth Benedict was treated at Columbia, where she passed over for promotions in favor of less qualified men. Mead felt that she could better use her energies to help other people if she did not have to waste time on fighting for her own position. She did teach at an impressive number of schools either as an adjunct or on temporary assignments, including Columbia University, Yale, Emory, and others. Later in her career, in 1968, she founded the Department of Anthropology at Fordham University and chaired its social science division until 1974.

The museum offered her a great deal of autonomy. She served there as assistant curator (1926–1942), associate curator (1942–1964), curator of ethnology (1964–1969), and curator emeritus (1969–1978). From that location she was able to carry on numerous field trips, stay in contact with colleagues all over the world, and promote causes important to her. She was also able to make numerous scientific contributions, staying close to the solid world that artifacts created.

Mead received numerous honors during her lifetime. She was president of the American Anthropological Association, the first president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science elected by its membership, president of the Anthropological Film Institute, president of the Scientists' Institute for Public Information, president of the Society for Applied Anthropology, holder of twenty-eight honorary doctorates, and she posthumously received the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1979.

CONTRIBUTIONS

Mead made numerous contributions to anthropology and to the promotion of causes in general. For her there was no distinction to be made between these two areas, for the purpose of anthropology is to aid those who need help. It is an applied science whose theory should aid parishioners, in her mind, to solve the problems of the world. In the battle

between weak and strong, Mead stood firmly on the side of the underprivileged and was never afraid to speak her mind.

Her anthropological work, largely conducted among the peoples of Oceania, looked at the inter-relationship between culture and psychological development. She was concerned with the cultural conditioning of sexual behavior, national character, and culture change. After World War II, she became intensely interested in culture change and how to ease its effects on a population.

Mead was both a celebrated anthropologist and a celebrity. She was deeply concerned with the issues of women's rights, population control, childrearing, sexual morality, nuclear proliferation, race relations, drug abuse, population control, environmental pollution, and world hunger, poverty, human rights, peace, and the just society, among others. Mead's work in New Guinea with Reo Fortune, a brilliant anthropologist and her second husband, was set up to test yet another hypothesis. Her first work on Samoa tested the universality or lack of it of the "storm and stress" nature of adolescence. The work on New Guinea tested the "childlike" nature of traditional peoples. Mead demonstrated that "primitive" people were no more childlike than any "modern" people, and that stages of human development had to be studied in specific cultural contexts. Each one of her works tested some basic concept. She was truly the first person to study human development in cross-cultural perspective.

Mead looked at other issues from a cross-cultural perspective. She noted that gender roles differ from society to society. In Bali, with Gregory Bateson, her third husband, she documented the connection between childrearing and adult behavior. They also explored the symbolic connection between childrearing, adult personality, and symbols.

On a more personal note, she and Bateson had a daughter, Mary Catherine Bateson, like her parents a significant anthropologist in her own right. Mead's pediatrician was Benjamin Spock, who has acknowledged his debt to "Maggie" for his approach to child-rearing and development.

Much of Mead's ability to address so many issues came from her conviction, rooted in anthro-

Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, concerned citizens can change the world. Indeed it is the only thing that ever has.

—Margaret Mead

pology's holistic approach, that everything is interconnected. Ritual, for example, is related to food production. Thus, along with Ruth Benedict and others, during World War II, Mead founded the Institute for Intercultural Studies, an institute that led the way in applying anthropological techniques to the study of modern and technologically complex cultures.

After the war, Mead went back to Manus Island in 1953 to study the spectacular changes resulting from World War II and modernization. In *New Lives for Old*, she argued that there are many possible futures. A society can choose the one best suited to it. Mead held that racism, warfare, and environmental exploitation are learned. Traditions that condition these behaviors can be changed. New institutions can replace old ones.

Mead drew a great deal of criticism as well as praise in her lifetime. Some attacked her as being too radical for arguing for the legalization of marijuana or for advocating trial marriages. She loved to stir up controversy. However, she did help shape the American family with her writing and teachings. She was a feminist, mother, grandmother, and three-time divorcée.

Although she said she was not a feminist but a woman who was feminine, Margaret Mead was named to the list of American's Leading Feminists two years after her death in 1978. Advocating issues that have come to be termed as feminist ones was but one of many of her outstanding contributions in which she took the lead. She promoted many causes, each of them trying to help the underdog achieve a better life in what her colleague and friend Ruth Benedict termed a synergistic way.

—Frank A. Salamone

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MENTAL MODELS

Effective organizational leadership requires frequent problem solving. One way of understanding how leaders solve problems is through the concept of mental models. Mental models are effective tools for organizing information so that creative solutions can be generated quickly and effectively. They are cognitive in nature and, although they are naturally occurring in all individuals, the nature of their occurrence and how they affect problem solving is particularly important to the study of leadership. As applied to leadership, they are organized knowledge structures that contain information about complex systems, whether pertaining to the organization (such as its overall structure, various divisions, teams, and so forth) or in the larger world (for example, industries, conglomerates, and so on). Mental models include as information about how a system works, as well as information on cause-and-effect connections within a system. Mental models also include temporal or categorical linkages, and they organize information about the environmental elements and contingencies that can influence a system's operations.

For example, a senior manager might have as a mental model an organized understanding of his or her department that includes mental representations of subunits and members of the department; the roles, resources, and tasks of the department; the connection of the department to other key organizational units; and how all these elements interact to carry out departmental actions. The mental model would also include the environmental demands that the manager's department faces and how those demands or contingencies relate to department members' responses and actions.

Mental models serve three functions: description, explanation, and prediction. By giving individuals a framework that describes and organizes phenomena, mental models give people a sense of control over their environment and a starting point from which to

begin to tackle problems. Mental models help people make sense of their surroundings, and when that happens, people can form expectations; they can begin to make predictions about future events and behaviors. In addition, mental models make it easier for people to incorporate new information into pre-existing categories. They make it possible to navigate novel problem situations more quickly.

HOW MENTAL MODELS FORM AND DEVELOP

A person will begin to develop a mental model of a system as soon as he or she is exposed to it. Initially, the mental model will include just factual information about the elements and parts of the system, as well as basic information about how these elements are related. Such information is called declarative knowledge. Thus, when an organization gets a new chief executive officer, for example, that new CEO will quickly begin to form an understanding of the company's organizational units and the members within these units. This newly forming model will also include knowledge about how units and members relate to one another and will contain the most detailed information about those people and processes with which the CEO interacts most frequently.

As the CEO gains experience, he or she enriches the mental model with knowledge about how to get things done within the system—how units and members act to accomplish specified actions, what the key steps are in particular action sequences, and how certain routine goals are met.

Mental models are adaptable; they can change to accommodate new information. They evolve during the course of people's interactions and experiences within, and with, the system. As people experience more variations in systems operations, their understanding of the system becomes more complex, and their mental models come to include a greater number of elements and to account for how linkages among elements change as a function of other system properties. Mental models begin to change as individuals, relying on environmental cues, determine that their current understandings do not conform to actual events and system operations.

Mental models become more extensively developed if an individual has repeated experiences within a specific domain or with a particular system, if the individual has repeated experiences with related domains or systems, and if the individual has the cognitive ability to make generalizations about system elements and operations. Thus, the complexity of one's mental model depends upon experience and the capacity to generalize from that experience.

Hierarchy, Breadth, and Depth

Mental models, then, are characterized by hierarchy, breadth, and depth. Breadth refers to the variety of concepts, events, and elements that compose the knowledge structure. Depth refers to the degree of abstraction that the model contains. More abstract elements will subsume concrete ones. For example, a leader's mental model may include information about dealing with emergency situations within the organization. The conceptualization of an emergency may be very abstract, described in terms of angry stakeholders (employees, customers, shareholders) time urgency, or generalized financial risk or loss. However, if the leader's mental model is sufficiently developed, it will also contain information on more-specific kinds of emergencies (for example, resource shortages or broken equipment) that call for more-specific responses.

How Experts' Mental Models Differ from Novices' Mental Models

The mental models of experts (individuals with more experience) and novices (individuals with less experience) differ in a number of important ways that determine how each group approaches problem solving. Compared with those of novices, experts' mental models:

- include more categories of information;
- contain more information within categories;
- have finer distinction among concepts and system elements; and
- are more accurate representations of system operations.

Experts' mental models also organize concepts differently from novices' mental models. Experts tend to have a greater number of linkages among distinct concepts; their models tend to combine and integrate information about different problems, possible solutions, and their consequences. They are able to distinguish the elements of different problem scenarios while at the same time noting the higher-order similarities. Therefore, experts are able to come up with more fine-grained solutions to problems, and to do so more quickly. Novices tend to form separate mental models for each problem and often do not perceive problems' similarities and differences. Consequently, their problem solving tends to be more effortful and inefficient.

MENTAL MODELS AND PROBLEM SOLVING

Problem solving typically proceeds through several stages (although not necessarily in a linear fashion). These include defining the parameters of the problem, generating potential solutions, evaluating and selecting solutions, implementing selected solutions, and monitoring the effects of implemented solutions. Mental models improve problem solving at several of these stages. For example, existing mental models can contribute to the definition and interpretation of particular problems. Once problems are categorized, mental models facilitate the search for and selection of potential solutions. They are especially useful if the problem is one that has been experienced frequently. Even with novel problems, mental models can facilitate the process of defining the problem by providing potentially useful analogies and metaphors. Likewise, the solutions generated for novel problems can be evaluated using preexisting mental models.

Mental models influence how people process information. For example, people are more likely to attend to information that is consistent with the contents of a mental model, and ignore or misperceive inconsistent information. Likewise, individuals hold on to their mental models even as these cognitive representations become obsolete. These can result in a failure to evaluate information correctly and to misread important elements of problems and possible solutions.

THE MENTAL MODELS OF LEADERS

Accurate mental models account to a large degree for the effectiveness of a leader's problem solving. Highly elaborated models can accommodate a wide range of problems and facilitate rapid and effective responses to organizational problems.

A leader's mental models can range from the very generic to the very specific. At the most general level, leaders have mental models that organize information about how to be a leader—they have an understanding of what leadership is and how they are to accomplish their role. This most general of mental models may have broad influence across most problem-solving situations, but its very generality ensures that its concrete effects on any given problem are likely to be small.

Researchers have identified several more-specific mental models of leaders. These models have significantly applicability for a variety of organizational problems. They encode and represent knowledge about (a) the leader's team or unit, (b) the leader's organization and operating environment, and (c) the leader's strategic plan and vision.

Mental Models of the Team

Researchers have identified several types of mental models of teams, some that the leader forms, some that members of the team form, and some that they share. Typically, a team mental model contains information about the resources and equipment available to the leader and the team. It includes knowledge of what, concretely speaking, is available to the team and how the team should use its resources. In technology-intensive teams, such as military units, aircrews, factory production teams, and power plant units, such mental models play a central role in helping leaders derive solutions to organizational problems. For example, the U.S. Army is introducing a full, individual combat system ensemble, the "Objective Force Warrior," that incorporates defensive and offensive weaponry, as well as advanced communication networks. Army leaders need to develop accurate mental models of the new capabilities of

each of their troops and integrate these to solve problems during combat.

In deriving such solutions, leaders will integrate information on material resources with information on the task and personnel resources. Task models, which are components of team mental models, contain what the leader and the team need to know about team tasks and missions, including the desired outcomes of team tasks, the goals and purposes of the tasks, and the actions that are required to complete the tasks. The leader uses task models together with another subset of team mental models, team characteristic models, to develop an action plan. Team characteristic models contain information about the properties of the group (such as its size, degree of cohesion, and morale), and information about the members of the team (their level of knowledge, skills, attitudes, and so forth). Team characteristic models tell the leader the strengths and weaknesses of the team and its individual members. They allow the leader to weight the input of team members differentially, especially in hierarchical teams with distributed expertise. They also give the leader a framework for assigning tasks for maximum effectiveness and successful problem solving.

Team mental models help make both the leader and the team more effective. They outline the roles of each team member in collective action and explain how to fulfill those roles in a group context. The model may include many possible contingency scenarios to equip the team to deal with varied environmental situations.

At a general level, leaders may have a broad understanding of how teams work, and how different team properties relate to different team outcomes. However, as leaders work more frequently within specific teams, they will develop models that are specific to those teams. Those specific models will cover the material and personnel resources of the teams in question, how those teams are organized, and how the members of those teams interact to accomplish team tasks. General team mental models will have applicability in a variety of organizational situations; specific models will have particular utility for specific teams.

Mental Models of the Organization and Environment

Leaders also develop models of their organization and its operating environment. Organization mental models contain information about the key components and characteristics of the organization. They include role and communication structures, administrative structures, and company organization. They also contain information about the climate and culture of the organization, as well as its fundamental values and ways of doing business.

Leaders will also encode in their mental models an understanding of power dynamics within the organization, as well as the political, personnel, economic, and material resources that comprise the organization. They also form models of the operating environment that include the external constituents and stakeholders of the organization. Models of the organization's operating environment will take into account the legal, financial, economic, social, and political constraints that define the boundaries of potential organizational actions and decisions. It is within the framework of these models that the organizational leader makes strategic decisions.

Mental Models Relating to Strategic Vision

Leaders use team, organization, and environment mental models to construct operational plans for their organization. They form a mental image of where they want to take their organization. For example, the leader of a medium-sized organization may have a mental model for how the company will operate after it evolves into a larger organization. The model will include ideas about what will be the basis for new goals, how the company will affect and be affected by its competition, and what economic issues are likely to emerge in the near and far future. Sometimes the models can be broad and idealistic. In his 1992 work, Burt Nanus, a scholar in the field of business and management, defined a leader's vision as, "a mental model of a future state of a process, a group, or an organization. It deals with a world that exists only in the imagination, a world built upon what we hope are reasonable assumptions about the future, and it is heavily influenced by the leader's

judgments of what is possible and worthwhile" (Nanus 1992, 25–26).

The vision and strategic mental models of leaders can be quite complex because the models encode (a) representations of the organization as it exists at the present moment, (b) the organization's operating environment at the present moment, (c) assumptions about how both the organization and environment may change in the future, and (d) consequent future states of both the organization and its environment. The leader links these elements to short- and long-term action plans for the organization. Leaders can use the value components of a vision mental model to inspire their staff and prepare them for anticipated problems. They can also create a common understanding of the direction in which the organization is moving so that all members have the same expectations and goals.

Vision and strategic mental models not only provide explanations of where the organization is to go, they also cue particular classes of responses to environmental events. That is, they offer certain responses and exclude others when leaders reach strategic decision points. For example, initially the main products of Amazon.com were books. The website's breadth of products has increased tremendously in response to the availability of books on other competitive websites. Jeff Bezos, the founder and CEO of Amazon.com, now envisions the corporation becoming the premier place for consumers to buy *anything* online. Research has also shown that vision and strategic mental models provide the basis for deriving more specific action models at different organizational levels. Thus, a corporationwide mental model will lead to more specific subunit mental models, which in turn generate lower-order team tactical mental models.

HIERARCHY, MENTAL MODELS, AND LEADERSHIP

Organizational leadership is typically embedded in a hierarchical structure, with a wide range of problem-solving tasks at each level. Leaders at higher levels of the organization are faced with greater organizational and environmental complexity, and, as a con-

sequence, must deal with more complex problems. Their mental models reflect that complexity.

At higher organizational levels, leaders' mental models incorporate more dimensions, reflecting the wider range of constituencies with which they deal. Systems dynamics and causal factors, both within and outside the organization, multiply considerably at higher levels—so the mental models that encode and represent this information are also more complex. At lower levels of leadership (the division, the function, or the unit, for example), leaders' mental models are more narrow and focused.

Regardless of level, the nature and quality of a leader's mental models will greatly influence how successfully he or she solves problems. High-quality, elaborate mental models help define the parameters of organizational problems and help leaders derive the most appropriate solutions. Such mental models also elicit better performance in situations of uncertainty and complexity, which demand novel and creative solutions. Accurate mental models predict effective leadership, and therefore helping leaders to develop good mental models should be one focus of leader development and training efforts.

—Stephen J. Zaccaro and Gabrielle Wood

See also Cognitive Structures; Schemata, Scripts, and Mental Models

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MENTORING

Mentoring serves an important role in the career and psychosocial development of junior-level employees. Often, the immediate supervisor serves as the mentor, making mentoring a personal leader-follower relationship and therefore an important topic for leadership research. A mentor is defined as an individual with advanced experience in a particular field and knowledge of a specific organization who provides career-oriented guidance and social support to a less-experienced employee. A mentor may also serve as a role model to a junior employee. In addition, mentoring is a powerful mechanism for learning on the job, and favorable experiences in a mentoring relationship have been associated with lower employee turnover. While much attention has been placed on the benefits protégés derive from mentoring, benefits to mentors and to the organization have received less research attention.

Mentoring and its impact on individuals became a focus of organizational research beginning with the 1985 publication of *Mentoring at Work*, a landmark study by Kathy Kram, a scholar in the field of organizational research. Kram described the mentoring exchange as a developmental relationship, whereby older individuals enable younger individuals to manage the challenges they encounter as they move through adulthood and establish their organizational

careers. Using in-depth qualitative interviews, she identified two main functions that mentors provide: those related to career support and those related to psychosocial support. Career functions include providing sponsorship, exposure and visibility, coaching, protection, and challenging assignments, while psychosocial functions include role modeling, providing acceptance and confirmation, counseling, and friendship. Kram noted that mentoring represents “an interpersonal relationship that fosters mutual trust and increasing intimacy” (Kram 1985, 23). In leader-follower relationships, mutual trust and intimacy are essential for the development of high-quality leader-member exchange (LMX) (Graen and Uhl-Biwn 1995). Mentoring thus enhances the leader-follower relationship (Scandura and Schriesheim 1994).

THE FOUR PHASES OF MENTORING RELATIONSHIPS

Kram described mentoring relationships as evolving in four phases. During the first six months to a year, the relationship begins and becomes important for both parties. During this initiation phase, the mentor coaches the protégé and helps him or her receive visibility within the organization. In turn, the protégé demonstrates respect for the mentor and a desire to be coached. The second phase, cultivation, can span two to five years and is characterized by an emotional bond between the mentor and protégé, as well as increased intimacy. Interaction evolves from a focus on work to a focus on more meaningful subjects. Separation, the third phase, typically results from a significant change in the structural role relationship between the two parties. For example, the junior colleague may no longer require the same level of guidance, or promotions and job rotations may limit opportunities for continued interaction. Finally, in the redefinition phase, the relationship either ends or takes on significantly different form, sometimes evolving into a friendship between peers. The factors that influence the development of the peer-friendship phase are mutual support, sponsorship from a distance, counseling, and coaching (on a more infrequent basis) (Kram 1985).

FORMING THE MENTORING RELATIONSHIP

Management scholars Daniel Turban and Thomas Dougherty suggest that the focus of much of the literature on mentoring is on the mentor’s efforts to form a relationship, rather than the protégé’s input into the process. The authors examined the role of three personality characteristics (locus of control, self-monitoring, and emotional stability) in the initiation of mentoring relationships in the organizational setting. Their results support the notion that people can influence the amount of mentoring they receive at work. Turban and Dougherty concluded that “individuals with internal loci of control and high self-monitoring and emotional stability were more likely to initiate and therefore to receive mentoring. Individuals who engage in proactive behaviors to initiate mentoring report receiving more mentoring” (Turban and Dougherty 1994, 198). Also, respondents who actively initiated a mentoring relationship reported a higher level of perceived career success. Some research has compared formal and informal mentoring relationships and found that both mentors and protégés appear to prefer informal mentoring. Both mentor and protégé prefer the ability to choose to participate in the relationship, and also to have a way to exit if the relationship is not working out. Many organizations have implemented formal programs and they may be useful during the initial socialization process. However, a study by Belle Rose Ragins, John L. Cotton, and Janice S. Miller (2000) found that having no mentor may be better than having a formal mentor that is not fully engaged in the process, which they termed “marginal mentoring.” Despite practitioner interest in formal mentoring programs and articles in the popular press on the efficacy of such programs, the research on formal mentoring had indicated that implementing a successful mentoring program is challenging.

RESEARCH ON MENTORING

As mentioned earlier, mentoring serves both psychosocial and career functions. Studies conducted in the 1990s developed measures for those functions and related them to protégés’ career outcomes. For

The growth and development of people is the highest calling of leadership.

—Harvey S. Firestone

example, in 1997 the organizational psychologists Tammy Allen, Joyce Russell, and Sabine Maetzke published the results of a study of psychosocial and career-related needs in mentoring relationships among first-year M.B.A. students with an average of 3.63 years of full-time work experience. They found that satisfaction of psychosocial and career-related needs played an important role in protégés' overall satisfaction with their mentoring interactions. The subjects in the study were first-year MBA students and their mentors were second-year MBA students.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, research on mentoring also began to examine the effects of multiple mentoring relationships. There is little research on how common multiple mentoring is in organizations. Typically, multiple mentoring emerges as an informal process; however, some scholars have discussed the emergence of “group” or “team” mentoring (Eby 1997). Researchers S. Gayle Baugh and Terri Scandura examined job satisfaction and work role ambiguity among protégés with multiple mentors. Their survey research suggested that protégés who maintain one or more mentoring relationships were likely to experience greater job satisfaction and lower levels of ambiguity about assigned tasks. In 2001, Monica Higgins and Kathy Kram developed a network theory of mentoring, which suggests that protégés may employ different mentors for different developmental needs. It appears that research on mentoring is evolving to examine more complex social systems beyond the mentoring dyad.

NEGATIVE OUTCOMES: WHEN MENTORING RELATIONSHIPS TURN SOUR

Much of the literature reviewed thus far advances the notion that mentoring relationships provide varying degrees of positive outcomes for protégés. However, the current body of research pays little attention to the potentially detrimental effects of negative men-

toring relationships in the organizational setting. In 1999 the scholars Lillian Eby, Stacy McManus, Shana Simon, and Joyce Russell developed a taxonomy of negative mentoring experiences through surveys and content analysis. Negative mentoring experiences were defined as problems with the mentor-protégé match, distancing behavior, manipulative behavior, lack of mentor expertise, and general dysfunctionality. The authors found one-half of the protégés sampled reported experiencing at least one negative mentoring relationship during their careers. Poorly matched mentors and protégés, distancing behavior, manipulative behavior, and lack of expertise on the part of the mentor were identified as causes of negative mentoring experiences. In 1998 Scandura developed a model of dysfunctional mentoring that identified several manifestations of negative mentor-protégé interactions, including power struggles, submissiveness, sabotage, deception, and harassment. The model includes termination of the relationship. However, the relationship may persist to the detriment of both parties. Dysfunctional mentoring relationships may result in protégés experiencing lower self-esteem, lack of initiative, dissatisfaction, and stress. These poor-quality relationships may even result in absenteeism and turnover. Scandura's research, while it focuses on negative outcomes, begins to address the organizational implications of mentoring relationships in the workplace.

ORGANIZATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF MENTORING

The extensive body of literature on mentoring provides insight into protégé personality characteristics, the psychosocial and career functions of mentors, levels of job satisfaction and career advancement among protégés, the effects of gender composition on relationship outcomes, and the dysfunctional nature of some mentoring interactions. However, few studies have addressed how mentoring relationships affect organizations. James Wilson and Nancy Elman state, “The subject of ‘mentoring’ has often been discussed, along with the benefits that accrue to the mentee and the mentor; however, the benefits that accrue to the organization that encourages men-

toring within its ranks are referred to far less often” (Wilson and Elman 1990, 88). More research is needed to link mentoring with organizational effectiveness. For example, the efficacy of formal mentoring programs is an area in need of investigation.

Finally, more research into the implications of mentoring for leadership is needed. Research might examine both leaders as mentors and also the effect of mentoring on creating leaders. Leaders are increasingly called upon to play a coaching and mentoring role with the implementation of self-managed teams and empowerment in organizations. The field would benefit from increased integration of mentoring research with models of leadership.

—Terri A. Scandura and Megan S. Russell

See also Empowerment; Followership; Leader-Member Exchange Theory; Leadership Succession; Legacy; Relational Leadership Approaches

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METHODOLOGIES OF LEADERSHIP RESEARCH

The idea of a research “methodology,” including a leadership research methodology, refers to a broad strategy of social inquiry. In the absence of universal scholarly agreement on a preferred methodology within the social sciences and humanities, there exists a plurality of contending methodological approaches. These different methodologies are anchored in sets of assumptions about ontology (i.e., what is real, what is the nature of reality and what are its constituent properties?) and epistemology (i.e., what is knowledge, what can be known and how can it be known?). While ontological and epistemological questions and issues are normally the subject matter of ongoing scholarly debate among philoso-

phers, especially in the philosophy of science, these kinds of assumptions are also espoused by social theorists with varying degrees of theoretical explicitness, coherence, and logical consistency in the framing of their research. In this regard, a commitment to a particular combination of ontological and epistemological assumptions may inform a researcher's conceptualization, design of research, instrumentation, process of investigation, data analysis and interpretation, and theorizing of a range of social problems and phenomena. When taken together, in the case of individual researchers, these underpinning claims about research and inquiry are known as a scholarly outlook, worldview, or theory of the world. In the case of sets of scholars of like mind or commensurable outlooks, who either position themselves contiguously or are so positioned by their peers, these jointly adhered to methodological claims are generally referred to as a theoretical perspective, standpoint, school of thought, or, most recently, a paradigm.

Disputation about methodology, driven for the most part by conflicting ontologies and epistemologies, has been a prominent feature of scholarly writing across the social sciences over the past two to three decades. These disputes, sometimes labeled "the paradigm wars," have encompassed a breadth and depth of theoretical issues. Two especially, which are dealt with in more detail below, have concerned the relationship between language and those features of reality which a particular body of discourse purports to represent, along with the question of the legitimacy of the unit of analysis and nomination of the methods appropriate to the procurement of unit-level data (i.e., data about a phenomenon). Both issues are significant for advancing understanding of the phenomenon of leadership. However, compared with their peers in the intellectual realms most closely associated with leadership, administrative, and managerial studies—where, for instance, entire issues of the leading refereed journals have been devoted to discussions of alternative inquiry modes (e.g., Van Maanen 1979; Fineman & Mangham 1983)—leadership scholars have, for the most part, accorded them only sporadic attention. With some exceptions (e.g., Alvesson & Sveningsson

2003), leadership researchers have mostly confined themselves to ascertaining what can be known about leaders and leadership, and to alternative ways of synthesizing an accumulating knowledge base (compare Bass 1990 and Hunt 1991), rather than questioning the aspects of the veracity and validity of that knowledge. That is, leadership commentators have given pragmatic voice to a predilection for "useable" knowledge, rather than according priority to asking critical questions about the status and justification for leadership knowledge. In doing so, they can be seen as "taking," as opposed to "making," problems. To "take" a problem or phenomenon means to accept its meaning at face value or as it stands, whereas as to "make" it is to question its status and meaning. This characteristic of taking for granted the self-evident existence of "leadership," rather than querying the label and construing the status of the phenomenon as problematic, has resulted in a domain of inquiry typified by a mainstream research emphasis on empirical studies of leadership behavior (i.e., various measurements of its presumed incidence and frequency) which coexists with a body of popular, normative leadership literature mostly intended by its authors to engineer desired behavioral changes among practitioners.

Notwithstanding this behavioral knowledge orientation in the field, leadership may be more fruitfully considered in terms of "action," with action meaning intentional and motivated acts explicable by appeal to reasons (Bhaskar 1998, 82), in which the key issues confronting leadership researchers are primarily ontological. In particular, there are four such issues, considered in the following sequence of questions: First, what is the activity engaged in by agents? Second, who are the agents? Third, what is the context or are the contexts in which the activities of agents occur? Fourth, what is the nature and extent of the agency attributable to the agents?

THE ACTIVITY OF LEADERSHIP

An initial issue to be confronted by researchers concerns the justification for the description of the focus of their analyses as "leadership," rather than an alternative candidate. As was implied earlier, the pre-

understandings about knowledge of researchers shape their perceptions of the realities they encounter. One corollary is that researchers may well be inclined to see what they want to see. As members of a scholarly community with its own discursive norms, however, their freedom to engage in such random, arbitrary acts of solipsistic labeling may necessarily be constrained. On the other hand, safety in numbers may be no defense, for any grouping of scholars is, potentially, equally capable of constructing its own elaborate collective fiction or hoax.

Within leadership studies there has been a robust and persistent (albeit a minority) strand of “antileadership” thinking which, in its questioning since the mid-1970s of the intellectual legitimacy of the entire field, has maintained that leadership amounts to just such a fictive or bogus enterprise (see Gronn, 2003c). Alvesson and Sveningsson, for example, whose critique is but the most recent manifestation of this line of reasoning, plead for leadership agnosticism, in which case “it cannot be taken for granted that the normal or typical situation is that leadership is something that is exercised in organizations” (2003, 377). If these authors are correct, then the crucial methodological questions for researchers become: (1) what evidence is there which justifies positioning leadership as a real phenomenon worthy of inquiry?, and (2) why does the phenomenon count as leadership and not something else? As is now increasingly acknowledged by leadership commentators, those of their number who bother to define “leadership” at all (and by no means everyone does) view it as either synonymous with “influence” or as a version of the latter. The significance of that connection, however, is that while leadership may require an additional concept to give it definitional shape, the reverse does not apply, for definitions of influence very rarely (if ever) make mention of leadership. This conceptual dependence, as Alvesson and Sveningsson (2003, 376) note, suggests perhaps that the more appropriate phenomenon under investigation may be influence, rather than leadership. And if “influence” turns out to be the researcher’s quarry, then that switch in focus in turn raises a number of subsidiary questions to do with the conceptual and empirical points of connection between influence and the closely related

idea of power, which have been the subject of a long-standing debate amongst political scientists, rather than leadership theorists (Gronn 2003a, 62).

THE AGENTS OF LEADERSHIP

On the assumption that the phenomenon in focus is, indeed, an instance of leadership, rather than of influence, power or something else, the next methodological issue concerns the explication of the concept and the identification of those parties engaged in leadership. The principal generic candidates here are “agents” and “actors.” There are two main reasons for preferring the former term ahead of the latter. First, there is a logical ground. “Actor” refers specifically to occupancy of a role, whereas “agent” designates social membership. From the perspective of human socialization and development, for example, it is clear that we all “become Agents *before* we become Actors” (Archer 1995, 277, original emphasis). Second, there is also a more practical consideration. Agency status is more advantageous because it widens the universe of potential leaders and/or leadership in particular contexts, whereas the designation “actors” increases the likelihood of their restriction to formal organizational role incumbents.

Commentators’ decisions about agents tend to be informed by their mental maps of the activity in hand. There have been two broad approaches. First, there are those theorists (by far the majority) who, either implicitly or explicitly, construe leadership as a form of exchange or a transaction, and as akin thereby to market relations. In this perspective, their discourse of representation constructs two classes of agents, “leaders” and “followers,” whose relations form a binary set. That is, the agents’ exchange is focused around two contrasting alternative roles, leadership or followership, each of which is believed to automatically entail or require the other. In some writings, binary category membership is taken to be invariant (in which case an agent is *either* a leader *or* a follower), although in other texts allowance is made for category switching (except that the border crossing criteria between “follower” and “leader” tend not to be stipulated). Another representational feature is that leadership is mostly conceptualized as focused (i.e., as man-

ifest in the behavior of an individual agent) rather than distributed (i.e., shared by a number of individuals or collective agents). Finally, while markets and hierarchies, as alternative modes of governance relations, have generated separate binary agency discourses (i.e., “leaders-followers” and “superiors-subordinates,” respectively), category license has seen some commentators conflate relations between the two domains of governance through resort to such synonymous equivalences as “leaders” = “superiors” and “followers” = “subordinates.”

A second, less instrumental or means-ends understanding of leadership has been to construe it as a process in which agency relations are accepted as much more fluid, open-ended and emergent (see Hunt and Dodge 2001, 448). Whereas an exchange or transactional leadership approach tends to be grounded in a momentary view of time, which yields survey-derived, one-off snapshots of sets of agents’ relations, process theorists work with a longer-term conception of time in mind. Here, the argument is that influence flows are reciprocal and multidirectional, and that both the design of research and one’s choice of instruments should be driven by a preparedness to “go with the flow” of the real world by accommodating unanticipated events. This stance results in the privileging of such direct modes of engagement with agents as in-depth reflective dialogue and in-situ observations. One prototype of a process approach may be recent work on “communities of practice,” which has documented patterns of shared role space, role interdependency, and agent coordination in the conjoint accomplishment of work, as part of an evolving, as opposed to a presumed binary, division of workplace labor (Gronn, 2003b).

THE CONTEXT(S) OF LEADERSHIP

As should be evident to this point in the discussion, two broadly contrasting ways of construing leadership as a unit of analysis are detectable amongst scholars, with “unit” being understood technically as the constituent properties of a phenomenon that afford it some degree of status as an entity (Gronn 2002, 444). That is, leadership is understood as hav-

ing either a self-evident or a contestable ontological status. These contrasts are intended to illustrate endpoints on a continuum of possibilities, rather than to be a strict either/or methodological dualism, each of which gives rise to different sets of assumptions about contexts for leadership activity.

Osborn, Hunt, and Jauch (2002, 797) note how context represents “a neglected side of leadership.” The question of what counts as a “context,” in the former of the two views just elucidated, tends to be answered by the claim that particular contexts amount to relatively discrete cultural and historical, and time-, space-, and place-bound settings, the definitional attributes of which, to all intents and purpose, are either nonproblematic or can be set aside for the purposes of data collection and analysis. An extreme version of this viewpoint, in effect, would be inclined to minimize any point of contact between agency and context, and reduce the latter to the conceptual equivalent of a scenic backdrop. This view corresponds roughly to “stability,” the first of Osborn, Hunt, and Jauch’s (2002, 800–801) four proposed models of context. By contrast, because it conceives of the actions of agents, and their activities through time, as multilayered, and embedded in and informed by wider webs of activity, the second of these two views interprets the notion of context for activity-based conduct as more contested. Here, as part of the negotiation of the dynamics of leadership in a particular research site, agents are understood to be informed by both locally derived and more universalistic sets of understandings about appropriate performance (e.g., in respect of the purposes of, justifications for, and outcomes of, their endeavors). Depending on the degrees of dynamism and complexity evident in a particular instance, this conception of context may go some way to instantiating combinations of attributes from Osborn, Hunt, and Jauch’s three remaining contexts of crisis, dynamic equilibrium and chaos.

THE AGENCY OF LEADERSHIP AGENTS

One of the obvious ways in which context and leadership activity co-relate is that contextual factors give leadership its distinctive texture of meaning and provide the source for particularized leadership attri-

butions (i.e., for any particular research site: Is there any evidence of leadership?, and, if there is, which agent is or agents are perceived by informants as doing the leading?). These contextual considerations, in turn, open up the question of what, if anything, the agent or agents attributed with leader status accomplish by virtue of that attributed agency, and what factors might impede or facilitate this possibility. That is, what determines the potency of leaders and their capacity to make a difference?

There have been few explicit attempts within the scholarly leadership community to conceptualize the ontological possibilities for leadership agency. Arguably, although it is written from within a discourse of management, rather than leadership, Stewart's (1989) model of role demands, constraints and opportunities is currently the most influential approach to understanding agency. (See, for example, the "Leadership Classics" symposium on Stewart's work in the April 2003 [14(2)] issue of *Leadership Quarterly*.) Stewart's terminology, which captures, respectively, the position description duties expected of managers (and leaders), those factors which circumscribe or limit managers' scope for initiative and those factors which create openings for initiative, provides a useful entry point for an exploration of the wider ontological issues of agency. The abridged version here of what is a considerably longer story (on which see Archer 1995) is that human agents generally, including those agents specifically attributed with leadership, inhabit social structures. In much the same way that leadership activity and context are inextricably bound up in the mutual shaping and reinforcement of perceptions and attributions of leaders, so agency and social structure interact as part of a duality in the constitution of action. Agency and structure comprise constituent elements of social reality, with neither element being reducible to the other. While "structure" captures the ideas of determination or constraint, "agency" expresses human volition and choice, while also expressing the real possibility of alteration to the very circumstances that shape (i.e., "structure") and make that agency possible in the first place. This means that while a social structure and its components (e.g., its institutionalized practices and

rule-bound sets of relations) may circumscribe the potential actions of agents, that structure, through time, may also be determined and re-shaped due to the effects, both intended and unintended, of the deeds of agents. From this perspective of social realism, therefore, ontological adequacy necessitates due theoretical acknowledgement of the likelihood of both social change and social reproduction as possible outcomes of action. Two important methodological consequences of this interplay of structure and agency, especially for those theorists who position agents at the causal forefront of their organizational analyses (as numerous behaviorists do), is to temper promises of potentially grandiose scope for leadership agency by allowing for the possibility of *both* constraint and enablement in their theorizing, and evaluating the respective contribution of each to organizational outcomes.

IMPLICATIONS

Although leadership scholars may draw on a variety of theoretical approaches in framing their research and explaining their findings, they all confront a common set of methodological issues. This entry has crystallized a mere handful of those issues, concerned mainly with aspects of action and agency, which are common to every field of social inquiry, but which, for the most part, tend not to have not been the focus of scholarly debate within the leadership field. With the passage of time, leadership, for the general public, has acquired the kind of symbolic flash and dash that, unlike influence and power, its immediate conceptual neighbors, befits the belief of that public in leadership's presumed elixir status. This hugely popular recognition, however, has produced a heavy burden of expectations, and is simultaneously a point of vulnerability for leadership. The dilemma with which scholarly commentators wrestle is this: Do they continue to take for granted and work within leadership's well-rehearsed discursive categories, so deeply entrenched in the popular mind, in the legitimate pursuit of scholarly impact and effectiveness, but at the cost of eliding or glossing the kinds of issues raised in this chapter, or do they pursue methodological openness, thereby risking a chal-

lence to some rather sacred leadership cows in which they may have a vested interest?

—Peter Gronn

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MILITARY

Leadership in the military is unique in that military leaders routinely ask followers to risk their lives to

achieve organizational goals. Moreover, the will to act derives not from financial gain but from an instilled sense of duty and often from deep bonds of affection. Of necessity, those who ask for such extreme sacrifice must be transformational leaders who inspire followers to do what may be against their self-interest.

The nature of war generates ethical imperatives, such as personal integrity and unit loyalty, that must be honored or the leader may fail in a number of ways. Failure to live up to these ethical imperatives may result in minimal effort from followers, by receiving an outright refusal of orders by subordinates, or even by physical attacks on the leader by the followers, though the latter two have been rare in American military history. Moral failure by military leaders can even lead to long-term psychological injury to those who are subject to unsound leadership. Most important, however, is the obligation of military leaders to be worthy stewards of the special trust and confidence given them by the nation and its people. Violating this charter undermines the national security and endangers the hopes and freedoms of its citizens. Military leaders also operate within a code of justice separate from that of the general public. Known as the Uniform Code of Military Justice, armed forces personnel are governed by this unique and binding code of conduct that gives military leaders tremendous legal power over subordinates. This further deepens their obligation to be leaders of character and to use this influence ethically.

Military leadership has distinct requirements and features during the different stages of war: organizing; equipping and training; battle; and recovery and homecoming. Leadership shortfalls in any of these stages can have catastrophic consequences. Because of the importance of leadership in the extreme conditions of warfare, all the armed services devote great effort to the systematic development of leaders through a carefully orchestrated interplay of leadership education and experience in leadership roles of increasing responsibilities. The army has codified many of these concepts in an official publication on *Leader Development for America's Army* (1994).

The military also recognizes the need to develop effective followers in ways that leaders in other

domains are only beginning to acknowledge. Military followers are not merely subordinates: They are expected to be independent, critical thinkers who give their best effort to achieve the assigned goals. This may include undertaking creative initiatives that are consistent with higher-level organizational intent when obstacles unexpectedly arise to the original plan of action. Subordinates are counted on to act like leaders when the appointed leaders are not present or are unable to lead because of injury or death. Military followers are also expected to recognize potentially unethical or unlawful requests, question them, and, if necessary, to resist them. Of course, military leaders are expected to avoid issuing immoral directives in the first place. Since following orders is not an acceptable justification for moral failure, both leaders and followers receive frequent education in the legal and moral dimensions of warfare.

The military offers a formidable context to consider leadership issues because geopolitical, technological, and national defense threats are changing and emerging so rapidly that the military must rapidly evolve as well. In practice, the similarities between the military and other formal organizations are far greater than the differences, with the exception of the unlimited claims the military may make on the lives of its members. Therefore, military leadership is also relevant for the practice of leadership in other organizations and arenas.

FACTORS THAT DISTINGUISH MILITARY LEADERSHIP

A number of traits distinguish military leadership from other leadership contexts. First, military leadership is expressly developed for armed combat where the stakes for the combatants are life and death. Yet many concepts from military leadership can be applied in other, noncombatant settings. The grounding construct of the American military is to defend the nation and, within Constitutional limits, serve the will of nationally elected leaders. One of the enduring features of leadership development in the American military is the inculcation of the values of loyalty to the Constitution and acceptance of the

supremacy of civilian authority over the military. The United States Military Academy at West Point has a required course in constitutional law to help cadets learn and internalize the structure of the American government and the values embedded in the U.S. Constitution. Officers in all of the armed services swear an oath to “support and defend the Constitution of the United States,” not loyalty to a person or a position.

Many new roles for the military have emerged during the post–Cold War period. American armed forces have served as peace keepers in Somalia, peace makers in Bosnia, war fighters in the Persian Gulf, domestic natural disaster relief providers, homeland security forces, and as security and social service agents in humanitarian missions both at home and abroad. These missions in culturally and linguistically diverse parts of the world create new demands on leaders for leadership skills beyond those required for war fighting alone. Indeed, the military today views adaptability and self-awareness as leadership meta-competencies that drive the development of other leadership skills.

A second distinguishing characteristic of leadership in the American military is the unique focus on followers. Contrary to the popular misconception that military leadership is about coercion and control, a marine corps drill sergeant revealed the importance of military followers when he told leadership researchers that “you do realize, sir, that leadership is all about caring” (Townsend and Gebhardt 1997, 26). General Eric Shinseki (2003), a former army chief of staff put it more emphatically:

You must love those you lead before you can be an effective leader. You can certainly command without that sense of commitment, but you cannot lead without it. And without leadership, command is a hollow experience, a vacuum often filled with mistrust and arrogance.

This ethic that highlights the critical importance of subordinates permeates the military and makes military leadership servant leadership (Greenleaf 1977). The focus in the military is on the followers, their well-being, and their continued professional development. Leaders at all levels are taught to be

rigorously attentive to the needs of their subordinates. A continuous challenge in the military is striking a balance between mission accomplishment and the welfare of subordinates. Rather than one need taking priority over another, the two are generally thought to exist in tandem, as expressed in the contemporary military credo: "Mission first, soldiers always." This tension can create intense demands on military leaders in battle and is the distinguishing requirement for military leaders.

A third element that makes military leadership unique is that the stakes for which the leadership is exercised can be enormous. When reduced to its simplest and most fundamental mission, the role of the military is to guarantee the security of the nation by engaging in battle and defeating an enemy or, without going to battle, by deterring threats to national interests. General of the Army Douglas MacArthur expressed this idea simply and eloquently in a speech at West Point on 12 May 1962:

And through all this welter of change and development, your mission remains fixed, determined, inviolable—it is to win our wars. Everything else in your professional career is but corollary to this vital dedication. All other public purposes, all other public projects, all other public needs, great or small, will find others for their accomplishment; but you are the ones who are trained to fight: yours is the profession of arms—the will to win, the sure knowledge that in war there is no substitute for victory; that if you lose, the nation will be destroyed; that the very obsession of your public service must be Duty—Honor—Country (MacArthur 1962a, 29).

Engaging in combat is inherently dangerous and potentially both life threatening and life altering. As a result, leadership under the rigors of combat is challenging and stressful. But these conditions have given rise to heroism that has no peacetime equivalent except occasionally in emergency situations involving first responders such as the fire and police services. It is the stress of physical danger that creates the necessity for transformational military leaders. According to James MacGregor Burns, transforming leadership "occurs when one or more persons engage with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one and another to

higher levels of motivation and morality" (1978, 20). Contrasting the more common transactional leadership with transforming leadership, Burns (1978, 4) also argues:

The transforming leader looks for potential motives in followers, seeks to satisfy higher needs, and engages the full person of the follower. The result of transforming leadership is a relationship of mutual stimulation and elevation that converts followers into leaders and may convert leaders into moral agents.

Though Burns was primarily interested in leaders who advocate social and political change, his theory and definitions fit perfectly with the realities of military leadership during war preparations, on the battlefield, and in the critical homecoming and healing phase after war. Burns witnessed the effects of combat and military leadership in combat during World War II in the Pacific theater when he served as a member of a research team led by Brigadier General S. L. A. Marshall that produced the influential book *Men Against Fire*. Many of the concepts in Marshall's book are consistent with Burns's later formulation of the concept of transforming leadership and had a major impact after World War II on military leadership and training, especially in the army.

According to Burns, both the motivation and the morality of followers, and sometimes of leaders, are influenced by transforming leaders. The transforming military leader must change the motivation of fighting men and women from the urge for self-preservation to the willingness to give up their life in combat, if necessary. The military leader must also help individuals channel personal goals into teamwork and mutually supportive actions that lead to greater group cohesion and the attainment of unit goals.

The transformational military leader must also help individual warriors tame primal urges for self-preservation and defense of comrades using the moral frameworks established by international and domestic laws, national and institutional values, and other ethical frameworks such as religion and societal norms. Although human beings have strong inhibitions against killing other humans, military training is designed to successfully overcome these inhibitions (Grossman 1995). While attempting to

meet their objective, military leaders must ensure that soldiers kill only other armed combatants and keep noncombatant casualties and collateral damage to a minimum. This is not always easy when strong emotions such as fear and rage threaten self-control and the exercise of reason and moral judgment.

Though effective military leaders and their followers have long known the importance of transforming leadership, modern leadership researchers have demonstrated empirically the effects of transforming leadership in comparison to transactional leadership, which is fundamentally based on rewards and punishment (Bass, Avolio, Jung, and Berson 2003). Transformational leadership more often leads to mission accomplishment and follower development than other leadership styles. According to three former air force officers who have written a popular leadership textbook, a transforming leader:

Instills pride in others, displays power and confidence, makes personal sacrifices or champions new possibilities, considers the ethical or moral consequences of actions, articulates a compelling vision of the future, sets challenging standards, treats followers as individuals, and helps followers understand the problems they face (Hughes, Ginnett, and Curphy 2002, 417).

Leaders can learn to engage in this kind of behavior and thus have a more favorable impact on followers than they would if they used other forms of leadership.

In some elite military units made up of older, experienced, and highly trained soldiers, such as special operations units, leadership is often shared by all members of the unit despite the formal, rank-based hierarchy. Such units are examples of what situational leadership theory calls a *mature* group (Hersey and Blanchard 1982). With such groups, formal leaders use a *delegating* leadership style and the leader's presence may appear superfluous when, in fact, they have developed the group to an acceptable level of maturity over the group's history and may take on a different leadership role when the task or the membership of the group changes.

In these mature groups, teamwork is often the glue that binds members together. Special operations forces, an example of a mature group, are identified

Good leaders develop through a never-ending process of self-study, education, training, and experience.

—U.S. Army manual on military leadership

by their consummate professionalism and commitment to individual and collective excellence. Their culture and motivation is captured by anthropologist Anna Simons (1997, 9–10):

What drives, sustains, and commits these men? Ultimately, it is the company they keep. Special Forces soldiers are their own harshest critics. Teams roil with peer pressure. The challenge lies within—within individual soldiers, within teams, within the company, and within the unit. Ego plays a part. But ego usually has to be subordinated. To be good means being good on a team. And being part of a team is—for these soldiers—as good as it gets.

Echoing this idea, it is common to hear special forces soldiers commenting that there is no experience equivalent to being on a great military team, an experience that imprints lasting memories of camaraderie and esprit. For many, the team becomes their identity.

Some of the most significant American heroes have emerged on battlefields. A number of these heroes, from George Washington to Dwight D. Eisenhower to John F. Kennedy, returned from battle to lead the nation as presidents of the United States. But an even larger number of heroes laid down their arms at the end of battle and returned to family, friends, and loved ones to resume lives that were put on hold during wartime; many of these individuals became leaders on smaller stages at home, work, and in their community.

HISTORY OF LEADERSHIP DOCTRINE IN THE AMERICAN MILITARY

In examining broad trends in military leadership doctrine and theory, one of the crispest and most coherent descriptions comes from Faris Kirkland (1998). Although his article is geared to the army,



The Charge of the Light Brigade, by Alfred, Lord Tennyson

This classic poem written in 1864 memorializes a suicide charge by British forces during the Crimean War in 1854.

Half a league, half a league, Half a league onward, All in the valley of Death Rode the six hundred. 'Forward, the Light Brigade! Charge for the guns!' he said: Into the valley of Death Rode the six hundred.	Cannon in front of them Volley'd and thunder'd; Storm'd at with shot and shell, Boldly they rode and well, Into the jaws of Death, Into the mouth of Hell Rode the six hundred.	Cannon to right of them, Cannon to left of them, Cannon behind them Volley'd and thunder'd; Storm'd at with shot and shell, While horse and hero fell, They that had fought so well Came thro' the jaws of Death, Back from the mouth of Hell, All that was left of them, Left of six hundred.
'Forward, the Light Brigade! Was there a man dismay'd ? Not tho' the soldier knew Some one had blunder'd: Their's not to make reply, Their's not to reason why, Their's but to do and die: Into the valley of Death Rode the six hundred.	Flash'd all their sabres bare, Flash'd as they turn'd in air Sabring the gunners there, Charging an army, while All the world wonder'd: Plunged in the battery—smoke Right thro' the line they broke; Cossack and Russian Reel'd from the sabre—stroke Shatter'd and sunder'd.	When can their glory fade? O the wild charge they made! All the world wonder'd. Honour the charge they made! Honour the Light Brigade, Noble six hundred!
Cannon to right of them, Cannon to left of them,	Then they rode back, but not Not the six hundred.	

the categorization of leadership doctrine can be generalized to the other branches of the armed forces (i.e., the marines, navy, and air force). Kirkland (1998) chronicles three distinct periods in the evolution of American military leadership doctrine: The paternalism era from 1778 to 1940, the confusion era 1940 to 1979, and the renaissance era from 1979 to the present.

The era of paternalism featured a continual evolution of caring and respect for subordinates. Leaders were expected to tend to follower needs and welfare, while fostering cohesion, as well as generating adherence to the military principles of good order and discipline, core values from the beginning of the American military. Leaders during this period were likely seen as transforming leaders. In some cases, officers were even elected by their soldiers. After World War I, then Brigadier General Douglas MacArthur was appointed to be superintendent of the U. S. Military Academy at West Point.

MacArthur had been a member of the corps of engineers for most of his career, the branch of the army that played a vital role in the nation's westward expansion between the founding of West Point in 1802 and the end of World War I in 1918. MacArthur saw that the role of West Point needed to change as the nation's westward push came to an end. He tried unsuccessfully to reorient the programs of the academy to prepare leaders for the nation, as opposed to engineers, but his initiatives opened a debate that continued until 1947.

The confusion era was a particularly challenging time for the American military. The tremendous expansion of the military for World War II had residual effects that were felt for many years following the surrender of Germany, Italy, and Japan. This expansion, combined with battlefield attrition, caused many officers, noncommissioned officers, and soldiers to be promoted extremely rapidly, often advancing them well beyond their training and expe-

rience. The situation was exacerbated by a lack of experience at the lowest levels of the military, as draftees and volunteers were also shipped off to combat with minimal training. What occurred in many cases is that leaders who had advanced far beyond their training and capabilities were leading service members who also possessed little or no training and experience.

As a way to cope with this situation, a culture of authoritarianism and transactional leadership began to creep into the military. Authoritarian leaders tend to rule with an iron fist, stress a strict adherence to rules and regulations, and accentuate the negative consequences for noncompliance. This type of leadership can have a detrimental influence on morale and stifle innovation among subordinates—both of these results occurred between the end of World War II and the beginning of the 1980s.

To counter the trend toward authoritarian and transactional leadership, in 1947 General Dwight D. Eisenhower, then the chief of staff of the army, directed West Point to design a formal program of leadership instruction and urged creation of a department of leadership study. This became the first leadership education program in the history of the United States. It was not, however, until 1978 that a contentious debate over the merits of a formal leadership program at West Point were decided in favor of the value of a systematic program of courses in leadership and the behavioral sciences as part of the core curriculum, combined with powerful experiential leadership learning opportunities and an environment saturated with professional models of effective military leadership.

Both general conditions and specific leadership principles continued to deteriorate as authoritarianism permeated the military throughout the Korean and Vietnam wars. The socially unpopular conflict in Vietnam exacerbated the leadership frustrations in the armed forces. Many scholars and historians agree that the post-Vietnam 1970s marked the low point in the history of the U.S. military.

Following the Vietnam War and the switch from a draft to a volunteer system in 1973, the need for new forms of leadership gradually became more apparent. A paradigm shift occurred in military leadership doc-

trine during the mid- to late 1970s, as sweeping structural changes in the armed forces began to counterbalance low morale and rigid, authoritarian leadership practices. This change ushered in the renaissance era, which continues today. More selective screening mechanisms and better incentives were put in place to recruit and enlist educated, capable men and women who were motivated to join the service. In addition, greater emphasis was placed on realistic, challenging training. Quality-of-life issues such as pay and housing also were significantly improved. But it was the perseverance of leaders who endured the era of confusion that significantly turned the tide and brought forth the emergence of a professional, all volunteer, and highly regarded military. It is generally agreed that this renaissance-era American military is the best-trained, best-equipped, best-led, and most highly regarded military in modern history. The commitment to a systematic approach to developing leaders was vital to the institutional reforms in all the armed services after the shift to an all-volunteer force in 1973. Finally, although this section was framed using Kirkland's (1998) schema, there are many sources that detail the history of the American military.

CORE TENETS OF MILITARY LEADERSHIP

Perhaps the most significant tenet of military leadership is that it is developmental in nature and grounded in systematic training and education for all service members. The American military recognized and embraced the idea that leaders are made rather than born long before the "Great Man" theory of leadership fell out of favor in the larger society. All military personnel—officer and enlisted—receive formal leadership training and education throughout their careers. Of note: Most of this training is not simply skills based; many branches of service have traditional educational requirements for their officers. For example, all officers must have four-year college degrees and many career officers hold graduate degrees. The military, as an institution, embraces the idea of lifelong learning, both in the war fighting profession and through civilian academic institutions. The armed services operate corporate universities that provide progressive and sequential leadership educa-

tion and training throughout a career of service. Because of this, the American military tends to be both highly trained and educated, which has resulted in the emergence of both a professional commissioned officer corps and a professional enlisted non-commissioned officer corps. The development of a professional noncommissioned officers corps that is educated and trained in both technical areas of specialization and leadership is one of the keys to the success of the American military since the transition to the all-volunteer system.

A second tenet of military leadership is that ethics are inextricably tied into leadership doctrine and training. Indeed, there are certain functional ethical imperatives that spring from the very nature of the military institution. As former air force officer Malham Wakin has noted, these imperatives include “subordination of the good of the self to the good of the nation and the military unit, courage, obedience, loyalty, and integrity” (1984, 56). Because of the lethality of warfare and the potential consequences for the nation, professional competence is also an ethical obligation for military leaders who bind themselves morally to their followers and to the American people by swearing an oath that is taken “freely and without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion.”

Military leadership training has a heavy focus on developing ethical leaders. Such training provides leaders with the cognitive frameworks required to make difficult decisions in an environment where issues are complex, multidimensional, and often have tremendous ramifications. The ability of the news media to instantly transmit combat video images, combined with conflicts that are increasingly fought far from home, and the commingling of civilians and combatants on the battlefield have all made it essential that military leaders are well grounded in ethical thought, training, and character.

A third pillar of military leadership is illustrated in the army infantry’s credo: “Follow Me!” Leadership by example has been a cornerstone of the American military since the American Revolution, although its practice has become more subtle and complex as the education level of military personnel has steadily increased. It is no longer a call for blind

obedience. Rather it is a challenge for all levels in the military to lead. Leaders are dynamic participants in the activities of their units and passive, manipulative leadership is both broadly discouraged and seldom practiced. Instead, throughout the ranks leadership is reinforced and leaders are developed. The designated leader’s demonstration of integrity is the central factor in shaping the ethical reasoning and conduct of others in military units.

MILITARY LEADERSHIP IN COMBAT

The ultimate role of the military is to engage in and be victorious in combat, although the military has been used throughout history in a wide variety of roles. Combat is a uniquely challenging situation that places enormous stress and strain on the individual combatant and on the larger organization. To better understand the leadership principles and practices in combat, it is helpful to consider what happens before combat, during combat, and after the fighting is over.

Before combat, individuals and units undergo mission-based training and routine human interactions (such as working, socializing, and celebrating together) that serve to build and develop the unit. It is during this time that critical linkages among organizational members are created. In the best scenario, mutual trust and respect are established, cohesion is generated, and the unit is readied for the impending challenges of combat. These linkages help reduce some of the burdens associated with combat, although it is not possible—or desired—to ameliorate all the stressful effects of combat. A crucial element in building the capacity to fight in military units is training that is both challenging and realistic in which leaders participate, that is followed by reflection and critiques after every training exercise. Military units spend a preponderance of their time in the pre-combat phase, preparing and remaining vigilant for possible combat deployment. Many of the military leader actions during this time are identical to what leaders in civilian organizations might do, such as developing subordinates, counseling, handling administrative matters, and maintaining equipment. This is one reason why military leader-



General Carl von Clausewitz (1780–1831) on Courage and Chance in War

War is the province of danger, and therefore courage above all things is the first quality of a warrior.

Courage is of two kinds; first, physical courage, or courage in presence of danger to the person: and next, moral courage, or courage before responsibility; whether it be before the judgment-seat of external authority, or of the inner power, the conscience. We only speak here of the first.

Courage before danger to the person, again, is of two kinds. First, it may be indifference to danger, whether proceeding from the organism of the individual, contempt of death, or habit: in any of these cases it is to be regarded as a permanent condition.

Secondly, courage may proceed from positive motives; such as personal pride, patriotism, enthusiasm of any kind. In this case courage is not so much a normal condition as an impulse.

We may conceive that the two kinds act differently. The first kind is more certain, because it has become a second nature, never forsakes the man: the second often leads him further. In the first there is more of firmness, in the second of boldness. The first leaves the judgment cooler, the second raises its power at times, but often bewilders it. The two combined make up the most perfect kind of courage.

War is the province of physical exertion and suffering. In order not to be completely overcome by them, a certain strength of body and mind is required, which, either natural or acquired, produces indifference to them. With these qualifications under the guidance of simply a sound understanding, a man is at once a proper instrument for war; and these are the qualifications so generally to be met with amongst wild and half-civilised tribes. If we go further in the demands which war makes on its votaries, then we find the powers of the understanding predominating. War is the province of uncertainty: three-fourths of those things upon which action in war must be calculated,

are hidden more or less in the clouds of great uncertainty. Here, then, above all a fine and penetrating mind is called for, to grope out the truth by the tact of its judgment.

A common understanding may, at one time, perhaps hit upon this truth by accident: an extraordinary courage, at another time, may compensate for the want of this tact: but in the majority of cases the average result will always bring to light the deficient understanding.

War is the province of chance. In no sphere of human activity is such a margin to be left for this intruder, because none is so much in constant contact with him on all sides. He increases the uncertainty of every circumstance, and deranges the course of events.

From this uncertainty of all intelligence and suppositions, this continual interposition of chance, the actor in war constantly finds things different to his expectations; and this cannot fail to have an influence on his plans, or at least on the presumptions connected with these plans. If this influence is so great as to render the pre-determined plan completely nugatory, then, as a rule, a new one must be substituted in its place; but at the moment the necessary data are often wanting for this, because in the course of action circumstances press for immediate decision, and allow no time to look about for fresh data, often not enough for mature consideration. But it much more often happens that the correction of one premise, and the knowledge of chance events which have arisen, are not quite sufficient to overthrow our plans completely, but only suffice to produce hesitation. Our knowledge of circumstances has increased, but our uncertainty, instead of having diminished, has only increased. The reason of this is, that we do not gain all our experience at once, but by degrees; so our determinations continue to be assailed incessantly by fresh experience; and the mind, if we may use the expression, must always be under arms.

Source: Von Clausewitz, Carl. (1873). *On War* (ch. 3). London: N. Truebner. Translated by J. J. Graham. (Originally published 1832)

ship is seen as directly transferable to many other organizations.

During combat, individuals have to overcome strong emotions, such as fear, anxiety, rage, and guilt, and be willing to both risk their lives and, when necessary, take the lives of others. Fear is an inherent, normal reaction to combat; its absence, in fact, would be a marker for psychological imbalance. Soldiers, sailors, marines, and aviators learn to contain their fear, not remove it, and continue to perform the

mission. No one is exempt from fear and the example of a leader effectively coping with fear is a powerful influence on others during battle. Leaders must share the dangers of the battlefield on land, at sea, and in the air. During battle, military and political leaders must never violate the trust placed in them by those who must risk their lives. Leaders at all levels must be able to honestly and persuasively portray the just nature of the cause for which they are fighting.

After combat, the war fighters must be returned

home and assisted in their reintegration into society as healthy, well-adjusted individuals. Having experienced the horrors of death, destruction, and the loss of close comrades, warriors are vulnerable to long-term effects of combat that can endure a lifetime if not successfully addressed in the immediate aftermath of battle. The experience of trauma coupled with very strong emotions can lead to the inability to form normal human attachments and can impair the veteran's ability to form stable friendships, romantic relationships, and can strain family relationships.

Some combat survivors experience guilt that they are alive while their buddy is dead, leaders may feel guilty because they sent their followers to their deaths, and all feel guilty over the destruction that they have caused. The antidote is for both military and civilian leaders to create communities of trust among veterans that allow integration, reconciliation, and psychological healing (Shay 1995). America's track record with this healing and reintegration process is generally positive, although the reassimilation of veterans into society during and after the Vietnam War left much to be desired in terms of combatant rehabilitation. Returning soldiers need the opportunity to integrate their combat experiences, and they need to be given the opportunity to engage in individual sense-making processes. The armed services have taken positive steps to promote psychological healing after wars since the Vietnam era. Mandatory reintegration and debriefing programs have been instituted to help soldiers come home and recover emotionally from the effects of war. Since the end of the Vietnam War, most returning service members have received a hero's welcome that has been helpful. It takes the nation's gratitude along with leadership and the support of their buddies to make the healing process work most effectively.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 were a catalyst that accelerated the transformation of the American military; a transformation that had already begun following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990. A new era of fighting smaller and more elusive

enemies arose suddenly and dramatically. As a result of geopolitical changes, the military institution will also be forced to change and adapt to the new global and political landscape. Now, the development of ethical leaders and followers may be more important than ever because of the complexity, ambiguity, and transparency of future military operations. Former naval captain D. Michael Abrashoff expressed this eloquently:

Crisis spawns leaders, as we saw during those weeks in September when death rained from flawless autumn skies and ordinary people became extraordinary. We may now face a series of crises throughout the world, and the need for steady leaders may be as relentless as the crises themselves (2002, 4).

Ethical leadership is a fundamental requirement for leaders in the American military. The nature of modern warfare and the role of the military in a democratic society will place great demands on military leaders and followers. Transformational leadership remains vital to mastering the challenges facing military units in the twenty-first century because of the very nature of warfare, which makes unprecedented demands on soldiers to risk their lives and well-being in the service of others. The American military has created the most sophisticated leader development systems in the world that continue to produce leaders of character who contribute to their nation both in uniform and after they return as civilians into society.

The impact of future global systemic changes on military leadership is difficult to fully and precisely predict. But, it seems reasonable to assume that military leaders will increasingly need to become more skillful in dealing with ill-defined and rapidly changing threat environments. Future military operations will feature smaller units operating with greater speeds and mobility, putting a greater importance on young leaders and increasing the necessity of leading by direct interpersonal influence. Leaders will operate over longer distances with greater responsibility and independence, connected by powerful information technology. Finally, leaders will operate in distant regions of the world in non-western cultures and potentially unstable societies. Leadership

dispersed throughout military units will remain a fundamental requirement of military effectiveness in years to come, as it has been throughout the history of the United States military.

—Howard T. Prince II and Geoffrey R. Tumlin

See also Alexander the Great; Bay of Pigs; D-Day; Eisenhower, Dwight David; Genghis Khan; Grant, Ulysses; Hiroshima; Israel, Founding of; Lee, Robert E.; Long March; Manhattan Project; Mau Mau Rebellion; Napoleon; Nelson, Horatio Lord; Patton, George S.; Pearl Harbor; Pueblo Revolt; Saladin; War on Terrorism

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MODELING AND LEADING BY EXAMPLE

While leading his countryfolk in India's independence movement, Mohandas Gandhi conveyed his message of nonviolence in both words and deeds. Although many people admire him and hold him up as an example, or model, of leadership, not all agree. For example, someone who views nonviolent strategies as weakness will probably not be inclined to model his behavior. This example illustrates that modeling (or leadership by example), while something that leaders can endeavor to practice, is also somewhat dependent upon the observer's perceptions, goals, expectations, values, and beliefs.

WHAT IS MODELING?

Albert Bandura (b. 1925), the father of social cognitive (formerly social learning) theory, defined modeling as the acquisition (or modification) of a complex behavior pattern through observing another. Bandura explains that modeling, or learning from example, involves the adaptation and generalization of an observed behavior pattern to new situations. It is not imitation, in which people copy the exact behavior they have seen others use. For instance, suppose a supervisor responds to a problem brought by an employee by asking, "What do you think should be done?" In imitation, the employee would later use those words when someone asks for a solu-

tion to a problem; in modeling, the employee would adapt and widely generalize that pattern of helping others take initiative in finding their own solutions and making their own decisions.

Bandura emphasized the importance of the observer's thinking processes, or cognitions (for example, the observer's values, goals, perceptions, and expectations) in modeling and other learning. Modeling is not a passive process, in which another's behavior imprints on the brain of an observer; rather, it is a form of vicarious learning, in which people have some influence (or choice) in what they learn from another's experiences. In the example above, if the employee feels valued and appreciates being asked for an opinion, he or she is more likely to model the behavior. If, however, the experience is unpleasant—for example, because it makes the employee feel put on the spot—then the employee is less likely to model it, unless he or she wishes to put someone else on the spot. But in any case, the employee's perceptions, goals, motivation, and expectations have influenced what was learned from the supervisor's behavior.

As for the question of who acts as a model, field and laboratory experiments reveal that observers pay attention to others who are higher in status, powerful, admired, or seen as similar; they are likely to model behaviors for which the model had been reinforced or which brought consequences to the model that they valued for themselves. For example, in organizations leaders who are perceived as having more access to organizational rewards are more likely to be modeled than less resourced leaders.

THE FOUR STEPS IN MODELING

The first step in modeling is paying attention to the model. It is not enough that the leader should behave in a certain way; many things compete for human attention at any given moment, and the observer's attention must be both available and motivated. For instance, people with attention difficulties either because of temporary distraction or because of cognitive styles may observe a model but have trouble learning from observation alone.

The second step is retention of (or remembering)

the complex behavioral pattern observed. Retention is influenced by an observer's memory skill and by the length of time he or she is exposed to the behavior. Frequently repeated behaviors and those of long duration are more likely to be remembered. This may partially account for the generational transmission of parenting patterns, in that children usually observe parents for many years and most parents repeat their behavior many times over.

Reproduction (practice) of the observed behavioral pattern is the third step in modeling. The observer must be capable of accurately replicating the behavior. For instance, a basketball coach may model a defensive play for his or her players, but though they may remember it well, they may initially lack the skill to duplicate it. At this point rehearsal and feedback are helpful. Practice is necessary but not sufficient for successful replication; the learner also requires feedback if he or she is going to perform the behavior well.

Motivation to demonstrate the behavior is the final step in modeling. The observer needs some incentive to try out the modeled behavioral pattern—the situation must seem relevant, the likelihood of success worth the risk of failing, or the goal valued. If the observer has seen the leader rewarded for performing the behavior, this vicarious reinforcement can provide an incentive. Self-efficacy, the confidence that one has the ability to perform a specific task, is another important incentive; high leadership or task self-efficacy increases motivation to demonstrate learned behaviors, while low self-efficacy reduces a follower's tendency to attempt to model or demonstrate a learned behavior pattern.

HOW LEADERSHIP LEARNING OCCURS THROUGH MODELING

In 1992, the researchers Henry P. Sims and Peter Lorenzi, applying social cognitive theory to leadership, presented evidence that modeling has a powerful influence on leadership learning. This is so whether the models are live (as when, for example, a child watches a parent's behavior or an employee watches a manager's behavior), media-presented (as when we observe a model in a movie or taped simu-



Strengthening Role Modeling in Leadership

Can you influence whether others see you as a model? Research indicates that there are several ways to strengthen leadership role modeling. Developing characteristics that others admire in leaders (chief among them honesty, a forward-looking outlook, an inspiring stance, and competence) is one way. Others include helping a group reach important leadership goals, behaving congruently with advocated values in literal and symbolic ways, and deliberate role modeling when you recognize that others are taking their cues from your actions. In their 1995 book *How To Keep Getting Extraordinary Things Done in Organizations* (published by Jossey-Bass), the researchers James Kouzes and Barry Posner report that "leaders, when at their best, recognize . . . that intentional modeling is essential to focusing people's attention, energy, and effort on the expected behaviors until such actions became standard operating procedures—part of the daily stream of activity" (220). Effective leadership role models also explain why they do what they do, using critical incidents as "teachable moments."

—Tracey T. Manning

lation) or covert (as when we have thoughts or images of leadership behavior). Managers, describing how they learned leadership, most frequently cited two modeling approaches: emulation of a mentor and role modeling. In emulation of a mentor, the manager intentionally learned leadership by observing a specific admired person, while role modeling involved imagining how an ideal leader would behave in this situation.

Theories of charismatic or transformational leadership emphasize role modeling as an important means by which leaders empower group members to achieve extraordinary results, high work satisfaction, and leadership development. In the scholar Bernard Bass's framework, leaders' idealized influence and inspirational motivation help constituents to buy into the leader's challenging vision. Idealized influence is the influence a leader has on group members after earning their respect by virtue of his or her ethical, value-consistent, and group-centered behavior; inspirational motivation is the motivation a leader pro-

Example is not the main thing in influencing others, it is the only thing.

—Albert Schweitzer

vides a group by his dedicated support of a credible and important organizational vision. Each highlights an aspect of role modeling: Idealized influence focuses on when and how the leader gains the status of role model; inspirational motivation describes the resultant influence the leader has on the group or individual as a role model.

Studying best practices of leaders across many fields, the researchers James Kouzes and Barry Posner identified modeling as one of five key transformational leadership practices. Leaders set the example for desired behavior (through words, actions, symbolism, and organizational priority setting) while building group momentum working toward valued goals.

In acting as models, leaders affect observers in three ways. First, they influence the leadership styles or behaviors that observers adopt. Numerous studies have found significant correlation between leaders' and group members' leadership styles, particularly in the case of transformational leadership based on role modeling. When employees rated their direct superiors as more transformational, it turned out the superiors' supervisors were more transformational too; studies on parents' and children's leadership styles have produced similar results. For example, when parents modeled transformational leadership to their high school athlete daughters and sons, those adolescents were more likely to be seen as transformational leaders by their peers. Parents model other leadership styles as well: College students, particularly males, were similar to their parents in their leadership emphasis on either getting the task/job done or how group members were feeling. Across studies, there is little or no evidence for counter-role modeling—that is, of learning to do the opposite of a supervisor's or parent's modeled leadership style. While people may react strongly to disliked leadership styles employed by parents or bosses, their dislike does not result in their learning to act differently.

Role model leaders also affect observers by their deft management of emotions. Much of the impact that transformational leaders have upon group achievement stems from the emotional responses the leaders evoke in their group members. When leaders (whether formal or informal) help others identify and develop constructive emotional responses (such as optimism or determination) in a difficult, complex, or confusing situation, they are usually seen as role models. Winston Churchill's ability to engender hope and to challenge his people to resistance in besieged Britain during World War II exemplifies this ability.

Finally, leaders acting as models affect followers by empowering them. Leadership role modeling can have a powerful impact on observers' job-specific self-efficacy and leadership self-efficacy. Coaches often help teams achieve more than the players' individual skill levels would predict by building their collective and individual self-efficacy in the face of an important goal. Leadership role modeling can also increase observers' willingness to take risks, to make changes, and to go beyond their role descriptions to help the organization reach important goals. Eleanor Roosevelt changed from an inhibited and painfully shy young woman into a confident, adventurous, and independent thinker and champion of social causes thanks to the mentoring and role modeling of her secondary school headmistress.

HOW LEADERSHIP ROLE MODELING CAN STRENGTHEN ORGANIZATIONS

Role modeling has been used to develop technical competencies and leadership style, skills, and attitudes. Leadership-specific behavioral modeling programs often feature observation of a taped or live model, followed by rehearsal of the modeled behavior in a simulated setting and then by constructive feedback and social reinforcement. The final step is transfer of training, which occurs when the learner successfully uses the modeled skill in a leadership situation.

Modeling, or learning by example, is also a component of formal and informal mentoring programs in business, education, the sciences, and other fields.

Formal programs partner those identified as masters in the field with newer employees or with those identified as having high potential in the organization. E-learning (which features virtual simulations, a wider range of models, and online training possibilities) will only increase organizations' ability to use role modeling to increase employees' leadership skills.

—Tracey T. Manning

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MODERN OLYMPICS MOVEMENT

Although a number of nineteenth-century Europeans endeavored to revive the ancient Olympics, none succeeded. W. P. Brookes inaugurated a series of annual “Olympian Games” in Shropshire in 1849. They were purely local affairs in which rural folk participated in traditional pastimes. In 1859, the Greeks made the first of several attempts to revive the Olympics, but their games, local and limited to

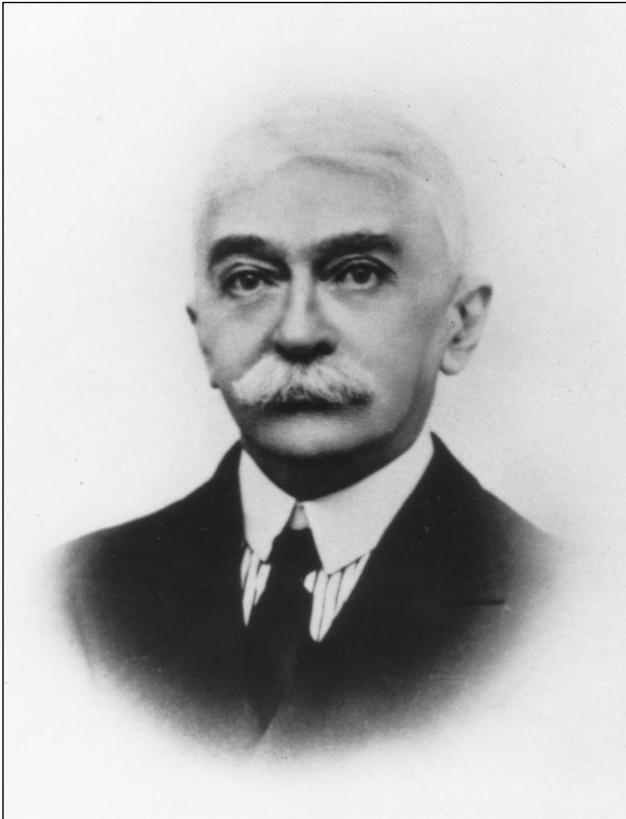
ethnic Greeks, were unnoticed by the rest of the world. In 1891, John Astley Cooper boldly proposed a grand Pan-Britannic and Anglo-Saxon Festival, but it was not until 1930 that his dream was partially realized in the form of the British Empire Games (retitled the Commonwealth Games).

THE MODERN OLYMPIC REVIVAL

Pierre de Coubertin, who possessed a more inclusively cosmopolitan vision and greater organizational skills than his predecessors, succeeded where they had failed. Schooled in the classics like every educated European, he exploited the aura of antiquity in order to achieve an avowedly political goal—international peace and reconciliation. His motivation was more than political. He was obsessed with a vision of the Olympics as a secular religion. “The first essential characteristic of ancient as of modern Olympism,” he proclaimed, “is that it is a religion.”

In 1894, Coubertin convened an international conference at the Sorbonne, ostensibly to discuss amateurism in sports. Seated in a grand auditorium whose walls were decorated with classical murals by Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, the delegates were aurally seduced by the ancient “Hymn to Apollo,” discovered the previous year at Delphi, set to music by Gabriel Fauré, and sung by Jeanne Remade and the chorus of the Opéra Français. In this carefully constructed milieu, Coubertin suggested that an International Olympic Committee (IOC) be organized to revive the ancient games. The delegates agreed and Coubertin selected the members. Some of them, like the American William Milligan Sloane and the Czech Jiri Guth-Jarkovvsky, were energetic and able men; others were titled aristocrats whom Coubertin chose for their prestige. To this day, the IOC selects its own members, all of whom are supposed to represent the Olympic movement rather than their country.

Athens was chosen as the most appropriate site for the revived games and a Greek man of letters, Demetrios Bikelas, was chosen as the first IOC president. (He served, rather ineffectually, until 1896, after which Coubertin took the office and served until 1925.) Coubertin controlled the program for the



Pierre de Coubertin, founder of the Modern Olympics.

Source: Allen Guttmann; used with permission.

games and created a clever mix of ancient and modern sports. He included the javelin and the discus, events that had not been a part of modern track-and-field contests. His friend Michel Breal donated a trophy to be given to the winner of a twenty-two-mile race from the site of the battle of Marathon to the Olympic stadium. (The marathon's present distance—26.2 miles—was set in 1908 when the race began at Windsor palace and ended in the stadium at Shepherd's Field.) The throwers and the runners were joined by fencers, gymnasts, swimmers, and wrestlers; none of those events were a part of the ancient games. In other contests, oarsmen, cyclists, sharpshooters, and tennis players used modern sports equipment unknown before the nineteenth century.

Ironically, the success of the 1896 games threatened Coubertin's leadership. The Greek royal family took full credit for games and announced their intention to host all future quadrennial celebrations. Coubertin was adamant, insisting that the games had to

be nomadic in order to demonstrate the universality of his ideal. Coubertin prevailed, but he had to compromise and allow the second and third Olympics to be embedded in the world's fairs that took place in Paris (1900) and St. Louis (1904). The athletic program for 1900 was designed by Daniel Merillon and it was very nearly a disaster. The sports events stretched over a period of two months and were so poorly publicized that few people knew that the Exposition Universelle included them. There were, of course, wonderful moments, but Coubertin was extremely disappointed. He was so distressed by the prospect of the 1904 games that he convened the IOC in London rather than in St. Louis (and very few European athletes crossed the Atlantic to compete in what many of them considered to be a wilderness).

Coubertin found solace in a series of Olympic Congresses, the most important of which took place in Brussels in 1905. These conclaves gave him a platform from which he articulated his dream of Olympism enriched by contests in art, literature, and music.

The games celebrated in London in 1908 were a source of great satisfaction to Coubertin because they were well organized and because the European and North American press took notice of them, which had not been the case for the earlier games. One grave problem did, however, emerge. All the officials were chosen by the British hosts. James Sullivan, the Irish-American head of the American team, complained bitterly that the officials were biased against Irish-American athletes. Sullivan had a point. When the Italian marathoner Dorando Pietri collapsed the officials dragged him across the finish line and proclaimed him—rather than Johnny Hayes—the winner. The IOC overturned the decision and Coubertin saw to it that the officials for future games were as international as the athletes.

Those celebrated in Stockholm in 1912 were the first with which he was fully satisfied—except that his colleagues on the IOC had voted to allow women to compete as swimmers and divers. Coubertin was too much a child of his century to welcome them.

Although Coubertin was a patriotic Frenchman, he wanted the Olympic movement to be neutral during World War I. He moved the IOC's headquarters from Paris to Lausanne, Switzerland, where it

remains. When the Olympics resumed, in Antwerp in 1920, Coubertin proudly displayed the five-ring Olympic flag that he had designed to symbolize the unity of the globe's five continents. He noted that the colors of the rings represented those of all the world's national flags.

In 1925, Coubertin turned the presidency of the IOC to a Belgian count, Henri de Baillet-Latour, a capable administrator who lacked his predecessor's charisma. Baillet-Latour was fortunate to have the support of an executive board, formed in 1921.

The greatest crisis of the Belgian's presidency came in 1933 when Adolf Hitler became chancellor of Nazi Germany. Berlin had been chosen as the site of the 1936 games, but Hitler's racism was clearly at odds with the universalism of the Olympic Charter. The British and American members of the IOC successfully insisted that their German colleagues obtain a written guarantee that Jewish athletes would be allowed to compete for Germany. When the Nazi regime broke its promises and excluded Jews from the team, Baillet-Latour's response was to have the IOC expel the only member who called for a boycott of the 1936 games. In his place, the IOC elected Avery Brundage, the crusty, opinionated, obdurate Chicago businessman whose fanatical commitment to the Olympics had motivated him to block the boycott movement in the United States.

Baillet-Latour died in 1942, in the midst of World War II, and leadership of the IOC was assumed by IOC Vice President Sigfrid Edström, a Swedish industrialist. He was a willful man. When the IOC members from Belgium and the Netherlands sought, after the war, to prevent the return of the committee's Fascist and Nazi members, Edström brushed aside their objections: "These are old friends whom we receive today."

Recognizing Brundage's administrative ability and his devotion to "Olympism," Edström nominated him for IOC vice president and then, in 1952, for president. Brundage won the IOC's first truly contested presidential election.

That the IOC became a truly international organization in the postwar years was due largely to Brundage's efforts. As vice president, he had sought, found, and brought into the IOC a number of Latin

American sportsmen. His ecumenism was strong enough to overcome his lifelong hostility to Communism. He made it part of his mission to convert the followers of Marx, Lenin, and Mao to the tenets of Coubertin. To accomplish this, he closed his eyes to the Soviet Union's egregious violations of the amateur rule. Disingenuously explaining to doubters that the Russians had assured him of their faithful adherence to the Olympic Charter, Brundage—joined by all but three of the IOC's members—voted in 1951 to recognize the USSR's National Olympic Committee (NOC). Brundage was asked to swallow a harder pill when the Kremlin demanded the right to name its own representatives to the IOC. He and Edström complained bitterly about this violation of the rules, but they eventually acquiesced in the infraction and Konstantin Andrianov took his seat among the princes, the generals, and the millionaires of the IOC.

As vice president and president, Brundage also managed, after years of difficult negotiations, to bring the German Democratic Republic into the Olympic movement. He tried vainly to persuade the leaders of the People's Republic of China to follow the German example. (The PRC's unacceptable precondition was that the IOC expel the Taiwan-based non-Communist Republic of China.)

After his election to the presidency, Brundage—aided by such influential members as the Marquess of Exeter (UK), Jean de Beaumont (France), and Giulio Onesti (Italy)—recruited IOC members from sub-Saharan Africa. In 1963, Adetokunbo Ademola, a British-educated Nigerian jurist, became the committee's first black member. Nine years later, when Brundage retired as president, there were four black Africans on the IOC (and four new members from North Africa). Brundage hoped to include the newly independent states of Africa in the Olympic movement without excluding white-ruled South Africa, but the stubborn refusal of the South African NOC to take a stand against apartheid gave Brundage no choice. South Africa was expelled in 1970.

CHALLENGES TO AUTOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

The enlargement of the IOC had some unanticipated consequences. Many European and North American



Coubertin Chooses His Olympic Committee

The extract below from Pierre de Coubertin's *Olympic Memoirs* graphically illustrates the complete control Coubertin had in organizing the International Olympic Committee (IOC).

I was allowed a free hand in the choice of members of the IOC. Those proposed were all elected without any amendment; the list comprised: Bikelas for Greece; Callot and myself for France; General de Bouowsky for Russia; Colonel Baick for Sweden; Professor Sloane for the United States; Jiri Guth (Bohemia); Fr. Kemeny (Hungary); C. Herbert and Lord Ampthill for England; Professor Zubiaur for Argentina and L. A. Cuff for New Zealand; finally Count Lucchesi Palli accepted provisionally for Italy and soon afterwards Count [Maxime] de Bousies for Belgium. Nobody seemed to have noticed that I had chosen almost exclusively absentee members. As their names figured on the long list of honorary members of the Congress; people were accustomed to seeing their names and readily assumed that they were staunch members always at their tasks. I needed elbow room at the start, for many conflicts were bound to arise. Some at any rate would want to seize the helm, either to benefit from the success of the venture or to modify the direction. Such is human nature.

Source: Coubertin, Pierre de. (1975). *Olympic Memoirs*. Lausanne, Switzerland: International Olympic Committee, p. 12. (Originally published 1931)

nations had two or three representatives on the IOC while many Third World states had none at all. Andrianov and his Communist colleagues were determined to rectify the imbalance. They moved that every NOC and each of the twenty-five international sports federations have representation on the IOC. Brundage was vehemently opposed. When the question came to a vote, in 1961, the reformers were defeated thirty-five votes to seven.

As soon as the USSR's initiative was defeated, Brundage faced another challenge to his autocratic leadership. Italy's resourceful Onesti invited representatives of every NOC to meet with him to consider whether or not to form a permanent organiza-

tion. Representatives from sixty-eight committees caucused in 1965 and established an exploratory committee that evolved, three years later, into the Permanent General Assembly of National Olympic Committees (PGA). Brundage fought this initiative because he was vehemently opposed to any reform that institutionalized one-country-one-vote rule. To him, it seemed absurd that Dahomey, Mongolia, and Panama should have the same weight in Olympic affairs as the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union. Brundage's opposition failed to thwart Onesti, whose proposals had widespread support among Europeans as well as Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans. The PGA, renamed the Association of National Olympic Committees (ANOC), gradually achieved legitimacy as an integral part of the Olympic movement.

Still another challenge to autocratic leadership came in 1967 in the form of the General Assembly of the International Federations (GAIF). Unlike the PGA, the GAIF was not formed to give greater voice to the Communist bloc and the Third World. It was led by Australia's Berge Phillips (representing the *Federation Internationale de Natation Amateur* [International Federation of Amateur Swimming]) and France's Roger Coulon (representing the *Federation Internationale de Lutte Amateur* [International Federation of Amateur Wrestling]). Like the PGA, the GAIF was able to survive Brundage's opposition and to become a recognized IOC partner.

The last challenge came in Munich in 1972 when Palestinian terrorists infiltrated the Olympic Village and murdered eleven Israeli athletes. Should the remaining events be cancelled? Backed by the entire IOC (and by Israel's Prime Minister Golda Meir), Brundage announced to the world: "The games must go on."

This was the last act of his twenty-year-long presidency. The restive members chose Michael Morris, Lord Killanin of Ireland, an amiable bumbler, as his successor. Brundage said scornfully, "We need a leader, and Michael isn't a leader," but Killanin understood the mood of the IOC. "One thing I can tell you," he remarked, "I am not Avery Brundage."

Unfortunately, Killanin had to face crises at least as grave as his predecessor's. At the first games of

his presidency, Montreal's, Killanin watched helplessly as the Canadian government refused to issue visas to the team from the Republic of China. He was equally helpless to prevent the departure of twenty-eight African teams whose governments were angered by the IOC's refusal to expel New Zealand for playing rugby with South Africa. Even worse was the crisis of 1980. President Jimmy Carter demanded an Olympic boycott to punish the USSR for its invasion of Afghanistan. Killanin was unable to block him. Although most European nations sent teams to Moscow, Germany, Japan, and a number of Islamic nations did not.

Killanin's eight years were not a complete failure. He managed skillfully to formalize the IOC's relationships with the PGA and the GAIF. He began the process that eliminated the anachronistic amateur rule (which Brundage had fanatically defended). And Killanin secured solvency for the IOC—thanks to a series of increasingly lucrative television contracts.

In assessing the leadership of Lord Killanin, Richard Kevan Gosper of Australia remarked, "We were lucky to survive his presidency." When Gosper and his colleagues on the IOC made Juan Antonio Samaranch their president, they hoped for stronger and more imaginative leadership than they had had from his limited and indecisive predecessor. Their hopes were fulfilled. At the time of Samaranch's election, in 1980, he was Spain's ambassador to the USSR. Prizing his diplomatic skills, the Socialist government had sent him to Moscow three years earlier, despite the fact that he had served as Spain's Minister of Sports during the dictatorship of Francisco Franco.

Whatever Samaranch's politics might have been before Brundage brought him into the IOC in 1966, he worked during his presidency to democratize the Olympic movement. He brought many Africans into the IOC, including Jean-Claude Ganga, one of the foremost critics of racial segregation. The end of apartheid in South Africa, in 1991, was clearly something to which the IOC had contributed (through its 1970 expulsion of the South African NOC). Greeting Nelson Mandela at the IOC's Lausanne headquarters, Samaranch exclaimed, "We've been waiting for you for a long time."

Although Samaranch cannot claim all the credit for solving the "two Chinas" problem that baffled Brundage and Killanin, it is nonetheless true that it was during his presidency, in 1984, that the People's Republic of China finally entered the Olympic movement. (These games, celebrated in Los Angeles, were diminished but not crippled by a USSR-led boycott that Samaranch was unable to prevent.)

Under Samaranch, there was a transformation of women's roles within the Olympic movement. At the Moscow games of 1980, 18 percent of the athletes were female; at the "Centennial Games" in Atlanta in 1996, more than 36 percent were female. Women now compete in a number of sports, like soccer, ice hockey, and weightlifting, that in 1980 were still considered exclusively "masculine preserves."

At an Olympic Congress convened in Baden-Baden in 1981, the IOC elected its first female members. Flor Isava Fonseca (Venezuela) and Pirjo Haggman (Finland) broke the eighty-six-year-old male monopoly. Before Samaranch's retirement, seven more women were brought into the committee. In 1996, the IOC resolved that by 31 December 2005, every NOC and international sports federation must reserve at least 20 percent of its legislative and executive positions for women.

Under Samaranch the IOC's economic situation was transformed by a contract signed, in 1985, with Lausanne-based International Sports, Culture, and Leisure Marketing (ISL). By the end of 1988, TOP I ("The Olympic Program I") brought the IOC \$95 million in the form of corporate sponsorships. The nine multinational corporations who participated in TOP I grew to twelve for TOP III and hundreds of other corporations paid smaller amounts to become sponsors of the winter games. TOP II raised some \$175 million. TOP III brought in some \$350 million and TOP IV, which concluded in 2000, did even better.

One result of this aggressive marketing program was the achievement of one of Samaranch's most important goals: a reduction of the IOC's previous near-total dependence on the sale of television rights. This goal was achieved despite the fact that income from these rights has continued to escalate. Richard Pound of Canada, the IOC member to whom Samaranch entrusted media negotiations, was extremely

effective. The rights to televise the summer games at Barcelona and Atlanta were sold for \$636 million and \$900 million. After securing the American rights to the summer games in Sydney (2000) and the winter games in Salt Lake City (2002) for \$1.2 billion, NBC contracted in December 1996 for the rights to the Olympic games of 2004, 2006, and 2008. The cost? Another \$2.3 billion. Despite these huge increases, TV accounted for only 47 percent of the IOC's 1993–1996 income. In the course of these often protracted negotiations over TV rights, the IOC achieved another goal: an increase in the income from the European and Japanese networks and a proportionate decrease in the relative importance of money from the United States. For the rights to the games of 2004, 2006, and 2008, the Europeans and Japanese agreed to pay nearly \$2 billion.

SCANDALS AND CONTROVERSIES

The economic success of the IOC has motivated cities to bid frantically for a chance to host the games. They courted IOC members and showered them with costly inducements, including—according to the IOC's critics—the nocturnal company of some of the world's most compliant women. The outcome of the scramble was the worst bribery scandal in Olympic history. On 16 June 1995, Salt Lake City, Utah, won the bid to hold the 2002 Winter Olympics by a vote of fifty-four to thirty-five. On 24 November 1998, Salt Lake City television station KTVX began what the *New York Times* later referred to as a “cascade of disclosures.” In addition to “scholarships” that amounted to nearly \$400,000, various IOC members or their relatives had received lavish vacations, costly medical treatments, expensive gifts, and direct cash payments.

While insisting that there was “no possibility” that the 2002 games might be taken away from Salt Lake City, Samaranch promised an prompt investigation and a purge of those found guilty. He formed an ad hoc commission chaired by Richard Pound. Eventually, five IOC members resigned and six were expelled. Nine others received warnings.

Noting that two-thirds of those who lost their seats were Africans or Pacific islanders, critics

charged the IOC with racist scapegoating. They alleged that many others, including executive board member Kim Un-yong of South Korea, were equally guilty. Critics, demanding that Samaranch accept responsibility for corruption, called for his resignation. He refused and received a nearly unanimous vote of confidence from the committee.

The IOC's policy toward performance-enhancing drugs is another cause for contention. Samaranch's critics acknowledged that Samaranch spoke against drugs and “the creation of artificial athletes,” but they cited the epidemic of drug use as proof positive of his insincerity. There is no doubt about the prevalence of drugs, but neither is there evidence that the IOC encouraged the epidemic of drug use. The IOC sponsored a number of international conferences on banned substances, the most important of which took place in Ottawa in 1987. IOC-accredited laboratories analyze approximately 100,000 urine samples a year, of which about 1.25 percent test positive. The IOC has taken action against many of the world's most famous athletes, including the Canadian sprinter Ben Johnson (Seoul, 1988), and the Irish swimmer Michelle Smith (Atlanta, 1996). Although the IOC's efforts to eliminate drugs were unsuccessful, there is no reason to doubt Samaranch's sincerity or to accuse him of subterfuge and disingenuousness.

Of all the charges brought against Samaranch, the most difficult to assess is the claim that he sought constantly to consolidate and increase his personal power within the world of international sports. Behind the scenes, Samaranch worked with group of powerful men, including Horst Dassler, the German owner of Adidas (who also owned half the shares of ISL), Primo Nebiolo, the Italian head of the International Amateur Athletic Federation, Joao Havelange, the Brazilian head of the Fédération Internationale de Football (International Football [Soccer] Federation), Mario Vázquez Raña, the Mexican president of ANOC, and Kim Un-yong, the Korean president of the GAIF.

That Samaranch worked closely with these men is no secret, but there is as yet no persuasive evidence that he violated the Olympic Charter or conspired to control the IOC by morally questionable means. If a

coterie of insiders controlled the IOC during Samaranch's presidency, it is hard to see why Sydney was chosen for the summer games of 2000 when Beijing had the support of Havelange, Nebiolo, and Vazquez Rana. Future historians may characterize Samaranch as a Machiavellian figure who survived in power by means of bribery and corruption, but it is premature to conclude that on the basis of rumor and innuendo.

In December of 1999, in the wake of the Salt Lake City scandals, the IOC voted that sites of future games are to be evaluated by a special committee and that members not serving on the committee are to be prohibited from site visitations. After the Sydney games, future Olympics are to have no more than 280 events and every National Olympic Committee will have the right to send at least six athletes to the games. The IOC will be limited to a maximum of 115 members, 70 of whom are to be "individual" members. The other 45 will consist of 15 National Olympic Committee presidents, 15 international sports federation presidents, and 15 athletes who participated in the games within four years of their election to the IOC. Except for the athletes, who are to serve four-year terms, members are to be elected to eight-year terms. The IOC president will serve a single eight-year term (with the possibility of reelection to a four-year term). It is difficult to see how Samaranch's successor, Belgium's Jacques Rogge, can control the IOC and the Olympic movement as tightly as did Coubertin, Brundage, and Samaranch.

—Allen Guttmann

See also Women's Olympics

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MORAL IMAGINATION

Moral imagination provides leaders with insight into others and the world and helps them make moral decisions and form visions. Leaders need imagination to determine the values they embrace and the feelings that these values engender in themselves and others. Leaders use imagination to animate values, apply moral principles to particular situations, and understand the moral aspects of situations. Imagination and moral values are the fundamental components of a vision.

BACKGROUND OF THE IDEA

One can find discussions about moral imagination in twentieth-century philosophy, anthropology, and literature, but eighteenth-century philosophers also realized its importance. Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) thought that imagination had to play a role in ethics because pure (a priori) moral principles such as “do not lie” cannot be sensibly applied in the variety of situations that confront people in everyday life. Morality is not simply a set of rules or values. It requires a means of knowing when certain moral principles are relevant and how to apply them. David Hume (1711–1776) thought morality was a mixture of emotion—or passion—and reason. He said that reason had insight but no agency, while passion had agency but no insight. Hume concluded, “reason is and ought only to be the slave of the passions” (Hume 1988, 415). Hume believed that imagination transforms our moral feelings, knowledge, and experiences into moral obligation to others through sympathy or empathy; without moral imagination, one would not have empathy. For example, without moral imagination one would not have empathy. Without empathy it would be impossible to apply a moral principle like the golden rule—do unto others as you would have others do unto you.

In the twentieth century, the anthropologist Clifford Geertz defined moral imagination as the ability of people to share emotions across cultures. After reading a Western anthropologist's description of a Balinese ritual in which the concubines of a raja throw themselves into the raja's funeral pyre, Geertz

asked, “How it is that people’s creations can be so utterly their own and so deeply a part of us?” (Geertz 1983, 54). While the ceremony itself is barbaric to the Western mind, the art and drama of it also moves people from the West. According to Geertz, moral imagination is a conglomeration of morality, emotion, and art: “Life is translation and we are all lost in it” (Geertz 1983, 55).

Morality also depends on a person’s willingness to open up his or her world to include a variety of others. Imagination is not just about creating something new, but about having a broad perspective. As the philosopher and novelist Iris Murdoch noted, “moral people are not necessarily more creative, but rather they possess a larger picture of life, which allows them to see right and wrong clearly and with less doubt” (Murdoch 1993, 325). A broad perspective can come either from the cultivation of imagination or from an expansive use of experience in life. Another philosopher, Sabina Lovibond, noted, “The use of moral concepts by individual speakers over time is grounded in an increasingly diversified capacity for participation in a variety of social practices” (Lovibond 1983, 32).

Philosophers such as Murdoch and Mary Warnock recognized the role that emotions played in morality and intelligence before research on emotional intelligence had even begun. As Mary Warnock observed, “Children cannot be taught to feel deeply, but they can be taught to look and listen in such a way that the imaginative emotion follows. Imagination helps us to see the familiar at a different level, and sporadically, we may also use it to render our experience unfamiliar and mysterious” (Warnock 1976, 206–207). In an essay on teaching the novelist Jane Austen, the literary critic Lionel Trilling argued that books written by authors who possess moral imagination stimulate moral feelings in the reader. He says that when we read these books, “We undertake an activity which humanism holds to be precious, in that it redeems the individual from moral torpor” (Trilling 1979, 212).

MORAL IMAGINATION AND COGNITIVE SCIENCE

The philosopher Mark Johnson’s book *Moral Imagination* offers the most comprehensive treatment of

the subject. Drawing from anthropology, linguistics, philosophy, and psychology, Johnson gives a detailed account of moral imagination based on insights from the cognitive sciences. First, he discusses the role of prototypes in ethics. (Prototypes are models that convey the essential characteristics of a type. For example, a role model, a proverb, or a story may help one understand what constitutes kindness and classify behavior as kind and unkind.) People do not understand categories by making lists of things, but rather through prototypes of them. Johnson says that the fact that people understand moral principles by prototypes explains why people learn moral principles from their experiences and from things like art, literature, and case studies.

Johnson then uses the literature on frame semantics to talk about the larger contexts in which people see the world. In ethics, any situation can be framed in a variety of ways with a variety of consequences, but there are limits to the number of ways that people can frame things. Metaphor is also part of moral reasoning, according to Johnson. Linguists and psychologists have shown that our conceptual system is largely formed by systemic metaphorical mappings. People understand abstract and unstructured domains of ideas via more concrete, highly structured mappings that come from experience. Johnson says that without metaphorical understanding, we could not make moral judgments. Metaphor allows people to conceptualize situations in different ways, provides different ways of understanding morality, and allows for analogizing and moving beyond prototypes to new cases. Base-level experiences such as pain, pleasure, harm, and well-being also help people apply moral principles such as human rights to a variety of different individuals in different cultures. Baseline experiences help people empathize with others and apply moral principles using analogical reasoning.

Lastly, Johnson emphasizes the importance of narrative as the fundamental way that people understand the world. Johnson says, “Narrative is not just an explanatory device, but it is actually constitutive of the way we experience things. No moral theory can be adequate if it does not take into account the narrative character of our experience” (Johnson 1993, 11). Using insights gained from the cognitive

scientist Howard Gardner's book *Leading Minds*, Johnson defines moral imagination as "an ability to imaginatively discern various possibilities for acting within a given situation and to envision the potential help and harm that that are likely to result from a given action" (Johnson 1993, 202).

APPLICATION TO LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

The philosopher and leadership scholar Joanne B. Ciulla wrote about the implications of moral imagination for teaching business ethics in 1991 and for leadership development in 1996. According to Ciulla, an ethics course should use subjects such as art and literature to stimulate the imagination, touch students' moral sentiments, give students the opportunity to practice problem solving, and broaden their perspective on the world. She argues that there are creative and prescriptive elements to moral imagination. The creative function of moral imagination concerns *imagining how*, that is, how people think about putting their values and moral principles into action. This encompasses fulfilling moral duties and obligations and upholding principles and values through creative solutions and creative ways of solving problems and working with others. The prescriptive element of moral imagination is *imagining that*, which encompasses empathy and the ability to disengage from a particular mind-set to identify and foresee moral problems or obligations. It often takes imagination to see that something is a real or potential ethical problem. Ciulla says, "Empathy, like moral imagination, is about getting the moral and factual parts of the story right (*seeing that*), otherwise we are putting ourselves in the wrong person's shoes" (Ciulla 1998, 101).

Part of a leader's job is to help others imagine morally better ways of living and doing things. Ciulla says the element that connects *imagining how* with *imagining that* is the drive to seek truth and a passion to do what is morally right. She argues that developing critical thinking skills for assessing truth, cultivating moral feelings, and stimulating moral imagination are the most important aspects of leadership development. Ciulla believes that without

critical skills and moral imagination leaders cannot create visions, understand their moral obligations to others, or implement their beliefs and values in the ways that they lead and in the initiatives that they take for change or transformation.

CONTRIBUTION TO LEADERSHIP RESEARCH

Work on moral imagination has the potential to contribute two things to leadership studies. First, it offers insight into how to teach ethics in leadership development programs. Second, the concept offers a multilevel and interdisciplinary way to analyze how leaders lead, make ethical decisions, and form visions. The philosophic literature on moral imagination is still new to leadership studies, but it is slowly working its way into the literature. It has the potential for enriching our understanding of the moral and intellectual dimensions of vision, motivation, followership, and change.

—Joanne B. Ciulla

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 **MORGAN, ARTHUR E. (1878–1975)**
*American engineer, college president,
 and social reformer*

Arthur E. Morgan was a dynamic and controversial leader in flood control, rural development, and community planning, and he saw himself as an innovative social engineer. Widely known as a writer on education and social issues, he served as the first chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), a public works project initiated during the presidency of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Morgan founded towns and intentional communities, wrote prolifically, and started a small organization called Community Service Inc., which is still based at Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, where Morgan served as president during a contentious but financially successful decade. He is still considered by many an inspiring leader and moral reformer, but the story of his life also demonstrates the risks of imposing a moral vision on others.

Morgan was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1878, and raised in northern Minnesota. He had only three years of high school and dropped out of college in 1900, after two attempts to attend classes in Colorado, where he is also thought to have worked as a ranch hand, miner, typesetter, and beekeeper. He returned to Minnesota and began to learn engineering by working with his father, constructing drainage and levee systems for flood controls and preparing plans for the reclamation of peat marshes. By 1910, he owned his own company and was developing a national reputation as a flood control engineer. Although in later life he complained of his health and attributed some of his difficulties to a physiological problem, a kind of brain damage, as a young man he was six foot two inches tall and strikingly vital.

In 1913, he was appointed chief engineer for a new dam project in Dayton, Ohio. Dayton had suffered a historic and devastating flood earlier in the year, in which three hundred people had died, and leading businessmen had raised \$2 million to help

fund a solution. Morgan set to work with characteristic determination. After extensive research collecting and analyzing data on floods in Europe and the United States, he offered a number of unorthodox flood control solutions, included creating “conservancy districts” and building large earthen “dry dams” (they look like huge Indian mounds) that served as reservoirs in case of emergency and as public parks the rest of the time.

SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

But Morgan was interested in more than dams. His second wife, Lucy Morgan, whom he married in 1911, was a Quaker and an ardent reformer, who believed in “a proper diet and efficient, moral living” (Talbert 1987, 28). The Morgans committed themselves to the ideal of small town life and organic communities. These ideas had been in vogue during the progressive period and Morgan had also been strongly influenced by the utopian novelist Edward Bellamy. But it was his wife’s interest in social reform, particularly her practical proposals for improving workers’ lives, that influenced him most.

He showed skill, creativity, and an absolute determination in all his projects, and at that stage in his life he was particularly adept at engaging others—including those with considerable financial and publicity resources—in his efforts. He created model workers’ settlements, schools for children and new immigrants, recreational programs, workers’ insurance schemes, and town meetings. Supported by various Dayton business leaders, he was instrumental in founding the Moraine Park School in 1917. Like the famous educator John Dewey, Morgan believed education should not be separated from real life experience, and Moraine Park stressed student self-governance and participation in teaching. Growing national recognition led to an invitation from the *Atlantic Monthly* to write an article about his views on education. He was to write for the magazine regularly for the next two decades.

In 1920 he was elected to the board of trustees of Antioch College, a small Ohio school that was in dire financial straits. Morgan devised a plan for saving the college and overhauling its educational program. He

became its president in 1921 and was given a free hand to reinvent the college. Lucy Morgan wrote that they planned to “[dedicate] our lives to embodying our dreams at Antioch College” (L. G. Morgan 1928, 100). Morgan’s efforts, which included removing almost all the existing faculty and administrators, were successful. Enrollment quadrupled within a year, and the “Antioch Plan” got widespread attention from writers and educators. Morgan’s monthly newsletter, *Antioch Notes*, was widely read.

But Morgan, who aimed at more than educational reform, saw his efforts at Antioch as the beginning of the moral regeneration of America. He used *Antioch Notes* as a pulpit, and his preaching would have been appreciated by the most fundamentalist of Christians. He was adamantly opposed to drinking, smoking, and gambling, immoral theater, sexual activity that wasn’t intended for home-building or procreation, and even, it seemed, recreation in general. It is not surprising that this perspective led to some difficulties with the faculty, and even less surprising that it put him in conflict with the students. What is surprising is the wide appeal Morgan had; he was for decades a popular and well-known writer.

While in Europe in 1931, he reflected on his ten years at Antioch: “I know I am and have been inadequate for such leadership. Lacking educational and cultural background, with unstable temperament and bad judgment, I did not expect that I should for long be leader of the enterprise” (Morgan 1931). Faculty members, in response, asked whether Morgan’s strict moral code did not conflict with other values he advocated, such as open enquiry. They also contended that the imposition of Morgan’s stringent moral standards, on students and faculty alike, was sometimes in conflict with democratic principles.

Even today, Morgan remains a much-admired figure at Antioch, and writings about him do not mention these considerable problems. The innovative programs that developed, or matured, during his tenure as president are still considered important developments in educational philosophy. They included entrepreneurial training (training for proprietorship and management rather than simply for employment); the cooperative method of education known as work-study; and on-campus industries to



Construction of the TVA’s Fort Loudon Dam in Tennessee in the late 1930s.

Source: Corbis; used with permission.

provide students with practical experience and a way to earn money for their education.

THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

In 1933, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt asked Morgan to direct the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), which was perhaps the most ambitious public works project ever conceived. The invitation was fortuitous, since Morgan was faced with a revolt of Antioch faculty and students, who were not willing to give him the absolute allegiance he demanded. He continued to hold the title of college president until 1936, but his focus from 1933 to 1938 was the integrated development of the Tennessee River Valley, an area of 41,000 square miles and a population of 3 million.

For Morgan, taking on the TVA was a matter of vision—moral vision. He believed Roosevelt’s promise to him that the TVA would be entirely free from politics and that it was a social experiment, not just an economic enterprise. In his memoirs, Morgan quotes Roosevelt as saying, “Haven’t I been reading *Antioch Notes* all these years? I like your vision” (Morgan 1957). Fifty-five by this time, dignified, highly responsible, and humorless, Morgan was made the TVA’s chairman, and his codirectors—appointed with his support—were Harcourt A. Morgan, an agriculturalist and president of the University



Arthur E. Morgan on Decision Making

Late in life (he died at 96), Morgan described himself as a "coordinator," not a leader. In saying this, Morgan doubtless meant that he believed coordinator to be a high calling. He was engrossed by the idea of community, and his idealism about how groups and communities should make decisions is striking when compared to his autocratic behavior when he was in a position of power, at Antioch College and then at the TVA. Here is his description of the ideal decision-making process:

Decision by Consensus

In the ancient community, voting as we know it was largely unknown. As voting emerged it was looked on as a refined form of conflict, sometimes as alternative to war. Over most of the world the very ancient community had a fairly well defined method of resolving issues and determining the responsibilities for crimes or misdemeanors. The village elders grew into their places by general recognition of their weight of personality and judgment, or by tradition, as when the eldest in each family was considered qualified. When an issue was to be considered the elders would meet, in good weather sitting in a circle of stone seats around the village tree. The other villagers would gather around in a larger circle. As the issue would be discussed, most of the talking would be by the elders, though any person in the village might express an opinion, or offer evidence. This process would continue, in very important cases at intervals for perhaps weeks or months, until the matter was so thoroughly threshed out that there was but one opinion in the village. So long as there was marked division the matter was considered undecided. In case of trial for crime or misdemeanor it was the general result that by the time the hearing was concluded there remained no doubt as to the facts, and the accused, if guilty, had confessed his guilt. This process sometimes was time-consuming, but the absence

of remaining rancor, resentment and other stresses was a very great social asset.

This practice of decisions by consensus has existed in the Society of Friends (the Quakers) for more than three hundred years. I believe that the "London Yearly Meeting of Friends" has conducted its business for that length of time without taking a vote. It is far from being an obsolete practice. In many boards of directors, often of important organizations, a division by vote is a rare occurrence. Important matters commonly are discussed until there is substantial unanimity. Where there is general agreement it is customary for the one or few with divergent opinions to defer informally to the group. However, if a single respected member has a strong feeling of divergence the matter may be carried over until the division of opinion has been resolved. Perhaps a lone member has sound reason for his position, and may change the opinion of the others.

A man who was for long years member of the Oxford, England, City Council, and at one time mayor of the city, stated it to be his observation that whenever there was a nearly equal division in a vote, it was strong evidence that the decision had been prematurely made, and that further consideration would have been wise. Local community government is the best field for the developing of this spirit.

Source: Morgan, A. E. (1957). *The Community of the Future and the Future of Community*. Yellow Springs, OH: Community Service, pp. 94–95.

of Tennessee, and David Lilienthal, a successful Chicago lawyer and a member of the Wisconsin Public Service Commission. Lilienthal and others referred to Morgan as "the old man," and it wasn't long before Morgan's autocratic ways led to pitched battles—often reported in newspapers supporting the different directors—and accusations that ranged from interference with operations to political corruption.

In 1938, Morgan's conflict with his colleagues erupted into a much-publicized battle that was embarrassing for Roosevelt, who was at the time facing a difficult election. According to James MacGregor Burns, author of the Pulitzer-Prize-winning

biography of FDR, *The Lion and the Fox*, FDR recognized that Morgan, in spite of his brilliance, was an immensely difficult person to get along with (personal communication, 25 June 2003). Morgan accused his codirectors of dishonesty, while they accused him of obstructing the work of the board. According to Lilienthal's journals, President Roosevelt gave considerable thought to how he could get rid of Arthur Morgan with the least bad press. He decided to try an approach that had worked with James J. (Jimmy) Walker, the flamboyant and corrupt former mayor of New York. He would call the three directors into his office and hold a formal hearing. He would question them himself, forcing them—or

rather forcing Morgan—to explain themselves in detail. He would force Morgan to stick to the facts only. With Walker, this type of questioning over several days had led to his resignation. Roosevelt was not so lucky with the chairman of the TVA.

Morgan characteristically refused to answer the president's questions and demanded a congressional inquiry. He walked out of the disciplinary hearing and took the train home to Yellow Springs, Ohio, where he was, it is said, greeted by a crowd of a thousand people. Roosevelt fired him two days later. Morgan was not friendless: In these disputes, he had the support of the *New York Times* and other papers, and was himself an active journalist. The story was at times an almost daily news item across the country. Morgan did get a congressional hearing in the end, which lasted from May to December 1938. Morgan failed to produce documentary proof of his claims of dishonesty, for reasons that remain a mystery to historians. The final report was critical of Morgan and supportive of his codirectors, who remained with the TVA for many years.

Lilienthal became chairman of the TVA in 1941, and five years later President Harry S. Truman tapped him to head up the newly formed Atomic Energy Commission, but in spite of his success he never quite got over his battle with Morgan. In his book *TVA: Democracy on the March*, first published in 1944, he does not once refer to Morgan and there is no reference to Morgan in the index. The book's dedication is to "the memory of pioneers of the TVA. . . . They built for the People of The United States." In the dedicatory list of ten, Arthur E. Morgan is notably absent, in spite of the fact that his ideas are distinctly evident in Lilienthal's story. These sentences, for example, seem to echo Morgan's thinking: "*The people and the experts: the relation between them is of the greatest importance in the development of the new democracy. . . . First of all, the experts and the people must be brought together. The technicians should live where the people they serve live*" (Lilienthal, 121).

Morgan wanted to change the world, and he wanted to do it from a position of authority. But time and time again his grand plans were disrupted by personal disputes, often with those who ought to

have been his allies and friends. He tolerated no difference of opinion. He considered anyone who disagreed with him as not simply wrong or misguided but corrupt or immoral.

THE FOUNDING OF CELO

When he was ninety, Morgan told an interviewer about the vision of an ideal community that had come to him when he was sixteen. Enthralled by Edward Bellamy's immensely popular utopian novel, *Looking Backwards*, Morgan had written a biography of Bellamy, *Nowhere Was Somewhere*, and later a book about Bellamy's philosophy. In 1937, while working on the TVA (and battling with his codirectors), Morgan obtained enough financial backing to found an intentional community in North Carolina. Designed to be a practical demonstration of Bellamy's vision and intended as an alternative to government-run programs, Celo (pronounced "See-lo") was subsidized by W. H. Regnery, a wealthy conservative businessman who shared Morgan's belief that self-sufficient farming rather than urban public housing and industrial jobs would revive the pioneer spirit of the United States. Celo was intended to be a model community, an example of how a group of families could live and prosper in rural self-sufficiency. Morgan's relationship with the community was distant; he never lived there and rarely visited it. But he did spend the rest of his life—more than thirty-five years—in a small town, Yellow Springs, Ohio, where he founded Community Service Inc., an organization that continues to promote his ideal of the small community.

A MAN AT THE MARGINS

Like many utopian thinkers, Morgan was a man of considerable and varied talents, who managed to influence others through both personal authority and public writings. He effectively marginalized himself, however, by his absolute conviction in his own beliefs on issues ranging from national politics to intimate relationships. Morgan's intense need to be regarded as the ultimate and absolute authority in any organization he was involved in made it impos-

sible for him to operate on a scale worthy of his talents. His self-righteousness in effect pushed him to the margins, and his ideas are, as a result, of far less influence than one might have expected during the early stages of his career.

—*Karen Christensen*

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MORITA, AKIO (1921–1999) *Cofounder of Sony*

Former Japanese Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi once described Akio Morita, one of the most influential marketing and management personalities of the modern era, as “an engine that pulled the Japanese economy” (“The Father of Sony” 1999). Morita was a cofounder of Sony Corporation, a leading producer of consumer electronics and media entertainment. In 1958 Morita helped to create the Sony trademark, which through his promotion became one of the most widely recognized brand names in the world. Under Morita’s leadership Sony pioneered such innovative products as the transistor radio, Trinitron color TV, the portable video recorder, the compact disc, and the Walkman stereo player. More than any other individual, Morita was responsible for turning

the phrase “Made in Japan” from its 1950s image of shoddy imitation to its current image of quality and design. Western government and business leaders often said that Morita was one of the few Japanese leaders with whom they maintained a comfortable and trusting relationship. He was the only Japanese to make *Time* magazine’s list of the one hundred most influential people of the twentieth century.

Akio Morita was born into a wealthy family in the Nagoya area of central Japan. His ancestors had brewed sake since the early seventeenth century, and Morita, as the eldest son of the company’s president, was raised from the age of four to be the future head of the company. Although he assumed the mantle of the fifteenth Kyuzaemon (original founder of the Morita family business whose name is adopted by each successive president), Morita was destined to follow a different path from that of his fourteen predecessors. The first character in his given name (Aki) can be read as either “enlightened” or “uncommon.” Morita was both. However, the appropriateness of the name was not so obvious in his early school years. With the exceptions of math and physics, Morita was a mediocre student. He credited determination for his admittance to Osaka Imperial University one year after high school. The knowledge of physics acquired at this elite university allowed Morita to avoid hazardous duty during World War II. Through Morita’s work as a naval liaison officer, he met his lifelong friend and business partner, Masaru Ibuka. On 7 May 1946, amid the despair of war-ravaged Tokyo, they established Tokyo Tsushin Kogyo (Tokyo Telecommunications Engineering Corporation), the forerunner of Sony Corporation.

The bond between Morita and Ibuka was so strong and enduring that close friends and relatives characterized it as love. Ibuka, who was thirteen years senior, was Morita’s alter ego. Throughout their long partnership, Morita and Ibuka shared adjoining offices and common goals. Trained as an electrical engineer, Ibuka was an idealistic and impulsive visionary. His capacity for grandiose dreams endeared him to Morita and Sony engineers. Fulfilling Ibuka’s dreams, however, required more than technological skill. Financial, political, and social capital—social skills, networking talent, and

social connections usually associated with the highly educated upper class—were needed on a vast scale. The acquisition of this capital called for a pragmatic and dynamic leader with superb business and political instincts. Akio Morita fit the bill. The partnership resulted from a strategic division of labor. Ibuka specialized in technological research and product development. Morita handled marketing, finance, and personnel management.

Always in the limelight, Morita was the more visible of the duo. He was a complex man. To the world outside Japan, Morita was a progressive internationalist. He was a lobbyist for freer trade and a vocal critic of many Japanese business and government practices. He and his wife, Yoshiko, were prominent socialites, mixing with international celebrities from business, academia, government, and the arts. Morita had a passion for music, art, and sports. With his gray hair, bluish eyes, and engaging personality, he stood out from other Japanese leaders. Interviews conducted by scholar John Nathan (1999) reveal the more traditional side of Morita's character. Son Hideo Morita claims that his father's public persona was mostly the result of skilled acting. As a husband and father, Morita was domineering and insensitive. In the household his word was law. In 1989, during a period of intense trade frictions between the United States and Japan, the nationalistic side of Morita's character briefly surfaced when he coauthored the book *The Japan That Can Say No* with Shintaro Ishihara. Although Morita's contribution to the book was balanced and reasoned, his internationalist credentials were temporarily sullied by association with Ishihara, the popular novelist-turned-firebrand politician.

AT THE FRONT

Unlike traditional Japanese leaders who prefer to operate from the shadows, Akio Morita believed in leading from the front. There was no mistaking who was in charge of Sony. Morita led by example. He would not think of asking anyone to do something he wouldn't do himself. He was ruthless in the pursuit of high standards, but he was not a micromanager (one who manages with excessive control and atten-

tion to details). Morita was a big-concept man. He believed in setting firm targets and leaving the execution up to subordinates. Morita did not tolerate "yes men." He wanted employees who had the courage of their convictions. Many people have good ideas; few have the courage and determination to see them through to fruition. Throughout his career Morita surrounded himself with brilliant and ambitious people who could help him achieve his goals. He never worried about being upstaged.

Taking ideas from East and West, Morita developed a unique management and marketing style that bridged the cultural divide. Morita took the popular environmental slogan, "Think globally, act locally," as a description of his own agenda. Morita wanted products with a global appeal. He believed in creating the market as well as the product. He took pride in the fact that Sony products inspired new lifestyles and cultures. In its global operations Sony was to be a good neighbor. Sony employees abroad were encouraged to learn the local language and socialize with members of the local community. In 1963, Morita moved his young family to New York, where they immersed themselves in the local culture. However, Morita wanted more than the appearance of internationalization. Under his guidance, Sony hired local managers for its subsidiaries. In 1970, Sony became the first Japanese corporation listed on the New York Stock Exchange. In 1989, it was the first major Japanese corporation to include foreigners on its board of directors.

From his study of physics, Morita believed that important decisions should be firmly grounded in fundamental principles (*kihon gensoku*). Morita kept Sony focused on the target population of urbane, affluent consumers. High-quality products and service were a given, not something to be traded off for higher sales. Another bedrock principle was never to compromise the Sony brand name. An early test came in 1955 when Bulova Watch Corporation agreed to purchase one hundred thousand units of Sony's new transistor radio under condition that the product be marketed under the Bulova trademark. For a company struggling to get off the ground, this enormous order seemed a godsend. Morita was later to assert that turning down Bulova's offer was the

smartest decision of his business career. Smart decisions, he believed, follow from solid principles.

THE ART OF MOTIVATING

Morita believed that leadership is the art of motivating others to achieve common goals. The primary mission of the manager is to “develop a healthy relationship with his employees” (Morita 1986, 30). Morita had strong ideas on how to promote such a relationship.

The presumption in postwar Japan is that employees work for the same company for life. This presumption is often criticized by U.S. economists and businesspeople, who view it as inflexible and a source of moral hazard. Morita, who didn't hesitate to speak out against Japanese business practices that he found distasteful or inefficient, was a firm proponent of the lifetime employment system. Like other Japanese businesspeople, he often used the family as a model for the company. In Morita's view employees and their families should be treated as members of a corporate family. In return for their loyal service, employees would be nurtured and supported for their entire lives. To Morita layoffs rarely made ethical or business sense. His rationale was similar to that behind the traditional marriage contract: A credible commitment to permanence builds the trust and loyalty necessary for productive growth. Under Morita's guidance Sony developed a flexible and efficient internal labor market. Twice a year, employees are given the option of changing jobs within the Sony company. To prevent a brain drain, section managers must create a stimulating work environment.

In Japan's seniority-based wage system, pecuniary compensation plays a smaller role in motivating performance than it does in the Anglo-American system. People, Morita argued, work for a variety of reasons besides pay. A successful manager instills in his subordinates a sense of ownership in the company. Through cooperation, worker-owners share in the benefits of future growth. Such a manager can just as easily be a union official as the holder of an M.B.A. degree.

Morita was a critic of the Anglo-American system of executive compensation. He believed that U.S.

executives are greatly overcompensated. Large compensation differentials, he argued, have a negative effect on corporate morale and productivity. At Sony, Morita sought to create a working environment where everyone feels part of the same team, where all employees have a share in the company's successes and failures. At Sony, there are no separate dining rooms for executives and ordinary workers. Everyone wears the same uniform and shares essentially the same working conditions.

In the Anglo-American form of capitalism, the shareholder is king. The mission of chief executive officers (CEOs) is to maximize shareholder value. Because management compensation and survival are tied to the mission of maximizing shareholder value, Morita believed that the resulting incentive structure biases managerial decisions toward the short run. Wage cuts and layoffs may temporarily boost measured profitability, but the adverse effects on morale undermine long-run performance. Morita argued that sustainable prosperity requires management to pay close attention to all of its stakeholders (people having an interest in an outcome). Effective managers, in Morita's view, convince stakeholders to look beyond short-term conflicts to the potential gains from long-term cooperation. Besides shareholders, Sony's stakeholders included employees and their families, customers, business partners, local communities, and, in some cases, rival companies.

Japan's traditional employment system places emphasis on educational credentials (*gakureki*) and seniority. Graduating from a top university or a prestigious professional school confers a lifelong benefit on an individual. This benefit extends to the workplace, where employment, assignment, and future promotion decisions depend on collegiate and professional standings. Morita was a critic of this system. In 1966, he wrote a book entitled *Never Mind School Records*, which argued that school grades and credentials are inadequate predictors of on-the-job performance. He was similarly critical of assignment and promotion on the basis of seniority. Under Morita's leadership, personnel decisions at Sony were based primarily on the creative potential and motivation of employees. Sony recruited talented people at all stages of their careers. Recruits

were integrated immediately into the company as full partners.

Japanese managers often stress concepts such as cooperation and consensus. Morita looked behind the veil and detected a desire to crush dissent and individual initiative. Throughout his career Morita advanced his own views and encouraged employees to do the same. He sought to create an atmosphere of freedom and openness where individual creativity and initiative would flourish.

Morita suffered a debilitating stroke in 1993 just as he was scheduled to take over as chairman of Keidanren, Japan's powerful business association. Coincidentally, the "bubble economy" and the postwar economic model are considered to have ended around this time. People are left wondering what might have been if this powerful locomotive were still around to pull the Japanese economy out of its rut.

—James R. Rhodes

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MOSES (c. 13th century BCE)

Hebrew prophet and leader

Moses, a Hebrew prophet, lawgiver, and ruler, is an iconic leader in Western culture. Moses delivered the Hebrews from Egyptian slavery, led them to the promised land, and gave them an enduring identity as the religious community of Israel. Scholarly opinion

is divided on whether a historical Moses actually lived, for there is no evidence of his life outside of four Old Testament books (Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy). The most common conjecture is that Moses may have lived about the thirteenth century BCE, but how much the life of a "real" Moses might correspond to the biblical story is unknown and probably unknowable. Leaving aside such historiographic questions (including the complex textual status of the Bible), this entry treats significant leadership concepts in the life of Moses.

BIRTH AND UPBRINGING

Moses's infancy is wondrous. To save her son from Pharaoh's decree that all male Hebrew infants be killed, Moses's mother floats him in a basket of reeds on the Nile River. Moses's sister points out the basket to Pharaoh's daughter, who adopts him and unknowingly makes his mother his nurse. Thus Moses grows up close to power in Pharaoh's palace, but aware of his heritage and identity. As a young man, he kills an Egyptian whom he sees mistreating a Hebrew. The next day, he tries to quell a fight between two Hebrews, but their defiance signals one of the story's major themes: "Who made you a prince and a judge over us?" (Exodus 2:14, RSV). After killing the Egyptian, Moses flees to the neighboring land of Midian, where he marries, fathers two sons, and lives for years as a shepherd. Thus the first two-thirds of Moses's life take place apart from the people he will eventually lead and transform.

CHARISMATIC AUTHORITY

Moses's life turns when God appears to him in a burning bush and calls him to return to Egypt and liberate the Israelites. Moses is flabbergasted: "Who am I that I should go unto Pharaoh, and that I should bring forth the children of Israel out of Egypt?" (Exodus 3:11). He doubts his ability to speak and the people's willingness to be led. God promises to aid him, invests him with divine powers, and makes his brother Aaron his mouthpiece. Moses reluctantly agrees, but his skepticism—at least about the Israelites—will prove justified. Returning to Egypt,



Gateway and the Stairs of Redemption at Mt. Sinai, St. Catherines, Sinai, Egypt in 1996.

Source: Stephen G. Donaldson; used with permission.

Moses wins the Israelites' release after a long contest with Pharaoh. When Pharaoh changes his mind and pursues the departing Israelites, Moses, with God's help, first parts the waters to allow the Israelites to flee and then returns the waters, destroying the Egyptian army. Moses leads the Hebrews to Mount Sinai, where he communes with God for forty days and nights while the people wait below. He descends from the mountain with a new covenant between God and the Israelites and a new conception of their religion, embodied in the Ten Commandments. But in his absence, the people have lost faith and fashioned a new idol, the golden calf. (The role of Aaron, Moses's brother and deputy, in this debacle bears scrutiny, as do his blame-avoiding verbal gymnastics [Exodus 32:1–5 and 21–24].) Moses forcefully sup-

presses the revolt, killing about three thousand people (Machiavelli, in chapter 6 of *The Prince*, famously seizes on this episode as a key to understanding the nature of leadership). Moses must also pacify an angry God who considers blotting out the Israelites and starting over—a classic instance of “managing up,” or understanding and exploiting your superior's character, constraints, and goals to obtain the desired results (Exodus 32:9–14; see Gabarro and Kotter 1993). Here as so often, Moses's perseverance stands out: alone in the story, his vision never fades. The Israelites follow Moses through the desert for forty years, suffering hardships, meeting and fighting other peoples, and eventually making their way to the land of Canaan. Again and again during their journey, they doubt Moses's leadership and challenge his authority. His charisma, derived from his unique relationship to God, at first might seem to exempt him from the ordinary troubles of leadership, but a very modern tension lurks in the ancient text. Moses, in many ways an outsider, was imposed on the Israelites by God (or by Moses's own will, as many of the Israelites seem often to fear and suspect). The people's lack of consent repeatedly flares into opposition: “You have gone too far!” Korah tells Moses and Aaron during one of the most serious rebellions: “For all the congregation are holy, every one of them, and the LORD is among them; why then do you exalt yourselves above the assembly of the LORD?” (Numbers 16:3). Korah's egalitarian challenge, so palatable in other contexts to modern ears, cannot be tolerated in this story, and Korah and his followers are destroyed by God.

INSTITUTIONALIZING POWER

Charisma, as Weber pointed out (with Moses in mind), is an unstable basis for authority. Early on, Moses learns that if he wishes to fulfill his charge it is necessary to create lasting institutions. A critical early lesson comes during a visit from his father-in-law, Jethro, who sees at once that Moses's heroic approach to leadership is not sustainable: “Why do you sit alone, and all the people stand about you from morning till evening? . . . You and the people with you will wear yourselves out” (Exodus

18:14–18). Moses is wise enough—and humble enough—to accept Jethro’s advice and delegate power to “rulers of thousands, of hundreds, of fifties, and of tens.” But establishing a bureaucracy, while it addresses one of the limitations of charismatic leadership, poses the new danger of corruption. Moses must choose “men who are trustworthy and who hate a bribe” (Exodus 18:21). Moses takes other steps to establish lasting institutions, including reinforcing the Israelites’ existing tribal identities and conducting two censuses to help organize an effective fighting force. But Moses’s greatest institutions are the teachings and laws he brings the Israelites. The Mosaic Law—hundreds of rules, proscriptions, and procedures governing worship, ritual, commerce, family relations, and every aspect of daily life—becomes the permanent foundation for how the Israelites live and define themselves. Much of the Law is casuistic and detailed. Leviticus 13, for instance, specifies how priests should diagnose and treat a person suffering from open sores. The point, obviously, is to provide guidance for a prescientific people on how to deal with infectious diseases like leprosy. Many of these laws and proscriptions seem archaic to most (though not all) modern readers. But one central part of Moses’s teaching today retains as much power as it had thirty centuries ago: the Ten Commandments. These absolute moral rules—“You shall not kill. . . . You shall not steal. You shall not bear false witness against thy neighbor” (Exodus 20:13, 15–16)—provide an arguably universal ethical framework for civil society. As laconic and lapidary as the rest of the law is prolix, the Ten Commandments’ style and symbolism (carved in stone) assert their timelessness and ineradicable authority. Not many things from three thousand years ago shape modern daily life.



The Ten Commandments (Exodus 34)

1. I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of slavery.
2. Thou shalt have no other gods before Me. Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, nor any manner of likeness, of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth; Thou shalt not bow down unto them, nor serve them; for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate Me; And showing mercy unto the thousandth generation of them that love Me and keep My commandments.
3. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh His name in vain.
4. Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work. But the seventh day is the sabbath in honour of the Lord thy God; on it thou shalt not do any work, neither thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant nor thy maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates; For in six days the Lord made the heavens and the earth, the sea, and all that is in them, and rested on the seventh day; therefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it.
5. Honour thy father and thy mother; in order that thy days may be prolonged upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.
6. Thou shalt not kill.
7. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
8. Thou shalt not steal.
9. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.
10. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour’s house; thou shalt not covet thy neighbour’s wife, nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour’s.

The enduring power of these words represents perhaps Moses’s greatest achievement as a leader.

MOSES’S END

Until the end of his 120 years, Moses remains a vital and powerful leader. His last leadership task is succession planning. Interestingly, he does not choose one of his sons to succeed him, but Joshua, a dynamic younger man who has demonstrated loyalty and mettle. Moses publicly anoints Joshua his successor and promises that God will be with him and ensure his success (Deuteronomy 31:7–8). In his last days, Moses writes his laws, blesses and exhorts the twelve tribes, and dies within sight of the promised land. By the end, as he had foretold, he has outlived

all the doubters and is genuinely mourned by a new generation of Israelites too young to remember their parents' doubts. But despite the emotional bonds he has forged with his people, he dies alone—fittingly, because despite God's assistance he was so often alone in his leadership, let down time after time by the people whom he towered over in faith, endurance, and vision. "I am not able to carry all this people alone," he laments to God more than once, "the burden is too heavy for me" (Numbers 11:14). The psychic burden of leadership is one of the most interesting aspects of the story of Moses. He is a man fallible and self-doubting, meek and irritable, who ends up achieving extraordinary things. Moses shows awesome strength, performs heroic and magical deeds, speaks face-to-face with God, and changes the destiny of his people—but he remains a very human leader.

—*Michael Harvey*

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MOTHER TERESA (1910–1997)

Humanitarian

Mother Teresa was the recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1979, for her extensive, extraordinary service among the poorest of the poor. She was the founder of the Missionaries of Charity, which are now present in almost every country in the world. Her most remarkable projects included care homes for the abandoned dying, which she called "Nirmal Hriday" (home of the pure heart); a basic public edu-

cation system that primarily targeted children in slum areas with elementary lessons in hygiene, manners, matters of faith, math, and reading, which she called "Shishu Bhaven" (the children's home in Calcutta for the Sisters of Charity); centers and mobile clinics that ministered to the needs of people with leprosy and AIDS; shelters for single mothers; homes for handicapped children; soup kitchens for the homeless; visits and ministry of love to prisoners; and many others.

EARLY YEARS

Mother Teresa was born in 1910 in Skopje, Albania. Her father was a successful businessman. He was poisoned in 1919 due to his high profile as a nationalist and a councilman of the city government after Albania gained its independence from the Turkish occupation in 1912. Her mother was a religious, loving housewife. She worked as a dressmaker and weaver in order to provide for her family after her deceased husband's business partner took over their business.

At the age of twelve, young Gonxha (Mother Teresa's original name) started to have a strong desire to pursue a religious vocation, but she was advised by the pastor of her church, the Parish Church of the Sacred Heart, to wait, pray, and ask for light. Six years later, in one of her long, frequent meditation visits to the nearby shrine of Our Lady of Lentic, she heard the divine call and consecrated herself forever to God and his service. She shared her heart with her mother who, in spite of her concerns about her daughter's departure and her weak health condition, fully supported her and encouraged her to take the necessary steps to put her decision into practice.

THE JOURNEY

In a long conversation with the pastor, Gonxha revealed her desire to serve the poor in India. The congregation that worked in India didn't have houses of formation in Albania, so she had to enroll in Ireland. In 1928, Gonxha went to Ireland, became part of the Sisters of Our Lady of Loreto, spent two

months learning English, and was sent to Darjeeling, India, for two years of training and formation. In 1931, she made her first vows and chose the name Teresa, after Saint Thérèse of Lisieux. After one year, she made her final vows, and was assigned to a teaching position at Saint Mary's High School, which served the wealthy girls of Calcutta.

However, going through the Gandhian struggle for independence in the mid-forties, Sister Teresa experienced a "vocational crisis," and felt that God was calling her toward something different, "to total self-surrender to the service of the poor . . . to a mission of charity" (Gonzalez-Balado 1997, 37). She left the Sisters of Loreto, where she had been content and happy for nearly twenty years, and pursued her passionate call. In order to best serve the poor, she went to Patna and studied at the school for nurses of the Medical Mission Sisters. Several months later, she returned to Calcutta, and lived with the Little Sisters of the Poor at Saint Joseph's Asylum for the Elderly. Every day she relentlessly worked in the slums among the abandoned. Meanwhile, she started looking for her own lodging, which was eventually furnished by the father of one of her former students. This humble place was the beginning of the Missionaries of Charity. In two years, the community grew to twenty-eight women, many of whom were Sister Teresa's former students, and all of whom adopted her modest lifestyle, distinguished by their blue-and-white saris. Eventually, the priests provided a larger place for Mother Teresa and her followers. This place later became the headquarters of the Missionaries of Charity, which are now present in almost every country in the world, in some cases at the request of government leaders in countries where religious organizations were illegal, such as Cuba, the former Soviet Union, and Albania, Mother Teresa's home country!

MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The first and most remarkable project that Mother Teresa embarked on was an attempt to assist the



Pope Paul VI blesses Mother Teresa for her work with lepers in India in 1973.
Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

abandoned dying in the streets of Calcutta. By that time, Mother Teresa had received Indian citizenship. She met with the mayor and was granted a location to serve the dying homeless of all religions, which she called "Nirmal Hriday." There, the sisters showed the dying (whom they usually picked from the streets, half eaten by rats) that they are valued and respected, giving testimony to their faith through their love and their actions, and respecting all beliefs and non-beliefs. This place is now a popular tourist attraction, included in the city's official guidebooks. It also attracts a lot of volunteers and medical student trainees, many females of whom decide to join.

Another field where Mother Teresa served the poor was teaching the children in the district of Motijhil, a slum near the high school where she used to teach. She taught basic lessons in hygiene, usually holding her classes outdoors, under a tree. Then, she gradually integrated instructions on manners, matters of faith, math, and reading. Later on, she used a donation that she received to rent a shack and purchase a blackboard. As the number of children grew, she acquired a building and surrounding acreage, which she called "Shishu Bhaven," through which she expanded her small system of public education. Today, such centers operate in many countries.

As the number of sisters grew to more than fifty, another group of the poor was added to their scope of

services, people with leprosy. Mother Teresa started her “mobile clinics,” which were basically a few sisters carrying small medicine kits and traveling by public transportation into the areas where people with leprosy dwelled. With time, Mother Teresa was able to establish centers that ministered to the specific needs of people with leprosy. The first center was constructed with the money collected from a public raffle of a limousine that was given to Mother Teresa by Pope Paul VI when he visited India in 1964, supposedly to facilitate her tough journeys. Later, Mother Teresa used the money from the Nobel Peace Prize she won in 1979 to construct a self-governing village in Titagarh, India, for the rehabilitation of people with leprosy.

In the mid-1980s, AIDS patients became another area of focus for Mother Teresa and her sisters. Mother Teresa started where ostracism against AIDS patients was strongest, in New York City, asking the mayor for a local site where she and her sisters could serve AIDS patients, despite the severe opposition of local residents. A year later, she was asked by President Ronald Reagan to open an AIDS home in Washington, D.C.

As time went by, Mother Teresa’s service expanded in many diversified areas. As unusual as it may sound, Mother Teresa’s congregation gave birth to a male congregation, the “Missionaries of Charity Brothers,” in 1963. Most of the first members were the biological brothers of some of the sisters. She started looking for a male leader who could handle the responsibilities of this new congregation, and found Father Travers, a young Australian Jesuit priest, who chose to renounce being a Jesuit, and became the well-known preacher, Brother Andrew. Now, the Missionaries of Charity Brothers are spread all over the world.

WORLDWIDE REPUTATION AND PUBLICITY

Some activities made Mother Teresa known worldwide, and consequently opened doors for her ministry outside India. For example, in 1960, Mother Teresa gave her first presentation at the annual convention of the National Council of Catholic Women of the United States in Las Vegas. In addition to the

large, exclusive audience that attended this presentation, Mother Teresa made a lot of contacts during her visit to the United States, and met with numerous well-known religious and political figures on her several stops. Many of these contacts proved important for her future work.

Around the same time, Mother Teresa was also publicly interviewed for the first time on the British Broadcasting Corporation radio program by the British journalist Malcolm Muggeridge, who proposed and facilitated the production of the first ever television documentary about Mother Teresa, and whose biography of Mother Teresa was translated into more than twenty languages. In 1982, Malcolm Muggeridge and his wife became Catholic.

Moreover, Mother Teresa courageously held to her beliefs, publicly advised politicians to spend more time on their knees in prayer in order to recognize the pain and injustice in their own systems, took the initiative of rebuking them when she felt that they made ungodly decisions, and was outspoken against abortion as the greatest of crimes against children, women, and life. She even took part in marches and demonstrations against the legislation of abortion in Spain and Italy. She met and had conversations and pictures with many distinguished public figures, and was invited to address the world’s political elite in remarkable occasions. However, she always showed up as a little Indian woman with her modest white-and-blue sari and sandals, packing her travel necessities in cardboard boxes tied with string, and holding her cloth bag. Even when she was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1979, Mother Teresa requested that the cost of the customary gala dinner celebration for hundreds of dignitaries from around the world go to the poor. Fifteen thousand people enjoyed a special meal that day!

Due to her failing health, which was aggravated by her hectic lifestyle, Mother Teresa resigned in 1996 as superior general of the Missionaries of Charity. However, she left an army of around four thousand missionaries, from all over the world, many of whom were college students or well-paid professionals, all of whom still wear the white-and-blue sari, live the same life as the poorest of the poor, and absolutely refuse any kind of salary or

fixed income that gives them any sense of security, preferring to be completely dependent on divine providence.

MOTHER TERESA'S LEADERSHIP

Mother Teresa had most of the characteristics of charismatic leaders found in Weber's *Theory of Social Organizations*. She was highly esteemed and confident, displayed exemplary qualities, had a strong sense of purpose, articulated the goals and ideas for which her followers were psychologically prepared, secured her followers' unquestioning cognitive and emotional commitment, and had extraordinary moral inspiration, attraction, and influence over her followers. Mother Teresa owned extraordinary gifts. She devoted herself to the service of the poorest of the poor, totally dependent on divine providence, which meant being constantly in a crisis-management situation. She always developed (or rather received) radical solutions to crises. She had followers who were attracted to her because they believed they were linked through her to transcendent powers. She continuously validated her gifts and transcendence in repeated experiences of success. She was expressive, self-determined, insightful, free from internal conflict, eloquent, and active, even when her followers were not exactly the optimum type of followers that would be easily led by her charisma. A closer look at some of her followers can clarify this point.

Many of Mother Teresa's first followers were her former students from Saint Mary's High School, that is, the wealthy girls of Calcutta. Probably most of these girls' parents and relatives had a high profile politically. At that time, there was much more going on, both in politics and religion, to attract these girls' attention and energies than this unknown nun, living like the poorest of the poor. Moreover, many affluent, successful people participated as coworkers in Mother Teresa's ministry on a part-time basis. Later, the coworkers became an organization, with its own official identity. So, what attracted, and still attracts, rich, well-educated people to Mother Teresa and her life of poverty? The answer is that most of those people did not only identify with Mother Teresa as a per-

son, but also with her vision, her mission, and her goals. She was able to address a higher level of need inside them, beyond just the need for a personified charismatic leader. Her humility, strong conviction, and worthwhile cause challenged them. She "conceive[d] and articulate[d] goals that lift[ed] people out of their petty occupations, carr[ied] them above the conflicts that tear a society apart, and unite[d] them in the pursuit of objectives worthy of their best efforts," as Gardner and his colleagues described inspirational leaders (cited in Bass 1990, 207). Mother Teresa was truly a transformational leader. She combined charismatic leadership, inspirational leadership, intellectual stimulation, and individualized consideration.

According to Choi and Dalton, followers attribute charisma and legitimacy to self-sacrificial leaders, and tend to reciprocate such leaders' behaviors. This presents a further explanation for the faithful followership style of Mother Teresa's sisters, their complete devotion to self-sacrificial causes, and their adoption of a self-sacrificial lifestyle of the poorest of the poor. Due to her exemplary self-sacrificial leadership style, Mother Teresa's followers perceived her as charismatic, even though she lacked the "glamour" that usually accompanies many charismatic leaders. In other words, her charisma was in the eyes of her beholders, and in her cause, rather than just in her own personal attractiveness. This made her followers attribute legitimacy to her, although she hardly had any legitimate power to use in accomplishing her goals. Mother Teresa had nothing to give or to promise her followers, except a tough life of poverty and hard work. She was completely dependent on divine providence. Before she resigned, this Nobel Prize winner suffered from anemia and malnutrition, the diseases of the poorest of the poor.

In their article, "Transformational Leadership and Attachment," Popper and his colleagues introduced an interesting expansion of the attachment theory to the area of leadership, showing a relationship between transformational leadership and secure attachment. Reflecting on Mother Teresa's early years of life, one cannot fail to observe a very secure attachment style, with her parents, her close family that lived for one another, and the pastor of her

church. Does Mother Teresa's strong transformational leadership style relate to her secure attachments? Her biographers, as well as she herself, would full-heartedly testify that it indeed did.

—Carolyn M. Youssef

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MOTIVATION, INTRINSIC AND EXTRINSIC

The study of leadership deals with the behaviors and processes through which superiors in a hierarchy manage, empower, supervise, inspire, and relate to their subordinates. It concerns the ways they determine future directions for individuals, groups, or organizations and then catalyze their subordinates' actions in accord with the specified directions. Leadership is, in a very real sense, the means through which leaders *motivate* their followers to engage the tasks and activities necessary to actualize a decision or vision.

Self-determination theory (SDT), formulated by motivational psychologists Edward L. Deci and Richard M. Ryan, maintains that to promote optimal outcomes, leaders need to appeal to different types of motivation. SDT sees autonomous motivation and controlled motivation as the two most important types of motivation. *Autonomous* describes the motivation of people who experience a sense of volition, willingness, and choice. In contrast, *controlled* describes the motivation of people who feel coerced or seduced. The concepts of *autonomy-supportive* leadership and *controlling* leadership are used to distinguish the ways leaders relate to subordinates and thus affect their performance.

INTRINSIC AND EXTRINSIC MOTIVATION

The distinction now made in organizational psychology and management between *intrinsic* and *extrinsic* motivation dates back more than four decades (e.g., Porter & Lawler, 1968). Intrinsic motivation is evident when people engage in an activity because they find it interesting and derive spontaneous satisfaction from doing it (Deci, 1975). When people are intrinsically motivated they behave with a full sense of volition and choice; they experience an activity as satisfying in its own right. Intrinsic motivation is a type of autonomous motivation. Competence and autonomy are fundamental psychological needs that must be satisfied if people are to be psychologically healthy and function effectively, and people will be intrinsically motivated only to the extent that they feel competent and autonomous.

In contrast, extrinsic motivation is most often evident when an activity is uninteresting and satisfaction comes not from the activity itself but rather from the extrinsic consequences to which the activity leads. Extrinsic motivation can be either autonomous or controlled. The clearest examples of extrinsic motivation are rewards and punishments. In other words, when people are extrinsically motivated the desirable consequences derive not from the activity's being interesting or personally important to them but rather from its being instrumental to some extraneous consequences they desire.

DO INTRINSIC AND EXTRINSIC MOTIVATION ACT TOGETHER?

Nearly four decades ago, Porter and Lawler advocated structuring the work environment so effective performance would lead to both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards. They believed that to accomplish that would entail enlarging jobs to make them more intrinsically interesting and providing extrinsic rewards contingent upon effective performance such as raises and promotions. The result, they theorized, would be maximal motivation and job satisfaction. Implicit in this approach was the assumption that intrinsic and extrinsic rewards would act together to increase motivation and job satisfaction. However, studies by Deci as early as 1971 that tested the additivity assumption found that giving people monetary rewards contingent upon completing an interesting activity decreased their intrinsic motivation for the activity. Other studies showed that deadlines, threats, and surveillance also decreased intrinsic motivation. Intrinsic and extrinsic motivation seemed definitely not additive.

Deci argued that extrinsic motivators undermine intrinsic ones because they tend to thwart people's need for autonomy. In support of this theory was the finding that providing people with choice and acknowledging their perspectives enhanced intrinsic motivation. Other studies found that positive feedback enhanced intrinsic motivation by satisfying people's need to feel competent, whereas negative feedback decreased intrinsic motivation by thwarting that need. A review of the experiments on intrinsic and extrinsic motivation can be found in a 1985 book by Deci and Ryan.

The undermining of intrinsic motivation by many of the extrinsic factors that are typically relied on as motivators is a critical issue for leaders because studies have shown that conceptual understanding, problem solving, and creativity are enhanced by intrinsic motivation. Thus, these results emphasized the importance of formulating a meaningful prescription for enhancing rather than undermining intrinsic motivation and performance. It turns out, however, that formulating such a prescription requires moving beyond the simple dichotomy

between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. It entails differentiating among different kinds of extrinsic motivation and using the concept of internalization and a control-to-autonomy continuum.

EXTRINSIC MOTIVATION AND THE RELATIVE AUTONOMY CONTINUUM

Intrinsic motivation, which means engaging in an activity out of interest in the activity itself, is invariably autonomous. That is, when people are intrinsically motivated, they initiate the activity and are of necessity experience a sense of freedom. However, extrinsic motivation, which pertains to activities that are not interesting and thus require a motivating contingency, can vary in the degree to which it is autonomous. The prototype of extrinsic motivation, which is what has been discussed so far, involves behaving to attain a tangible reward or to avoid a punishment. It is the most controlled, least autonomous type of motivation. Behavior motivated this way is said to be *externally regulated*—that is, initiated and maintained by contingencies external to the person. However, there are also more autonomous types of extrinsic motivation. For instance, an external regulation and the value associated with it can be internalized to differing degrees. Self-determination theory posits a controlled-to-autonomy continuum to describe the degree to which an extrinsic motivation has been internalized and is thus the basis for autonomous behavior.

A regulation that has been only partially internalized, that has been taken in by a person but has not been accepted as his or her own, is said to be introjected. Introjected regulations, including contingent self-esteem, ego involvement, and avoidance of guilt, pressure people to behave in order to feel worthy or to buttress their fragile egos. Introjected regulations are particularly interesting because the regulation is within the person but is still relatively controlled externally. They are internal but do not represent autonomy.

The most mature form of extrinsic motivation requires people to identify with the value of a behavior for their own self-selected goals and then integrate that identification with their sense of self. When this

has occurred, people feel greater freedom and volition because the behavior is congruent with who they are. If a person wanted to be accepted as part of a work group, he or she might identify with the importance of doing tasks that are necessary for the group to function smoothly even though the tasks are not interesting. For example, by identifying with the value of attending group meetings and keeping the minutes of the meetings and then integrating that identification with his or her other values, goals, and identifications, the person would be fully autonomous while doing the note taking. Motivation that was initially external would have been internalized. Internalized extrinsic motivation shares many qualities with intrinsic motivation, but it is still considered extrinsic (as opposed to intrinsic) because the motivation is not characterized by a person's interest in an activity but rather by an activity becoming instrumentally important for personal goals.

Intrinsic motivation and integrated extrinsic motivation represent the two types of autonomous motivation, while external and introjected regulation represent the two types of controlled motivation. This autonomy-control distinction has been shown to have greater heuristic value for predicting positive outcomes than does the intrinsic-extrinsic distinction. Optimal leader behaviors are those that prompt autonomous motivation among followers.

SATISFACTION AND AUTONOMOUS MOTIVATION

Intrinsic motivation and internalization are natural processes that require the satisfaction of basic psychological needs to function optimally. As already mentioned, the satisfaction of people's needs for competence and autonomy is particularly important for maintaining intrinsic motivation, and the satisfaction of these needs is also necessary for internalization to operate effectively. However, a third need—the need for relatedness, for having satisfying relationships with others in the workplace—is also crucial for the successful internalization of work values and behaviors. Satisfaction of the need for competence, relatedness, and autonomy allows people to internalize extrinsic motivation and to maintain

intrinsic motivation; in this way, it allows volitional, autonomous behavior whether or not people find the work itself interesting.

In organizational or management theories, psychological needs have typically been viewed as individual differences; that is, individuals have been viewed as differing in the strength of particular needs. For example, some people might be said to need a high level of affiliation and relatedness, while other people need far less. When needs are conceptualized in this way, the strength of a need is assessed and used either directly or matched with job characteristics to predict motivation, job satisfaction, and work outcomes. However, more recent studies have indicated that the concept of needs is more usefully defined in terms of nutrients that are universally essential to effective performance and psychological health. Because the needs for competence, autonomy, and relatedness are now considered important for *all* individuals, current research now focuses not on the strength of individuals' needs but rather on the extent to which social environments allow individuals to satisfy these needs. In other words, need satisfaction rather than need strength has become the important variable for making predictions about work performance, job satisfaction, and adjustment. This is very important with respect to leadership because it means that leader behaviors that allow the satisfaction of people's psychological needs are the most effective way to optimize performance and promote well-being.

How Leaders Can Promote Autonomous Motivation

A useful starting point for thinking about leaders' concerns is to focus on how they create interpersonal climates that support the satisfaction of their employees' needs for competence, autonomy, and relatedness, because only if these needs are satisfied will employees be optimally engaged, persistent, and effective at work-related activities, particularly ones requiring creativity, cognitive flexibility, and conceptual understanding. In a 2001 study conducted in Bulgaria and the United States, Deci and his colleagues assessed the satisfaction of employees' needs for competence, autonomy, and relatedness at

work and found direct positive relations in both countries between the satisfaction of these needs and the strength of work engagement and well-being on the job. A recent study performed by Paul Baard with Deci and Ryan (in press) also found that the satisfaction of these needs and the quality of work performance were related. In both studies researchers assessed the degree to which managers supported autonomy rather than control in their orientations toward their employees. Managers supported autonomy by acknowledging an employee's perspective, offering choices, encouraging initiative, and providing informational feedback. In contrast, controlling managers used pressure and employee evaluations to ensure compliance with their own agendas. These two studies and a number of others have shown that when managers were supportive rather than controlling, employees experienced greater satisfaction of basic needs and in turn performed better and reported better adjustments.

In a field experiment, Deci and Ryan, together with fellow psychologist James Connell, did an organizational development intervention in which they taught leaders in a major American corporation how to be more supportive of their employees' autonomy. The training consisted of a "change agent" spending a total of about six days with the leaders over a two-to-three month period. The agent focused on three themes: maximizing opportunities for employees to take the initiative (make choices and solve problems), giving noncontrolling informational feedback, and recognizing and accepting their subordinates' perspectives (their needs and feelings). In addition, the change agent accompanied each manager to one of his or her work-group meetings to observe the process and provide feedback. The researchers found that the level of support for autonomy increased in the intervention sites relative to the control-group sites, and that these positive effects radiated out to subordinates, who reported greater trust in the organization and more job-related satisfaction.

The results of a laboratory experiment published in 1994 by Deci and his colleagues identified specific leader behaviors that satisfy employees' needs and facilitate the internalization of extrinsic motivation.

The researchers found that providing a meaningful rationale when making an assignment or request, acknowledging a subordinates' thoughts and feelings about the requested activity, and emphasizing choice rather than control promoted internalization. Further, the researchers found that when two or three of these facilitating factors were present, thus allowing greater satisfaction of employee needs, the internalization that occurred was integrated, whereas, when none or one was present, the internalization that occurred was merely introjected. Thus, supporting autonomy and satisfying needs not only increased the internalization of extrinsic motivation but also ensured that the internalization was integrated rather than introjected.

To summarize, autonomy-supportive work climates, as well as specific leader behaviors such as providing choice and acknowledging subordinates' perspectives, promote both intrinsic motivation and fully internalized extrinsic motivation. The most notable differences between the factors necessary for the maintenance of intrinsic motivation and those that facilitate the internalization of extrinsic motivation are that internalization requires the presence of the ambient structures, limits, values, or contingencies that are to be internalized and that it is facilitated by the explicit or implicit endorsement of the behaviors by significant others.

Approaches to Management

Management theorists such as Douglas McGregor, Frederick Herzberg, and W. Edwards Deming have long recommended the use of organizational structures and leader behaviors that are expected to promote what SDT refers to as autonomous motivation. Central to these approaches have been concepts such as participation, empowerment, and job enrichment. These concepts advocate allowing employees to set goals, make decisions, plan, and solve problems, although management theorists Victor Vroom and Art Jago have emphasized that some situations warrant the use of participative decision making whereas others do not. Such empowering strategies recognize that all leader functions—from decision making to implementation, from goal setting to performance

evaluations—can be done in ways that are consistent with either a relatively autonomy-supportive approach or a relatively controlling approach. Autonomy-supportive leaders seek inputs from group members, encouraging them to feel ownership of the decisions and activities, whereas controlling leaders impose their own visions on their followers, allowing little initiative or choice. Leaders who take a more autonomy-supportive approach are more successful for they are effective in promoting satisfaction of their followers' psychological needs for competence, autonomy, and relatedness, needs that have been recognized as important since the work of organizational theorists Daniel Katz and Robert Kahn decades ago. In this period of rapid change and upheaval, many commentators such as Noel Tichy and Mary Anne Devanna have argued that organizations are in grave need of leaders with vision, leaders who can transform their organization as we move toward the challenges of the future. Indeed, although such visionary leaders are critically important, equally important is the ability of such leaders to motivate their followers, to inspire their followers with their visions, and to allow followers to feel a sense of vitality, engagement, and identification with their ideas and agendas. Visions that are not fully endorsed and implemented by followers will not improve an organization's effectiveness, and there is increasing evidence that the means through which endorsement and engagement will occur is the support of leaders for their followers' autonomy.

A recent study by Joyce Bono and Timothy Judge showed that transformational or visionary leaders do in fact tend to promote autonomous motivation in their followers. Specifically, the researchers found that followers of transformational leaders were more likely to adopt autonomous goals rather than controlled goals in the workplace. These followers were also more satisfied with their jobs and more committed to the organization. It appears, then, that transformational or visionary leadership works to motivate followers by supporting the followers' autonomy. Further work linking autonomy-supportive leadership to organizational outcomes would thus seem warranted.

—Edward L. Deci and Marylène Gagné

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MOTIVATIONAL CONTAGION

Motivational contagion is the spread of motivation throughout a group, person by person. One can feel the spread of motivation on a team. Imagine that it was halftime and that a basketball team was down by three points. Individuals had been playing decently, scoring a number of points, but as a whole, the team just could not seem to get it together. The players had been herded into the locker room for the coach's halftime pep talk. One player recalls:

Our first game of the season was against a much larger, favored school. In the locker room . . . our coach spoke to us with confidence and told us that we could play with and beat this team, despite their superior record the year before and the preseason rankings. His belief in us made each of us believe in ourselves and we came out for battle. We jumped to an early lead, shocking both our opponents and their home fans . . . the coach again spoke to us with confidence . . . sensing that we could upset this team and set the tone for the season . . . we held strong and upset our heavily favored opponents (Morrell 2002, 1).

The coach's encouraging pep talk struck a chord with each player one by one, and his motivation spread throughout the group. However, this effect is not confined to sports teams, nor it is always in the positive direction. Groups can also experience a spread of negative motivation, leading to a different result:

[Each] year, [my orchestra] work[s] on a piece of large scope which is usually composed by our conductor. I know of few people who look forward to this rehearsal time, because we all know the conductor turns into an extremely disagreeable, easily angered person who is generally unpleasant to listen to . . . [he] gets extremely

angry when people miss any of the rehearsals for his piece. Productivity during rehearsal goes down, as everyone talks with their neighbor about how annoyed they are with the conductor . . . and this combined with our aversion to his attitude creates a general apathy during rehearsal. It truly feels like no one wants to be there. The end result is a concert we all don't really look forward to, a less than enthusiastic attitude towards the piece we're playing, and in general ending the year on a bad note. I know of many people who in fact have quit the orchestra due to the end of year attitude of the conductor (Morrell 2002, 2).

WHAT IS THIS PHENOMENON?

The spread of motivation throughout a group is influenced by both verbal and nonverbal cues that are continually transmitted through both verbal and nonverbal feedback. The feedback provides the group members with knowledge of their progress and contributes to the spread of motivation. Motivational contagion can be either positive or negative, and group leaders play an important factor in its perpetuation.

Contagions can be understood through a simplified analogy of "leading by example." Research (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1994) has shown that people mimic and synchronize their movements quickly and virtually automatically with the facial expressions, voices, postures, movements, and instrumental behaviors (e.g., blinking, yawning, moving, talking, and fidgeting) of others. Though continuous feedback, which provides the group members a constant knowledge of results, the group members are poised for a high level of internal work motivation. Either the group's leader (e.g., coach or conductor) or other group members (e.g., basketball player or violinist) can provide feedback through verbal comments or nonverbal gestures. Given the ideas of mimicry and continuous feedback, an individual's motivational experience can be affected moment to moment, and therefore one can "catch" the motivations of others. This is motivational contagion.

APPLYING KNOWLEDGE

In both the basketball team and the orchestra examples, one individual's motivation spread to the group,

person by person. Individuals either lost or intensified their focus, attention, and motivation one by one. For example, after the coach's halftime pep talk, one team member decided to focus more on the game. His attitude, posturing, vocal commands, and gestures indicated that he was highly motivated to win. His team members saw his increased motivation and found themselves focusing more on their shots. The first player's motivation was caught by the other team members one by one, leading to motivational contagion.

A LEADER'S ROLE

The group leader plays a seminal role in the continuation or termination of motivational contagion. He or she can encourage the spread of motivation, as in the basketball team example, by reinforcing the behavior and providing continuous positive feedback to the group. The coach can offer encouraging commands and positive words of advice and can carry himself in such a way as to showcase his internal motivation. The leader may choose to encourage the spread of motivation if it is having a positive impact on the group's overall motivation.

Alternatively, the group leader can intervene and stop the spread of motivation if it is having a negative impact on the group's overall motivation. In the orchestra example, the group leader could have chosen to stop the spread of a negative motivation that seemed to pervade the orchestra by verbally telling the musicians to pay attention or by nonverbally trying to focus them. Research has shown that the degree of aggressiveness in the group leader's intervention is an important factor in the degree of success of containing a negative motivation. More aggressive, overt types of interventions, such as yelling, are more effective at stopping a negative motivational contagion than are less aggressive types of interventions, such as simply saying "shh" or not doing anything at all.

Group leaders should be aware that their own internal motivation can have a significant influence on the motivation of the group as a whole.

RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Motivational contagion is a sustainable phenom-

non. Further quantitative research is needed to determine how leaders can most effectively deal with it.

—Kelley E. Morrell

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MOZART, WOLFGANG AMADEUS (1756–1791)

Austrian composer

Several artists have attracted the label *genius*, a term that is offered more as an apology for what is viewed as inexplicable rather than as an explanation for what is truly great. What is perhaps unique in the almost universal description of Mozart as a genius is the assumption that, among great artists, his was the most natural, unconstrained and, therefore, godlike genius. The image of Mozart as effortless genius, whether as musical infant-prodigy, graceful adolescent, or mature composer, has had an immense appeal across the ages, not least as portrayed in Peter Shaffer's play *Amadeus* (1979). In contrast to the permanently struggling figure of Beethoven (1770–1827) or the religiously animated spirit of Bach (1685–1750), Mozart is viewed as the composer who composed for music's sake, acting almost as a conduit for the divine. His music, frequently described as sublime, light, graceful, and charming, profoundly influenced later composers, including Wagner (1813–1883), who described him famously as "music's genius of light and love" (Einstein 1946, 13).

Mozart's relatively short life coincides with the death pangs of France's old regime and the onslaught of the French Revolution. Coming between the two other great Viennese masters, Haydn (1732–1809)

and Beethoven, he was never able to enjoy the comforts of aristocratic patronage like the former or the adulation of a bourgeois citizenry like the latter. Instead, much of his life was plagued by financial difficulties, constant scheming by his inferior musical rivals, and mostly unsuccessful attempts to translate his universally recognized musical genius into artistic and social success, either by obtaining a well-paying court position or by having his music performed in front of a wide audience.

CHILDHOOD

Success had come to him easily in his childhood, when the European royalty and nobility embraced him as their musical child-wonder. From the age of three he could play the keyboard, and at five he was producing his first compositions. He received his musical education from his father, Leopold Mozart (1719–1787), a musician of some reputation as a violinist, composer, and author of a book on violin technique. Leopold was in the service of the archbishop of Salzburg, and early recognized the musical gifts of his son. Mozart's relation to his father, whose approval and affection he craved but never won in an unqualified way, was very important to him throughout his life.

In 1762, Leopold Mozart took Wolfgang and his scarcely less talented sister, Nannerl (1751–1829) on a musical tour, during which they performed in front of the emperor of Austria and many of the sovereigns of Germany. Subsequently they toured throughout Europe performing for Louis XV at Versailles and for George III in London. There are numerous reliable testimonies as well as endless anecdotes dating from this period confirming his outstanding musical abilities, his charm, and his impact on the nobility of his day. At the age of fourteen, Mozart toured in Italy and visited Rome, where he heard the famous *Miserere* for double choir of Gregorio Allegri (1582–1652) performed in the Sistine Chapel and, it is recorded, proceeded to write it down from memory. This caused consternation and amazement to all who witnessed the feat, for the piece was regarded as a mystery and the singers were forbidden from committing their parts to paper. At this point he was

already composing his early symphonies as well as his first operas and was already being called the greatest genius in all music.

MATURITY

Between 1769 and 1781, Mozart served as orchestral director to the archbishop of Salzburg, an honorary position with a modest stipend that allowed him to travel and work on commission for various noblemen and opera houses at home and abroad. Unfortunately for Mozart, the position of archbishop was assumed in 1772 by Count Colloredo, a man of limited musical interests whose relationship with Mozart became increasingly fraught. During this period, Mozart continued his extensive travels, composing operas, masses, symphonies, and chamber music of ever increasing beauty and maturity. However, Mozart discovered that young musicians had far less appeal for the aristocracy than infant prodigies, generally assuming an inferior position among the servants in household hierarchies. In 1781, his opera *Idomeneo*, the first to be regarded as an unqualified masterpiece, premiered in Munich, and that same year a climactic argument with his employer led to Mozart's moving to Vienna, where he lived for the remaining ten years of his life. It was in Vienna that Mozart composed his mature operas, including *Die Entführung*, the three sublime operas to libretti by Lorenzo da Ponte (*Le Nozze di Figaro*, *Don Giovanni*, and *Così fan tutte*), the highly successful *Die Zauberflöte* and *La Clemenza di Tito*, the great concertos for piano, the mature symphonies, and a wealth of chamber and church music. Virtually all the works of Mozart's maturity are acknowledged as supreme masterpieces.

In 1782, Mozart married Konstanze Weber, much to his father's disapproval. His marriage has been the topic of wide speculation and Konstanze the object of much vilification, probably on account of Leopold's dislike of her. However, Mozart's numerous letters to her reveal him to be a dedicated and loving husband, just as his letters to his father reveal the son's ceaseless struggle to earn his father's approval and respect. Mozart's marriage undoubtedly suffered from his constant financial worries,

the death of several children, his increasing alienation from his father, and successive disappointments occasioned by either lukewarm or unappreciative reception of some of his greatest masterpieces, which were almost invariably overshadowed by the successes of works by lesser composers. One composer who appreciated fully Mozart's genius and was inspired by him was Haydn, generally regarded as Europe's leading composer at the time, who in 1785, famously told Leopold Mozart, "Before God, and as an honest man, I tell you that your son is the greatest composer known to me in person or by name. He has taste, and, what is more, the greatest knowledge of composition" (Einstein 1946, 25).

Although Leopold was proud of his son's undoubted genius, he never accorded him the respect that Mozart craved. Leopold's letter to Baroness Waldstadten dated 23 August 1782, when Mozart was twenty-six, is indicative of the father-son relation: "On the whole, I should feel quite easy in my mind, were it not that I have detected in my son an outstanding fault, which is, that he is far too patient or rather easy-going, too indolent, perhaps even too proud, in short, that he has the sum total of all those traits, which render a man inactive; on the other hand, he is too impatient, too hasty, and will not abide his time. Two opposing elements rule his nature, I mean, there is either too much or too little, never the golden mean. If he is not actually in want, then he is immediately satisfied and becomes indolent and lazy. If he has to bestir himself, then he realizes his worth and wants to make his fortune at once. Nothing must stand in his way; yet it is unfortunately the most capable people and those who possess outstanding genius who have the greatest obstacles to face" (Einstein 1946, 42).

Leopold's death in 1787 profoundly affected Mozart, who transferred many of his filial affections to "papa Haydn." In his last letter to his father he wrote, "As death . . . is the true goal of existence, I have formed during the last few years such close relations with this best and truest friend of mankind that his image is no longer terrifying to me but very soothing and consoling" (Einstein 1946, 92). Mozart's works in the final years of his life acquire a

deep though never sentimental quality of melancholy, without ever losing their astounding melodic beauty or harmonic invention. Despite popular conceptions, there is little evidence that Mozart had premonitions of death, and the melodrama surrounding the commission and composition of his unfinished final work, the *Requiem*, is almost entirely invention. The subsequent story that he had been poisoned by the court composer Salieri (1750–1825), which became the topic of an opera by Rimsky-Korsakov, is total fiction. "Posterity will not see such a talent again in 100 years," said Haydn on hearing news of his death (Robbins Landon 1989b, 171).

MOZART ON LEADERSHIP AND POWER

What can Mozart, whose compositions together represent one of the ultimate summits of European culture, teach us about leadership and power? As an individual, Mozart was no leader, he had no followers, nor did he seek to lead others into new paths. As a matter of fact, although he was undoubtedly a proud man, absolutely confident of his unique gift and capable of rebellion against his employer, Mozart was a follower rather than a leader. His relationship to his father was one of almost total dedication and subordination. Although he viewed Haydn as his artistic equal, he consistently deferred to him. In music too, Mozart can hardly be seen as a leader. Although we can safely say that he was revered above any other composer by subsequent generations of musicians, he was not as great an innovator in matters of musical form, expression, or style as Beethoven or Haydn. Although his operas remain peerless among all artistic creations, they did not find many imitators, nor did they establish new artistic conventions. For many composers, Mozart was a source of inspiration whose accomplishments were forever out of reach rather than a fellow artist to be imitated.

Nor does Mozart's music easily lend itself to political or ideological causes in the manner of the music of Bach, Beethoven, Verdi (1813–1901), and Wagner—it generally stands clear of nonmusical associations. To be sure, in Mozart's operas we do get rich and times idealized portraits of leadership, such as

those of magnanimous Titus, duty-torn Idomeneus, sage Sarastro, or generous Pasha Selim (a speaking part). Most of these portraits suggest enlightened rulers with strong paternalistic qualities—benevolent father figures. It is the love, recognition, and respect that this idealized father figure bestows on his followers that Mozart craved from his father and only conditionally received. Yet none of these portraits reaches the psychological or dramatic complexities achieved by Verdi in *Simon Boccanegra*, *Don Carlos*, and *Otello*, Mussorgsky (1839–1881) in *Boris Godunov*, or Wagner in the *Ring*. In depicting persons of enormous power and carrying immense responsibility, Mozart remains within the convention of his pre-Revolutionary social milieu.

It would be entirely wrong, however, to view Mozart as an apolitical composer, concerned either with the minutiae of domestic life or with issues on a metaphysical scale and unaware of the political dimensions of social relations. Where Mozart remains almost unequalled is in his dramatic portraits of ordinary people, such as the protagonists of virtually all his mature operas. This is especially so in the case of his female characters, such as his Countess, his Susanna, his Donna Elvira, and his Fiordiligi, whose psychological complexities and richness make them both perfect critics of male power and eloquent advocates of female equality. All these characters are fully developed individuals participating in relations that involve both love and power, harmony and conflict. They change their minds, think, feel, and breathe in ways that we recognize as supremely modern. And all of this is brought to the fore through music that communicates emotion eloquently but without histrionics, which expresses doubt, ambiguity, irony, and ambivalence in ways that few if any composers have ever managed to equal.

Mozart's life and work stands as potent testimony that the greatest human geniuses are by no means the greatest leaders. What Mozart undoubtedly possessed, in common with the supreme artists of his and all generations, was the ability to make us look at the world, with all its power relations, its inequalities, its confusion, and its rationalizations, in a new and uniquely illuminating light. An immortal mas-

terpiece such as *Le Nozze di Figaro*, no less than Shakespeare's *Macbeth* or Sophocles' *Antigone*, teaches us more than most treatises on leadership the different ways in which power operates, asserts itself, legitimates itself, generates resistance, and eventually dissipates.

—Yiannis Gabriel

Further Reading

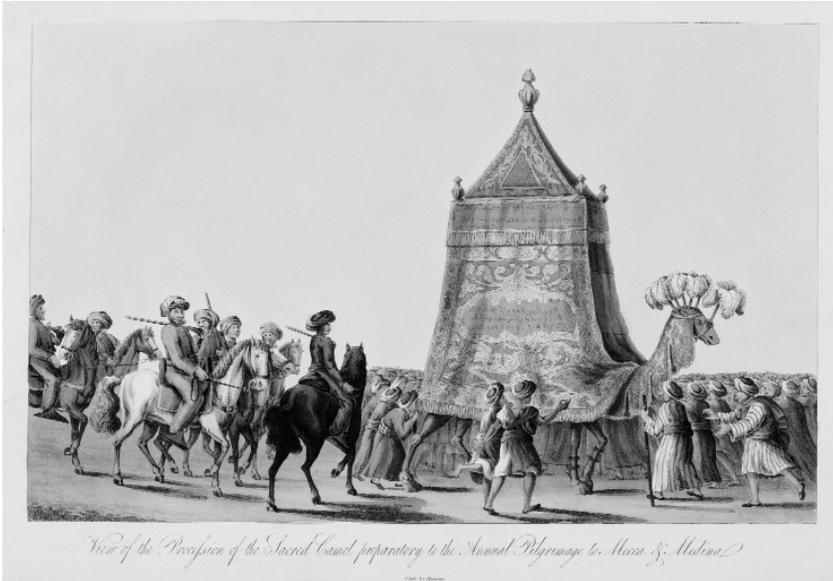
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🌐 MUHAMMAD (c. 570–632 CE)

Prophet and founder of Islam

Muhammad was the founder of the religion of Islam and the most important and influential Arab who has ever lived. His achievements include the original formulation of many core Muslim doctrines, the political unification of the Arabian Peninsula, which eventually resulted in the great Muslim conquests (634–732), the linguistic establishment of the Qur'anic version of classical Arabic as the dominant language of the Arab peoples (and eventually the lingua franca of all Muslims), and the foundation of an Islamic social order that has persisted until the present day and continues to attract converts on a large scale.

Abu al-Qasim Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib ibn Hashim belonged to the tribe of Quraysh in the small town of Mecca (located on the western side of the Arabian Peninsula). For most of his life until approximately the age of forty Muham-



A view of the procession of the sacred camel on the annual pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina.
Source: Stapleton Collection/Corbis; used with permission.

mad was virtually anonymous, having married a wealthy widow named Khadijah in his middle twenties. During the first decade of the seventh century Muhammad was in the habit of retiring to an isolated local mountain in order to perform rites of purification and asceticism. At one particular time, approximately during the year 610, he was visited by an apparition, later identified as the angel Gabriel, who instructed him to read (or recite); upon the negative response of Muhammad, the following revelation was given: "Read in the name of your Lord, Who created: He created man from a clot. Read, by your Most Generous Lord, who taught by the Pen. He taught man what he did not know" (Fakhry, Qur'an 96:1–5).

Muhammad's response was self-doubt and fear that the revelation might be the work of a demon. This anxiety was calmed by the support of a Christian relative of his wife Khadijah, who told him that this revelation was the work of God. Gradually over the next few years Muhammad proclaimed the message of the absolute unity of God, rejecting the dominant paganism of the Quraysh, together with additional revelations that spoke of the coming end of the world. This period of proclamation was not a successful one for the most part. A few close relatives and some slaves and other social outcasts became

Muslims, but overall the tribe of Quraysh rejected Muhammad's message and eventually began to persecute his small group and to threaten his life. However, following the year 620, Muhammad made converts among the tribesmen of Yathrib (Medina) to the north of Mecca, and in 622 emigrated there together with the other Muslims.

During the Meccan period of Muhammad's ministry, the Prophet demonstrated comparatively minor leadership qualities. He managed to keep his following together, to attract converts, and to win concessions from the pagan Quraysh occasionally.

The *hijra* (emigration) in 622 marks the de facto foundation of the Muslim community. This was the date chosen for the beginning of the Muslim calendar (notably *not* the year in which the first revelations were received), and marks the beginnings of Muslim historical memory (accounts of events previous to this time are clouded). The Muslim community in Medina was initially a small minority and badly placed from a geographical point of view (in the lowest section of the oasis, with semi-hostile Jewish tribes occupying the high ground, and a pass to the north from which enemies could attack the oasis). Attempts to win the Jews of Medina (the Banu Qaynuqa, the Banu al-Nadir, and the Banu Qurayza tribes) were a failure, and the Muslims were divided between those who were exclusively loyal to the Prophet and those who were Muslims but refused to break their relations with the Jews (the so-called Hypocrites). However, Muhammad quickly managed to establish himself as the dominant power in Medina, and within five years most of its inhabitants were Muslim; the Jewish tribes had been converted, expelled, or massacred; and there was no further Muslim opposition to him. This community of Muslims in Medina was the seed from which Islam grew, and was characterized by a high degree of inter-Muslim loyalty, manifested primarily by Muhammad as we read in Qur'an 33:6:

“The Prophet is closer to the believers than their own selves and his wives are like their mothers.” This community was called an *umma*, a community bound together by a common faith irrespective of previous commitments.

The difficult position of the Muslim community during the years immediately following the *hijra* was Muhammad’s first concern. To a large degree this problem were resolved by a very aggressive attitude toward the Muslim community’s many foes (the Quraysh, the Jewish tribes of Medina, the Bedouin tribes surrounding the oasis, and eventually the Byzantine Empire toward the end of the Prophet Muhammad’s life). This aggressive attitude appears in the Qur’an: “Permission is given to those who fight because they have been wronged. Surely Allah is capable of giving them victory. Those who were driven out of their homes unjustly, merely for their saying: ‘Our Lord is Allah’” (22:39–40). To a large degree the success of the early Muslim community was the result of Muhammad’s ability to lead and consolidate his gains or at least cut his losses politically after each event. During the first eight years in Medina this effort was focused upon the isolation and defeat of the Quraysh, and can be easily divided into the battles that accomplished this goal.

EARLY TRIUMPH: BADR

During the first two years of their stay in Medina, the Muslims did not wage war at all. In 624, however, a Qurayshi caravan led by Abu Sufyan was to pass between Medina and the Red Sea, and the Muslims had a good chance to intercept it. If they were to accomplish this, then effectively the trade between Mecca and Syria, which was the basis for the Meccan economy, would be cut off. Abu Sufyan was well aware of this, and sent a messenger to Mecca for help. Muhammad and the Muslims came across the troops sent from Mecca (while the caravan itself managed to get away), which was led by most of the most ardent opponents of the Muslims. During the ensuing battle, the Muslims were victorious and managed to kill off a large number of the Meccan leaders. Muhammad’s leadership in this case was demonstrated by leading the battle, initiating the vic-

torious strategy, and maintaining control over the Muslim forces (to prevent a slaughter, which would have been a political disaster) afterward. The battle of Badr was one of the few battles of which it might be said that had the Muslims lost, Islam probably would have disappeared.

The advantages for the Muslims from this battle were considerable: massive gain in prestige and acquisition of precious material items from the attacking force (many of which were necessities for the poorer Muslims). However, no strategic advantage was gained in the long term, since the Muslims lacked the numbers to follow up on the victory. Additionally, there were several other disadvantages for the Muslims: by killing off most of the (incompetent) Meccan leadership they inadvertently anointed Abu Sufyan the leader of Mecca. This man was a cunning and careful leader, who (like Winston Churchill in 1940) had the advantage of being forced to take his enemy seriously early on. Another disadvantage for the Muslims was the fact that the victory at Badr had bred overconfidence and a sense that victory was ordained by God for the community that was to prove devastating after future defeats. Immediately after this victory Muhammad began the process of consolidating his position in Medina, which was precariously balanced between the Muslims who followed him exclusively, the “Hypocrites,” and the Jews.

A DEFEAT: UHUD

The year after Badr, in 625, Abu Sufyan and the Meccans proved that they now took the Muslims seriously by assembling a large force to attack Medina directly. They advanced to the north of Medina (which is an oasis enclosed by two arms of lava beds difficult for foot soldiers and impassable for cavalry), and Muhammad leading the Muslims foolishly went out to meet them. There were differences of opinion in the Muslim camp, as a number of fighters felt that the Muslim force should not leave Medina at all, and a group led by ‘Abdallah ibn Ubayy (the “Hypocrites”) abandoned Muhammad altogether and went back to the oasis (in full view of the Meccan force).

The Muslims took position at the foot of Mount Uhud (a small butte), with the Meccan force below

them slightly, and *between* them and Medina. The Meccans used the feigned retreat to lure their enemy forward, and the Muslims plunged down into their front. Abu Sufyan, however, had a reserve of cavalry that doubled back behind the Muslims, almost cutting them off from their base on Mount Uhud. While this was happening, some Muslims thought that Muhammad had been killed, and began a pell-mell retreat back up the mountain. While the Prophet was not actually killed, a large number of the Muslims (including Muhammad's uncle, Hamza, who was a champion for Islam) were.

At this point, the Muslims were in their most dangerous position ever. The Meccan force was between them and their unprotected families in the oasis of Medina. If Abu Sufyan had wanted to destroy Islam entirely he would have only had to march upon Medina. Instead, he chose to see this victory as adequate payback for Badr. For the Muslims, therefore, this was the one major defeat they suffered during the eight-year war. Muhammad once again demonstrated superior skills in leadership at this low point in his fortunes. He gathered the Muslims together and used their combined power to subordinate and then expel the weakest of the Jewish tribes, the Banu Qaynuqa. This victory at a crucial moment consolidated the geographical position of the Muslims and isolated the "Hypocrites" under 'Abdallah ibn Ubayy, who emerged in a weakened position after this event as a result of his desertion.

A STANDOFF: KHANDAQ

Both the Muslims and the Meccans were more cautious the next time they faced off two years later, in 627. The Meccans had finally come to the conclusion that they had to totally destroy the Muslim community in Medina. Mecca relied entirely upon trade with Syria-Palestine to survive (unlike Medina, which was an agricultural oasis), and with the hostile Muslims to their north, the Meccans had to find a way either to neutralize them or to eliminate them. To the latter end, Abu Sufyan gathered a large coalition of tribes to attack Medina. The Muslims were aware of the danger, but lacked the means to take the offensive. Muhammad's response to the Meccans'

attack was to build a series of fortifications to the north of Medina (which, given the fact that Medina is surrounded on three sides by lava beds, is the only vulnerable entrance to the oasis), and to hold a defensive position. This was ultimately successful, and together with some judicious negotiations with some of the Meccans' tribal allies, resulted in the Meccans being forced to retreat after running out of supplies.

Although the battle itself was inconclusive, Muhammad once again took the opportunity to consolidate his position in Medina. In the immediate aftermath of the Meccans' retreat, he led the Muslims against the Jewish tribe of Banu Qurayza, which still controlled the high ground in the oasis. After a fairly short siege, this tribe capitulated and the males of the tribe were massacred. Destruction of this last Jewish tribe of Medina also meant that the "Hypocrites" were isolated and thereafter collapsed as a political alternative to Muhammad's rule. Muhammad's leadership within five years had turned a refugee community of Muslims into the dominant factor in the oasis, and later in the entire region. This was despite the fact that this selfsame period had not witnessed spectacular military successes on the part of the Muslims (with the exception of Badr).

The Battle of the Khandaq marks the turning point for the Muslims in the campaign to conquer Mecca. From this point forward the initiative passed into the hands of the Muslims, who concluded a treaty of non-aggression with the Meccans during the following year (the Treaty of Hudaibiyya). This treaty enabled Muhammad and the Muslims to conquer a series of Jewish-dominated oases located along the trade routes up to the settled regions of the Byzantine Empire, and gave the Muslims the freedom to fight on only one front at a time. Muhammad's foresight was demonstrated by the signing of the Treaty of Hudaibiyya, which was opposed by many of his strongest supporters. However, not only did the treaty win the strategic conquests mentioned above, but it also persuaded the pagan Meccans to convert to Islam in larger numbers. By 630 the Muslims were in control of the territory between Medina and the Byzantine frontier (approximately in the

region of today's Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan). Only the towns of Mecca and al-Ta'if remained outside their sphere of influence.

THE TAKING OF MECCA

The taking of Mecca in 630 was the high point of Muhammad's career, and for all practical purposes made him (after the following battle) the dominant figure in the Arabian Peninsula. Disputes between allied tribes were used as an excuse to break the Treaty of Hudaibiyya (which was supposed to last for ten years), and Muhammad assembled an overwhelming force to subdue the Meccans. There was no resistance and the night before the occupation of the town Abu Sufyan came out to the Muslim camp and converted to Islam. Muhammad issued an amnesty to most of those who had opposed him, and almost all converted to Islam and many were granted positions of leadership in the Muslim community. Once again Muhammad's leadership was clearly demonstrated at this moment of victory. The general amnesty was opposed by many of the veteran Muslims who had been persecuted by the pagan Meccans. But Muhammad demonstrated a capacity for reconciling his former opponents and turning them into supporters that was to be demonstrated in a dramatic way at the last of his major battles.

FINAL BATTLE: HUNAYN

Although strictly speaking Hunayn in 630 was not Muhammad's final battle, it was the final battle in the series designed to conquer Mecca and the Hijaz (the coastal, western region of the Arabian peninsula). Immediately after the taking of Mecca, Muhammad and the Muslims (including the newly converted Meccans) went to the neighboring town of al-Ta'if, dominated by the tribe of Thaqif. This town and its



"The Prophet's Mission" from the *Biography of the Messenger of God*

Muhammad ibn Ishaq ibn Yasar's Biography of the Messenger of God written in the eighth century CE was the first attempt to provide a full history of the life of the Prophet Muhammad.

When Muhammad the apostle of God reached the age of forty God sent him in compassion to mankind, "as an evangelist to all men." Now God had made a covenant with every prophet whom he had sent before him that he should believe in him, testify to his truth and help him against his adversaries, and he required of them that they should transmit that to everyone who believed in them, and they carried out their obligations in that respect. God said to Muhammad, "When God made a covenant with the prophets (He said) this is the scripture and wisdom which I have given you, afterwards an apostle will come confirming what you know that you may believe in him and help him." He said, "Do you accept this and take up my burden?" i.e. the burden of my agreement which I have laid upon you. They said, "We accept it." He answered, "Then bear witness and I am a witness with you." Thus God made a covenant with all the prophets that they should testify to his truth and help him against his adversaries and they transmitted that obligation to those who believed in them among the two monotheistic religions.

Source: Guillaume, A. (Ed.). (1955). *The Life of Muhammad*. Lahore, India: Oxford University Press. Reprinted in McNeill, William H. and Waldman, Marilyn Robinson (Eds.). (1973). *The Islamic World*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 19–20.

tribe had been major supporters of the Meccans, and it was imperative to subdue them. Hunayn was a ravine in which a Bedouin tribe, the Hawazin (allied with Thaqif) ambushed the Muslims, and very nearly defeated them as many of the latter fled. Muhammad's foresight in reconciling the new Meccan converts, including Abu Sufyan, was demonstrated when they were steadfast in the face of near-defeat. The Qur'an says: "Allah gave you victory in numerous places and on the day of Hunayn when you were pleased with your large number; but it availed you nothing and the land became too strait for you, despite its breadth, whereupon you turned back and fled" (9:25). Eventually the Muslims were able to defeat the Hawazin and bombarded al-Ta'if, causing it to capitulate.

After these thematic battles Muhammad began initiating attacks against the Byzantine Empire in the region of Syria and Palestine. Although these attacks were all failures, they pointed the way to the success

that the Muslim armies were to have in this region shortly after the death of Muhammad, and demonstrated the latter's vision of the conquests and the global spread of Islam. After the taking of Mecca in 630, the Muslim community expanded rapidly and came to dominate the Arabian Peninsula. Missionaries were sent out to the east and to the south (Yemen) in order to convert pagan, Jewish, and Christian tribes. Many of these tribes did indeed convert to Islam nominally (though they revolted and apostasized after the death of the Prophet in 632), and sent delegations to Medina during 631 and 632 in order to declare their loyalty. Muhammad died on 8 June 632 in Medina and was buried in the Prophet's Mosque there.

During the process of the formation of the community in Medina, Muhammad revealed a surprising sense of compromise (for a person whose commitment to monotheism and the message he had received was unswerving) when the overall goal of the mission was not in any danger (for example, at the Treaty of Hudaibiyya in 628). He did not, for example, seem to be overly concerned by affronts to his personal dignity, but concentrated more upon larger strategic goals. Despite the fact that the military record of the early Muslim community was mixed at best, Muhammad displayed his most remarkable leadership in that he was able to make the most of successes and half-victories, as well as to consolidate his position and recover in the wake of defeats. He forced his fellow tribesmen of Quraysh to take him seriously, which they clearly did not do until they were defeated at Badr in 624.

After the taking of Mecca in 630, Muhammad demonstrated magnanimity toward those who until that time had fought him bitterly, and accepted them into the Muslim community (to the distress of those Muslims who had lost friends or family during the years of warfare). All throughout the Prophet Muhammad's career, but most especially in Medina, he displayed the ability to reconcile enemies and to make opposing factions work together. No doubt this ability constituted one of the bases of his charismatic power. Muhammad also possessed an eloquence and a command of the Arabic language that stood out dramatically among his peers. Many of his followers

were won over by his personality and the eloquence of his message as well as the convincing manner in which it was presented. At a deeper level, it is clear that the message was attractive because of the intense belief that the Prophet Muhammad manifested in his message. Although there were some times during his life when he was willing to compromise, the critical doctrine of the unity of God was a constant throughout his ministry.

After his death, Muhammad's life and sayings were collected into large-scale collections called Hadith. For Muslims, especially Sunni Muslims (approximately 85 percent of the total number of Muslims world wide), the Hadith constitute the basis for the divine law (the *shari'a*) by which traditionally Islamic societies have been governed. (Western scholars see the Hadith literature as reflecting the development of Muslim law and social attitudes retrojected to the time of the Prophet and do not accept it as a historical record of Muhammad's teachings.) The Hadith is the literary source for the Sunna, the Way of the Prophet, and demonstrates how he lived his life. Hence the name Sunni, which means "those who follow the Way of the Prophet Muhammad." For Sunni Muslims, therefore, the life of the Prophet Muhammad is of critical concern and the general ideal is to emulate it as closely as possible. Shi'ites (most of the remainder of Muslims) also revere the Prophet Muhammad strongly, although their lives are not governed solely by prophetic Hadith, but by the interpretation and guidance left by the descendants of Muhammad.

Muhammad's influence and leadership makes him one of the most important people in history, and his example has been and continues to be inspirational for Muslims worldwide.

—David B. Cook

See also Religion

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MUSIC

Music is present in all societies and omnipresent in all postindustrial societies. It pours out of alarm clocks, televisions, and car stereos. It is an essential element at sports events, parades, and most religious services. It is even played in supermarkets and restaurants. According to the U.S. Department of Labor, the United States had approximately 240,000 jobs for musicians (defined as instrumentalists, singers, music directors, composers, and arrangers) in 2000. This number, however, does not reveal the enormous economic, social, and cultural impact of music. According to the Recording Industry Association of America, the value of audio and music video products shipped by U.S. manufacturers exceeded \$12.6 billion in 2002 (this is down from a high of \$14.6 billion in 1999). Recent studies have also shown that approximately 45 percent of U.S. households have at least one member who plays a musical instrument and that the average teenager or adult in the United States listens to almost twenty-five hours of radio per week.

Given the endless ways in which music is used, one should not be surprised that a wide variety of leadership roles exists in the music world. Leaders in the music world include executives of multinational corporations, engineers who design the latest gadgets, musicians who lead religious rituals, elementary school music teachers, disk jockeys who have the ability to sway public taste, directors of such agencies as the National Endowment for the Arts and Parent's Music Resource Center, and philanthropists.

Despite this variety, all leaders in the music world—like leaders in any other field—face the same two challenges. First, they must develop a clear vision; they must understand *what* they are trying to

do and *why* they are trying to do what they're doing. Second, they must develop an appropriate strategy for their vision; in other words, they need to know *how* they will achieve their vision. We will examine four case studies; each examines a specific leadership role in the world of music.

THE ORCHESTRAL CONDUCTOR: MUSICIAN AS CEO

A symphony orchestra consists of dozens of musicians playing a variety of instruments and parts. How do these musicians produce performances that are coherent and aesthetically satisfying? Since the early nineteenth century most orchestras have relied on conductors. Orchestral conductors have two primary tasks. First, they study the music that they conduct and come up with ideal interpretations. Second, they train the orchestra so that it can bring their interpretations to life.

Since the mid-twentieth century, conductors have taken two main approaches in developing ideal interpretations. Significantly, proponents of both approaches claim that they are faithful to the composers' intentions. One approach, represented by the German conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler (1886–1954), is based on the notion that conducting is an interpretive craft that goes well beyond the notes on the printed page and involves the study of philosophy, the other arts, and culture at large. Advocates of this approach argue that the task of the performer is to seek the meanings behind the notes. The other approach, represented by the Italian conductor Arturo Toscanini (1867–1957), is based on the notion that fidelity to a composer's intentions is dependent upon a literal interpretation of the printed page.

In preparing orchestras for performances, conductors have developed a wide variety of techniques and strategies. Whereas some conductors are ill-tempered tyrants, others aim to create a communal atmosphere. At the same time, some conductors prefer to play a piece from beginning to end before they correct mistakes and work on details, whereas others prefer to teach the details to the orchestra before they run through a piece.

In addition to their rehearsal and performance duties, conductors often have significant administrative tasks. In many orchestras the principal conductor is also the music director. In this capacity, the conductor plays a large role in personnel decisions and programming. During the past few decades many orchestras have gradually scaled back the amount of power that the music director possesses.

THE PRIVATE TEACHER: MUSICIAN AS EDUCATOR

One of the most important leadership positions in music is that of the private teacher. In numerous musical cultures the training for professional musicians includes extended apprenticeships with one or more private teachers. Although teachers share the vision of educating their students, their strategies differ greatly from culture to culture and from teacher to teacher.

In Western classical music, the central component of a musician's training is the lesson. A typical lesson begins with the student performing a work or a section of a work that he or she has prepared. The teacher carefully listens to this performance and then makes technical and interpretive comments that are aimed at helping the student improve. This approach reflects the fact that Western classical music has for several centuries been a written tradition. The student can learn a piece of music by reading the score, and the teacher's task is to help the student understand the nuances of the score.

In traditions that are more oral in nature, a large part of a musician's training involves learning pieces by rote directly from the teacher. In north Indian classical music, for example, a disciple (*sisya*) first learns a system of mnemonic syllables that represents rhythms, drum strokes, and pitches. After this, a master (*guru*) teaches compositions with the help of these syllables. A renowned U.S. tabla (north Indian drum) player describes his training with master tabla player Ustad alla Rakha in the following way: "These lessons were not formal. He never wrote anything down for me. In fact I never sat in front of him with drums. He only would recite compositions to me, and then I was expected to remem-

ber them, and at a later time write them down" (Hast, Cowdery, and Scott 1999, 89).

MUSICIAN AS SOCIAL-POLITICAL LEADER

Music has the ability to move people both physically and emotionally. Catchy rhythms can make members of large groups of people move in unison. This is demonstrated at rock concerts and military parades. At the same time, music's capacity to transform listeners' emotions can help bind communities together, alleviate (at least temporarily) divisions among groups, and spur people to action.

Given this power, one should not be surprised that music has been a powerful transmitter of social and political messages—both conformist and subversive—throughout recorded history. Whereas bards in ancient Greece promoted the ideals of the societies in which they lived by celebrating the virtues and warning of the flaws of past heroes and leaders, songs about Robin Hood delivered a subversive political message in medieval Europe. In Nazi Germany, the music of the German composer Ludwig van Beethoven was used to support the government's doctrine of Aryan superiority. In the 1960s, civil rights activists in the United States sang songs that challenged the social order.

Among the Mande people of West Africa is a group of hereditary musicians and wordsmiths whose members are known as *jalis*. They sing songs while accompanying themselves on such instruments as the *kora* (an instrument that is a cross between a lute and a harp) and the *balafon* (a xylophone-like instrument). Because *jalis* are the historians, genealogists, and praise singers of Mande society, they play a major role in shaping the identity of the communities in which they live. For this reason, they are considered significant social leaders in Mande culture. As ethnomusicologist (a person who studies music in a sociocultural context) Roderic Knight writes, "The *jalis* held important positions next to various leaders and influential people of the state because of their exclusive knowledge and ability in the verbal arts. They were essentially the personal court musicians of these people and they were highly respected and well paid for their important contributions" (Knight 1976, 5).

During the 1980s, a group of “underground” rock musicians appeared on the music scene in China. Initially, the government tried to marginalize the activities of these musicians, but they quickly gained a following, especially among university students. The majority of Chinese rock songs appears to be about the lives and personal emotions of the performing musicians. However, many contain deliberately opaque and ambiguous lyrics. This technique has, for two reasons, allowed many Chinese rock songs to become anthems in Chinese dissident circles. First, the ambiguity of the lyrics makes government censorship difficult. Second, the vague language allows the songs to be appealing to dissidents with vastly different political objectives. During the Tiananmen Square demonstrations of 1989, many Chinese rock musicians became leaders of the dissident movements when they performed for the demonstrators.

THE MUSIC CRITIC: LEADER OF TASTE AND OPINION

Music criticism is a rather ambiguous term that can include everything from graphic analyses that are found in academic journals to informal conversations between members of a concert audience. We can define *music criticism* as “a genre of professional writing, aimed at a non-specialist readership, which evaluates music, musicians, or some other aspect of musical life.” By this definition the most common types of music criticism are profiles of musicians and reviews of concerts and recordings that are published in newspapers and music magazines.

A central issue in music criticism is the authority of the critic. In many societies around the world, evaluations of music are based largely on subjective experiences. Given this situation, how can critics legitimize their opinions? To put it another way, how can critics lead readers to believe that their opinions are valid for others?

Through the years critics have tried to address these questions in two main ways. First, many critics, such as Eduard Hanslick (1825–1904), maintain that their critical judgments are based not on personal feelings, but rather on universal observations. This

line of legitimization can be traced to the writings of the German philosopher Immanuel Kant. In *The Critique of Judgment* (1790), Kant argues that, by examining the characteristics of an object or an art work itself, “disinterested” observers will produce the same evaluation of its beauty.

Meanwhile, other music critics, such as Vladimir Stasov (1824–1906), seek legitimization by arguing that they possess access to musicians and special knowledge, particularly in the areas of music theory and music history, that are not generally shared by their readership. They argue that this access and this knowledge allow them to evaluate musical works and performances in more accurate or profound ways.

By whatever way music critics legitimize their authority, they tend to see themselves as educators and leaders in musical taste. Specifically, they strive to introduce “good music” to their readers and to discuss social, historical, and aesthetic issues that can affect their readers’ listening experiences.

—Eric H. Hung

See also Beethoven, Ludwig van; Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus; Phillips, Sam

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 **NADER, RALPH**
(b. 1934)

*American consumer advocate
and political activist*

Ralph Nader, the father of the modern consumer rights movement in the United States, was born in 1934 in Winsted, Connecticut, to public-spirited immigrant parents from Lebanon who distrusted powerful people and big business. A bookish child in a tight-knit family, he was very close to his older brother and two sisters, and to his parents, who ran a small, modestly successful restaurant. Nader promised his father that he would never register as a partisan of either major party, and he never did. He ran for president in the 1992, 1996, and 2000 elections as a third-party candidate.

Nader's work as an advocate, lobbyist, and litigant in the 1960s and 1970s sparked the passage of important federal legislation in product, traffic, and workplace safety, government openness, corporate regulation, and many other fields. He founded many of the "good government" groups, both in Washington, D.C., and the states, that work on behalf of consumers, monitor government agencies, and support the expansion of government regulation over corporations. At the height of his power in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Ralph Nader was a visionary leader who resuscitated the sleepy issues of consumer

rights, corporate responsibility, and government accountability and propelled them to the top of the nation's domestic agenda.

Since the 1980s, however, Nader has been a victim of his own success. His legislative victories were partially responsible for a countermobilization by corporations to check the agenda of the social forces he had awakened. However, the opposition has energized him to find a firmer political base to promote, in his words, "the sovereignty of the people" against the "corporate takeover" of democracy. As the tenor of Washington politics has shifted to the right, he has sought to expand his reach, running for president as a third-party challenger in the last three elections. His move into electoral politics has drawn a new generation of followers to his cause, but also many critics, who argue that Nader's inability to reach workable compromises with centrist Democrats splintered the progressive coalition, leaving the conservatives and corporations that Nader rails against triumphant. Whatever the controversies that surround Nader's evolving leadership tactics, he has maintained a consistent Brandeisian vision, fearful that the concentration of power in corporations or government will threaten democratic institutions. A consistent theme in his work has been a distrust of commercialism and market values, wedded to the idea that democratic life must promote noneconomic values such as liberty, equality, safety, and democratic participation.



Selection from the Testimony of Ralph Nader before the U.S. House of Representatives

On 30 June 1999, Ralph Nader testified before the Committee on the Budget, U.S. House of Representatives giving his views on "corporate welfare." Below is an extract from the testimony.

Chairman Kasich and Members of the House Budget Committee, thank you for the opportunity to testify today on the vast subject of corporate welfare.

Today's hearing is long overdue. A significant percentage of the business of Washington, D.C. revolves around corporate welfare—with lobbyists, trade associations and business executives lobbying to obtain or protect special, favorable treatment from the federal government—but curiously, notwithstanding our efforts since 1970, there has never been a Congressional hearing devoted to a comprehensive assessment of the issue. Government agencies and research offices have conducted only a handful of Joint Economic Committee-type studies in recent decades which tried just to inventory the long list of mechanisms by which the government distributes tax revenues and other public assets to private business.

Mr. Chairman, you deserve major credit for issuing a clarion call for Congressional attention to corporate welfare, and for leading various legislative efforts over the years to end egregious corporate welfare programs that benefit narrow business interests at the expense of the taxpayer, and often, one should add, at the expense of other important concerns, such as environmental protection, economic competition, fair consumer prices, national security, job creation and a well-functioning democracy.

As you know well, Mr. Chairman, the myriad of corporate welfare programs generally do not persist on the merits. Rather, they remain entrenched and continue to grow because strong and well-organized business interests, with huge monetary concerns at stake, aggressively work to defend and expand them—often hand in hand with powerful Members of Congress with whom they maintain mutually advantageous relationships. Cleaning the corporate welfare slate will not be easy.

There is only one change that will counteract the entrenched interests which create, shield and rationalize corporate welfare programs: an informed and mobilized citizenry. Absent organized and focused public outrage, legislative efforts will yield minimal success as compared to the overall scale of the corporate welfare budget. To make this claim is not to belittle such efforts. Legislative initiatives directed toward particular programs and abuses can achieve reforms that are important in their own right, and legislative proposals can and should be part of the very process of generating citizen interest and focused attention.

But innovative legislative proposals will not, by themselves, be sufficient to create an informed public opinion that translates into the action needed to create a countervailing force to the business lobby for corporate entitlements.

Source: The Nader Page. Retrieved September 30, 2003, from <http://www.nader.org/releases/63099.html>

NADER'S STUDENT YEARS

Nader was a standout student. Academic achievement was strongly encouraged in his tight-knit family, and his high school record won him admission to Princeton University. Majoring in Far Eastern studies and economics, Nader wrote his senior thesis on economic development in Lebanon, where he had spent many summers as a child. His Princeton years were quiet as far as civic activism goes. He did launch an informal investigation when he noticed an alarming number of squirrel carcasses on the grounds of the campus. Although the editors at the student newspaper dismissed Nader's concerns, it

was later revealed that the squirrels were poisoned by DDT pesticide spray.

After graduation, Nader entered Harvard Law School. He quickly became disenchanted with the experience (although he stayed on and graduated with honors). Nader felt that his fellow students were narrow-minded and that the curriculum was too professionally oriented. In Nader's estimation, Harvard ignored the value of law as an agent of social change and reform. The philosophical foundations of his later work were set at Harvard, however, though many of the books that influenced him he read outside of class. Nader was taken with sociological approaches to law, such as those elucidated by the

legal theorist Roscoe Pound and found in the work of one of Harvard's most famous graduates, Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis.

NADER'S LEADERSHIP AND THE CONSUMER MOVEMENT

Although Nader came of age at the height of the civil rights movement, he remained disengaged from the liberal agenda that captivated many of his contemporaries, particularly young, progressive lawyers. Instead, Nader developed an interest in the more prosaic issue of automotive safety, publishing on the subject while still at Harvard. Nader believed that people had "body rights"—rights related to protection against maiming and killing—that were not addressed when it came to cars. Nader practiced law with a small Connecticut firm until he moved to Washington to work with Assistant Secretary of Labor Patrick Moynihan as a part-time researcher on traffic safety issues. He wrote a long report that led to a book contract for the now-classic work published in 1965, *Unsafe at Any Speed*. In the book, Nader raised questions about the objectivity and integrity of the automobile industry's safety tests and studies. The industry, Nader argued, favored slick marketing for their products at the expense of safety. Nader's ire was most sharply aimed at the alleged safety problems of General Motors' Corvair.

Nader's research caught the attention of Senator Abraham Ribicoff. At congressional hearings on the subject of automotive safety, Nader's cause was popularized when it was revealed that General Motors' detectives had researched his background and habits in an effort to collect material suitable for use as blackmail. The hearings generated pressure that led to the creation of the federal National Highway Safety Bureau in 1966. Federal regulators began instituting safety requirements in cars, and perhaps more important, the disdain of the industry toward safety as an issue that could sell cars diminished as the public responded enthusiastically to the new federal regulations and the new approach.

Nader's lobbying and activism in the late 1960s led to the passage of several other important pieces of legislation, including the Wholesale Meat Act of

1967, a measure that imposed health regulations on the interstate sale of meat, and bills that improved gas-pipeline and hospital-radiation safety.

Nader profited from good relationships with congressional staff. Liberal activists, anxious to make their mark, relied on Nader to point them in the right direction. Nader also cultivated and carefully guarded a reputation as an indefatigable and virtuous crusader. A Nader trademark was to make late night phone calls to members of Congress and their staffs to leave the impression—which was quite accurate—of a zealot keeping a crushing work schedule. Nader's mystique and hard work won him media attention, which, in turn, became a powerful instrument for advancing his agenda in Congress.

Nader devoted considerable energies to institution building in order to create countervailing forces to check the power of corporations. His first was the Center for Responsive Politics, founded in 1968 and staffed with bright young law students. One of the initial projects of the Center was a careful examination of the Federal Trade Commission. An incisive report catalogued mismanagement at the agency as well as lax enforcement. Nader would go on to play a role in founding dozens of consumer advocacy groups. Among the most important are the Public Interest Research Group, which is active in state capitols and on college campuses, and Public Citizen, a Washington-based advocacy organization. Nader was particularly adept at inspiring talented young people to join his crusade; they were dubbed "Nader's Raiders" for their hard-driving tactics.

Some prominent people who worked for Nader's organizations include Mark Green, New York City Democratic nominee for mayor in 2001; Jill Claybrook, chair of the National Transportation Safety Board in the Carter Administration; and Michael Kinsley, editor and writer for *The New Republic* and *Slate*. By the early 1970s, Nader's prestige was such that his name was often mentioned as a potential presidential candidate. George McGovern asked Nader to serve as the vice presidential nominee on his 1972 Democratic ticket. Nader refused to get involved in electoral politics, arguing that he had more power working as an outsider.

During the Carter administration, the weaknesses

The function of leadership is to produce more leaders, not more followers.

—Ralph Nader

in Nader's leadership approach became evident. The crusading outsider had difficulty forging compromises or settling for anything less than his vision of the common good. Nader expected open-ended access to the White House, but administration officials, while courting him during the 1976 presidential campaign, held him at arm's length after Carter won. Nader was disillusioned by Carter's centrist politics. In Congress, Nader turned on his former allies among the liberal Democratic ranks in the House and Senate, burning bridges with many of the elected officials and staff who were responsible for passing his agenda in the 1960s and early 1970s. One of his biggest missteps was the Congress Project, an exposé about congressional behavior that denounced logrolling, campaign contributions, and many traditional legislative practices. In 1978, Nader refused to back compromises adopted to build support for his most treasured legislative goal, the creation of a consumer protection agency. The measure, which died in the Senate, represented the high water mark of Nader's influence in Washington.

NADER IN EXILE

With the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 and a revitalized business lobby that had the administration's ear, according to Nader, "a whole culture of defense set in" for the consumer movement and liberal advocacy groups in Washington. The White House's Task Force on Regulatory Relief, headed by Vice President George Bush, rolled back many of the reforms advanced by Nader and like-minded groups in the 1960s and 1970s. Nader devoted much of his energies in the 1980s to working at the grassroots. He found some success in taking the consumer advocacy agenda to the states, campaigning successfully, for example, for consumer-friendly car insurance reforms in California. Nader also tried to reach out to a group with whom he always had special kinship

because of their energy and idealism—college students—by doing tremendous amounts of public speaking on campuses.

Throughout his long career, although Nader remained deeply dissatisfied with the health of American democratic institutions, his focus remained squarely on issues that fit under the broad umbrella of consumer rights. His emphasis began to change in the late 1980s, however, as the ideology of the Washington establishment shifted to the right. Nader concluded that few differences remained between the Democratic and Republican parties because both parties were in the pocket of corporate America. True reform on the issues that Nader held dear could only be sustained through a takeover of the political system by a social movement powered by citizen activists. Hoping to lead the charge, as well as attract attention to his issues, Nader tentatively entered the 1992 New Hampshire Democratic primary, urging voters to select him as a write-in candidate. He campaigned for procedural reforms that he termed the "toolbox of democracy," including campaign finance reform and a proposal to give voters the choice of "none of the above" if they disliked their candidate choices on Election Day. Nader's entrance into electoral politics was intended as an offensive strike against conservatives and corporations, at a time when he had wearied of playing defense for more than two decades.

NADER'S MOVE INTO PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS

In 1996, Nader's efforts at running for president became more serious when he allied with Green Party advocates, securing ballot access in the November general election in twenty-one states. Although running under the Green banner and serving as the public face of the party, Nader remained deeply ambivalent about party practices, maintaining an instinctive distaste for the compromises needed to hold party coalitions together. He refused to actually become an enrolled member of the party, and refused to support the entire Green slate of policy positions.

Nader's decision to run for president in 2000 stirred interest, in part because his third foray into

presidential politics was his most serious. He kept a promise to visit all fifty states in the campaign and drew support from liberals dissatisfied with the centrist politics of the Democratic nominee, Al Gore. As with most third-party challengers, Nader was never a serious threat to win the election. But many feared he would play the role of the spoiler, pulling votes from Gore and handing the election to the conservative Republican candidate, George Bush. Among Nader's most vocal critics were a group of his former volunteer interns and paid staff—who called themselves “Raiders for Gore.” They argued that Nader's claim that there were no real differences between the two parties was patently false. They insisted that Nader had overlooked Gore's progressive record on environmental and consumer issues.

The fears of Raiders for Gore proved to be prophetic. Votes for Nader in Florida would have given Gore the necessary margin to win the state's electoral votes and thus the entire election. Nader's critics were particularly bitter about his campaign tactics in the final days of the campaign. Nader campaigned in the “hot states” where polls showed that Bush and Gore were running neck-and-neck. Nader's explanation for his strategy was that media attention was concentrated in the competitive states. (In contrast, third-party candidate Patrick Buchanan campaigned in states where his party's pull of the vote would not have tipped the election.) After the election proved to be so close, Nader defiantly argued that he was not the spoiler. Nader said that Gore's own miscues were responsible for his loss, rather than any action on Nader's part, and that the election of the pure conservative candidate, George Bush, would eventually spark a backlash against both parties and accelerate the development of truly progressive politics.

NADER'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO CONSUMER CONSCIOUSNESS

Ralph Nader is a visionary leader who almost single-handedly invented the consumer movement in the United States. He transformed citizen consciousness. Under Nader's tutelage and prodding, people began taking their rights as consumers seriously, and they

demanded that their government do the same. But his visionary leadership did not age well. While his relentless dissenting voice prodded the liberal Congress of the 1960s and 1970s, the conservative Washington establishment of the Reagan era and beyond successfully shut him out. His unrelenting purist style of leadership did not serve him well in his attempts to become a party leader and presidential candidate. Still, Nader remains one of the most important leaders of twentieth century America and an important voice in the dialogue about the nature and meaning of American democracy today.

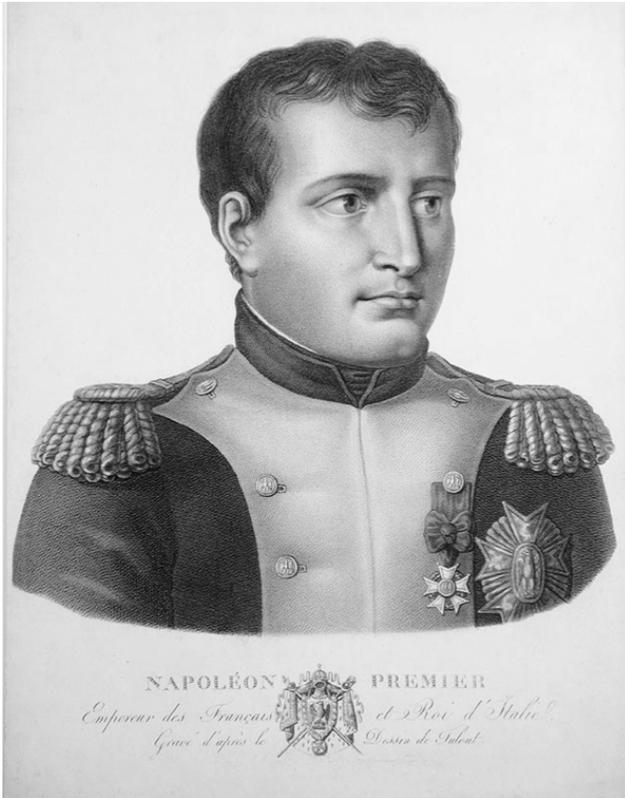
—Richard M. Flanagan

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NAPOLEON (1769–1821) *General and emperor of France*

As a French general, leader of France as first consul, and then emperor, Napoleon consolidated and promoted many ideals of the French Revolution, especially equality, and brought political, social, and financial stability to France. Over the objection of many, he promoted equality for the Jews, while reinstating the Catholic Church as a part of France's social fabric. He reformed education and, in his most famous and lasting legacy, he brought the chaotic civil code of France into one unified body of law that eventually become known as the Code Napoléon. Napoleon brought those same reforms to countries that came under his control. Often considered the



Formal portrait of Napoleon.

Source: The David Markham Collection; used with permission.

father of modern Europe, Napoleon sounded the death knell for the last remnants of feudalism.

ELEMENTS OF NAPOLEON'S RISE TO POWER AND LEADERSHIP

Napoleon's career developed during the chaos of the French Revolution, while France was at war with its neighbors, and amid the instability of the Directory government that followed. His rise was due to an absence of good military leadership, to assistance rendered him by various important people early in his career, and to his considerable talent. He was a natural leader of men and was able to dominate them with the sheer force of his personality and will.

Napoleon excelled in both political and military leadership. His genius of intellect, his ability to seize opportunity and exploit it to the fullest, and his eye for detail and the grand picture were essential to his success as was his ability to communicate and to promote

favorable information and imagery. The latter is seen most notably in the *Bulletins* of his military campaigns, which were carefully written for the consumption of his men, the French public, and his enemies.

Napoleon's leadership style was innovative; people perceived him as a leader who would bring positive social, political, and military change to France. Indeed, Napoleon's domestic reforms alone would have made him a successful leader. His inventive military tactics and organization were advanced beyond those of his opponents. His soldiers recognized his original skills and their benefits as much as the general citizenry; both rallied to his cause.

Using Max Weber's ideal typology as a model, we can regard Napoleon as a charismatic leader since he exhibits many of the model's signal characteristics. His appeal largely was based on his image as a hero, as an exemplary person who could accomplish more than anyone else. Leadership based on heroic charisma, however, depends on victory. Napoleon recognized that, pointing out numerous times that his power rested not on his right to govern but on his accomplishments, especially on the battlefield.

Weber's model of charismatic leadership requires that the leader is aware of his special qualities, believes that he has a "calling," and that others recognize this quality. It is unclear when Napoleon developed this image of himself, but it seems clear by the end of his career that he had this self-image as did his contemporaries. The devotion of Napoleon's soldiers to him is legend; the civilian population was equally willing to follow him anywhere.

EARLY CAREER

Napoleon was born in Ajaccio, capital of Corsica, which had recently come under French control. His father, Carlo, was a lawyer, politician, and minor noble. Napoleon received a royal scholarship to military schools at Brienne in northeastern France and Paris, and graduated at the age of sixteen as a lieutenant in the artillery two years before his peers. He impressed his instructors with his intellect and his ability to grasp and promote new ideas in warfare, such as the use of light mobile artillery.

Napoleon found people who would be useful to

his own advancement. His pro-revolutionary writing had attracted the attention of powerful politicians of the day who were happy to sponsor the young revolutionary who had more talent than anyone else they had seen in the military.

Napoleon first exercised leadership in 1793 at the French port city of Toulon. That city had sided with royalist supporters and invited the British to occupy its port. This treason did not go unanswered, but the military leadership sent to remove the British was incompetent. Good fortune put Napoleon in charge of the artillery, a promotion due in large part to the political connections that he had cultivated. He devised a unique plan of attack, but the commanding general was unimpressed. Napoleon wrote to Paris demanding a new general. Perhaps even then he saw himself on a Weberian mission. His letter is a classic example of risk taking, given that the guillotine was always a possibility for those who fell out of favor:

I have had to struggle against ignorance, and the passions it gives rise to. . . . [S]end to command the artillery an artillery general who can, if only by his rank, demand respect and deal with a crowd of fools on the staff with whom one has constantly to argue and lay down the law in order to overcome their prejudices and make them take action which theory and practice alike have shown to be axiomatic to any trained officer of this corps. (Napoleon I, Correspondence, 25 October 1793, no. 1, I, 1–2).

Napoleon got his new general and forced the British to leave Toulon. For that he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general at the age of twenty-four.

On 5 October 1795, royalist forces were gathering in Paris and preparing to storm the government. Napoleon took charge of the defense of the Directory, fired his famous “whiff of grapeshot,” and dispersed the royalist forces. The government promoted him to general of division with command of the French army in Italy. Before he left, he married Joséphine de Beauharnais.

ITALY

It was in Italy that Napoleon truly came into his own. The French, who were fighting the Austrians and their Italian allies, were demoralized and unsuccess-

In war, three quarters turns on personal character and relations; the balance of manpower and materials counts only for the remaining quarter.

—Napoleon

ful. Senior officers were furious that this young upstart had been given the command. Napoleon’s charismatic personality overcame their scruples.

Napoleon had a great impact on his soldiers. From Italy on, they would follow him anywhere. In part, this was due to ability, but he gave speeches that mesmerized them and inspired them to more success than they ever thought possible.

After a relatively minor action at Lodi on 10 May 1796, his writings suggest he may have begun to see himself as a man of destiny, with a “calling.” Napoleon defeated the Austrians, took charge of the negotiation process, and formed the Cisalpine Republic out of part of northern Italy. This was a risky maneuver. The government in Paris was not willing to challenge him on it, though, and his already substantial legend continued to grow.

In 1798, the Directory sent Napoleon to Egypt, where he saw himself as the successor to Alexander the Great. He had far less military success there than Alexander, but when he left Egypt after a year he was seen as a great hero. French prospects in Egypt were short-lived, but the world learned far more about Egypt than it had learned for a millennium because of the many scholars, artists, and cartographers who accompanied Napoleon. The discovery of the Rosetta Stone laid the foundation for the modern study of Egyptology, one of Napoleon’s enduring legacies.

FIRST CONSUL

In 1799, the Directory was seen as corrupt and ineffective and there were numerous plots for its overthrow. Some top political leaders of France were involved in a plot to gain control of the government. Napoleon, a national hero who would bring legitimacy to their coup, was to be their tool, but his polit-



Selection from the Code Napoléon

BOOK I. Of Persons

Decreed 8th of March, 1803. Promulgated 18th of the same Month

TITLE I.

Of the Enjoyment and Privation of Civil Rights.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Enjoyment of Civil Rights.

[The first six points are preliminary articles to the code.]

7. The exercise of civil rights is independent of the quality of citizen, which is only acquired and preserved conformably to the constitutional law.
8. Every Frenchman shall enjoy civil rights.
9. Every individual born in France of a foreigner, may, during the year which shall succeed the period of his majority, claim the quality of Frenchman; provided, that if he shall reside in France he declares his intention to fix his domicile in that country, and that in case he shall reside in a foreign country, he give security to become domiciled in France and establish himself there within a year, to be computed from the date of that undertaking.
10. Every child born of a Frenchman in a foreign country is French. Every child born in a foreign country of a Frenchman who shall have lost the quality of a Frenchman, may at any time recover this quality by complying with the formalities prescribed in the ninth article.
11. A foreigner shall enjoy in France the same civil rights as are or shall be accorded to Frenchmen by the treaties of that nation to which such foreigner shall belong.

12. The foreigner who shall have married a Frenchman, shall follow the condition of her husband.
13. The foreigner who shall have been permitted by the government to establish his domicile in France, shall enjoy in that country all civil rights so long as he shall continue to reside there.
14. A foreigner, although not resident in France, may be cited before the French courts, to enforce the execution of engagements contracted by him in France with a Frenchman; he may be summoned before the tribunals of France, on account of engagements entered into by him with Frenchmen in a foreign country.
15. A Frenchman may be summoned before a French court, for engagements contracted by him in a foreign country, though with a foreigner.
16. In all causes, except commercial ones, in which a foreigner shall be plaintiff, he shall be required to give security for the payment of the costs and damages incident to the suit, unless he possess in France immoveable property of value sufficient to guarantee such payment.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Privation of Civil Rights.

SECTION I.

Of the Privation of Civil Rights by the Loss of the Quality of Frenchman.

The quality of Frenchman shall be lost, 1st, by naturalization in a foreign country; 2d, by accepting, without the authority of government, public employments bestowed by a foreign power; 3dly, by adoption into any foreign corporation which shall require distinctions of birth; 4thly,

Source: The Code Napoleon. Retrieved October 9, 2003, from http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/government/code/book1/c_title01.html#chapter1

ical skills trumped those of the other conspirators. At thirty he became, as first consul (of three), the ruler of France. One of the conspirators, Emmanuel Sieyès, summed up Napoleon's image by noting, "Gentlemen, you have got a master! This man knows every thing, wants every thing, and can do every thing" (*Las Casas*, I, 142).

Had Napoleon been permitted to peacefully rule France, he would be most noted for his domestic political leadership, rather than for his military leadership. He negotiated a peace treaty with Britain,

known as the Peace of Amiens, but it would not last. The old regimes, especially Great Britain, would not allow France to exist in peace; Napoleon's most dominant image was to be that of a military leader. Throughout his career, Napoleon was forced to carry the fight to those coalitions. For most of his career, he had great success and left the world an example of military leadership matched by few in history. British-sponsored attempts on his life occurred, and Napoleon finally sought to ensure the continuation of his legacy through the establishment of a heredi-

in short, by any settlement made in a foreign country, without intention of return.

Commercial establishments shall never be considered as having been made without intention of return.

A Frenchman, who shall have lost his quality of Frenchman, may at any time recover it by returning to France with the sanction of government, declaring at the same time his intention to settle there, and his renunciation of every distinction inconsistent with the law of France.

A Frenchwoman, who shall espouse a foreigner, shall follow the condition of her husband. If she become a widow, she shall recover the quality of Frenchwoman, provided she already reside in France, or that she return thither under the sanction of government, and declare at the same time her intention to fix there.

The individuals who shall recover the quality of Frenchman or Frenchwoman in the cases provided for by Articles 10, 18, and 19, shall not be permitted to avail themselves of it until they have fulfilled the conditions imposed upon them by those articles, and only for the exercise of rights open to their advantage after that period.

The Frenchman who, without the authority of the government, shall engage in military service with a foreign power, or shall enroll himself in any foreign military association, shall lose his quality of Frenchman.

He shall not be permitted to re-enter France without the permission of the government, nor to recover the quality of Frenchman except by complying with the conditions required of a foreigner in order to become a citizen; and this without affecting the punishments denounced by the criminal law against Frenchmen who have borne or shall bear arms against their country.

tary monarchy. On 2 December 1804, he became Napoleon I, Emperor of the French.

EMPEROR

As emperor, Napoleon's dual legacy and leadership continued, but the military components of his career became far more prominent. The battles of Austerlitz (1805), Friedland (1807), and Wagram (1809) are but a few examples of his successes. The height of Napoleon's power was the period

1810 to 1812, but even by then the empire was beginning to show cracks.

To isolate Great Britain, Napoleon instituted an economic blockade known as the Continental System. This proved as damaging to continental economies as to Britain's. Napoleon's attempt to control Spain by putting his brother Joseph on the throne seemed a reasonable idea and would have led to a far more enlightened Spanish government, but the Spanish peasant class rebelled. When the British invaded Spain under Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington, French forces eventually withdrew toward France.

Napoleon's final decline began with his 1812 invasion of Russia. Czar Alexander had withdrawn from the Continental System and made demands regarding Poland that the French could not accept. War was inevitable, and Napoleon took it to the heart of Russia. There he won numerous skirmishes, defeated the Russians at Borodino and captured Moscow. Unprepared to spend the winter in a Moscow largely burned by its citizens, Napoleon withdrew from Russia. The campaign was a disaster, and Napoleon lost 90 percent of his army. The Russians continued pursuit into Saxony in 1813, and a growing coalition of forces defeated Napoleon at the Battle of Leipzig.

In 1814, Napoleon was forced to defend France from invading coalition forces. It was his most brilliant campaign, but he ultimately abdicated as his enemies surrounded Paris. He was sent into exile as the emperor of Elba, a tiny island off the coast of Italy. There he spent less than one year before returning to France to reclaim his throne. He pleaded for peace, but his old enemies mobilized and he was defeated at the Battle of Waterloo in June 1815.

Abdicating a second time, Napoleon was sent with a small entourage to the remote island of St. Helena, where he spent much of his time dictating his memoirs and feuding with his British captors. On 5 May 1821, Napoleon died either of stomach cancer

Leaders are dealers in hope.

—Napoleon

or, as modern historians now suspect, of poisoning. In 1840, his remains were returned to Paris, and he now lies buried under the dome of Les Invalides.

—J. David Markham

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NARCISSISTIC LEADERSHIP

Narcissism is one of those ideas that, like repression and projection, has moved so far from its psychoanalytic roots into common parlance that its origins have been forgotten. But common speech is not noted for precision, and precision may be necessary for an adequate delineation of the meaning of the concept. Such is the case with narcissism as that term is implicated in the concept of narcissistic leadership.

Specifically, there are two rather different types of narcissism that need to be kept apart, while their common elements are recognized. We may call them healthy narcissism and pathological narcissism. Getting a sense of their similarities and differences with regard to leadership requires a brief excursion into psychoanalytic theory.

A PSYCHOANALYTIC EXPLANATION OF NARCISSISM

In the beginning of psychological life, according to psychoanalytic theory, the child is open to the mother, who is the world to the child. The child loves her and she loves the child, so the child feels mother's love as being part of him- or herself. The child may thus be said to feel as if he or she is the center of a loving world. Freud gives this experience the name *primary narcissism*.

As children move out of the mother's orbit, they come to find that the outside world is indifferent to them and uninterested in them. They find themselves helpless, isolated, and filled with anxiety. They defend against this anxiety with a fantasy of the return to the state of primary narcissism, a fantasy Freud called the *ego ideal*. The ego ideal is our

image of what we could be such that, if we were, the world would revolve around us with love and admiration as our mothers did early in life.

The ego ideal is what gives our lives a sense of direction. When we think about “getting someplace in life,” the ego ideal lies behind the appeal of wherever we are thinking of getting. On the individual level, it lies behind our idea of success. That is why we can agree on the importance of being a success, even though we may differ greatly on what being a success means. On the collective level, it gives the appeal to ideas that represent the perfect social order, whether that order is to be obtained through revolution, submission, or something else. What all of these images have in common is that they picture our being able to do what we want and being loved for it. In this way, we defend ourselves against the anxiety of being forced to do what we don’t want to do, without any assurance that we will be able to accomplish what we want or any knowledge that it will be appreciated if we do. Thus, the ideal of success helps us to defend against the anxiety of failure. Just as we can never reach the horizon, we can never reach the ego ideal—the world is not our mother—yet we can have the feeling of moving toward it. This keeps the fantasy alive and is what we need if we are to have a sense of hope.

In the classic story, the first model of the ego ideal is that the father has the mother’s love as the child would like to have it. This idealization gives the father leverage to teach the child about the systems of exchange through which the world operates, in its indifference. Then the child can move toward the ego ideal by becoming like the father, performing the adult functions that the systems of exchange reward. But as the systems of exchange can never bring us to the ego ideal, they need to be continually revised to improve their workings, and the promise of their connection to the ego ideal must be continually revived. Within an organization, the function of adaptive reformulation is what we call management, while the renewal of the promise of the ego ideal is called leadership.

The function of leadership, then, is to make behavior meaningful by connecting it to the ego ideal. Since the ego ideal is a fantasy, that means

that leadership always involves the formation or reformulation of fantasy. It therefore calls for an act of the imagination. That brings us to a point where we can understand the place of narcissism in leadership, both with regard to its healthy and its pathological form.

Narcissism is self-love. It means experiencing oneself as lovable and therefore anticipating love from others. It means accepting one’s impulses as being good and, most important for our purposes, valuing one’s imagination and taking it as a good guide to reality. This gives people the sense that what they are doing and what they want to do are part of the ego ideal. That is, it gives people the sense that they may do what they are inclined to do and will be loved for it. People may be said to idealize themselves and their behavior.

For Freud, taking someone as a leader means placing that person in the place of our ego ideal. For most of us, the gap between who we think we are and who we would most like to be, between the ego and the ego ideal, is quite considerable. The connection between them, through which our behavior would be made meaningful, is murky. We can understand that a person who believes he or she is the ego ideal may be taken in that way by others and become a model for their behavior. The person people take for a model in this way is likely to be, by virtue of his or her own self-idealization, narcissistic.

The attachment between leaders and followers is emotional, not cognitive, but it has a certain kind of functionality. An individual who is followed in this way will be able to mobilize a joint effort and, through that, accomplish something. This will be true whether the individual is correct in his belief that he knows what to do or not. The reason is that there is more of a possibility of success from a group effort than there is from scattered, disparate efforts. Indeed, even failure may have lessons to teach that may be useful on the next attempt, when success will be more likely. This is one reason why narcissistic leaders can be valued for their leadership potential alone, even when it amounts to nothing more than narcissism. Having their leadership potential recognized will, of course, reinforce these individuals’ sense of their importance.

HEALTHY AND PATHOLOGICAL NARCISSISM

The distinction between healthy and pathological narcissism is important to note, because there are two quite different sources for self-idealization. Healthy narcissism requires a history of having been loved by those whom we have loved, most importantly our mothers. An individual who has been loved retains that love for himself by having internalized the loving people. Psychoanalysis calls those loving people good objects. This healthy narcissism is, in effect, self-esteem.

In the case of pathological narcissism, an individual does not feel deeply loved. The person's psyche is built up without good objects. Rather, his or her objects are bad objects, whose rejection, lack of interest, or even hatred affect the way the person feels about himself. Hence, the person's self-esteem is quite poor. However, as a defense against this low level of self-esteem, a fantasy of the ego ideal is employed. Consciously, then, they experience themselves as the ego ideal, believing themselves to be perfect and therefore, as with the healthy narcissist, crediting their impulses and their imagination and being confident in their behavior. They also, therefore, may easily be put in the place of the ego ideal by followers.

The person with healthy narcissism feels he is lovable and expects to be loved, but since he has an ample quotient of self-love he does not need or demand to be loved. Pathological narcissists, having deep feelings of being unlovable, require that others love them because that is what they need to keep their own fantasized sense of lovability from collapsing.

NARCISSISM AND LEADERSHIP

This difference leads to quite different styles of leadership. The person with healthy narcissism is not threatened by a loss of love and therefore can have relations with other persons on equal terms. He can relate to others as others with respect and affection. Having the capacity for empathy, he can understand that others are interested in achieving their own goals, and he can support them.

The pathological narcissist requires that others

serve his purpose of being loved, and therefore cannot recognize others as others. His relationships will therefore be shallow, untrusting, exploitative, and devoid of empathy. Even those who are instrumental in supporting his success will ultimately find that they have no place within it. Indeed, they may be expelled from the circle of success because the pathological narcissist experiences them as threatening his absolute grandiosity. They may even be regarded as enemies and destroyed.

It is not always easy to tell the difference between the two types, but one principle is at least as good as any other. It is to look for the subject that is of interest to the individual. What does the person talk about when he or she is free to direct the conversation to his or her own concerns? The healthy narcissist maintains a lively interest in the world and will talk with enthusiasm about matters external to himself. The pathological narcissist wants to talk only about him- or herself and may lose interest when anything else comes up.

The difference between the two types is also likely to show up in the type of ideas they offer that are taken by others as routes to their ego ideal. Both the person with healthy narcissism and the pathological narcissist can offer the ego ideal in the form of a collectivity, which can be the focus of social organization. But the collective ideas they offer are likely to be quite different.

The pathological narcissist's ideas, although often appealing on the surface, are ultimately built around an ego ideal that is his alone. The result must be that the ideas he offers will be expressions of narcissism at the collective level. The pathological narcissist can identify with the state, for example, and can offer a glorified image of it. But since he is empty, these ideas are going to be empty. The collectivities they define can thus gain their meaning only in terms of their purported superiority to other collectivities, understood as the right to dominate and destroy the others.

The person with healthy narcissism is in a position to be able to imagine ideas that are richer than these. The person with healthy narcissism, paradoxically, has the capacity to limit his or her narcissism, and to develop a sense of limitation. From this may

follow a redefinition of the self and hence of the ego ideal that represents the fruition of the self. Elements of this may include a sense of historical causation, an understanding of the origins and importance of legitimacy, of the social mechanisms that enhance reciprocity, of the way mutualistic social institutions can be held by all of us in common, and many other things besides. Any or all of these can lead to a passionate attachment to an ego ideal that will have the same validity for others that it has for the leader. Enhanced by healthy narcissism, the leader can bring the ideal to them as an offering. This may be the dynamic that underlies what the historian James MacGregor Burns calls transformational leadership.

One can see the difference between the two forms of narcissism, and the attendant collective ideas, in the contrast between Franklin D. Roosevelt and Joseph Stalin. Roosevelt, a man with both undeniable self-esteem and a profound understanding of human limitation, valued strong subordinates and encouraged their independence. His government led the United States through very difficult times while preserving and developing its best qualities. Stalin, by contrast, was deeply suspicious of anyone who maintained an independent self, and he acted on his suspicions in the most lethal manner. The state that developed in his image was expansionist abroad and behaved with horrific brutality toward its own citizens.

It is a mistake to draw an impermeable boundary between the two forms of narcissism and the resulting styles of leadership. Growth can result in a person developing a more loving image of himself, and in that way moving from pathological to healthy narcissism. But an individual can also move from healthy to pathological narcissism. This is sometimes a function of the power and status than a person gains from the very leadership activity that his healthy narcissism made possible.

The problem is that the self-esteem that real love provides is always limited, and cannot be separated from the sense of finitude that is cause for anxiety in everyone. Yet the fantasy of the ego ideal as the pathological narcissist conceives of it knows no such limitation. For that reason, it stands as a temptation for all of us. When an individual with the power that goes with a position of leadership uses that power to

demand that his narcissism be fed, his leadership deteriorates into the manipulative, barren, and destructive style of the pathological narcissist. This is what the nineteenth-century historian Lord Acton had in mind when he said “Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely.”

—Howard S. Schwartz

See also Dysfunctional Leadership

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NARRATIVES

Narratives (stories) are an explicit part of some leadership theories, an implicit part of others, and an important part of analyzing leadership as well as exercising it.

THE STORYTELLING ANIMALS

Narratives form an important part of the conduct and analysis of human leadership because storytelling has an almost innate human appeal. Social psychiatrist Robert Coles distinguishes ordinary stories from the abstract theories of social science by their immediacy in making meaning. For example, when a teacher interrupts a class with the statement, “Let me tell you a story that illustrates this,” attention in the room doubles. The prospect of sharing someone’s immediate experience suggests an opportunity for real learning. Author Joseph Campbell has spent a great deal of time explaining myth and its importance for human beings in making sense of their

world and purpose. Myths and other stories have a truth to them greater than fact. The story of a fabled storyteller of the U.S. South illustrates this point. She finished one story with the affirmation, “Now that’s the absolute truth. I may not have all the facts exactly right but that’s the absolute truth.” Stories appeal to people because their truth may help people understand the world around them through the experience of others.

The philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre calls humans the storytelling animals and asserts that narratives enable people to glimpse possible shared futures. Not only do humans tell narratives of their own, but also they continue narratives that others started before them and tell their narratives in competition with others. Thus, people come upon a page of a human narrative and have a chance to continue or alter a story but not to begin a new one. Nor can people shape their narratives without concern for an audience with whom they share a past. In this sense, humans, including leaders, have agency—the capacity to shape history—but they also have a shared history that has shaped them. MacIntyre suggests,

I can only answer the question “What am I to do?” if I can answer the prior question “Of what story or stories do I find myself a part?” We enter human society, that is, with one or more imputed characters—roles into which we have been drafted—and we have to learn what they are in order to be able to understand how others respond to us and how our responses to them are apt to be construed. (MacIntyre 1981, 216)

LEADERSHIP AS STORYTELLING

The questions “What am I to do?” and “Of what story am I a part?” capture the essence of leadership—to take action, which may exceed one’s authority, in the face of doubt. However, these questions miss the essence of leadership because they focus on the individual. Leaders ask and answer, “What are we to do?” Effective leadership asks implicitly or explicitly, “Of what story are we a part?” Leadership imparts an immediacy of the shared past of many people and a possible future that influences people to build a link of action between the shared past and a possible future.

Developmental psychologist Howard Gardner’s recent work brought narrative to the forefront of leadership theory and practice. In this sense he combined theory and story, which Robert Coles contrasted, and developed a theory of leadership around stories. Gardner views leadership as significant influence over the thoughts, behaviors, and feelings of others. He suggests that leadership occurs over a spectrum. The spectrum stretches from the domain of those people who intentionally attempt to exert leadership—direct leaders such as the British leader Winston Churchill, the U.S. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, and the U.S. civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr.—to the domain of those people who exert influence because of excellence of achievement in a particular field—indirect leaders such as the U.S. physicist Albert Einstein, the U.S. athlete Jesse Owens, or the U.S. choreographer Martha Graham. Direct leaders attempt to speak to—that is, tell stories to—large and diffuse groups, such as the citizens of a city or people who use mass transit. Indirect leaders speak to—that is, tell stories to—primarily small and highly specialized groups, such as theoretical physicists and professional dancers.

Between these domains lies a domain with organizations of people with shared values and experiences. Einstein was a leader among theoretical physicists but not a leader of an organization or a movement of a diffuse public. His narrative of genius and theoretical physics reached other groups of people because journalists and others told his story. Martin Luther King Jr., on the other hand, was a leader of a local church in Montgomery who moved into the domain of organizations with the Montgomery bus boycott and eventually into the domain of broad social change among a diffuse and general public. This deliberate movement across domains distinguishes direct from indirect leadership and focuses Gardner’s attention on narrative.

As leaders cross domains from the highly specialized to the general and diffuse, Gardner asserts, they must leave the realm of specialized knowledge and search for more basic and fundamental stories common to diffuse groups. Einstein could not lead Princeton University on the basis of his knowledge of theoretical physics. He would have had to appeal to

some knowledge that he shared with members of a board of trustees, administrators, faculty, students, staff, and alumni. In the broadest efforts of social change with the largest group of people in a diffuse public—the civil rights movement, for example—leaders must appeal to the “unschooled mind” of people.

This unschooled mind has well-established theories about the world, social relationships, and values that people develop by the age of five years and before school. Adults, Gardner contends, continue to theorize about the world with simple truths they developed as children. Leaders working with a broad and diverse array of people and working to change some fundamental aspect of human relations and conduct have to appeal to this unschooled mind-set or try to change it. Storytelling provides the primary method to reach the unschooled mind and fundamental, childlike beliefs of followers. Moving from specialized domains, such as that of leadership scholars, to diffuse domains, such as that of leadership students or the general public, requires revising stories of leadership to the less specialized knowledge of the increasingly unschooled mind.

MacIntyre’s two questions remain central, but in reverse order, in order to influence people about “What are we to do?” People must first share a story of which they are all a part and relate their course of action to that story. Theoretical physicists have a story of which they are a part, in the sense of a field of inquiry with shared outstanding achievements, terms, and remaining questions. It is too specialized, however, to use to convince people about, for example, whether to support a bond issue for public schools. To exercise influence—leadership—on a school bond issue, the theoretical physicist has to explain “What are we to do?” in terms of shared stories of parents and community members.

LEADERSHIP AS COMMUNICATION

Far more common than Gardner’s explicit use of narrative is the implicit use of narrative in a wide array of leadership theories. One could scarcely discuss leadership without attention to communication and vision. Leaders with authority may take some short-

cuts in the narrative they tell of “What are we to do?” but only because a narrative of hierarchy, control, and a system of sanctions and rewards is a subtext of the narrative “Of what story are we a part?” Leadership without authority—a reliance on influence more than power—spends time telling the story of what people are a part. Organizational culture is part of that story, and leadership takes time to develop a culture that makes its members feel a part of a domain with shared symbols and terms, which tell a unique story that explains why an organization may decide on one course of action rather than another.

Typical of the implicit treatments of narrative in leadership studies is management and leadership scholar Warren Bennis’s discussion of communication, meaning making, and vision. He and his coauthor, Burt Nanus, interviewed ninety people in positions of authority with a reputation for good leadership. The first and perhaps most important generalization they drew from their interviews “is that *all* organizations depend on the existence of shared meanings and interpretations of reality, which facilitate coordinated action. . . . In short, an *essential* factor in leadership is the capacity to influence and *organize meaning* for the members of the organization” (Bennis & Nanus 1997, 2nd ed., 37).

Bennis and Nanus promote the role of the leader in meaning making. They claim that “leadership creates a new audience for its ideas because it alters the shape of understanding by transmitting information in such a way that it ‘fixes’ and secures tradition. Leadership, by communicating meaning, creates a *commonwealth of learning*, and that, in turn, is what effective organizations are” (Bennis & Nanus 1997, 2nd ed., 40). This idea brings one closer to the fifth discipline of management and system analyst Peter Senge and his ideas on a learning organization but takes one away from the partnership that leaders and followers have in making meaning. Leadership cannot make meaning without the proto-theories of the unschooled mind of the most diffuse publics, with which Gardner made us familiar, or the highly specialized knowledge of a small domain. Gardner makes clear that effective leaders shape their narratives to what the people they hope to influence know. Bennis and Nanus suggest that leaders can create

meanings for others without completely acknowledging that leadership requires leaders and followers to participate in creating the commonwealth of learning.

Ronald A. Heifetz and Marty Linsky, both Harvard faculty members, employ many of Gardner's ideas on narrative in their work on leadership. They explain that leadership resembles music that "is about moving people, striking chords that resonate deeply in the hearts of listeners." Like music, leadership expresses people's "yearning for connection with other people" (Heifetz & Linsky 2002, 4, 209). They explain that leaders embody issues and challenges for the adaptive work of a group just as Gardner explained leadership as embodied narrative. In moving leadership beyond communication, Heifetz and Linsky suggest the important role of narrative in the conduct of leadership.

NARRATIVE AND THE STORY OF CHANGE

Gardner's work permits one to distinguish among leaders by the stories they relate by words and example. Ordinary leaders, for Gardner, relate "the traditional story of his or her group as effectively as possible." Their stories repeat the taken-for-granted assumption of the unschooled mind and the unbroken connection of the child-adult theoretical realm—it's a dog eat dog world out there; it's better to give than to receive, and so forth. Ordinary leaders reinforce the familiar. They do not suggest an inkling of how a group will or must change.

Innovative and visionary leaders, however, do suggest change. Innovative leaders may bring new attention or a "fresh twist" to a familiar-but-ignored story, reassert traditional and familiar values, and institute change on behalf of those values. British leader Margaret Thatcher and U.S. President Ronald Reagan, for example, did much to reinvigorate the values of market economics, personal responsibility, limited government, and military buildup in the 1980s. Other innovative leaders might do the same thing on behalf of an opposite set of values—to mitigate the failures of market economies, to promote social responsibility, and to advocate expanded government programs of social welfare, as U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt did during the New

Deal. A visionary leader tells a new story or a story that is familiar to only a few and relates it effectively so that people reassemble the embedded stories of the schooled and unschooled minds. Innovative and visionary leaders permit people to build new theories about fundamental values and beliefs.

Visionary leadership that transforms society occurs rarely. It occurs more frequently within a domain, such as community health, and in specific organizations, such as a community health program, because the range of truth and values is narrower, more developed, and shared. Leaders can access values and stories of people within a domain more easily than values and stories of people from a wide array of domains—professions, countries, socioeconomic backgrounds. Visionary leadership is beyond most ordinary people, but innovative leadership is not.

The explicit attention to narratives in leadership permits people to deepen their understanding of leaders and followers in all contexts. It allows people to deepen their understanding of communication, values, and meaning making in all contexts, including for-profit and not-for-profit organizations. As useful as these insights may be, the full dimensions of narrative and change come into full view only when people examine narrative's role in efforts to organize for social change.

NARRATIVES AND THE VOICE OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Narratives may support a range of changes. Ordinary narratives may support the status quo or incremental change. Innovative narratives may support major change—for example, Eleanor Roosevelt's work on the United Nations' Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man. Infrequently, visionary narratives of transforming change—Christ, Buddha, Indian nationalist Mohandas Gandhi—call for a change in human relations that removes the caste-like restrictions from some group of people.

Scholarship in several fields helps relate innovative and visionary narrative to social movements. The economist Albert O. Hirschman, for example, discusses voice as an instrument of change and organization renewal. Voice attempts to change an



Developing Leaders in Government through Stories

The Council for Excellence in Government works to build the leadership skills of career government employees. One way they do this is by posting the stories of excellent leadership in government. Below is one such story from the council's website.

In 1997, Patricia Pittarelli was promoted to Chief of Work/Life Programs in the Department of State's Human Resources bureau. Her division's mission was to improve employee effectiveness on the job by developing and promoting use of flexible personnel policies and programs that help employees balance their work and personal responsibilities. Early in her tenure she was approached by a Foreign Service Officer who had known her when she ran the Department's Presidential Management Intern program and knew her reputation in HR as an expert in helping employees with child-care problems.

This officer, a high performer and new mother of a third child, had just returned to Washington from an overseas assignment. She was feeling overwhelmed by her work and family obligations, and wanted to work part-time for a while in a job-share position. She had done her homework and identified another officer willing to job-share. But there was no precedent for use of this flexibility for Foreign Service employees, even though State's Civil Service employees had had success with job sharing.

Patty realized that there was authority for such an arrangement, and she saw the practice could enhance the Department's options for retaining valuable Foreign Service employees. The interested employee had an excellent performance record and was a credible candidate for trying something new. Patty provided guidance on planning for a job-share assignment and encouraged her and

her job-share partner to draw up a proposal that would address the concerns of their supervisors, while meeting their own personal needs.

Patty took the women's proposal to management and convinced HR leaders to look seriously at the idea. She formed and headed a cross-bureau working group that considered institutional obstacles and barriers, including, for example, concerns that a part-time employee might be overlooked for promotion or might be disadvantaged in a Reduction-In-Force situation. The HR front office decided to undertake a pilot Foreign Service job-share. Patty set it up, working with the employees, a bureau willing to offer them a specific job, and other interested Department offices, including payroll. The first-ever Foreign Service part-time assignment/job-share that followed was commended by the Undersecretary for Management in a report to the Secretary of State. The undersecretary at that time was a professional with extensive private-sector experience who recognized the advantage of adding a new tool to the Department's assignment flexibilities.

By championing a policy the Department had never tried, Patty had identified an opportunity that promoted the interests of both the Department, which was able to retain valued employees, and the employees themselves. When one of the job share partners was promoted even though she worked part time, that always desirable but ever-elusive win-win outcome had been achieved.

Source: The Council for Excellence in Government. Retrieved October 7, 2003, from <http://www.excelgov.org>

objectionable state of affairs, unlike exit, which provides individual escape from them, but does not change them. Exit provides individual benefit, but voice attempts to benefit others in addition to the person using it. Hirschman applies this to a wide range of conditions, personal relationships, the black power movement in the United States, and rail transport in Nigeria and concludes that voice combined with exit and loyalty best safeguards organizational renewal.

Hirschman's observation is true of societies, as historian Sara Evans and policy analyst Harry Boyte explain in their examination of voice and free spaces. Tracing several social movements over the past cen-

tury, they find that groups restricted by race, gender, and class discrimination regularly develop and express voice in free spaces. Free spaces are "environments in which people are able to learn a new self-respect, a deeper and more assertive group identity, public skills, and values of cooperation and civic virtue" (Evans & Boyte 1986, 17). Sociologist Aldon Morris portrayed a set of free spaces in his discussion of "halfway houses" of the civil rights movement, where voice survived. Another sociologist, Doug McAdam, interprets the civil rights movement as an insurgency of African-American "cognitive liberation" (McAdam 1982, 108-112), which continued uninterrupted because organizations permitted

African-Americans to maintain the narratives that explained their condition and its roots in oppression.

In a similar fashion, James C. Scott, a political scientist, suggests that groups maintain “hidden transcripts,” their own narratives to explain their condition and its origins, and an infrastructure of political resistance even when oppressed. Scott describes domination and resistance as matters of degree. When resistance is manifest, as in a social movement, hidden transcripts become public. When domination prevails, voice is expressed further and further from public view and within safe and free spaces of the oppressed. At the height of repression, these spaces may be restricted to the memory of an individual or perhaps the family. Scott thus suggests that free spaces preserve the voice of narrative even when no social movements overtly resist domination. If people accept Scott’s conclusion, they may look at the family and other realms as spaces with a leadership function to create and preserve narrative.

Sociologist Robert Bellah and his associates combine narrative and free spaces in their concept of the community of memory, which nurtures individuals by carrying on a moral tradition that reinforces the aspirations and dignity of their group. The test of this community is its sense of a common past. The telling and retelling of stories establish that past and offer “examples of the men and women who have embodied and exemplified the meaning of the community” (Bellah 1985 et al., 153). In addition, there are stories of suffering, which “sometimes creates deeper identities than success.” These stories approximate a moral tradition and turn members of a community of memory “toward the future as communities of hope” (et al. 153). Such communities of hope sponsor transforming social movements, exemplified for Bellah and his associates and many others in the civil rights movement.

Bellah and his associates borrow heavily from Alasdair MacIntyre’s views on tradition and virtue to develop their own idea of the community of memory. One may infer from MacIntyre’s work that narratives shared within free spaces make two contributions to social movements.

First, they transmit and continue a belief in the virtue of the oppressed. This virtue is “the kind of

capacity for judgment which the agent possesses in knowing how to select among the relevant stack of maxims and how to apply them in particular situations” (MacIntyre 1981, 207). Virtue is illustrated in narratives, the continuation of which is virtuous. Virtue enables its possessors “to pursue both their own good and the good of the tradition of which they are bearers even in situations defined by the necessity of tragic, dilemmatic choice” (MacIntyre 1981, 207–208).

Second, narratives may support social movements because they assert a social life or at least a better understanding of a marginal group’s social conditions and their origins than the understanding that prevails in the dominant culture’s stories about them. For example, the sweat lodges of Native Americans have different stories about Native Americans than any John Wayne movie. When the values and human worth of social groups are marginal to the larger and dominant culture of which they are a part, then MacIntyre’s concept of virtue becomes more central for these groups. Without their own narratives within their own free space, marginal groups become the virtueless groups of the dominant culture. The awareness of economic subordination and political repression of a group by its members reminds them constantly of the inaccuracies of the prevailing explanations of these inequalities and explanations of other parts of U.S. life. The continuation of virtue among such marginal groups helps them preserve self-esteem. It also helps group members to explain the dominant assumptions of their society in terms of power relations rather than the shortcomings and inferiority of their group.

NARRATIVES AND THE STUDY OF LEADERSHIP

For leadership scholars, narratives have theoretical significance as a means and a measure of social movements and other forms of change. Narratives mobilize a group to attempt political or organizational change. They do not mobilize people to take action directly, as a speech might inspire a crowd. Rather, narratives provide deep and lasting insights into the need for and methods of change to individu-

als who lead or support social movements and more modest forms of change.

Thus, effective leadership exceeds mere communication. To influence people, leadership must express a vision in terms and symbols of the narratives—their shared culture—embedded in the minds and hearts of those people. As with so many other aspects of leadership, narrative underscores that leaders and followers must share an understanding of “What are we to do?” and “Of what story are we a part?” Narrative complements the emphasis on communication in the study and practice of leadership. At the same time, communication studies make us aware that narrative has many sources—family, school, work, religion, community, culture, ethnicity, voluntary organizations—and many forms, onstage and offstage, hidden and visible. These sources are powerful forces to support resistance to subordination and thus to transform leadership. They are also powerful forces to support change in narrow domains of small groups or specialized groups and in broad domains of diffuse publics. Achieving effective influence with people—that is, leadership—requires understanding the embedded narratives of other people and invoking them as part of communicating vision and courses of action.

—Richard A. Couto

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NASSER, GAMAL ABDEL (1918–1970)

Egyptian leader

In ostensibly denying that Egypt played a leadership role in the postcolonial Middle East or that there even was such a role to play, Gamal Abdel Nasser's *The Philosophy of the Revolution*, published a year after Egypt's 1952 Free Officers' coup, attests to a richly ironic intertwining of his personal charisma with Egypt's national identity and Egypt's responsibility to Arab nations in a postcolonial world.

I do not know why I always imagine that in this region there is a role wandering aimlessly about in search of an actor to play it. And I do not know why this role, tired of roaming about in this vast region, should at last settle down, exhausted and weary, on our frontiers beckoning us to assume it as nobody else can do so. Let me hasten to say that this is not a role of leadership.

(Nasser 1953, 48)

Born into a poor family, Nasser attended military college and joined the Egyptian army in 1938. During the 1940s, he began to think about revolution, and in 1952 he led the Free Officers' coup, which deposed Egypt's royal family and established General Mohammad Naguib as head of state. Nasser subsequently deposed Naguib and took the title of

prime minister in 1954. In 1956, he declared himself president, and in 1958, he witnessed the partial fulfillment of his dream of Arab unity with the creation of the United Arab Republic, formed by the union of Syria and Egypt. (The Republic lasted until 1961.)

For insight into the style and effect of Nasser's leadership, it is useful to consider the crowds that attended three major events in his career: his 1956 nationalization of the Suez Canal, his 1967 resignation following defeat in the war with Israel, and his unanticipated death in 1971. The historian George Rudé observed that large public gatherings can be categorized by their aims, purposes, and goals. In these terms, the crowd that assembled to hear Nasser speak in Alexandria that summer evening in 1956, was an "audience" crowd. This group affirmed Nasser's leadership of Egypt. The mob that collected shortly after learning of Nasser's departure from the presidency—even before many had even learned the extent of Egypt's military losses in the 1967 war—Rudé would classify as an "escape" or "panic" crowd, the actions of which are the topic of social history. The third horde, which mourned Nasser's death, Rudé would classify as an "expressive" crowd; their grieving affirmed the role of the departed among postcolonial leaders.

THE NATIONALIZATION OF THE SUEZ CANAL

Nasser changed the way that Egyptians were governed, by aligning leaders' goals for the nation with the goals of the people. He created a modern state that provided for the nation's defense (as well as laying the basis for a social services network in Egypt). His 1956 speech in Alexandria, which contained encoded instructions to the individuals who were to seize the Suez Canal Company headquarters, intermingled direction with commemoration of that which had already been accomplished, leadership with popular expectation. That June evening, Nasser proclaimed: "The Suez Canal belongs to us. The income will be ours in the future. The Canal was built by Egyptians, one hundred and twenty thousand Egyptians died digging it. A new Suez Canal company will be formed. From now on we will rely on our own strength, our own muscle. The Canal will

be run by Egyptians, Egyptians, Egyptians! Do you hear me? Egyptians!” (St. John 1960, 247). In recordings of that speech, Nasser’s amplified voice is drowned out by the gathering’s collective enthusiasm; the crowd went wild. To foreign observers, Nasser’s previously sedate public addresses were becoming hostile attacks on the nation’s enemies; to Egyptians, however, whether villagers, city dwellers, Muslims, Coptic Christians, or socialist agnostics, Nasser’s public speeches voiced their own anger at global inequalities.

Nasser’s seizure of Suez Canal assets tripped an Israeli, French, and British invasion of Egypt that brought significant changes to the Arab world: The historian Rashid Khalidi sees the Suez War as leading to the militarization of the modern Arab world (including the transfer of Syria’s administration from civilians to military officers), to Israel’s success in pushing the Palestinian conflict onto the territory of neighboring Arab states, and to the domestic conditions that led to Lebanon’s first civil war. And in terms of Nasser’s leadership legacy, his takeover of the Suez Canal made Nasser extremely popular throughout the developing and nonaligned world.

The Suez War also brought the Cold War from Europe to the global South. Mark Kramer, a historian of the Soviet Union, describes the tripartite invasion of Egypt as one impetus for the USSR’s seeking a speedy solution to unrest in Hungary, which was distracting the Soviet Union from pursuing its aims in the postcolonial world. Eventually the USSR not only came to be Egypt’s leading source of weapons but also supported Egypt’s economic development goals with both loans and technical assistance.

NASSER’S 1967 RESIGNATION

Thirteen years after Suez, Gamal Abdel Nasser placed Egypt at the head of several Arab states’ resistance to international recognition of Israel’s legal status and its increasing militarization. The 1967 Six-Day War represented the most significant challenge Nasser’s leadership had ever faced, as unexpected military reverses forced him to accept a cease-fire humiliating for Egypt. In 1956, in telling the public of the Suez Canal’s nationalization,



In a demonstration of Nasser’s popularity beyond Egypt, men in Beirut, Lebanon, participate in a pro-Nasser demonstration during the Six-Day War with Israel in June 1967.

Source: Corbis; used by permission.

Nasser had received a mandate for nation-building and capital investment from his audience. In 1967, the residents of Cairo called Nasser back into office but protested his emphasis on industrial development and military modernization at the expense of consumer goods.

During the evening of 9 June 1967, Nasser appeared on Egyptian television, announcing that he resigned the presidency and that the nation’s leadership would be turned over to Zakhariya Mohieddin, who was the head of military intelligence and the minister of the interior. Within a short period of time, Cairo’s citizens poured forth from their houses, apartments, and cafés, commandeered buses, taxis, private cars, and anything else on wheels and descended into the streets by the millions, running aimlessly, weeping, or shouting and eventually amassing in public squares near major government buildings or by Nasser’s house near Heliopolis to call on him to stay in office and lead them.

The months immediately following this collective outburst were among Nasser’s darkest; his health failed, and his associates abandoned what they described as his wishful thinking and resistance to information and advice that might have avoided the military disaster of the Six-Day War. Speaking against the charge of wishful thinking, Nasser described the strategic calculations that had led him to war. In a speech to students at Cairo University on

23 July 1967, he tried to explain the decisions that led to war, quantifying the narrowing odds of maintaining the peace while in the face of such political changes in Israel as the appointment of Moshe Dayan as Israel's minister of defense. Nasser's transparency during 1967 has been widely seized upon by those external observers who have sought to classify Nasser's richly ironic leadership as either manipulation of the crowd or capitulation to its desires. The Israeli political scientist Ben Mor (1991) draws attention to Nasser's strategic calculation. According to Mor, Nasser's escalatory moves were calculated to achieve the maximum revision of the status quo short of war. Similarly, the U. S. author Miles Copeland (1969) has described Nasser's calculated appeal to the excited crowd, which could not be trusted to ascertain its own best interests. Copeland even identified Nasser as the unpredictable element in the rational calculus of industrialized nations' leaders: His sophisticated communication with postcolonial crowds removed him from the community of neo-colonial leaders.

The 1967 defeat required Nasser not only to accept the destruction of Egypt's military prestige, but eventually to give up the prioritization of capital investment over consumer goods. The crowds that called for Nasser's return to office rejected the priority he assigned to military defense and economic development over consumption and entertainment. Imports of passenger cars increased 47 percent between 1962 and 1969 with only a marginal increase in gross national product. Imports of television sets and their parts increased 433 percent during an era when Egyptian state television broadcast on only two channels.

NASSER'S DEATH

While Egyptians did not choose to sustain the economic austerity that Nasser's presidency prescribed for them, the frenzied emotions exhibited by the crowd at Nasser's passing attested to his personal charisma. Following his unexpected and fatal heart attack during the autumn of 1970, Nasser's successors planned an orderly public funeral. As the president's bier passed through Cairo toward its final rest-

ing place, the sheer numbers of the grief-stricken disrupted the procession. Men, women, and children wept and wailed unashamedly in the streets as thousands upon thousands pressed upon the procession, straining to get a last view of the coffin.

The authorities' struggle with the crowd for Nasser's legacy began even before his body was in the ground. As the coffin crossed Qasr El-Nil Bridge, soldiers were simply overwhelmed by the communal sorrow, as hysterical mourners attempted to bear their beloved leader's coffin themselves. In the ensuing pandemonium, soldiers brought their rifle butts and batons down into the crowd. The crowd forced the funeral cortege to abandon its route, and the coffin was transferred to a military vehicle. Authorities sped the it to its designated resting place at Manshiet-el-Bakry mosque and completed the burial ceremony three hours ahead of schedule.

Authorities continue to police the crowds that respond to Nasser, even in today's Egypt. The release of a feature film, *Nasser 56* (1996), set box-office records in theaters throughout Egypt's cities. For many of the Nile valley's current residents, actor Ahmad Zaki's portrayal of Nasser refreshed memories not only of Gamal Abdel Nasser as a historical figure, but also of Egypt's regional leadership, and even introduced a history largely slighted in the nation's school curriculum. Egyptians lined up around theaters to recall—or even learn—that Gamal Abdel Nasser had led the Egyptian nation, the Arab region, and the nonaligned postcolonial states.

“Israeli occupation and American dominance is what Nasser always warned against,” said Umm Mustafa, a fifty-year old Egyptian woman and domestic worker. ‘When Nasser made the revolution in 1952, it was not just for Egypt, it was for all of the Arab world. Palestine is part of the Arab world, and we have to defend it,’ she said” (Ezzat 2002, para. 3).

“He was a true leader. Look at the picture. Look at his eyes. He must have been very strong. I heard that when he used to make a speech the entire country would listen to him. My grandmother tells me that she used to think her radio would fall off the table when Nasser started a speech,’ said Ashraf Mounir, a thirteen-year-old schoolboy” (Ezzat 2002, para. 11).

Nasser's leadership presents a challenging legacy

for Egypt's contemporary leaders. The historian Joel Gordon recounts that current government officials kept *Nasser 56* from being screened for a year, allegedly dreading the comparison between current leaders' inadequacy and the leader whom many Egyptians find compelling and attractive more than thirty years after his death.

—Elizabeth Bishop

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NEGATIVE CAPABILITY

The poet John Keats (1795–1821) conceived the idea of negative capability in 1817. In a letter to his brothers, he described it as a state in which a person “is

capable of being in uncertainties, Mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact & reason” (Keats 1970, 43). In his view, the defining characteristic of high-achieving individuals in all fields was this ability to remain “content with half knowledge” and to cope with anxiety-provoking situations without being thrown off course. As a leadership capacity, negative capability is of particular relevance in today's social and organizational context, which is knowledge-driven but also characterized by ambiguity, paradox, uncertainty, and change. Hence the comment by Warren Bennis, an authority on leadership, that there is “probably no better definition of a contemporary leader” than Keats's description of a person possessed of negative capability. (Bennis 1998, 148).

UNDERSTANDING NEGATIVE CAPABILITY

At first sight, the word *negative* may seem inappropriate for defining a leader, especially as *leader* has such overwhelmingly positive connotations. In this context, however, *negative* does not imply a judgment, either moral or practical. Think rather of negative and positive poles in an electric or magnetic field: The effective force is generated in the flow of energy between the two. Leadership tends to be thought of in terms of the positive pole only—the attributes and abilities that allow the leader to promote decisive action even in the face of uncertainty. Negative capability names the other pole, that is, the capacity to sustain reflective inaction. In certain situations, a resolution can be achieved through the exercise of what we might call active, or positive, capabilities, such as the application of knowledge from previous experience and the ability to transfer resources from elsewhere or to influence others to trust. At other times, however, the better response is to wait until insights come, resources become available, or relationships develop. This requires a capability that manifests itself in behaviors such as waiting, observing, and listening—behaviors that are the complementary opposites of active, interventionist behaviors.

This capability is, therefore, negative in three senses. First, it is negative in that it represents the opposite of such positive capabilities as action and

intervention. As mentioned above, the metaphor of the magnetic field applies here. Second, it is negative because the situations in which it is most useful are themselves negative; that is, they are characterized by a lack: A leader may not know what to do, may not have adequate resources, or may not trust or be trusted. Here an appropriate metaphor is of negative space in painting: Negative space is the space that surrounds the positive forms of defined objects. An artist can reveal an object's shapes and relationships by ignoring the object itself and drawing instead the negative spaces around it. Third, this capacity can be termed negative because the behaviors that support it are generally viewed negatively. In the discourse of organizations, they tend to be accorded only low status; they include such activities as waiting, observing, withdrawing, listening, adapting, patience, and passivity. This suggests the metaphor of a photographic negative, which can reveal details that might be overlooked in the positive image because they seem so familiar.

Thus, the positive and negative attributes of leadership belong together. The importance of waiting, for example, is reflected in such everyday advice as "count to ten" or "look before you leap." The pause, or negative moment, created by such techniques can allow a person and those around him or her the space for thought. A knee-jerk reaction, by contrast, can appear to be a decisive leadership act when in reality it is the outcome of an inability to wait. Whether momentary or extended, this intermediate space—the space for thinking—permits new learning and insight; it can create the conditions for more effective action. Thus, negative capability has been described as "precisely the ability to tolerate anxiety and fear, to stay in the place of uncertainty in order to allow for the emergence of new thoughts or perceptions" (Eisold 2000, 65).

NEGATIVE CAPABILITY VERSUS DISPERSAL

Negative capability describes the capacity to contain or to tolerate the uncertainties of half knowledge, as well as frustration, contradiction, and lack. The failure of negative capability leads to what the contemporary U.S. philosopher Jacob Needleman called

dispersal. Dispersal describes the opposite state of mind to negative capability; it is a flight from overwhelming emotion. Individuals—or groups, teams, or organizations—respond to uncertainty and doubt by dispersing their energies into actions that are defensive rather than relevant to the task. Needleman suggests that task avoidance can lead to three forms of dispersal: emotionality (whether overt or reflected in such phenomena as stress-related illness), explanation (attempting to rationalize the often irrational), and activity (action for its own sake, a substitute for thought). Dispersal, therefore, is the diversion of energy away from engagement with the task into recognizable patterns of distraction. It is precisely when one experiences the impulse to avoid or to disperse that negative capability is required. The pressure on leaders to be the ones who know, to achieve results at all costs, means that dispersal into activity is likely to be their automatic default mode—above all they must be seen to do something.

Negative capability is relevant both to how leaders respond to change and to situations when they deliberately seek change. Engaging with risk is an obvious example. Because risk taking involves raising the threshold of uncertainty, it sets up precisely the conditions in which negative capability may be demanded. Avoiding the problems of escalation or, worse still, the possibility of cataclysmic error certainly requires more than improvements to the technologies of risk assessment, important though these are. Effective approaches to risk also demand the capacity to slow down rather than to be rushed—often at precisely the moment when quick decisions and decisive actions may be called for—and to remain open and reflective, rather than reaching a fixed and perhaps premature judgment.

Negative capability in action is illustrated in a 2002 study conducted by Peter Simpson, Robert French, and Charles Harvey of Bristol Business School at the University of the West of England. Simpson, French, and Harvey examined negotiations over a multibillion dollar international joint venture that involved three nation states and a global corporation, which in the study went under the pseudonym Megacom. A critical moment for the leader of the Megacom negotiating team came when

he recognized that, despite his own knowledge and experience and the wide expertise of his team, he no longer knew what to do. Because he could see clearly that he was “missing the point,” but did not know what the point was, he was forced to listen carefully and to wait for a pattern to emerge—and so to learn. The familiar ground for his usual stance—that is, determined decision making based on knowledge and expertise, combined with the influence of reputation and the power of the check-book—had become unstable. Rather than continuing to assert themselves, his team “became what was needed in the situation” (Simpson, French, and Harvey 2002, 1219). In the face of their shared ignorance, they were forced to switch from familiar attitudes and behaviors to inaction and withdrawal, reflection, and learning. The leader described how he and his team had to learn to wait, to listen, and to take a back seat; how to be available, to follow other people’s agendas, and to become smaller both by reducing the team from eight to three and by the way they held back. The impact of taking this stance was remarkable. It was a stance that was indeed negative, in the sense that it negated all Megacom’s normal assumptions, but in the words of the leader, “It was very powerful, very powerful to us, it was a very motivating thing to do, but very different to what we’ve all been taught to do” (Simpson, French, and Harvey 2002, 1219).

WHAT NEGATIVE CAPABILITY TEACHES LEADERS

The Megacom example emphasizes two important dimensions of negative capability in relation to leadership. The first is its relevance to learning. The darkest moment for the chief negotiator was when he recognized both that he (and Megacom) did not understand and that he was not being listened to. What enabled him to learn in that situation was precisely that instead of dispersing into emotion, explanations, or action, he and his colleagues learned to exercise negative capability. Those who were unable to do this were removed from the team. In a graphic phrase—reminiscent of characteristics of negative capability identified by Keats, “humility and the capability of

submission” (Keats 1970)—he described his team’s new attitude as one of subjugation.

The second dimension relates to staying in touch with the realities of the present moment. Dispersal takes one away from the task, because experience in the instant seems intolerable. Negative capability, by contrast, makes the experience tolerable. In this respect, it stands in the tradition which sees philosophy not primarily as a set of dogmas, but as “a way of life” (Hadot 1995), and whose prime focus is on learning and living in the present. Future-oriented, strategic activities, such as the articulation and constant re-presentation of the vision, are a key element of leadership. At the other extreme, however, effective leadership also involves seeing day by day, even moment by moment, what is actually going on, in contrast with what was planned or hoped for, intended or expected. To assess the impact of events in this way, and to adapt, shift, and adjust as necessary, leaders must have the capacity to wait and *not* to act—and must have a negative space within, which allows them to tolerate the inevitable anxieties such a stance evokes—in order to allow their minds to be changed.

—Robert B. French

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NELSON, HORATIO LORD (1758–1805)

British admiral

For British schoolchildren, and more particularly English schoolchildren, Horatio Nelson remains amongst the foremost of heroic leaders. He ranked ninth in the “Great Britons” competition held by the BBC in December 2002 with 49,000 votes (3 percent of the total), with his leadership and bravery his most popular aspects; indeed only Winston Churchill—the eventual winner—outshone Nelson in the voters’ eyes when it came to leadership. But Nelson’s heroic leadership was not due simply to innate bravery or strategic skill, nor was it simply the result of being at the right place at the right time. On the contrary, his case demonstrates the complexity of leadership—and thus shows how difficult heroic leadership is to reproduce or emulate.

Horace (the name evolved into Horatio gradually during childhood) Nelson, one of eight children, was born to Edmund Nelson, a Cambridge-educated rector at Burnham Thorpe, Norfolk, and Catherine (née Suckling), who was distantly related to Robert Walpole (1676–1745), Great Britain’s first prime minister; she died when Horace was nine. Horace Nelson’s main claim to fame through these years was his growing reputation for bravery. He stole his teacher’s pears “because every other boy was afraid” and, late home one day, he was scolded by his grandmother and asked why fear didn’t drive him home. “Fear?” he is alleged to have replied, “I never saw fear. What is it? It never came near me” (Grint 2001, 239).

Nelson used this astonishing personal bravery to

great effect in achieving his two early aims; first, to go to sea—which he did at the age of twelve—and second, to become the greatest naval hero Britain had ever seen. Only later in his life did a third (unachieved) aim enter this vision: to marry his mistress Emma Hamilton (c. 1761–1815). Without doubt, Nelson has emerged as an extraordinary military leader, perhaps Great Britain’s—and almost certainly England’s—greatest hero, but the question is, why?

In myth, Nelson stopped the French invasion of Great Britain at battle of Trafalgar, where he died from musket wounds on 21 October 1805; but in fact, the French army had already left the embarkation ports two months before Trafalgar. In myth, Nelson destroyed the French navy and set it back two hundred years; but in fact, within nine years the French navy was once again larger than the British. Clearly, the invented myth has more resonance than the reality.

A great part of Nelson’s leadership skill was in recognizing and aligning the particular skills and competences of his followers with organizational tactics that made the most of those skills and competences. For example, his battle tactics were grounded in British ships taking on one or more enemy ships in individual contests, and the success of the former depended upon the superior sailing and gunnery skills of the British sailors who were far more experienced than their enemies. In contrast, although the French and Spanish fleet tactics required great discipline and cohesion, there was significant disunity amongst the commanders, and in fact most of their ships had been blockaded in port for several years so their sailors were ill prepared. Moreover, as the senior British military service, the Royal Navy attracted the best officers, whereas in Europe the army was regarded as the more illustrious wing of the armed forces.

Nelson was undoubtedly obsessed by his strategic visions, and there are few, if any, examples of leaders of repute who have achieved much by being anything but fanatical in their pursuits. However, many fanatical leaders fail to achieve the iconic status that Nelson secured, and much of Nelson’s success, as is so often the case with leaders, was due to the errors



Dispatches of Horatio Nelson during the Trafalgar Campaign

TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.
Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.
Mem.

As frequent and very serious mistakes happen on receiving provisions, it is my particular directions, that when any of His Majesty's Ships or Vessels under my command go into Port, to complete their provisions and necessaries, on their coming on board, the Masters take a regular account of each species, &c., which they are to compare with the Bills of Lading sent with such provisions from the Agent Victualler, or Contractor, previous to their entering them in the Log-Book (which is to be done immediately); and afterwards such Bills of Lading, or final Receipts, are to be compared with the Log-Book, before the Captain and signing Officers put their signatures to them, in order that every particle of the provisions so signed for may be actually on board, that Government may not, either from the neglect or mistake of individuals, be defrauded, or the Ships, Companies in want of those species, considered to be bonafide on board.

It is also my particular directions, that every pound of fresh beef, whether received from Agent Victuallers or Contractors, is weighed on its coming on board, in the presence of a Lieutenant, the Master (or one of his Mates, in his absence on duty), that it is immediately after entered in the Log-Book, and the above instructions duly attended to, before the final Receipts are signed for it accordingly.

Source: "Letter and Dispatches of Horatio Nelson." *War Times Journal*. Retrieved October 7, 2003, from <http://www.wtj.com/pl/pages/nelson2.htm>

The same strict regard to be had to the receipt of fresh beef, or any species of provisions which may be purchased for the use of the Ships, Companies under my command; and on no account whatever to sign Vouchers for such provisions till they are authenticated, and found correct, as the Officers above mentioned will be held answerable for any neglect in the due execution of these instructions.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO CAPTAIN THE HON. HENRY BLACKWOOD,
H.M. SHIP, EURYALUS.
Victory, October 10th, 1805. Cadiz, East, 13 Leagues.

My dear Blackwood, Keep your five Frigates, Weazle and Pickle, and let me know every movement. I rely on you, that we can't miss getting hold of them, and I will give them such a shaking as they never yet experienced; at least I will lay down my life in the attempt. We are a very powerful Fleet, and not to be held cheap. I have told Parker, and do you direct Ships bringing information of their coming out, to fire guns every three minutes by the watch, and in the night to fire off rockets, if they have them, from the mast-head. I have nothing more to say, than I hope they will sail to-night.

Ever yours most faithfully, NELSON AND BRONTE.

of his competitors or enemies. Some of these errors he was able to induce, while others were the product of Machiavelli's *fortuna*, or luck. Either way, Nelson's actions could have led to personal, naval, and national disaster on several occasions. But, as Napoleon (1769–1821) was fond of saying, "The greatest general is he who makes the fewest mistakes . . ." Nelson got away with his mistakes; his enemies often did not. In a rule-bound environment, an opportunist cannot operate without breaking the regulations—and this is precisely what Nelson did: He took advantage of the opportunities proffered by fortune where others held back; he embodied the principle *carpe diem* ("seize the day"). This ability was facilitated by his apparent lack of fear. Like a Japan-

ese samurai, Nelson apparently accepted that death was likely but did not worry about it; indeed, ironically, his quest for immortality was feasible only if he died engaged in its pursuit.

NELSON AS PERFORMER

But there is more to Nelson's leadership than just being better resourced and luckier than his rivals and enemies. Much of the time we need to remember the power of Nelson as a manipulator of reality, for in many ways he was foremost in promoting his own career, his own version of events, his own successes, and his own heroic death. Thus the hero of Trafalgar who allegedly saved Britain from an imminent

French invasion probably did less for the country's direct security than Admiral Charles Cornwallis (1738–1805), who was both Nelson's superior officer and responsible for maintaining the blockade of the Franco-Spanish fleets. But Cornwallis was involved in a mundane activity that held little interest for the media or the general population, and he made little attempt to ingratiate himself to a generally unaware and uninterested country. In contrast, Nelson was a professional in every sense of the word, a spin-doctor, a miracle-worker, a "man of the world," and a man beyond this world.

Like many heroic leaders, Nelson believed himself to be driven by destiny: At the age of fifteen, off the West African coast, he contracted malaria and experienced a vision that induced him to dedicate his life to the British monarchy, and at twenty-one, while captain of the frigate *Hinchinbroke* in Jamaica, he appears to have had his fortune told by a freed slave, Cuba Cornwallis, who foresaw a glorious future—but only until 1805, which turned out indeed to be the year of his death. Undoubtedly, the combination of his personal courage and heroic fatalism instilled in Nelson a confidence that others lacked, and a taste for risk taking that others avoided. Yet that certainty of mission was never left to chance, for Nelson used his network of influential supporters, including his uncle, his mentors in the navy, and Prince William, the future William IV of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (1765–1837; reigned 1830–1837).

While Nelson was often heralded as the darling of the British people, he was never really accepted by the British aristocracy, the political establishment, or indeed the Admiralty. Partly this was because his background was insufficiently influential—his father was an impoverished vicar, not an aristocrat—but it was also because he remained a rather gauche figure: He was a poor public speaker and retained a broad Norfolk accent (perceived as vulgar by the landed gentry); more important, perhaps, he appeared deaf to the subtleties of the changing cultures of the time. Before the French Revolution (which began c. 1789), the British aristocracy had mimicked their cross-channel cousins: They spoke French at court, wore French fashions, and reflected what the French revolutionaries regarded as the decadent and hedonistic

morals of Paris. However, the guillotining of French aristocrats rapidly persuaded the British aristocrats that the best way to stave off a British equivalent might be to speak English, to wear British military uniforms, and to abandon their no-longer-fashionable immorality. Nelson, however, insisted on wearing a uniform so bespangled with decorations that he appeared to his social superiors as determined to mock their sudden conversion to military uniforms. Moreover, his insistence on parading around with his mistress, Emma Hamilton, the wife of Sir William Hamilton (1730–1803), while both were still married to their respective spouses, greatly embarrassed a social elite that was trying to distance itself from this "French habit."

NELSON'S NAVAL RECORD

Nelson, then, was not everyone's hero, but his public standing was so great—and the fear of a French invasion so high—that the British Admiralty had little choice but to place him in command of several fleets in times of crisis. He was also overly fond, as far as the Admiralty was concerned, of breaking the rules at will, taking inordinate risks with their ships, and of putting his own career in front of theirs. But—and this is critical—he was also extraordinarily successful. Sometimes he was just lucky, but often he was sufficiently resourceful and aggressive to disorient his enemies. More often than not, he surrounded himself with a set of fellow officers in the rest of the fleet who came to be his "band of brothers," as he called them, and using their collective knowledge and individual initiative, this group achieved a series of remarkable victories at the Cape St. Vincent (1797), the Nile (1798), and finally Trafalgar (1805). For example, the Battle of the Nile, which effectively destroyed the French Mediterranean fleet and marooned Napoleon in Egypt, was a remarkable British success: Thirteen of the seventeen French ships were captured or destroyed in the battle and the French suffered between 2,000 and 5,000 dead, 1,500 wounded, and had 3,000 taken prisoner. It was, according to a British sailor: "An awful sight . . . the whole bay was covered with dead bodies, mangled, wounded and scorched, not a bit of

clothes on them but their trousers” (Grint 2001, 252). The British, in contrast, suffered 218 dead and 617 wounded but no lost ships. This outcome was the result of two actions. First, Nelson’s fleet attacked the French fleet, then at anchor, without hesitation even though the light was already fading and night battles were very unusual—thus taking the French by surprise. Second, as a consequence of anchoring as close to the land as possible, the French assumed their landward side was safe and thus had no guns run out on that side. But Nelson’s band of brothers was astute enough to recognize this potential weak spot, and once several British ships had navigated down the landward side, they were able to attack their French opponents from both sides. In short, the aggressive and risk-taking leadership of Nelson was reproduced in the rest of the fleet.

In each of the above battles, Nelson ensured that his personal action would be remembered by his adoring public, for he was a master of media relations. Even when his adventures were disastrous (Tenerife 1797, Boulogne 1801), unnecessary (Copenhagen, 1801), or just plain grotesque (Naples, 1799), his image usually remained unsullied in the eyes of the British public.

The historian Alan Schom considers Nelson’s character, and thus presumably his leadership skill and style, to have been based on loyalty: “Perhaps the most important principle or precept of his life he appears never to have articulated. That one had to be honourable, do one’s duty, give one’s life if necessary to protect Britain, be loyal to fellow officers . . . above all . . . that every responsible person had to think for himself” (Schom 1992, 248). But there is a clear tension here between the absolute loyalty owed to one’s country and peers and the duty to think independently. Independence of thought and action is surely one of Nelson’s characteristics, but it was often articulated and executed at the expense of loyalty to his superior officers and to the Admiralty. He frequently disobeyed direct orders *because* of his independence of thought and action. For the film producer and director Phil Grabsky, who produced a series of documentaries on military commanders, Nelson “was vain, ambitious, disfigured by battle, adulterous, and almost wrecked by a life at sea. He disobeyed orders,

made up his own rules and was pensioned off for five years. Nevertheless, every 21 October, on British naval bases and warships throughout the world, glasses are raised to ‘the immortal memory’ of Horatio Nelson” (Grabsky 1993, 75). That, surely, is the most important learning point: Leadership is a warts-and-all phenomenon that does not follow predictable patterns and in which leaders actively manipulate their own image and followers actively attribute to their leaders all manner of deserving and undeserving affects and effects.

—Keith Grint

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NETWORKS AND NETWORKED ORGANIZATIONS

Consider the Internet, one of the most powerful communication tools in the history of human civilization. Can we identify a single person with the knowledge and power necessary to order a sudden or drastic change in it? There is no such person to be found. What if the Internet, governed loosely by a broad range of persons, is a harbinger of organizations and institutions to come? Can current models of leadership be applied to networks of people, linked by technology, which inherently cannot be managed? What does leadership look like in a networked world?

A major shift is occurring in the world, and it is having a significant effect on how we work together, influence change, and lead our organizations. The shift is from a world of fragmentation to one of connectivity and integrated networks. This shift is fueled by the trend toward a global economy and by the

increased use of technology and mass communications in our everyday lives.

THE DYNAMICS OF NETWORKS

A networked world operates differently than one built on hierarchies and fragmentation. The Internet is a wonderful example of a network. The Internet has a basic structure within which individuals and organizations can create and operate. That structure is one of nodes, each of which is a center for a web of connections. Each of these nodes is linked with other nodes. This structure is simple, yet it allows for great flexibility and has permitted the evolution of the World Wide Web, the graphical information-exchange service that, with e-mail, is the way that most people make use of the Internet. Individuals who are connected to the Web can initiate change from anywhere within the system: They may set up a new website, for example, or they may enter topical chat rooms or initiate conversations on new topics. The ease with which new websites can be created is evident from the fact that in the United States alone their numbers grew from 50 in 1992 to 50 billion by 2000.

The Internet is highly dynamic: Websites, users, and content are constantly changing, and the opportunities for individual initiative and creation are endless. It is active participants who shape the system, gradually and in an ongoing manner, based on their own knowledge and interests.

The dynamics in networked organizations are different from the dynamics in fragmented, hierarchical organizations in that they are linked both formally and informally by many different connections and directions. Unlike a traditional hierarchy, which has vertical linkages and tends to limit connections across departments or the larger organization, a networked organization often has ways to communicate across the entire organization (mass e-mail messages) and allows many formal and informal directions of communication and relationships often disregarding formal position. While networked organizations retain certain hierarchical aspects, they significantly increase hierarchy-challenging links among network members. A networked world

blurs organizational boundaries, creates connections, and influences the way we work.

A number of rules and observations apply when examining networked organizations. First, networks can only be understood from the perspective of the whole system. Rather than trying to analyze each connection in the web of connections that make up the network, it is more useful to step back and examine the whole system from a distance of time or space.

Networked systems are always more than the sum of their parts. When five members of a basketball team work together and transcend their individual skills, we know that an effective team has been developed. This team is the synergistic result of the unique composition of each member as well as their ability to work together and heighten each other's play.

Second, due to their high degree of connectivity, networks blur boundaries in organizations, and indeed, between work and home. Many of us check e-mail away from the office or access our work computers from home, adding to the complexity and connectivity of our work environment. Links and connections span traditional boundaries and make it challenging to hold distinct boundaries even when it might be appropriate to do so. The problems of inappropriate influence, as when the consulting units of accounting firms influence accounting practices or financial contributions from special-interest groups influence politicians' decisions, existed before advances in information technology made connectivity so easy; in today's networked organizations, the risk of inappropriately blurring boundaries is even greater.

In the global economy, transnational companies are unhindered by national boundaries. The euro has done more than replace national currencies; it has blurred the boundaries between distinctive cultures, countries, and business practices. Similarly, e-mail has eliminated many communications boundaries. An employee or customer can e-mail others in an organization without going through a secretary or a chain of command.

Third, networks behave in nonlinear ways, as the vast number of connections in a network creates



Networks and Immigration

The following account of a Lebanese immigrant settlement in Canada indicates the importance of kinship and ethnic networks.

It took Joseph's Italian liner thirteen days to reach New York. When he got off the ship, a member of the Faour family met him and told him that he should go to Halifax, which was where his brother lived. Before he left New York, Joseph was given the name of Butros Alamy, a friend of the Faour family, who also lived in Halifax. Butros would lead Joseph to his brother. When Joseph arrived in Halifax, Butros Alamy received him kindly, and directed him to his brother.

At the time Joseph arrived in Halifax, the Lebanese community formed a close-knit network of friends and relatives. They lived close to each other and helped each other out. Naturally, Joseph became a member of this network. He obtained his first job through a Lebanese who worked on the street car tracks. He did not like the job because the sun bothered him. He quit, and found a job in a sugar factory in Halifax through another Lebanese acquaintance.

In the 1920s, Joseph's brother, Antoun, left Halifax for

the United States to seek his fortune there. Influenced by his brother, Joseph left Halifax and settled in Vermont. There he met several Lebanese who told him that independent business, not employment, was the only way to become rich. Joseph followed their advice and opened a general store. He did very well. He returned to Halifax to marry a girl he met through his Lebanese friends in Halifax, and brought her back to help him in his business in Vermont. Times became hard for Joseph and his wife during the Depression. His father-in-law visited them and persuaded them to return to Halifax. This was in 1933.

Joseph failed to find a job in Halifax, for the Depression was taking its toll there, too. Finally, remembering his lesson in the rewards of business, and encouraged by his friends and relatives, he opened a little dry-goods store in the North End. With hard work and determination, he made his business thrive. He worked in his store from 1938 until 1956, when he sold the business and retired with a small fortune.

Source: Jabbra, Nancy Walstrom, & Jabbra, Joseph G. (1984). *Voyagers to a Rocky Shore: The Lebanese and Syrians of Nova Scotia*. Halifax, Canada: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, pp. 20–21.

opportunities for discontinuous change. Discontinuous and nonlinear jumps make it hard to assign causality; the connectivity of the system makes it possible for many variables from both near and far to create ripple effects that influence the whole system. Information spreads at light speed through cell phones and e-mail.

Fourth, networks are always in dynamic flux. When many highly connected variables are in play, high speeds and high degrees of movement are natural. We notice this in number of new problems that arise and the speed with which they mutate. The dynamic flux of networks also means that organizational rules have a shorter shelf life. As the number of variables in the system increases, we experience an accelerating sense of speed and movement in the system. People who use networked computer systems, e-mail, voice mail, cellular phones, and fax machines have an altered perception of time and urgency: The more easily and quickly we can be reached, the greater our sense of urgency and speed,

which in turn creates the sense of living in a world of constant movement.

Fifth, the complexity of network systems grows geometrically. This creates a serious challenge to the way we handle strategic planning and decision making. A networked system is never closed off from outside influences. It is always affected by variables that exist outside departmental or organizational boundaries. This means that it is impossible to understand all the variables when we make decisions or solve problems; we must be constantly learning to adapt to these challenges.

Geometrical complexity also challenges micro-management: To focus on the parts denies the complexity of a networked system. Rather, we must focus on the relationships between variables and keep an eye on the whole system. If seeing the system is like standing on the balcony watching the dancers on the floor below, micromanaging is like being on the floor, telling people how to dance. When you are on the floor, you can't see the system

patterns, and making small changes in the movements of the dancers doesn't have much impact on the performance of the system as a whole. The presence of geometrical complexity means that people must become comfortable with ambiguity and probabilities instead of certainty.

Sixth, networks can be influenced but they cannot be controlled. In a 1998 obituary for the Internet pioneer Jon Postel, the *Financial Times* noted that Postel helped influence the development of the Internet, realizing that no single person or entity could control it:

The Internet works because computer scientists all over the world are prepared to reach agreement on the best standards to adopt. The process of reaching that agreement is managed by a relatively small number of people, of whom Postel was one. Their power stems not from official status or governmental nomination, but from their ability to create a consensus. The consensus, in turn, stems from a shared purpose. (*Financial Times* 1998, 20)

Were one person to try to force his or her will on the overall Internet— even a giant such as Microsoft's Bill Gates—he or she would surely fail. Due to the dynamic movement and high degree of connectivity, networks do not respond to force; in fact, they naturally resist it. Wet sand makes a good analogy in this regard: It resists the imprint of our foot when we slap our foot down on it hard; however, when we place our foot on it and wait, the wet sand allows our foot to sink into it. Often supervisors are called upon to drive change through an organization. This forceful “make it happen at all costs” attitude often results in more resistance.

The dynamics of networks have become increasingly familiar to us. Over the last decade, we have felt the increased rapidity of change and the lessening effectiveness of control strategies. The boundaries between our daily work and the outside community have become blurred. Global, economic, political, and societal issues affect our organizations and our work. Effectiveness used to be measured in part by a person's ability to be autonomous and maintain his or her boundaries. Now, effectiveness is measured by a person's ability to develop and maintain cross-boundary rela-

tionships and see the whole system. The old rule that said “everything will become clear when I grow up” has been replaced by the need for constant learning and unlearning.

IMPLICATIONS FOR LEADERSHIP

Networked organizations require us to develop and practice two new ways of working. First, members of networked organizations must relate to one another in new ways. They must build and maintain effective cooperative relationships across the boundaries of an organization and between the organization and the community. In a networked world, one's value is measured by one's connection to that world. Our relationships need to model and keep pace with the nature of the system. If the system is full of connections, then we need to be in connection as well. We must also think relationally. Since networks have many variables in play, and because linear causality does not work in open systems, a new way of thinking is needed. This new way of thinking—relational thinking— requires us to learn how different variables relate to and affect one another. Furthermore, we must develop emotional intelligence on both individual and group levels. Emotional intelligence entails personal emotional competence in the areas of self-awareness, self-regulation, and motivation.

Emotional intelligence also entails empathy and social skills. The reason why emotional intelligence becomes more important in a networked world is that the flow of emotions as well as information is increased within a networked system. If the members of a networked organization have low emotional intelligence, rumor, fear, and amplification of all emotions will occur. This results in an organizational drain of energy and resources as staff members respond to the emotional content of communications instead of the informational content.

The second new way of working regards how we influence change. We must use more organic strategies that take into account the nonlinear nature of connected systems and their negative response to force. Hierarchies have traditionally used force and power to move people, but networks resist force. If we continue to use traditional change strategies in a

networked world, we are likely to be unsuccessful. As part of our new approach to influencing change, we must also develop an understanding of how the dynamics of a network operate and what the key points of leverage within the system are. When we learn to spot these points of influence, we can use the dynamics of the system to bring it to health.

There are obviously some interesting implications and challenges for leadership that result from this expansion of networks. While human networks have always existed, the huge growth in information technology and the Internet has extended the connections between people and within organizations and has fundamentally changed the way we lead.

—*Kathleen E. Allen and Cynthia Cherrey*

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NICHIREN (1222–1282) *Leader of Japanese Buddhism*

Nichiren, one of the most famous figures of Japanese Buddhism, is a remarkable example of spiritual and charismatic leadership, whose influence reached far beyond his lifetime. A forceful personality whose behavior often seemed to be in conflict with Japanese ideal of social harmony or with the compassion preached by Buddhism, Nichiren initiated a new religious movement that would be named after him and which propagated exclusive faith in the Lotus Sutra, one of the major scriptures of East Asian Buddhism. He did not hesitate to criticize other Buddhist traditions and the political leaders of his time, and perhaps as a consequence of his critical attitude spent much of his life in exile. He presented himself as a martyr and a prophet, and as the only one who, on the basis of the knowledge he had achieved through his understanding of Buddhism and his life of persecution, could indicate the way of salvation to the entire country of Japan. Thus he described his mission: “I shall be the pillar of Japan. I shall be the eyes of Japan. I shall be the great vessel of Japan. This is my vow, and I will never forsake it” (Nichiren 1990, 138).

ESTABLISHING HIMSELF AS THE TRUE “PRACTITIONER OF THE LOTUS”

There are no contemporary records about Nichiren, and information on his life has to be gleaned from his own writings, which abound in biographical details. In these works, he seemingly attempts over the years to construct his own identity as the only true interpreter of the Lotus Sutra.

Nichiren was born in Awa Province (Chiba), at that time a remote area of eastern Japan, in the year 1222, a crucial moment in Japanese history, when the military government had consolidated its power at the expense of the imperial court. In spite of the hagiographic narratives that stress his poor origins, his father may have been an official of the local manor, and Nichiren was in close contact with the military class from a young age. Among his followers would be many lower- and medium-rank samurai.

In 1233, Nichiren entered Kiyosumidera, a temple

close to his home village, where he was ordained at the age of sixteen. He spent the next twenty years traveling, to study at major Buddhist centers, first in Kamakura and then in the area of the capital Kyoto, at the temples of the Tendai school and of esoteric Buddhism.

Returning to his home temple in 1253, Nichiren supposedly proclaimed his belief in the exclusive superiority of the Lotus Sutra by invoking the title of this scripture, *namu myohorengekyo*, a practice that would become distinctive of his school and of all other movements inspired by him. This is considered the starting point of his “sect.” In fact, he continued to be interested in other forms of Buddhism, the esoteric traditions in particular, which were extremely popular in those times and which would color his distinctive interpretation of the Lotus Sutra. Yet in his autobiographical writings, he discounted this interest in order to draw the focus more sharply on his mission as the “practitioner of the Lotus” par excellence.

THE RIGHT TEACHING FOR THE PEACE OF THE COUNTRY

Nichiren’s tribulations began early in his career. In 1254, he was forced to leave his home temple because of a conflict with a local landlord. He established his residence in Kamakura, where in his preaching he attacked the practitioners of Pure Land Buddhism.

There Nichiren started his search for political support. In 1260, he submitted the *Treatise on Keeping the Country at Peace by Establishing the Right Teaching* to the most powerful man in the government, the retired shogunal regent. He warned that fateful calamities, including internal revolts and invasions from foreign countries, would afflict Japan if its rulers would not support the right form of Buddhism, that is, the kind he himself was teaching. His discourse on the relation between religion and political power drew on the traditional notion of the mutual dependence of the “law of the king” and the “law of the Buddha,” and presented the authority of the Lotus Sutra as a principle to which rulers were to subordinate themselves. Some years later, when the Mongols threatened to attack Japan if it would not

become a tributary of their empire, Nichiren sent this memorial once again to the government and to major temples, reinterpreting his words as prophetic utterances in which the Mongol invasions had been foreseen. Nichiren’s concern for the country of Japan is also owed to his belief that the truth of the Lotus Sutra needed concrete actualization in society and that salvation was not only a matter of the individual, but a concern of the entire nation.

A LIFE OF EXILE

In 1261, Nichiren was arrested and exiled to Izu. It is not clear whether this was a direct consequence of his memorial to the state or was a result of conflicts with other sects, namely those of the Pure Land believers. Nichiren remained in Izu for two years, and there wrote the *Essay on Doctrine, Capacity, Time, and Country*, which outlines the criteria according to which the Lotus Sutra occupies the unique position of the perfect teaching.

In 1264, in his native village of Komatsubara, Nichiren again ran into trouble and was wounded in an ambush, together with some of his followers.

In 1271, Nichiren was arrested, probably because of accusations from hostile monks, and his followers in Kamakura were persecuted. Nearly executed at Tatsunokuchi, he was once again sent into exile, to the island of Sado in the Sea of Japan. There he spent a winter of great hardship in a desolated hut in the middle of a graveyard, after which he was moved to the home of a local landowner. Yet the Sado period is probably the most significant for the doctrinal formulation of his teaching as distinct from that of the religious tradition he sprang from, the Tendai school of Buddhism. He established the recitation of the title of the Lotus Sutra as a new practice for both monks and laymen and the only practice that would afford direct and immediate access to Buddhahood and grant worldly benefits; at the same time, he condemned all other Buddhist practices as useless heresies that “slandered the dharma.” In Sado, Nichiren also devised the icon that would become the object of worship of his movement and at the same time a powerful instrument of sectarian legitimation: a calligraphic mandala said to visualize the world of the Lotus Sutra, which

included the title of the sutra, the major Buddhas of his Buddhism, and protective deities and gods of Japan, as well as the patriarchs of his tradition.

Released from exile in 1274, he returned to Kamakura. The government seemed interested in the prophecies he had made a few years earlier, but did not withdraw its support to other schools. Perhaps disappointed, Nichiren left again for a mountainous area near Mount Fuji, Minobu, where he would remain for the rest of his life, continuing to write and providing leadership to his growing community of believers. In 1282, Nichiren was persuaded to leave Minobu to cure his illness at a hot spring, but he was forced to stop at the residence of a follower, Ikegami Munenaka, in today's southwest Tokyo. There he died on the thirteenth day of the tenth lunar month, after having designated six main disciples to head his community.

TIME, COUNTRY, TEACHER: NICHIREN AS A MILLENARIAN PROPHET

During the periods of exile, Nichiren gradually achieved an awareness of being the spiritual leader that Japan needed. In Izu, he had already proposed an original interpretation of the relation between the supreme teaching, the right time to propagate it, the country that upholds it, and the teacher who propagates it. He presented Japan as being in the final ages of the dharma, when destruction and decline are inevitable, and yet as the country destined to protect the Lotus Sutra qua teaching that would offer ultimate Buddhahood to everyone in this period. In a later essay compiled during the Sado exile, *On the Buddha's Prophecy*, he explicitly designated Japan as the place from where the Buddhist truth would spread to other countries, a new "center" of the Buddhist world.

While the doctrinal foundation of his ideas lay within the tradition he had received, Nichiren's notions of time and space represent a new development. In this respect, Nichiren reveals the characteristics of a millenarian prophet, who sees in the final ages the moment for the institution of a new religious world, centered on his interpretation of the truth, while condemning other leaders as corrupt and degenerate. This vision was part of a process of self-

legitimation, as Nichiren believed that he was destined to be the one who could guide Japan toward this renovation: "The destiny of Japan depends solely on me. A house without pillars collapses and a person without soul is dead. I am the soul of the people of Japan" (Nichiren 1990, 333).

FROM BUDDHIST LEADER TO PARAGON OF NATIONALISM AND SOCIAL REFORMISM: NICHIREN AS A "MODEL"

Although Nichiren himself wrote that he was not the founder of any school nor of a branch of an existing school, and although he failed to win official support from the highest political authorities during his life, he constructed his identity as that of a spiritual leader for rulers and clerics alike, and he was convinced that his mission would be carried on by his disciples. A large body of correspondence with his followers shows that they recognized his charismatic leadership, trusted his understanding of the scriptures, and had recourse to him for guidance with their problems, whether religious or not. His innovative reading of his canonical tradition created a new hermeneutic tradition and eventually a new sectarian movement, which turned out to be extremely successful: In a few decades, it established itself throughout Japan and acquired the support of the court.

Today there are nearly forty religious bodies that claim Nichiren as their founder, including traditional Buddhist denominations and new religious movements. But he inspired not only religious and lay movements, but also political and social ideologies of modern times. A term, Nichirenism (*nichiren-shugi*), has even been coined to indicate currents of thought that are indebted to him. Interestingly, these include both ultranationalists and socialist thinkers. Tanaka Chigaku (1861–1939), for instance, who founded the Nation's Pillar Society, an organization named after Nichiren's saying "I will be the pillar of Japan," saw Nichiren as the "Supreme Commander of the world-unifying armed forces of Japan" who would spiritually guide the military enterprises of Japan as a mission to accomplish the pacification of all nations, Nichiren's ideal extended to the entire universe. On the other hand, Seno Giro (1890–1961),



Nichiren's "The Swords of Good and Evil"

Nichiren created a number of goshos (honorable writings). Below is one known as "The Swords of Good and Evil."

Nichiren is the most perverse person in Japan. The reason is this: Nichiren proclaims that because the people revere Amida, Dainichi, Yakushi and other Buddhas even more than their own parents and lords, the three calamities and seven disasters are occurring in greater magnitude than in any previous age, and natural disasters are now more terrible than ever. I am forever reminding them that they will not only ruin themselves and destroy the country in this lifetime, but will fall into the depths of hell in the next. Hence I have suffered this persecution. I might be compared to a moth that flies into a flame or a mouse that dashes in front of a cat. I am like an animal that knows it is in danger and yet pays no heed. But I risk my life as a matter of conscious choice; therefore I, Nichiren, am a perverse person.

It is also true that stones are split open for their hidden gems, deer are slain for their hides and meat, fish are caught for their flavor, the kingfisher is killed for its gorgeous feathers, and a beautiful woman is envied for her beauty. This is the case with Nichiren. Because he is the votary of the Lotus Sutra, he has suffered all manner of persecution at the hands of the three powerful enemies. How wondrous that you have, nonetheless, become a disciple of such a person! There must be some profound reason for our relationship. Make every possible effort to deepen your faith and reach the pure land of Eagle Peak.

I have received the two swords—a long and a short one—to be offered in prayer. The long sword must have been made by a renowned swordsmith. It is fully equal to the celebrated swords Amakuni, Onikiri and Yatsurugi, or to those famous Chinese swords Kan-chiang and Mo-yeh. You have offered this sword to the Lotus Sutra. While you wore it at your side, it was an evil sword, but now that it has been offered to the Buddha, it has become a sword for good, just like a demon who professes Buddhism. How mystic!

In the next life you should use this sword as your walking stick. The Lotus Sutra is the staff which helps all

Buddhas of the three existences as they enter upon the path to enlightenment. However, you should rely upon Nichiren as your staff. When one uses a staff, he will not fall on treacherous mountain paths or rough roads, and when led by the hand, he will never stumble. Nam-myoho-enge-kyo will be your unbreakable staff to take you safely over the mountains of death. Shakyamuni and Taho Buddhas as well as the Four Bodhisattvas headed by Jogyo will lead you by the hand on your journey. Should Nichiren die before you, I will come to meet you at the moment of your death. If you should die before I do, I will be sure to tell King Enma everything about you. All that I tell you is true. According to the Lotus Sutra, Nichiren is the guide on the difficult road to enlightenment. Devote yourself singlemindedly to faith with the aim of reaching Eagle Peak.

Money serves various purposes according to our needs. The same is true of the Lotus Sutra. It will be a lantern in the dark or a boat at a crossing. At times it will be water, and at other times, fire. This being so, the Lotus Sutra assures us of "peace and security in this life and good circumstances in the next."

Of all the many places in Japan, Nichiren was born in the province of Awa. It is said that when the Sun Goddess discovered the land of Japan, she first dwelt in Awa Province. The shrine of the Sun Goddess stands in Awa. This goddess is the merciful parent of the entire nation, so this province must be of great significance. What destiny caused Nichiren to be born in this same province? No reward could be greater. That is not the main point of this letter, so I will not go into further detail. But you should think about what I mean.

I will pray to the gods with all my heart. Hold fast to your faith so that your wish will be fulfilled. Tell your wife all that I have said.

With my deep respect, Nichiren
The twenty-first day of the second month.

Source: *Historical Writings of Nichiren Daishonin*. Retrieved October 7, 2003, from <http://www2.netnitco.net/users/jqpublic/gswords.html>

a socialist activist, regarded Nichiren as a model of pacifism and democratic ideals based on Buddhist principles and advocated the unification of all Buddhists on the basis of Nichiren's ideas, in order to construct a society based on mutual trust. Takayama Chogyu (1871–1902), an influential literary figure,

saw Nichiren's historical significance in his refusal to submit to political authority in the face of persecution, holding fast to his belief in the Lotus Sutra, and Takayama regarded his message as transcending national boundaries. Nichiren's charisma affected even a Christian intellectual, Uchimura Kanzo

(1861–1930), who looked up to him as a religious reformer comparable to Martin Luther or Ignatius of Loyola and regarded him as one of the five representative men of Japan: “a remarkable figure, one of the greatest of his kind in the world. Indeed, he by his independence and originality made Buddhism a Japanese religion” (Uchimura, 292).

While these examples betray a certain misunderstanding of Nichiren as a thirteenth-century monk, they undeniably attest the lasting impact that his leadership had on diverse aspects of the intellectual and spiritual life of Japan through the centuries.

—Lucia Dolce

See also Buddha

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NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH (1844–1900)

Writer and philosopher

Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche led others not directly but through his thoughts on leadership. Nietzsche was an isolated, nomadic German classicist turned

philosopher who had important if controversial ideas about society and morality. He wrote witty, biting, brilliant books in which he celebrated leadership by example and encouraged social ideas that cultivated “great men.” He rejected those pervasive popular social ideas that catered to the interests of those he disdainfully referred to as “the herd.” Thus he emerged as an unabashed elitist who sharply criticized socialism, democracy, morality, and the entire Judeo-Christian tradition, all institutions and systems that emphasized equality and the rights and obligations of the common man. In such books as *Beyond Good and Evil* (1886) and *On the Genealogy of Morals* (1887), Nietzsche anticipated the rise of “higher men” who, as figures of inspiration, would lead by example by virtue of their aesthetic sensibility and creativity and raise modern society to the exalted level of the great societies of the past, such as the (predemocratic) society of ancient Greece. One of his favorite themes is the “will to power” in all human motivation. But what Nietzsche wanted to defend and further was not cruelty and political ambition but creativity, high culture, and the arts. Nevertheless, his brutal warrior metaphors were often far more suggestive and more memorable than his subtle aesthetic observations and pronouncements. This, combined with his posthumous adoption first by the Kaiser’s troops in World War I and then by the Nazis, gave his philosophy an unsavory image, and he was dismissed with vengeance as a proto-fascist outside of Germany until the latter half of the twentieth century.

NIETZSCHE’S LIFE

Nietzsche’s life, unlike that of some other great theorists of leadership, was not only unusually isolated and lonely but apparently devoid of any sort of political or social ambitions for himself. He was briefly an academic dean at the University of Basel, but that is the full extent of his personal experience as a leader. He envisioned no role for himself in the new society he imagined, other, perhaps, than as its philosophical patron saint. And although he wrote enthusiastically about warriors and heroes, most of Nietzsche’s existence was as a sickly exile and an



A Selection from *Thus Spake Zarathustra* by Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche

The New Idol

SOMEWHERE there are still peoples and herds, but not with us, my brethren: here there are states.

A state? What is that? Well! open now your ears unto me, for now will I say unto you my word concerning the death of peoples.

A state, is called the coldest of all cold monsters. Coldly lieth it also; and this lie creepeth from its mouth: "I, the state, am the people."

It is a lie! Creators were they who created peoples, and hung a faith and a love over them: thus they served life.

Destroyers, are they who lay snares for many, and call it the state: they hang a sword and a hundred cravings over them.

Where there is still a people, there the state is not understood, but hated as the evil eye, and as sin against laws and customs.

This sign I give unto you: every people speaketh its language of good and evil: this its neighbour understandeth not. Its language hath it devised for itself in laws and customs.

But the state lieth in all languages of good and evil; and whatever it saith it lieth; and whatever it hath it hath stolen.

False is everything in it; with stolen teeth it biteth, the biting one. False are even its bowels.

Confusion of language of good and evil; this sign I give unto you as the sign of the state. Verily, the will to death, indicateth this sign! Verily, it beckoneth unto the preachers of death!

Many too many are born: for the superfluous ones was the state devised!

See just how it enticeth them to it, the many-too-many! How it swalloweth and cheweth and recheweth them!

"On earth there is nothing greater than I: it is I who am the regulating finger of God."—thus roareth the monster. And not only the long-eared and short-sighted fall upon their knees!

Ah! even in your ears, ye great souls, it whispereth its gloomy lies! Ah! it findeth out the rich hearts which willingly lavish themselves!

Yea, it findeth you out too, ye conquerors of the old God! Weary ye became of the conflict, and now your weariness serveth the new idol!

Heroes and honourable ones, it would fain set up around it, the new idol! Gladly it basketh in the sunshine of good consciences—the cold monster!

Everything will it give you, if ye worship it, the new idol: thus it purchaseth the lustre of your virtue, and the glance of your proud eyes.

It seeketh to allure by means of you, the many-too-many! Yea, a hellish artifice hath here been devised, a death-horse jingling with the trappings of divine honours!

Yea, a dying for many hath here been devised, which glorifieth itself as life: verily, a hearty service unto all preachers of death!

The state, I call it, where all are poison-drinkers, the good and the bad: the state, where all lose themselves, the good and the bad: the state, where the slow suicide of all— is called "life."

Just see these superfluous ones! They steal the works of the inventors and the treasures of the wise. Culture, they call their theft—and everything becometh sickness and trouble unto them!

Just see these superfluous ones! Sick are they always; they vomit their bile and call it a newspaper. They devour

Source: Nietzsche, Friedrich. (1931). *Thus Spake Zarathustra*. Retrieved October 7, 2003, from <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1891nietzsche-zara.html>

intellectual vagabond, continuously worried about his fragile health.

Despite the enthusiasm he demonstrates in his writings, he had an unhappy life. Nietzsche was born in the small German town of Röcken, where his father, a Lutheran minister, died when he was only four years old. He was raised by his mother, grandmother, and two religious maiden aunts. As a student, Nietzsche displayed obvious brilliance. He was made a professor of classical philology at Basel University in Switzerland, at twenty-four. He served

briefly as a medical orderly in the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 and resigned his university post after little more than a decade because of poor health. He never married and spent the rest of his life largely alone, perched in some of the more spectacular landscapes in Europe.

Nietzsche suffered from excruciating headaches and chronic insomnia. Nevertheless, he started writing and publishing his remarkable books in the early 1870s, and despite his infirmities reached a veritable writing frenzy by the 1880s, finishing several books

one another, and cannot even digest themselves.

Just see these superfluous ones! Wealth they acquire and become poorer thereby. Power they seek for, and above all, the lever of power, much money—these impotent ones!

See them clamber, these nimble apes! They clamber over one another, and thus scuffle into the mud and the abyss.

Towards the throne they all strive: it is their madness—as if happiness sat on the throne! Ofttimes sitteth filth on the throne—and ofttimes also the throne on filth.

Madmen they all seem to me, and clambering apes, and too eager. Badly smelleth their idol to me, the cold monster: badly they all smell to me, these idolaters.

My brethren, will ye suffocate in the fumes of their maws and appetites! Better break the windows and jump into the open air!

Do go out of the way of the bad odour! Withdraw from the idolatry of the superfluous!

Do go out of the way of the bad odour! Withdraw from the steam of these human sacrifices!

Open still remaineth the earth for great souls. Empty are still many sites for lone ones and twain ones, around which floateth the odour of tranquil seas.

Open still remaineth a free life for great souls. Verily, he who possesseth little is so much the less possessed: blessed be moderate poverty!

There, where the state ceaseth—there only commenceth the man who is not superfluous: there commenceth the song of the necessary ones, the single and irreplaceable melody.

There, where the state ceaseth—pray look thither, my brethren! Do ye not see it, the rainbow and the bridges of the Superman?

Thus spake Zarathustra.

in his last productive year. In 1889, while in Italy, he collapsed on the street in a deranged mental state and suffered the first of a debilitating series of seizures and strokes. This ended his writing career. He lived another ten years, at first under the tender care of his mother, but later subject to the manipulative management of his proto-Nazi sister, Elisabeth. It was his sister who, after his death, made the connection with Hitler and consequently ruined Nietzsche's reputation. (It was at his sister's behest that Hitler was photographed looking admiringly at a bust of Nietzsche,

but the association with the Nazis was both unfortunate and unjust, as Nietzsche had sharply condemned such Nazi principles as anti-Semitism, militarism, and German chauvinism.) Nietzsche died in the first summer of the new century, 1900.

Accordingly, a biography of the events of Nietzsche would tell us little of his views on leadership. All of this must come from an understanding of his works. What we find in his works is an enduring fascination with the singular importance of great leaders and constant reference to great leaders in the ancient world (as well as to a few contemporary leaders). But the great leaders Nietzsche celebrates were not for the most part political leaders or for that matter even very self-conscious leaders; rather, they were masters of the arts who went their own way and "created themselves" out of the materials of their times. It is worth noting that the great German poet and philosopher Goethe (1749–1832) appears in this role more than any other single figure.

NIETZSCHE'S IDEAS

Among Nietzsche's most radical ideas are the revaluation of all values, the death of God, the specter of nihilism in modern society, and the loss of European confidence, combined with a growing sense of meaninglessness and foreboding that would find a home in twentieth century existentialism and elsewhere. By the revaluation of all values, Nietzsche meant to initiate an examination of the hierarchies of value, given that human beings are in their very essence value-making creatures. Nietzsche discussed in great detail the revaluation of values that he believed took place with the invention of Judeo-Christian morality in the first millennium B.C.E. According to Nietzsche, the ancient Hebrews, in their unhappy exile and, before that, under slavery, invented a set of values diametrically opposed to the ancient warrior values of their captors and oppressors. The early Christians built on this invention and, like the Hebrews, coupled it with a powerful monotheistic religion. Whereas the older values of the ancient warriors and aristocrats celebrated the privileged superiority of their adherents, the new values of the Hebrews and Christians shifted privilege

to the common man and emphasized an egalitarian morality which (unlike the morals of the ancient warriors and aristocrats) was available to any good person, regardless of his or her wealth, health, or place in society. Accordingly, it was a set of values that served the interests and self-respect of the “weak” and “mediocre” as opposed to a set of values that served the interests of the “strong” and “superior” specimens of humanity. What Nietzsche sought was a new revaluation of values that would reverse this older one and once again serve the interests of “the best,” “the higher men,” those who are most talented, those rare individuals who make a society great rather than simply comfortable.

The timing of Nietzsche’s campaign was crucial. That older revaluation, the one that shifted the emphasis and the privileges of society from the strong to the weak, depended on the powerful religions of Judaism and Christianity to maintain order, because (Nietzsche assumed) most people would be good only so long as there was a threat of divine punishment for wrongdoing or loss of faith. But Nietzsche saw clearly, as most of his contemporaries did not, that the rise of modern science and the new movements in society had undermined traditional belief in God, a sociological observation that Nietzsche captured in the memorable slogan, “God is dead.” With the death of God, the threat of punishment was gone. But most people need such a figure of authority, and Nietzsche warned that they would do almost anything to find one, including, he suggests, looking to new “Führers” of all kinds. He foresaw the coming of nihilism, the recognition that the values invented and fostered two millennia ago have lost their meaning and now have as their price only an antipathy to life, not a promise of hope or redemption. With this perspective comes a loss of European confidence and a growing sense of meaninglessness, and it is in the face of this void that Nietzsche believed his prescriptions could be of considerable significance.

What followed, we now know, were two world wars, a worldwide depression, fascism, and the Holocaust. But in Nietzsche’s philosophy, the anticipated horrors of the future were always tempered by a powerful sense of fatalistic hope and a concrete

and creative love of life, which Nietzsche believed would be the two most important elements in any future leader. Nietzsche’s sense of fatalism should not be confused with the “what’s the point?” lassitude and irresponsibility of some modern thinking; rather, it was of the same family as the assurance of the ancient warriors of Homer’s *Iliad*, who went into battle with full confidence that either the fates had it in for them or they did not. Nietzsche believed that leaders must in similar style throw themselves into their work, into their fate, confident that their gifts and their talents will either manifest themselves or they will not. Thus Nietzsche defended a buoyant optimism about the future and the ability of cultivated people to surmount any horrors. He rejected the pessimism of his early mentor, Schopenhauer (1788–1860), who saw no good coming of modern society or human life in general and saw the arts as only a temporary respite from the pain and turmoil of life rather than as society’s salvation. He also rejects the impersonal optimism of G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831), another important predecessor, who utterly minimized the role of individual leaders in the transformation of society. (Even Napoleon, Hegel wrote, was far more a pawn of the fates than a true leader who changed society through his personal will.) For Nietzsche, the individual leader is instrumental and definitive, leading by artistic and aesthetic example, setting the new style and taste of his era.

An important example of leadership for Nietzsche is his one-time hero and friend Richard Wagner (1813–1883), the great operatic composer. As a young man, Nietzsche got to know Wagner and his music and celebrated Wagner as a cultural leader of the most profound kind. Wagner not only perfected an art form but also set in motion the new mythology that would make Germany and all of Europe the equal of the ancients in artistic glory and nobility. But Wagner displayed some vulgar and despicable traits. Foremost among his despicable traits was his anti-Semitism. The vulgarity was not at first so obvious, but Nietzsche soon saw that his celebrated friend was far more concerned with popular success than with the values of great art, and in his shift away from a noble Teutonic mythology toward a popular

Christianity, Wagner showed Nietzsche that he was a hypocrite as well. Although he sometimes called himself an “immoralist,” Nietzsche was moralistic in the extreme. His lessons on leadership are uncompromising in their insistence on integrity, both artistic and personal.

—Robert C. Solomon

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NKRUMAH, KWAME (1909–1972)

African nationalist and leader of Ghana

Sometimes a leader’s claim to history is in being the first. In perspective, Nkrumah’s performance in seeking and attaining power inspired many others in black African countries, while in governance, his record foreshadowed similar declines elsewhere in Africa. In retrospect, Nkrumah’s reputation gained by keeping company—as their sole black African counterpart—with the giants of other continents, such as Marshal Tito (Yugoslavia), Nehru (India), and Mao Zedong (People’s Republic of China). Independence for the former British colony of Gold Coast (renamed Ghana, after the ancient West African kingdom) in 1957 electrified the fledgling anticolonial movements across black Africa. Nkrumah seized the moment to establish an African world presence, through numerous embassies, a shipping line, an airline, and sponsorship of inter-African and transcontinental meetings. Within a few



Huge posters of Queen Elizabeth II of England and Kwame Nkrumah on display in Accra, Ghana, when the Queen arrived for a visit on 11 September 1961.

Source: Corbis; used by permission.

years, however, Nkrumah’s leadership moved forward into a more definitive authoritarian rule: In 1960, he became chairman for life of the ruling Convention Peoples’ Party; a plebiscite in 1960 declared Ghana a republic, with Nkrumah as president; in 1964, Ghana officially became a one-party state, with “Nkrumahism” taught in party schools. But in 1966, Nkrumah’s government fell to a military coup while he was visiting China. He spent his remaining years in exile in Guinea, furiously writing tracts about capitalist-imperialist domination of Africa and the Third World.

LEADERSHIP RESOURCES

Despite widespread contemporary debasement of the term, “charismatic” attaches to Nkrumah (Apter 1972) as much as to any other political leader of the mid-twentieth century. To that must be added fierce dedication to the tasks at hand—initially, to his education, later to party organization—en route to gaining and exercising power.

After baptism as a Roman Catholic, Nkrumah went through school and teacher training, toyed with the idea of becoming a priest, and then set forth for the

Seek ye first the political kingdom.

—Kwame Nkrumah

United States in 1935. There he acquired several degrees: a bachelor of arts (1939) and a bachelor of theology (1942) from Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, and a master of science in education and master of arts in philosophy from the University of Pennsylvania (1943); he also completed requirements for a doctorate except for the dissertation. Nkrumah went to London in 1945, where he registered for law studies at Gray's Inn and went to classes at the London School of Economics. Despite food rationing and economic reconstruction, postwar political London plunged him into the brave new world of Fabian socialism and anti-imperialism. Nkrumah, who read, by his own admission, Hegel, Marx, Lenin, Mussolini, Garvey, and Gandhi (Nkrumah 1959), secured an appointment as secretary of the Organizing Committee of the Fifth Pan-African Congress (instigated in part by W. E. B. Du Bois) in London. Appointed general secretary of the Working Committee of the congress and, later, secretary of the West African National Secretariat, he rubbed shoulders with several of Africa's future heads of governments: Nnamdi Azikiwe (Nigeria), Jomo Kenyatta (Kenya), Felix Houphouët-Boigny (Côte d'Ivoire), and Leopold Senghor (Senegal).

Nkrumah's organizing abilities attracted an invitation from the leading anticolonial movement back home, the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), to assume the post of general secretary, which he did in December 1947. Differences over strategy and ideology led to a break, and Nkrumah founded the Convention Peoples' Party (CPP) in January 1949. CPP slogans tell the story: the demand for "self-government now" via campaigns of "positive action" and "forward ever, backward never." Nkrumah's proverb, "Seek ye first the political kingdom [and all else will be added unto you]" (Jackson and Rosberg 1982, 200), energized the lower classes—"the verandah boys," as he termed them. (Casual laborers slept under verandahs.) In addition, Nkrumah trumpeted his socialist commitment, as opposed to the bourgeois accommodationism of the UGCC.

In 1951, Nkrumah was jailed for inciting violence during a mass rally in the run-up to an election that would institute constitutional changes permitting greater African participation in the legislative assembly and executive council of the colony. Nkrumah continued the campaign from prison and in February 1951 won a spectacular victory, emerging as the new leader of government business, the first black African to assume such a position in the British Empire. After a motion for independence passed the assembly in 1952, it required another confirming election before actual independence arrived in March 1957.

LEADERSHIP EFFECTS

Nkrumah's ascent to prime minister of Ghana transformed the debate over whether Africans were ready to rule themselves. In 1958, France had departed from Guinea (with less goodwill than in Ghana), and by 1960, Congo and many of France's African colonies had secured independence. The years in between saw Ghana pushing ahead with its own version of a planned economy, a welfare state, and rapid industrialization. Despite radical rhetoric, Nkrumah attracted the support of the World Bank, the Kaiser Aluminum Company, and the U.S. government in financing a giant dam for the Volta River, a hydroelectric power plant, a bauxite processing facility, and an enlarged seaport—a monster project that symbolized the new, dynamic Africa. At the same time, Nkrumah pursued the goal of a United States of Africa, agreeing to a Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union that existed in name only, but was even willing to subvert moves toward the more conventional association of states, the Organization of African Unity (founded in 1963).

Nkrumah's economic policies bankrupted the country, cronyism and corruption decimated a respected civil service, and political paranoia suppressed or exiled dissenters. By 1960, Nkrumah began turning to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe for trade deals, loans, and advisors. He got himself declared Osagyefo (Redeemer) and won a Lenin Peace Prize. With an economy in ruins and a government dependent on personal whim, it took only a handful of military officers to depose

Nkrumah. During his exile years in Guinea, he produced several short books reinterpreting the past. Perhaps partially forgiven, and clearly respected for his visionary role, he returned home in death in 1972 to a ceremonial burial and to a gradual, historical resuscitation as the founder of his country.

—Harvey Glickman

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NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS

Modern economies include a business sector, a government sector, and a so-called third sector, which embraces nonprofit organizations. Nonprofits range from large, complex organizations such as private universities, the Catholic Church, and the Salvation Army to neighborhood community centers, condominium associations, and civic clubs. The third sector provides a vehicle for addressing societal needs and concerns that are neither financially attractive to the for-profit sector nor politically feasible for government. Because nonprofits traditionally have a tax-exempt status and limited reporting requirements, the third sector is large—including millions of employees and dispersing hundreds of billions of dollars annually in the United States alone—but poorly understood.

Because nonprofits pursue widely varying agendas, leadership in the third sector takes many different forms. Even if one considers structural leadership alone (that is, the leadership provided by the nonprofit's board of directors and its hired leader), one finds the roles evolve with the growing maturity of the nonprofit. The roles of board members in for-profit organizations are largely focused on hiring and evaluating the CEO. In nonprofits, board members may actually be expected to do work and supervision not done by for-profit boards. The degree of this involvement generally lessens as the organization and its board matures, and paid staff members take on these tasks. The evolutionary growth process of nonprofits affects leadership issues of governance, succession, relationships, roles, and processes. Understanding the frameworks in which nonprofit leaders operate can help make the leadership of nonprofits more understandable.

LEADERSHIP FRAMEWORKS

Conceptually, nonprofit leaders must develop a strategic framework in which to operate. They need a clear understanding of their organization's vision, mission, and strategy. Consider the case of a community food bank. The leader's vision for the organization is to end hunger in the community by pursuing the mission of feeding the hungry. As in industry or government, the vision may be defined as a well articulated, ennobling goal toward which the leader directs the organization. It answers the question, "Why does the organization exist?" The nonprofit's mission answers the question, "What does the organization actually do to make its vision a reality?" Finally, the nonprofit's strategy defines how the organization pursues its mission. For example, the strategy of a food bank might be to have a central location in a poor part of town, or it may use a mobile van that travels around to help people in different parts of the community. Though business and governments also need a clear vision, mission, and strategy, they gain access to resources by selling goods and services or by the power of taxation. Nonprofits often must rely on their vision, mission, and strategies to gain support among clients, staff, and

particularly those who voluntarily aid the nonprofit with funds or other resources.

Operationally, the day-to-day running of nonprofits relies on the organization's structure. The leader (chief executive) of a nonprofit is typically called the executive director or president. The chief executive reports to a board of directors (sometimes called a board of trustees) and is responsible for pursuing the organization's mission. In all but the smallest nonprofits, the executive director has a staff, typically comprising a chief financial officer, a chief human resources officer, and a chief developmental officer (fund-raiser). Depending on the mission of the nonprofit, other senior positions may include a chief medical officer (in a nonprofit hospital or clinic, for example), an artistic director (in a dance, drama, or other arts-oriented nonprofit), or some other title related to the mission. In addition, there are often marketing, public relations, and operations managers and supporting assistants. With the exception of the fund-raising dimension typically associated with nonprofits, this "businesslike" structure differs little from the private or public sectors.

THE EVOLUTION OF LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE

For governance, a nonprofit also relies on a board of directors, who are collectively responsible for hiring, evaluating, and compensating the executive director. The board also may reserve to itself any other duties and responsibilities it deems appropriate. Typically, boards will serve a policy review function, evaluating the recommendations of the executive director, particularly in the areas of large financial outlays and strategic undertakings. Other governance duties and activities of the board vary widely from nonprofit to nonprofit. The pattern is generally that the boards of newly established nonprofits are very involved in day-to-day activities of the organization, while the boards of established organizations restrict themselves to managerial oversight and the boards of mature, well-funded, and well-staffed nonprofits tend to take an advisory role.

Hands-on involvement is expected of board members in start-ups because resources are usually insuf-

ficient to allow the organization to pursue its mission *and* hire a staff. Though this hands-on involvement may include such mundane chores as stuffing envelopes or cleaning up after an event, it also entails formulating the organization's vision, mission, and strategies, raising funds, and, when funds permit, hiring an executive director. Since many nonprofits pursue visions and missions that exceed their initial resources, fund-raising is often a dominant concern. Returning to the food bank example, the nonprofit may discover that more people are seeking meals than the nonprofit's resources can feed. The success of nonprofits depends on their ability to generate the funds needed to meet their mission and related expenses. Though fund-raising is the lifeblood of nonprofits, other activities also must take place if the organization is to function. Here again, the new nonprofit confronts a lack of other resources. The leadership solution is to organize the board into a series of standing committees, with the chair of the board assuming the role of unpaid leader. The involvement of board members on these committees typically declines as the organization matures, with paid staff assuming the committees' responsibilities.

The typical committee structure of the board parallels that of a well-staffed nonprofit. That is, there will almost certainly be a developmental committee, charged with raising funds for the nonprofit. There may also be a finance committee and an operations committee. Particularly during start-up, these will be working committees, which means that board members on these committees will actually do the work that would be done by staff members in better-funded nonprofits.

As the nonprofit moves into the growth phase, resources will be used to hire paid staff members. At this point, the roles of board members will slowly evolve from hands-on to managerial. The main leadership challenge for the executive director becomes guiding board members through the transition from doers to overseers. (Some board members, just as some managers, find it difficult to let go of day-to-day activities in favor of supervisory responsibilities.) The professional staff members will often serve on the board committee that corresponds with their professional expertise. (For example, in a large

nonprofit, the chief human resources executive will be an *ex-officio* member of the board's human resources committee, serving as an adviser to the board committee and as a liaison between the organization and the board.) The degree to which a nonprofit moves its committees from hands-on activities to managerial activities depends on the size and quality of the professional staff. Because of the crucial nature of fund-raising, for example, board members on the development committee may continue to play a hands-on role even after the appearance of professional staff members, because committee members can help with introductions to likely donors.

With continued success, funding, and leadership, the nonprofit's staff should become more able and more sophisticated; there will likely be a managerial hierarchy within the nonprofit. At this point, professional managers assume the managerial duties previously carried out by the board, whose role shifts from managerial oversight to an advisory capacity, with staff members proposing major policies and activities and the board approving or disapproving.

LEADERSHIP SUCCESSION AND SELF-PERPETUATION

Continuity of leadership is critical to the long-term success of any organization. In the case of nonprofits, the succession of both the executive director and the board are important. The limited resources on which many nonprofits operate mean that staffing levels are minimal. Nevertheless, the board (often through the human resources committee) exhibits its leadership by compelling the executive director to develop succession plans. Should key staff members such as the chief financial officer or the chief operations officer leave, who will replace them? Given the limited bench strength found in all but the largest and best-endowed nonprofits, successors may have to be recruited from outside the nonprofit. Nevertheless, to help ensure continuity of operations, boards often take a leadership role by requiring the executive director to design a developmental plan for grooming current employees as potential replacements for key positions.

Perhaps even more crucial is succession planning for board leadership. Since the board is often critical

to the viability of the nonprofit, its leaders must create mechanisms to perpetuate it. Perpetuation of the board is driven by the nonprofit's bylaws, which typically require board members to be replaced after their term on the board has expired. Staggered three-year terms, with an opportunity to serve a second term, are common.

Most nonprofits solve the challenge of board continuity by creating a position of "chair-elect" that runs concurrently with the chair's tenure. The person in this position (often called vice chair) shadows the chair, learning about the leadership challenges that exist and using this apprenticeship period to ready him- or herself to assume the chair's duties in an emergency or as part of the succession process. After the start-up phase, the chair, committee chairs, and other board leaders typically serve in leadership positions for single one-year term. At the end of that time, they are replaced, perhaps moving to other committee or leadership positions during the remainder of their elected term. Keeping the immediate past chair on the board of directors for an additional year, even if it means extending the person's term, also helps provide leadership continuity at the board level.

Typically, rejuvenation of the board is managed through a nominating committee, which identifies potential talent that might be asked to join the board as openings occur. This committee is commonly led by the immediate past chair and will often include the current chair, the chair-elect, and the executive director. Well-run nonprofits rely on the staff to evaluate prospective and current board members against pre-established criteria to help decide who should be invited to stand for election or reelection when the board votes on the new slate of candidates.

NONPROFIT LEADERSHIP CHALLENGES: RELATIONSHIPS AND PROCESSES

Successful nonprofit leaders must master the relationships and processes that surround three major and often interconnected areas: funding, role complexity, and constituency management. The problems in these areas are exacerbated or mitigated by how well the strategic direction of the nonprofit is understood and accepted by the nonprofit's con-

No executive has ever suffered because his subordinates were strong and effective.

—Peter Drucker

stituents. Unlike for-profit organizations, which have a primary focus on increasing the wealth of the owners, or government, which has a primary focus on voter approval, nonprofit leaders seldom have a single, overarching constituency. To create a strong focus among staff, board, and other constituent groups, nonprofit leaders must continually reinforce their organization's vision and mission in their relationships and management processes.

Funding

Most nonprofit leaders believe their central problem is obtaining funding, because funding is often the deciding factor in the nonprofit's success or failure. More funding is equated with greater mission success; the more successful the mission, the closer the nonprofit comes to achieving its vision. Though a common concern of nonprofits at any stage of development, funding is most crucial in the start-up phase. Often the leadership challenge is whether the nonprofit will survive, not how well it can accomplish its mission with the available funding. With survival in question, plans, leadership theories, staffing needs, client demands, and the concerns of the board recede in importance compared with raising money.

If the nonprofit survives and prospers, leaders begin to move from opportunistic to more-planned funding models, usually relying heavily on the contacts and efforts of the board members. Maturity is signified by the identification of dedicated and repetitive sources of funding, which may range from long-term government or foundation grants to annual fund-raisers.

Leaders at some nonprofits may find themselves facing a funding trap, in which lack of money drives virtually all their activities, reducing time and effort devoted to mission performance and internal development. With limited mission success and limited

resources to build internal competencies, questions can arise about the value of the nonprofit. As burnout among the leadership (particularly the executive director and key fund-raisers) grows, the limited funding wanes, furthering the downward spiral of the organization.

Role Complexity

Nonprofit leaders must balance three overlapping roles, defined here as executive, managerial, and administrative. The executive role is to create a vision that holds broad appeal for multiple constituents, especially current and prospective board members, donors, clients, and staff. When it comes to building a consensus about needed activities or seeking outside support for the organization, the glue that binds together the organization and its supporters is the vision. While for-profit and government organizations often have the good of the public as a goal at some level, they also have ulterior motives—making money or seeking votes. In the case of nonprofit organizations, by contrast, there are rarely ulterior motives to tarnish the vision, which is generally based on doing social good. Though the executive role may take up a minority of the leader's time, it is crucial that the leader build a consensus about the nonprofit's contribution and the future in which that contribution will take place. Through speeches, informal conversations, brochures, position papers, editorials, grant requests, and other communications, the leader must strive to build a general consensus among internal and external constituents about the nonprofit's vision and its importance. Ultimately, funders and other constituents are driven by their understanding and perceptions of the vision.

Crucial as the executive perspective is to the leader's success, most time and effort will be spent in the roles of manager and administrator. As a manager, the leader identifies and prioritizes objectives, then marshals the available time, money, people, and other resources needed to attain those objectives. As an administrator, the leader seeks solutions that balance the often-conflicting claims of multiple constituents. Restated, managers focus primarily on the

optimal outcome given the resources available; administrators focus on finding outcomes that meet the needs of (or at least do not upset) different claimants. Sometimes these two orientations conflict: A leader assuming a managerial role, for example, might take up a board recommendation to get more visibility for the nonprofit by cutting back on service delivery and spending the saved monies on public relations, focusing on the objective (more visibility) and not the other constituents (such as clients or staff) who might be affected. An administrative mindset would seek solutions that avoid triggering negative reactions from clients but still meet the board's request for greater visibility, perhaps by writing an editorial in the local newspaper. Central to the leader's success is the ability to shift between executive, managerial, and administrative mind-sets as needed.

Constituency Management

In for-profit and government organizations, mismanagement can often be overlooked or forgiven if growing profits or voter support validates overall performance. In nonprofits, however, outcome measures are seldom as clear or dominant. If clients, staff, donors, or board members oppose the leader—even when performance is otherwise appropriate—then the result can be termination of the leader. Therefore, the leader's goals and activities must be balanced by a keen administrative sensitivity to the needs and demands of various claimants.

At a very fundamental level, the leader's success depends on managing the staff-board relationship. On the one hand, the executive director reports to the board, which has the power to reward or punish—even discharge—the executive director. On the other hand, the effectiveness of the executive director depends heavily on the performance of the nonprofit's staff, which may be hard to replace, given their common combination of specialized skills and willingness to work for relatively low pay (in comparison with the business and government sectors). Compounding this potential conflict is the expectation that the leader will achieve objectives (the managerial role) in ways that strengthen the staff's performance and morale (the administrative role).

Constituency management is critical to the nonprofit leader's success, tilting the leadership playing field toward a more administrative than managerial mind-set. Expanding constituency management concerns to a still broader audience, the effectiveness of the leader depends on the perceptions of clients and donors, both of whom are influenced by the perceptions of the community at large. Though this aspect of nonprofit leadership may be similar to leadership in the government sector, nonprofit leaders operate in a unique environment, with unique measures. Their success is not determined by profits or votes, but by the actual and perceived benefits the nonprofit delivers to its varied constituents of staff, clients, and supporters.

LEVERAGE POINTS FOR NONPROFIT LEADERS

Leadership is central to the success of all nonprofits. Nonprofit leaders understand that the viability of the organization depends on both the executive director and the board members being strong leaders. Thus, a key leverage point for all nonprofits is the systematic identification of potential board members and the evaluation of current members. The management scholar Peter Drucker argues that nonprofit leaders are among the best leaders anywhere. They have to be, because they face a complex leadership challenge, often with limited resources. Lacking the sales income of a business or the tax revenue of a government, nonprofit leaders rely heavily on the goodwill of others in the form of financial contributions and other types of voluntary assistance. Not only must they manage a staff, but they must also balance the conflicting demands of clients, donors, volunteers, and board members. They must leverage the vision and mission of the organization and the passionate energies their noble causes evoke.

—William B. Werther Jr.

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NYERERE, JULIUS (1922–1999)

African nationalist and founding president of Tanzania

On a continent of political leaders who regularly leave office suddenly and violently, Julius Nyerere fits into a small group who acquired and relinquished power peacefully, garnering popular esteem and gratitude. Perhaps his greatest achievement was to build a nation after independence out of some 120 tribal groupings that had been tenuously joined first as the colony of German East Africa and later as the British-administered League of Nations Mandate, then finally as a United Nations Trust Territory, of Tanganyika. Capitalizing on a stable government and a strong ruling party organization after decolonization in 1961, Nyerere provided rhetorical and practical assistance to pan-African efforts toward the liberation of neighboring territories and in the struggle to overthrow apartheid in South Africa.

In attempting to promote internal economic development, Nyerere also inveighed against North-South global inequality and the structural obstacles to development in poorer countries around the world. Yet economic development proved his greatest failure. His ideology of African socialism—neither Marxist nor Fabian—stressed consensus decision making and egalitarianism, and above all, the cooperation, hard work, and self-reliance of the vast majority of peasants. When voluntary cooperation failed to produce communitarian (*ujamaa*) villages, coercion was applied—with disastrous results. By the time of Nyerere's retirement from the presidency

in 1986, Tanzania was poorer and more dependent on outside aid than in 1961.

EARLY EMERGENCE AS A LEADER

Julius Nyerere was born in 1922 to the fifth wife of a chief of the small Zanaki tribe in a village near Lake Victoria in the northern periphery of Tanganyika, now the mainland segment (with offshore) Zanzibar of the United Republic of Tanzania. His recognized talents during early schooling at a nearby Roman Catholic mission got him sent to the Tabora Government School, which drew from the whole territory. In common with the best students in 1943 in the three British East African dependencies, Nyerere pursued a teaching diploma at the University College of East Africa (now Makerere University) in Uganda. At college, Nyerere founded the Tanganyika African Welfare Association (TAWA) to supplement the education of fellow students. TAWA folded into an organization of civil servants, the Tanganyika African Association (TAA), which Nyerere joined as a teacher in St. Mary's Roman Catholic Mission Boys School, back in Tabora in 1945. In 1948, Nyerere won a scholarship to Edinburgh University. After studying economics and history, Nyerere received an M.A. in 1952, the first Tanganyikan to graduate from a British university. Although Nyerere returned to teaching school, at St. Francis in Pugu (near Dar es Salaam, capital of the territory), he swiftly resumed his political and organizational interests, gaining election to the presidency of TAA. In 1954, with TAA as a base, Nyerere and others founded the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). By 1955, Nyerere left teaching for full-time politics, although through his lifetime he retained the title Mwalimu ("teacher"), indeed eschewing more grandiose honorifics.

LEADERSHIP STYLE

Nyerere exhibited great skill in his efforts to achieve independence for Tanganyika in 1961 before the country's more economically advanced neighbors of Kenya and Uganda. To achieve this goal, he had to convince masses of Africans to support TANU, a sufficient number of whites and Asians in 1959 to

run TANU in legislative elections as the nonracial party, and then finally the British government that he was sufficiently moderate to take his country to independence. His considerable skills of persuasion were still evident in April 1996, when he served as chief mediator in the Burundi civil war.

Although striving for a genuine transformation of political, economic, and social relationships, Nyerere preached progress by cooperation and consensus. Early in his political career in 1957, Nyerere faced a choice between going to jail (where he would be joining other nationalist “prison graduates”) and paying a fine after conviction for libel due to an article he wrote in the TANU magazine. Significantly, Nyerere chose to avoid a political martyrdom. His planned economic and political trajectory took him between Marxist revolutionary action and free enterprise capitalist multi-party democracy. Tanzania’s one-party democracy supposedly reflected traditional African values of community consensus; the country’s ideology of African socialism built upon supposedly pre-existing peasant cooperation; and pan-African collaboration started with concrete agreements, first with the two British East African neighbors, and then actual unification with Zanzibar in 1964.

Yet Nyerere could act on his own initiative and court violence when he decided that vital interests or principles were at stake. After a revolution overthrew the newly independent government of Zanzibar in early 1964, Nyerere pushed for unity with Zanzibar later that year. This bold move occurred after a mutiny of Tanganyikan troops outside the capital threatened a coup d’état, which required Nyerere to call in British troops to restore civilian rule. In 1967, chafing at the slow pace of social change, Nyerere announced the Arusha Declaration, arguably an African version of a Maoist “great leap forward.” Although the country progressed respectably in expanding literacy and providing clean water to rural areas, Nyerere and his TANU colleagues demanded increased agricultural production and manufacturing to satisfy ambitious home needs, as well as spurring



President Julius Nyerere speaking at a rally on 16 January 1968. The purpose of the gathering was to bring before the people the former Minister Kassim Hanga, who was accused of leading a failed coup.

Source: Corbis; used by permission.

equalization of services and even of incomes. The government attempted to accelerate modernization by nationalizing existing enterprises, directing the establishment of new enterprise via “para-statal” (state-owned) organizations and finally, collectivizing agriculture. Politicians and bureaucrats were held to a new Leadership Code of Conduct that dictated an austere non-capitalist style of life, in keeping with the status of workers and peasants.

Since scattered peasant homesteads remained the dominant organization of production (including about 80 percent of the population) over a country the size of France and Germany combined, a campaign to collectivize them into *ujamaa* villages inexorably led by 1976 to the abolition of independent entrepreneurs and cooperatives and the coerced relocation of 13 million people. This massive reorganization of economy and society in less than a decade led to a huge external debt, a decline in social services, an increase in corruption, and the souring of relations with even steadfast foreign donors. Stressing adverse world economic conditions, Nyerere resisted international pressure toward austerity and restoration of markets into 1985. By 1991, however,

Nyerere—out of office since 1986—admitted that nationalization and collectivization were policies that could have been implemented differently.

INTERVENTIONISM IN CONTINENTAL AFRICAN AFFAIRS

In matters of foreign affairs, Nyerere occupied a world stage for some forty years, a reliable Third World critic of an imbalanced and unjust global economic order. While supporting the Organization of African Unity, which he helped found in 1961, he could defy inter-African opinion and convention about the sanctity of existing boundaries. Thus he supported Biafra's secession in the Nigerian civil war (1967–1970). Despite an early emphasis on peaceful dispute settlement—he once suggested that there was no need for a standing army for his country at independence—Nyerere sent troops to several neighboring countries in the 1970s and 1980s. Most spectacularly, he ordered an invasion of Uganda to overthrow the murderously erratic Idi Amin in 1979, which culminated in the reinstatement of Nyerere's old friend Milton Obote.

Unlike most political leaders, Nyerere often acted on his principles, despite material costs. In 1965, he severed relations with two European aid donors: Britain, over its Rhodesia policy, and West Germany, over relations with East Germany. Finally, he rose above the standard rhetoric in providing bases for liberationist parties and armed militias in efforts to decolonize the neighbors of the states "in the front line" in the struggle to overthrow apartheid in South Africa.

NYERERE'S LEGACY

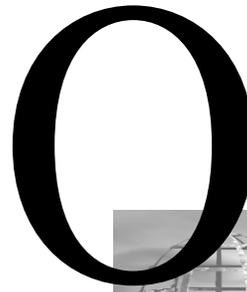
An influential interpretation of rulership in black Africa in the era of Nyerere divides African leaders

into "prince, autocrat, prophet, tyrant" (Jackson and Rosberg 1982, iii). Nyerere is labeled a prophet. He not only prophesied; he marshaled his people toward the independence of his country, the forging of a nation, and the planting of the roots of legitimate state authority. His vision of socialist equality and cooperative modernization in an underdeveloped corner of Africa may continue to inspire, yet its implementation materialized as a detour on the long, hard road to development.

—Harvey Glickman

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OBEDIENCE

Obedience can be extremely functional—particularly in emergencies and high-stress crisis situations (e.g., a battle, a police raid, a space shuttle, a hospital emergency room). Under these circumstances, it really helps to have someone in authority take the lead and issue commands that are unquestioningly obeyed. Consider what might happen in a battle if the troops decided to mull over every command given by their commander before deciding whether or not to obey. For this reason, obedience is highly valued in groups that need to make decisions and take action very swiftly under life-or-death conditions. However, obedience is also enshrined in more enduring groups that expect members to simply do as they are told and to unquestioningly follow specific orders and more general rules and principles. Such groups are often thought of as being orthodox and as having a strong leadership structure based on power—for example, the military in general, many religions, cults, gangs, and some societies.

Although obedience can be valuable, it can also be destructive if the commands that one is obeying specify actions that have harmful consequences. The classic example of this is the plea “I was only obeying orders,” which has repeatedly been made by people accused of crimes against humanity. The key question is, what is the psychology of blind obedi-

ence that causes people to simply obey a leader irrespective of what the orders ask one to do?

This entry focuses primarily on the social psychology of blind and destructive obedience to outline the conditions that enhance or weaken obedience that has harmful consequences. Much of what is known about obedience rests on the classic and controversial research of Stanley Milgram during the 1960s.

CONFORMITY, COMPLIANCE, AND OBEDIENCE

Research on social influence makes a distinction between conformity and compliance. Conformity is not based on power or obedience to authority; rather, it is a process through which people internalize group norms as guides for their own actions, often because they identify strongly with the group that defines the norm. Conformity involves genuine and enduring attitudinal change that underpins behavior. Conformity does not require surveillance—people conform because they feel they belong.

In contrast, compliance is a superficial and transient change in behavior and expressed attitudes in order to satisfy a request or order from someone else. There is no genuine underlying change in attitudes and behavioral intentions. Compliance requires surveillance, because if no one is watching, one reverts to one’s true attitudes and behavior. Compliance

describes what happens when we agree to do someone a favor or accede to a request. But compliance also describes what happens when we obey a command or an order.

Although obedience is a form of compliance, it can be differentiated from compliance with a request. Compliance with a request is based on factors such as liking for the person making the request and the desire to reciprocate some small favor received from the person making the request. In contrast, obedience is based on the fact that the person issuing the orders has power over you—what Bertram Raven has called reward power, coercive power, and legitimate power based on authority.

LEADERSHIP AND OBEDIENCE

The relationship between leadership and obedience is a complex one. Most organizational science definitions of leadership view it as operating within the context of conformity. Leadership is a process of influence that enlists and mobilizes others in the attainment of collective goals—it imbues people with the group's attitudes and goals, and inspires them to work towards achieving them. Effective leadership changes people's attitudes and practices and transforms individual behavior into group behavior. Although organizational leaders have authority, power, and legitimacy (and sometimes charisma), leadership is not a process that requires people to exercise power over others in order to gain compliance or, more extremely, in order to coerce or force people. Leaders tend more often to influence by example and persuasion than by issuing orders that cannot be debated. Leadership is more closely associated with conformity processes than power processes. However, leadership in some organizations does rest on obeying orders—for example, in the military, the police, and so forth.

The key point is that leadership can sometimes involve issuing orders that followers obey, but the orders are ones that describe courses of action that are consistent with the followers' own attitudes; they are normatively consistent orders, and obedience is here simply part and parcel of the wider conformity process. This we might call normative obedience.

However, sometimes orders require us to do something that is inconsistent with our attitudes or values—as when we know that what is being commanded is wrong because it will produce harmful consequences. This is usually called destructive obedience. For most of us, obeying an order from our boss to work late to get a particular shipment out is very different from obeying an order to pull a lever that delivers a painful electric shock to another human being. It is this latter form of obedience, destructive obedience, that is the focus of the remainder of this entry.

STANLEY MILGRAM'S OBEDIENCE EXPERIMENTS

In 1963, Stanley Milgram published the results of what has become a classic series of experiments on obedience. A number of factors encouraged Milgram to do these experiments. Perhaps the most significant factor was what was emerging from the ongoing trials of Nazi war criminals, in particular the trial of Adolf Eichmann, the Nazi official most directly responsible for the logistics of Hitler's "final solution," in which six million Jews were systematically slaughtered. In her 1963 book *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, Hannah Arendt reported on his trial. The subtitle of this book, *A Report on the Banality of Evil*, captures one of the most disturbing findings that emerged from Eichmann's trial, and indeed from the trials of other war criminals. These "monsters" did not appear to be monsters at all. They were often mild-mannered, soft-spoken, well-educated, cultured, and courteous people, who repeatedly and politely explained that they did what they did not because they hated Jews, but because they were ordered to do it—they were simply obeying orders.

The Experiments

Participants, who had responded to a local advertisement placed by Milgram, reported to a laboratory at Yale University to participate in a study of the effect of punishment on human learning. They arrived in pairs, and drew lots to determine their roles for the study (one was the "learner," and the other the



Corporations as Cults

DALLAS (ANS)—Outbreaks of murderous rage in the workplace are extreme symptoms of the way the work environment often dominates modern life, says Dave Arnott, author of *Corporate Cults: The Insidious Lure of the All-Consuming Organization*.

Analyzing incidents of beserk behavior in the workplace—sometimes called “going postal” because of the frequency of such incidents at one time within the U.S. Postal Service—Arnott says: “The shootings were by people for whom work had consumed their family and community life. People who ‘go postal’ have allowed their corporation to become their cult. When work falls apart, they have no place else to turn for support.”

In his book, Arnott suggests the workplace is taking the place of family, friends and the community. To achieve employee loyalty and devotion, he says, corporations adopt values strikingly similar to methods cults have always used to attract and keep members: devotion, charismatic leadership and separation from community. He notes that *Fortune* magazine’s “Best Places to Work” lists uncannily similar values: a sense of purpose, inspiring leadership and great facilities.

Arnott says even seemingly benign company perks—such as a company cafeteria, a company gym and a company lounge where employees hang out with colleagues—can have an insidious effect. “This is the way organizations go about getting physical, emotional and psychological control over the employee.”

While workplace violence is an extreme example of what can happen when an unstable individual is totally

immersed in a corporation, Arnott warns that when an employee comes to rely on the workplace for emotional support, love and self-esteem, the relationship becomes imbalanced because the organization makes a smaller commitment to the worker. “It is wrong to hug an organization because it won’t hug you back,” Arnott said.

Just as it is hard to get out of a traditional cult, it is equally hard to get out of a corporate cult, he says. “The reason is people in cults feel happy.” But corporate cults, like any kind of cult, leave destroyed family and community life in its wake.

Arnott said the reason he wrote the book was to warn people about corporate cults before the economy dips again and companies can be more selective about employees. “When there are less jobs available, there will be more pressure on employees to become overcommitted to an organization,” he said. “My warning is for individuals to stay away from these corporations. They are insidious and can take over your life.”

How does a person know if he or she is in a corporate cult? “Look at your family and community relationships. See if you still have these,” Arnott said. Another telltale test is to take a piece of paper and draw a line down the middle. On one half list what you do. On the other write who you are. “People in corporate cults cannot do this test because they cannot make a distinction between what they do and who they are.”

Last, keep your company at arm’s length. “Take overt measures to keep them from becoming everything in your life,” he said.

Source: “Corporations as Cults: Corporations Assume Cultlike Influence Over Employees, Says Author.” American News Service, November 18, 1999.

“teacher”). The learner’s role was to learn a list of paired associates, and the teacher’s role was to administer an electric shock to the learner every time the learner gave a wrong associate to the cue word. The teacher saw the learner being strapped to a chair and having electrode paste and electrodes attached to his arm, and overheard the experimenter explain that the paste was to prevent blistering and burning. The experimenter also explained that although the shocks might be painful, they would cause no permanent tissue damage.

The teacher was now taken into a separate room housing a shock generator. He was told to administer progressively larger shocks to the learner every time

the learner made a mistake—15 V (volts) for the first mistake, 30 V for the next mistake, 45 V for the next, and so on. An important feature of the shock generator was the descriptive labels attached to the scale of increasing voltage (from 15 volts to 450 V)—slight, moderate, strong, very strong, intense, extreme intensity, and at 375–420 V “Danger: severe shock,” and thereafter simply “X X X.” The teacher was given a sample shock of 45 V (slight), and then the experiment commenced. The learner got some pairs correct but also made some errors, and very soon the teacher had reached 75 V (moderate), at which point the learner grunted in pain. At 120 V (moderate), the learner shouted out to the experimenter that the

shocks were becoming painful. At 150 V (strong), the learner, or now more accurately the “victim,” demanded to be released from the experiment, and at 180 V (strong), he cried out that he could not stand it any longer. The victim continued to cry out in pain at each shock, rising to an “agonized scream” at 250 V (very strong). At 300 V (intense), the victim ceased responding to the cue words; the teacher was told to treat this as a “wrong answer.”

Throughout the experiment, the teacher was agitated and tense, and often asked to break off. To such requests, the experimenter responded with an ordered sequence of replies proceeding from a mild “please continue,” through “the experiment requires that you continue” and “it is absolutely essential that you continue,” to the ultimate “you have no other choice, you *must* go on.”

A panel of 110 experts on human behavior, including 39 psychiatrists, were asked to predict how far a normal, psychologically balanced human being would go in this experiment. These experts believed that only about 10 percent would exceed 180 V (strong), and no one would obey to the end. What happened in the actual experiment—which used a slight variant in which the victim, who had reported a slight heart complaint at the outset, could not be seen or heard but pounded on the wall at 300 V and 315 V and then went silent—was quite different. Almost everyone continued to 255 V (intense), and 65 percent continued to the very end—administering massive electric shocks to someone who was not responding, and who had previously reported having a heart complaint!

The participants in this experiment were quite normal people: forty men ages twenty to fifty, from a range of occupations. Unknown to them, however, the entire experiment involved an elaborate deception in which they were always the teachers, and the learner/victim was actually an experimental stooge (an avuncular-looking middle-aged man) who had been carefully briefed on how to react. No electric shocks were actually administered apart from the 45 V sample shock to the teacher.

Milgram had shown that destructive obedience might be not a pathological abnormality but rather a normal human response to extraordinary condi-

tions. He thus opened the door for social psychological as opposed to clinical research on destructive obedience.

Factors Influencing Obedience

Milgram conducted eighteen experiments overall, in which he varied different parameters to investigate influences on obedience. In all but one experiment, the participants were twenty- to fifty-year-old men (recruited through a newspaper ad) from a range of occupations and socioeconomic levels. In one study in which women were the participants, exactly the same level of obedience was obtained as with male participants. Milgram’s experiment has been replicated in many different countries, including Italy, Germany, Australia, Britain, Jordan, Spain, Austria and The Netherlands. Complete obedience ranged from over 90 percent in Spain and The Netherlands, through over 80 percent in Italy, Germany and Austria, to a low of 40 percent among Australian men and only 16 percent among Australian women. Some studies have also used slightly different settings, such as an administrative obedience setting.

Destructive obedience appears to be a widespread human characteristic—people tend to obey orders even when the consequences of what is being ordered are harmful. One reason why people continued administering electric shocks in the Milgram paradigm may be that the experiment started very innocuously with quite trivial electric shocks. Once they committed themselves to a course of action (i.e., to give shocks), it might have been difficult subsequently to change their minds. Research in social psychology shows that once people commit themselves, they find it very difficult to withdraw from that commitment. This human characteristic relates to what is called “sunk costs” in which a person or group that has made, for example, investment losses continues with the same behavior rather than stopping and changing strategy. It is also exploited by salespeople who get you to agree to a small commitment (e.g., to purchase an inexpensive item) but then persuade you to buy a much more expensive variant with lots of additional features. This is called the “foot-in-the-door” technique.

Although obedience is widespread, we all know that people certainly do not always blindly obey orders, particularly if the orders specify actions that have harmful consequences. A number of factors influence the extent to which people are obedient.

Immediacy

One important factor is *immediacy*, which refers to how close the victim is in space and time, how available the victim is in memory, or how close a social relationship you have with the victim. Milgram varied the level of immediacy across a number of experiments. We have seen above that 65 percent of people “shocked to the limit” of 450 V when the victim was unseen and unheard except for pounding on the wall. In an even less immediate condition in which the victim was neither seen nor heard at all, 100 percent of people went to the end. The baseline condition (the one described in detail above) yielded 62.5 percent obedience. As immediacy increased from this baseline, obedience decreased: When the victim was visible in the same room, 40 percent obeyed to the limit; and when the teacher had to actually hold the victim’s hand down onto the electrode to receive the shock, obedience dropped to a still frighteningly high 30 percent.

Immediacy may make it easier to view a victim as a living and breathing person like oneself and thus to empathize with his or her thoughts and feelings. Hence, pregnant women express greater commitment to their pregnancy after having seen an ultrasound that clearly reveals body parts, and it is easier to press a button to wipe out a village from 30,000 feet than it is to shoot an individual enemy from close range.

The immediacy/proximity of the person issuing the orders also affects obedience. Obedience was reduced to 20.5 percent when the experimenter was absent from the room and relayed directions by telephone. When the experimenter gave no orders at all, and the participant was entirely free to choose when to stop, 2.5 percent still persisted to the end.

Group Influence

Perhaps the most dramatic influence on obedience is group pressure. The presence of two disobedient

peers (i.e., others who appeared to revolt and refused to continue after giving shocks in the 150 V to 210 V range) reduced complete obedience to 10 percent, while two obedient peers raised complete obedience to 92.5 percent. Group pressure probably has its effects because the actions of others help to confirm that it is either legitimate or illegitimate to continue administering the shocks. The actions of others may also communicate the relevant group norm that one will subscribe to if one identifies with the group defining the norm.

Legitimacy of the Source of Influence

Another very important factor is the legitimacy of the authority figure, which allows people to abdicate personal responsibility for their actions. For example, in one study published in 1988 by psychologist Brad J. Bushman, a confederate of the experimenter was dressed in a uniform, neat attire, or a shabby outfit and stood next to someone fumbling for change for a parking meter. The confederate stopped passersby and “ordered” them to give the person change for the meter. Over 70 percent obeyed the uniformed confederate (giving “because they had been told to” as the reason) and about 50 percent obeyed the non-uniformed confederate (generally giving altruism as a reason). These studies suggest that merely the emblems of authority can create unquestioning obedience.

Milgram’s original experiments were conducted by lab-coated scientists at prestigious Yale University, and the purpose of the research was quite clearly be the pursuit of scientific knowledge. What would happen if these trappings of legitimate authority were removed? Milgram ran one experiment in a rundown inner-city office building. The research was ostensibly sponsored by a private commercial research firm. Obedience dropped, but to a still remarkably high 48 percent.

Some Implications of Milgram’s Obedience Research

One enduring legacy of Milgram’s experiments is the heated debate it stirred up over research ethics. The original ethical attack came from psychologist Diana Baumrind (1964). After all, Milgram’s participants

really believed they were administering severe electric shocks that were causing extreme pain to another human being. Milgram was careful to interview and, with the assistance of a psychiatrist, to follow up the more than 1,000 participants in his experiments. There was no evidence of psychopathology, and 83.7 percent of those who had taken part indicated that they were glad, or very glad, to have been in the experiment (Milgram, 1992, 186). Only 1.3 percent were sorry or very sorry to have participated.

Milgram's research addresses one of humanity's great failings—the tendency for people to obey orders without first thinking about (a) what they are being asked to do and (b) the consequences of their obedience for other living beings. Obedience can of course sometimes be beneficial—for example, many organizations would grind to a halt or would be catastrophically dysfunctional if their members continually and painstakingly negotiated orders (think about an emergency surgery team, a flight crew, a commando unit). However, the pitfalls of blind obedience, contingent on immediacy, group pressure, group norms, legitimacy and so forth, are many. For example, research in the United States has shown that medication errors in hospitals are significantly attributable to the fact that nurses overwhelmingly defer to doctors' orders, even when all sorts of alarm bells are, metaphorically, ringing (Lesar, Briceland, and Stein 1997). In another study focusing on organizational obedience, 77 percent of participants who were role playing board members of a pharmaceutical company advocated continued marketing of a hazardous drug, merely because they felt that the chair of the board favored this decision (Brief, Dukerich, and Doran 1991).

COMBATING BLIND OBEDIENCE

Destructive obedience is not merely a feature of the black-and-white world of mid-twentieth century Europe. It has played a role in Pol Pot's killing fields of the 1970s and 1980s in Cambodia, in the Balkan Yugoslavian conflicts of recent years, and no doubt in Saddam Hussein's Iraq. More generally, unquestioning obedience to authority figures may compromise the quality of decisions made in organizations

and all manner of small decision-making groups. For example, research on "groupthink" by Irvin Janis has shown that a powerful and legitimate leader in a highly cohesive decision-making group can be enormously influential because the members of the group simply want to obey in order to construct a comforting consensual framework. Under these circumstances, pretty much whatever the leader suggests is agreed to.

These types of highly cohesive groups that people identify strongly with and that have a legitimate and highly group-representative (group prototypical) leader are also prone to group polarization in which somewhat extreme group decisions are made. Under these circumstances, an influential leader is well able to steer the group towards decisions about courses of action that can be very extreme in their consequences.

The movie *The Conspiracy*, which is a dramatization of the meeting in Nazi Germany in which Hitler's "final solution" of the "Jewish question" was mapped out, captures the power of leadership in a group context to produce, through obedience, a decision that had truly destructive consequences.

How can destructive obedience be combated? Research on destructive obedience suggests that blind destructive obedience can best be combated by constructing strong group norms that encourage and value debate within a group, as well as questioning of authority figures. These norms need to be internalized by people as features of who they are, their self-concept as members of the group that is defined by the norm. However, even under these circumstances, a powerful authority figure who is considered legitimate and who has overwhelming power to punish and reward can readily secure obedience from people. Leadership power needs to be limited to combat blind obedience.

—Michael A. Hogg

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OPTIMISM

Fortune favors the bold, Machiavelli argued. But the study of leadership appears to demonstrate that, even more, fortune favors the optimistic. Indeed, an *unwarranted optimism* about the future is a trait seen over and over in the best leaders from any era.

While optimism is not native to every leader or would-be leader, it is a trait that can be acquired or even lost. In his groundbreaking research, psychologist Martin Seligman observed that both laboratory animals and humans have a capacity to “learn helplessness”—to react to adversity by losing faith in their ability to control or improve circumstances. “Learned helplessness is the giving-up reaction, the quitting response that follows from the belief that whatever you do doesn’t matter,” Seligman (1990) notes. In contrast, those animals or humans who retain a belief in their ability to control events can

overcome significant obstacles. Seligman contends, remarkably, that this has less to do with filling the mind with positive messages than with subduing its tendency to transmit negative, despairing messages.

Psychologist Shelley Taylor goes farther, finding that “positive, self-enhancing illusions” are necessary to buffer negative experiences and impressions and are in fact a normal ingredient in human mental health. “In order to maintain a positive yet adaptive view of the self, it is necessary to be self-deceptive,” Taylor writes. “Negative information must be recognized for what it is and simultaneously kept from awareness as much as possible” (1989).

OPTIMISM AND THE WALLEDA FACTOR

One of the most impressive and memorable qualities of successful leaders is the way they respond to failure. Like Karl Wallenda (1905–1978), the great tightrope aerialist who once remarked that “the only time I feel truly alive is when I walk the tight-rope,” these leaders put all their energies into their task. Not only do they not think about failure, they do not even use the word, relying on synonyms such as *mistake* or *glitch* or *bungle* or countless others, such as *false start*, *mess*, *hash*, *bollix*, or *error*. Never *failure*. One of them said during the course of an interview that “a mistake is just another way of doing things.” Another said that “I try to make as many mistakes as quickly as I can in order to learn.”

Shortly after Wallenda fell to his death in 1978 while traversing a 23-meter-high tightrope in Puerto Rico, his wife, also an aerialist, discussed that fateful walk—perhaps his most dangerous: “All Karl thought about for three straight months prior to it was falling. It was the first time he’d ever thought about that, and it seemed to me he put all his energy into not falling, *not* into walking the tight-rope.” Mrs. Wallenda went on to say that her husband even went so far as to personally supervise the installation of the tightrope, making certain that the guy-wires were secure—“something he’d never even thought of before.” When Karl Wallenda put all of his energies into *not falling* rather than walking the tightrope, his characteristic success ended.

We refer to the peculiar combination of vision,

Lead and inspire people. Don't try to manage and manipulate people. Inventories can be managed but people must be led.

—Ross Perot

persistence, and optimism necessary for successful tightrope walking—the combination found in so many leaders—as the “Wallenda factor.” An example of the Wallenda factor comes from Fletcher Byrom, who retired several years ago as president of the Koppers Company, a diversified engineering construction and chemicals company. When asked about the hardest decision he ever had to make, he said, “I don’t know what a hard decision is. I may be a strange animal, but I don’t worry. Whenever I make a decision to start recognizing there’s a strong likelihood to I’m going to be wrong. All I can do is the best I can. To worry puts obstacles in the way of clear thinking.”

Another example is that of Ray Meyer, at one point during his career the winning head coach in college basketball, who led DePaul University to forty straight years of winning seasons. Asked how he felt after his team dropped its first home game after twenty-nine straight home court victories, his response was vintage Wallenda: “Great! Now we can concentrate on winning, *not* on not losing.”

Effective leaders tap into their optimism to overlook error and constantly embrace positive goals. They pour their energies into the task, not into looking behind and dredging up excuses for past events. For many people, failure carries with it a finality, the absence of movement characteristic of a dead thing, to which the automatic human reaction is helpless discouragement—the “learned helplessness” identified by Seligman. But for the successful leader, failure is a beginning, the springboard of hope.

OPTIMISM AS A HEALTHY ADDICTION

Because they are confident about where they are going, optimistic leaders inspire the people who work for them so that they too can handle precarious situations. That is one of the reasons why organizations run by such leaders often are so productive.

Although good leaders are handsomely paid, what they truly value is a sense of adventure and play. They describe work in ways that scientists and other creative types do: “exploring a new space,” “solving a problem,” or “designing or discovering something new.” Like explorers, scientists, and artists, leaders appear to focus their attention on their task, forget personal problems, lose their sense of time, and feel competent and in control. When these elements are present, leaders truly enjoy what they are doing and stop worrying about whether an activity will be productive or not, whether their activities will be rewarded or not, whether what they are doing will work or not. They are walking the tightrope.

This fusion of work and play—“love and need are one” (Robert Frost, “Two Tramps In Mudtime”)—may well be a positive addiction. As such, it appears to be a healthy addiction, not only for individuals but for society. Effective, optimistic leaders are like the Zen archer who develops his or her skills to the point where the desire to hit the target becomes extinguished and the archer, arrow, and target become indivisible components of the same process. This is good for the leaders. And when this style of influence works to attract and empower people to join these leaders on the tightrope, that is good for organizations and for society.

—Warren Bennis and Rob Asghar

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ORGANIZATIONAL CLIMATE AND CULTURE

The concept of *culture* is to the group or organization what character or personality is to the individual. Climate is to the group or organization what “presence” is to the individual. A person’s presence, how he or she comes across in any given situation is, of course, a result of the underlying personality and character. In the same way, an organization’s climate—how it is perceived by the newcomer or visitor—is the result of that organization’s culture. Climate is the immediate

manifestation of the culture, but it is only its manifestation. If one is to understand a person's "presence," one must understand that person's character or personality. In the same way, if one is to understand a group's "climate," one must look to the deeper layers, that is, the culture.

The main reason for making this distinction is practical. It is obvious that work groups have different climates that are immediately felt when one enters them. Climate is embedded in the physical look of the place, the emotions exhibited by employees, in the experiences of the visitor or new employee upon entry, and in a myriad of other "artifacts" that are seen, heard, and felt. It is equally obvious that climate does not explain itself. We need other variables to explain why different groups feel different. To fully understand climate, one must dig deeper and examine the more stable values, norms, and assumptions operating in the group. In other words, to fully understand what goes on in groups and *why it happens in the way it does* one needs *both* concepts—climate and culture. If each is carefully defined, they become two crucial building blocks for organizational description and analysis (Ashkanasy et al. 2000).

DEFINITION OF CULTURE

Defining culture is comparable to the problem of defining character or personality. Should one think of culture as a "state" or static property of a given group, or should one think of it as a process of perpetual construction and reconstruction? Just as individuals have more or less stable elements in their personality, so groups have more or less stable shared perceptions, beliefs, norms and values. But just as an individual continues to grow and shape the personality through new encounters, so groups continue to shape their culture through new encounters. The answer, then, is that one must think of culture as both stable and in flux because any living system has a history of learning that creates some stability in the system and, at the same time, is perpetually continuing to learn as it interacts with its environment and other living systems.

The key is to link culture as a concept to the process and products of learning. Just as the core of

the individual personality and character can best be thought of as a product of the person's accumulated learning, so a group's culture can be thought of as a product of that group's accumulated learning.

What we learn has more or less stable residues. The things that consistently work out and provide us solutions to getting along in our environment become very stable structures. But as we continue to encounter new situations and challenges we evolve surface characteristics that are more malleable. If a group has a history—that is, if the same group of people have encountered a series of challenges together—they will develop ways of perceiving, thinking, and feeling that enable them to meet those challenges and, if successful, they will gradually stabilize those ways as being "correct," and will teach them to newcomers to the group. Those stable elements will create on the surface a "climate" that newcomers and visitors will experience, but the climate is only a manifestation of the underlying culture.

A formal definition of culture would therefore be: a pattern of shared basic assumptions that the group has learned as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems (Schein 1985, 1992, 1999).

The definition emphasizes "basic assumptions," rather than values, norms, or rules of behavior, because, over time, values, norms, and rules come to be taken for granted and, thereby, metamorphose into "basic assumptions" that are no longer negotiable. During the time that the group is learning what works and what does not work, beliefs and values are negotiable. But as certain ways of perceiving, thinking, and feeling continue to solve problems of adaptation and internal integration, as they provide "meaning" to the daily events that the group encounters, they become taken for granted, drop out of awareness, and, therefore, begin to operate more as assumptions. The group members come to take it for granted that their way of perceiving, thinking, and feeling is the correct way. Outsiders who do not accept those assumptions are viewed either as "crazy," or "from another planet," facetiously. The

power of culture to influence group members comes from the fact that it operates unconsciously.

From a functionalist point of view, culture provides for the group both meaning and stability. Culture change is, therefore, immediately anxiety arousing and will be resisted. As humans, we do not want unpredictable or meaningless environments, hence we develop cultures to provide meaning and some measure of predictability. We want things to “make sense,” and we do not want to feel that what we are doing is “senseless” (Weick 1995).

Given these human characteristics, it then becomes clear that culture is both a process and a state. In new situations, shared meanings must be constructed through a social learning process. As these meanings help the participants to make sense of their world they become stabilized and can be viewed as “states.” At the same time, as the members of a group interact, they not only recreate and ratify prior meanings but also construct new meanings as new situations arise.

WHAT IS CULTURE ABOUT? EXTERNAL SURVIVAL AND INTERNAL INTEGRATION

Every group has the task of managing its relationship to its external environments that involves the development of consensus on the following: (1) basic mission or task that justifies the existence of the group; (2) basic means to be used in accomplishing its mission; and (3) measurement and feedback systems to be used to assess progress and make corrections as needed. Some of the deepest cultural elements are the taken-for-granted processes of “how we do things around here” that become embedded in rituals and traditions.

Every group also has the task of managing its internal relationships that involves the development of consensus on the following: 1) language and basic concepts, 2) group boundaries and identity, 3) authority and relationships, and 4) allocation of rewards and status. Most of the formal rituals that groups develop concern the symbolic awarding of status and power and thus become very stable elements of the culture.

Underlying these dimensions are deeper ones hav-

ing to do with the nature of these factors: (1) human relationships to nature, (2) reality and truth, (3) human nature, (4) human relationships, and (5) time and space. Fundamental here are dimensions like “individualism versus groupism”; whether human nature is viewed as “good or bad,” “fixed or malleable”; whether reality and truth are determined pragmatically or formally announced by authority; whether humans should subordinate themselves to nature, blend in, or conquer nature; and whether time orientation is toward the past, present, or future.

Every group will develop some consensus in each of these areas, hence culture is extensive and covers all aspects of group functioning (Schein 1999).

CULTURE AND SUBCULTURE

Any group that has a shared history will have developed a culture. The “strength” of that culture—the degree of consensus within the group on the shared tacit assumptions—will depend on the stability of the membership of that group, the intensity of the group’s experiences, and the clarity of the beliefs and values of the founders and leaders of the group. As a group grows, it inevitably develops subgroups and these subgroups have their own learning experiences, their own stable membership, their own leaders, and, therefore, will evolve their own cultures (Schein 2003). A large organization will, therefore, have a total organizational culture and many subcultures. When one talks of a group’s climate or culture, it is therefore essential to specify precisely what group or subgroup one is talking about.

LEADERSHIP AND CULTURE

Leadership has many functions. One of the unique functions differentiating leadership from management or administration is the creation and “management” of culture. When groups first are formed, founders function as the creators of culture. It is the founder’s beliefs and values that determine how the group will operate, and, if the group is successful, the founder’s beliefs and values gradually come to be adopted as the group’s shared beliefs and values, eventually metamorphosing into shared tacit assumptions.

Once a group has a culture, that culture will determine to a degree which individual gets into formal positions of power. In that sense, in a mature group it is the culture that determines the nature of leadership in the sense of assumptions about what is or is not appropriate behavior for a leader. In a mature group, leadership in the sense of culture management then becomes a function of who can be “marginal” enough to “see” the existing culture and assess how it can best be evolved. What elements of the culture are strengths that need to be preserved and enhanced and what elements of the culture are barriers to fulfilling the group’s primary task? This ability to “see” and assess the culture will most likely be present in those positions that are at the boundaries of the organization—the CEO, the sales department, the purchasing function, R & D. People in formal power positions will tend to reproduce the culture, so leadership in the sense of seeing and evolving the culture comes to be more of a distributed function throughout the organization.

As organizations evolve and grow, it is the interplay of subcultures and the relationship of subcultures to the total culture that is the central organizational dynamic. The leaders of subgroups come to function as representatives and protectors of their group, creating potential intergroup conflicts and suboptimization. A special role of corporate leadership then becomes the management of the potential intergroup conflict that will inevitably arise. Because subcultures will evolve, in the subgroups the role of leadership is to create intercultural dialogues that permit the subgroups to become aligned in the interests of the larger group task.

ASSESSMENT AND DESCRIPTION OF CULTURE AND CLIMATE

Culture manifests itself at three different levels:

Artifacts—organizational structures and processes that can be seen and experienced. Climate would be one of those artifacts, being the palpable result of many other artifacts and observable processes. Artifacts are hard to decipher and the danger is that we project our own assumptions on the artifacts. To avoid this one must talk to people, preferably in small

groups, and ask them to identify their artifacts and the assumptions that lie behind them. When this is done, one first elicits the next cultural level.

Espoused values—the official values and espoused norms of the organization, ideologies, and justifications that purport to explain the artifacts, but, in practice, often conflict with observed behavior. These conflicts and inconsistencies imply that there is a deeper level which actually drives behavior, perception, thoughts, and emotions.

Shared tacit assumptions—what the group has actually learned as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel. This level operates out of awareness but is available if a group works on explaining its artifacts.

To elicit this deeper level in a group context, an “outsider” must focus on the observed artifacts and help the group to articulate the deeper assumptions that are driving the behavior. The role of the outsider is to help the group to make explicit what it is they take for granted and may not have articulated for themselves.

CAN CULTURES BE CATEGORIZED OR PROFILED?

All culture and climate researchers start with some mental models of what they are looking for, based on their own education and empirical predilections. So we should not believe that we can go into an organization as a tabula rasa and just let the culture “speak” to us. Even how we experience the artifactual level, what we see and hear as we enter an organization, is biased by the perceptual and conceptual filters we bring to the situation. The issue, then, is not whether we will start with a priori dimensions in studying the organization but what kind of theoretical model we will use.

Formal assessment instruments such as questionnaires can “measure” climate, but they cannot “measure” the underlying culture because one would not know a priori what dimensions to build into the questionnaire; individual respondents without the stimulation of the group would not be able to articulate their own views; and one would not know how to combine individually idiosyncratic responses into a coherent picture of a group phenomenon, that is,

In dwelling, live close to the ground.

In thinking, keep to the simple.

In conflict, be fair and generous.

In governing, don't try to control.

In work, do what you enjoy.

In family life, be completely present.

–Tao Te Ching

culture. Inasmuch as culture is a group phenomenon, it is best assessed in a group context where degree of consensus and mutual understanding is immediately evident.

The problem with questionnaires as research tools for the study of culture is that they cast the theoretical net too narrowly. In deciding what to ask about, the researcher is imposing his or her categories on a culture that may not categorize the world in that way at all. Even the extensive international studies of Hofstede (1980, 1991) reduce all of cultural variation to just five dimensions that are clearly of interest but not necessarily relevant to a particular organization that one is trying to understand. The advantage of the ethnographic or clinical research method is that we can consciously train ourselves to minimize the impact of our own models and to maximize staying open to new experiences and concepts we may encounter (Schein 1985, 1993a, 1999). Especially if we are to understand a particular culture, the issue of salience is very important, because not all the elements of a culture are equally potent in the degree to which they determine behavior. The more open group-oriented inquiry not only reveals how the group views the elements of the culture, but, more importantly, tells us immediately which things are more salient and, therefore, more important as determinants.

CAN THE CULTURE AND CLIMATE CONCEPTS BE USEFUL TO THE PRACTITIONER?

Climate can be changed only to the degree that the desired climate is congruent with the underlying assumptions. One cannot create, for example, a “climate of teamwork and cooperation” if the underly-

ing assumptions in the culture are individual and competitive, because those assumptions will have created a reward and control system that encourages individual competitiveness. One cannot create a “climate of participation and empowerment” if the underlying assumptions in the culture are that subordinates should do what they are told and should expect their bosses to know what they are doing. One cannot create a “climate of openness” if the history of the company has been to punish the “messenger” for bringing bad news. All too often, change programs fail because they do not consider what the underlying culture is. In other words, surveying climate, and specifying a desired climate is not enough. One must analyze the underlying cultural assumptions to see what is possible and what is desirable given the existing culture.

If culture and climate are to become practical usable concepts, the practitioner will have to learn how to do culture assessments as part of any change program, using a “clinical approach” (Schein 1987, 1993a). Articulating new visions and new values is a waste of time if they are not calibrated against the existing assumptions and values. If such assessments are done, it is usually found that there are elements in the culture that can be used positively to create new ways of working that are more effective, and that is far preferable to “changing” the culture. It is better to use the concepts and methods of “appreciative inquiry” (Cooperrider 1987, 1990). It is better to build on what is working than to obsess about what is not working. It is easier to evolve the culture than to change it. When such assessment is done it inevitably reveals subcultures that do not understand each other creating a need for a process of cross-cultural communication.

CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION: THE ROLE OF DIALOGUE

Cultures exist at the regional and national level, we have cultures at the industry or institutional level, we have cultures at the organizational level, and we have occupational cultures and subcultures within organizations based on functions and tasks. Part of the reason that organizations do not work well, part

of the reason we have wars, and part of the reason we have difficulties reaching consensus on major global problems, such as maintaining a healthy environment, is that we cannot communicate very well across cultural boundaries. We have excellent data that show how differently different groups perceive their environments based on different shared tacit assumptions, but we have very few tools for helping people to improve their communication across those boundaries.

The emphasis on “dialogue” (Isaacs 1993, 1999; Schein 1993b) may help in that dialogue is focused on getting acquainted with one’s own assumptions. We cannot appreciate another culture if we are not aware of our own cultural “filters.” For example, in the United States, people tend to see everything in terms of egalitarian, democratic, individualistic competition and, therefore, have no mental models that allow for understanding a more “groupist” society based on hierarchy and traditions of absolute obedience to formal authority. Dialogue theory assumes that each human has his or her own set of assumptions from which he or she operates, and when such assumptions are shared across a group with shared experience we have not only the presence of the assumptions as filters but the motivation to hold on to those assumptions as a way of expressing our membership in the group. If we are to gain any understanding of another group’s assumptions, we must get into a communication mode that legitimizes self-examination and acknowledges that perception and thought are anything but objective.

It would therefore be highly instructive for both researchers and practitioners to form dialogue groups and begin to examine in a group context what their own assumptions are. Not only will this reveal the subtle operation of cultural forces but will make visible where different assumptions lead to different behaviors and often conflicts. Once assumptions are surfaced and stated, mutual understanding increases and the basis exists for finding common ground.

—Edgar H. Schein

See also Bureaucracy; Organizational Dynamics; Organizational Theory

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ORGANIZATIONAL DYNAMICS

Almost half a century after systems theorist Ludwig von Bertalanffy initiated the publication of the *General Systems* series, formally bringing the biology-based open systems perspective to organization studies and, by extension, to leadership studies, the majority of academic studies of leadership still fail to give adequate consideration to the dynamic aspects of organizations. The reasons for this failure are many and have been repeatedly documented:

lack of accepted methodologies for temporal studies (i.e., those that occur across time), the demands of the academic tenure system, researcher familiarity with cross-sectional research methods (i.e., traditional statistical correlation), shortages of research funding, difficulties in conceptualization, lack of sympathy on the part of editors and reviewers, and numerous others.

The validity of any of these reasons in the past is not disputed. However, in the twenty-first century they are no longer excuses for failing to consider the dynamic aspects of organizations and leadership. Four waves of leadership studies have swept the field of leadership in the past one hundred years or so: “great man” theories (that rely on inborn leadership qualities), behavioral theories, situational theories, and, most recently, theories of transformational/charismatic leadership. The next generation of leadership studies will center on organizational dynamics. Meaningful models of leadership in the future will explicitly consider the changing, temporal nature of leadership, as only a few do now.

Organizational dynamics result from system structure. Organizations engage in such basic dynamic behaviors as growth and goal seeking due to their structures and due to their interaction with their environments. Organizational dynamics are the behaviors of the physical and institutional systems and human agents that vary over time. Within the context of any system that has humans as decision makers, leadership cannot be understood without recognizing changes over time, feedback processes, and the inevitable nonlinearities of human behavior (that is, those whose relationship would not graph as a straight line), even of life itself.

The key leadership impact of dynamic systems comes from the recognition of two types of complexity: detail complexity and dynamic complexity. Detail complexity is the complexity of many parts or variables. Dynamic complexity is the complexity that occurs when cause and effect in a system are far apart in time, and changes made based on standard linear attributions of causality (relationships that would graph as a straight line) do not result in the outcomes that people expect. Dynamic complexity results when systems are dynamic, tightly coupled,

governed by feedback, nonlinear, history-dependent, self-organizing, adaptive, counterintuitive, policy resistant, and characterized by trade-offs. Under these circumstances, traditional thinking about leadership cannot keep pace with the demands of leadership in dynamic organizations.

DYNAMIC ORGANIZATIONS

Dynamic organizations demand concise definitions. “The complexity of a system is the amount of information needed in order to describe it” (Bar-Yam 1997, 12). Organizational theorist Russ Marion (1999, 115) summarized the forces of what he called “complex natural teleology” that bear directly on leadership—“the dynamic that causes networks of interactive units to form.” These forces are autocatalysis, need, physics, and natural selection.

Autocatalysis is “a state of organization in which different units (people, departments, et. cetera) interact with one another within broad networks of interdependent behaviors” (Marion and Uhl-Bien 2001, 398). A key example of autocatalysis is the “tag.” In the leadership context one may think of a tag as anything that speeds up (catalyzes) social behaviors.

Need provides the drive behind emergence (i.e., the development of system attributes that are not part of the system’s components). This definition of *need* is congruent with conventional psychological definitions of *need*. In a dynamic organizational situation, individual efforts to satisfy individual needs drive organizational changes. In this regard, economist Adam Smith’s economic theory of the “invisible hand” provides the appropriate metaphor.

“*Physics* refers to the external and internal demands and restrictions that limit or enable system behaviors” (Marion and Uhl-Bien 2001, 399). These demands and restrictions may vary widely and include physical restrictions, conflicting needs, and socially constructed demands. A metaphor for these demands and restrictions might be the impact of the frontier in U.S. history, which both enabled and restricted settlement of the country.

Natural selection occurs among possible organizational forms that may occur. In the context of business strategy the concept of a “first mover advan-

tage,” that is, the first significant firm to move into a new market has a long-term advantage, has application. Within the dynamic context of leadership, “first mover” advantages may be key in eventual natural selection. For example, Chrysler’s early lead in marketing the minivan proved profitable and drove much of the eventual direction of the minivan market.

Many organization members will have roles as both leaders and followers. Effectiveness in both roles requires an integration of both roles. Integrating these dual roles involves both microdynamics and macrodynamics. Microdynamics are “the bottom-up behaviors (arising from the lower levels of the organization) that occur when individuals interact, leading to both coordinated behavior and random behavior” (Marion and Uhl-Bien 2001, 392). Key aspects of this definition for the study of leadership include interaction, coordination, and randomness. Each will be considered in turn.

Effective leadership requires that leaders take advantage of interactions among followers. In fact, leaders cannot control or predict the future; they must instead manage the conditions of follower interactions toward the desired future. Specifically, this management requires the complex leader to focus on higher-level interactions, setting the stage for lower-level interactions to develop within the higher-level constraints. A manager might choose to give objective-type directions, which specify the “what” as much as possible and the “how” as little as possible, in a frank recognition that the leader cannot control everything.

Effective leadership requires coordination to allow the emergence of predictable outcomes. One may think of standardized traffic signals. Individual drivers stop, start, merge, yield, and so forth in response to those coordination measures without any “master driver” directing them when to do so. Effective leadership provides similar coordination.

Randomness leads to unpredictability in complex systems. Surprises will occur. Outcomes are not determinate. Complex leaders must enable productive surprises. In the U.S. Army, surprise is one of the nine principles of war. The effective leader will take advantage of the (literal) chaos of the battlefield to surprise the enemy. Likewise, the principle of war of

security is the mirror of surprise. The commander achieves security by preventing the enemy from achieving surprise.

As noted, integrating the leader role and follower role involves macrodynamics. Macrodynamics are “the emergence of the larger systems from the interactions at the microlevel” (Marion and Uhl-Bien 2001, 392). One may note the hierarchy: Interactions at the microlevel—themselves not controllable—lead to further interactions at higher levels. In this context what hope does the leader have of controlling outcomes? The Scriptures define faith as “the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen” (Hebrews 11:1, KJV). The concept of macrodynamics gives the leader more than faith to go on as order and stability develop from the interactions at the microlevel. Yet, complex organizational systems are dynamic enough to have routine minor changes while being stable enough to have major changes only occasionally.

These changes result from emergence: the aggregation of parts of a system. Emergence begins as small groups are created from individuals. These small groups are “aggregates” and themselves are aggregated into “meta-aggregates.” Meta-aggregates develop from the interaction of aggregates and make up the larger system. The critical issue is that, for the large, complex organization, one simply cannot coordinate individuals. Although not quite “interchangeable parts” as one might think of them in a manufacturing sense, these aggregates of individuals function in interaction to create parts of the larger whole.

Systems thinker Peter Senge (1990) identifies the DC-3 aircraft as an example of emergence. Five separate subsystems—the variable-pitch propeller, retractable landing gear, monocoque (stress-bearing) body construction, the radial air-cooled engine, and wing flaps—emerged over many years of development. Each of these subsystems (meta-aggregates) was essential to the success of the DC-3. Without any one of them, the aircraft would not have been the success that it was. Yet, each subsystem was complex enough to require years of development. Had any one of them required, say, another ten years to develop, the final aircraft could not have emerged in

its time. Certainly no designer could have designed such a complex machine “from scratch.” Development from individual-level components was flatly impossible. “Sudden” development of the personal computer is another example, as is the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989.

Marion and leadership theorist Mary Uhl-Bien identified five ways in which complex leadership can be exercised. Complex leaders (1) foster network construction, (2) catalyze bottom-up network construction, (3) become leadership “tags,” (4) drop seeds of emergence, and (5) think systematically. These behaviors allow complex leaders to spend less time trying to control organizations and more time influencing the organization in ways that better lead to the ideal future.

Complex leaders foster network construction. Effective leaders not only “work their network” but also design and build networks both within and outside of the organization. Networks are structures that allow innovation to grow and emerge. Systems in a network support each other. Further, networks provide strength to their members.

Complex leaders catalyze bottom-up network construction. That is, they speed up and indirectly drive network construction. Complex leaders accomplish these two tasks by delegating, by providing resources to subordinates, by not interfering in network construction by others, by trusting subordinates, by enabling interactions among followers, by creating myths and ceremonies, by demanding that subordinates solve their own problems, by getting personal conflicts resolved, and, ultimately, by encouraging communications among individuals, groups (aggregates), and subsystems (meta-aggregates).

Complex leaders become leadership “tags.” “A tag symbolizes the aggregate and it separates an aggregate from other aggregates” (Marion and Uhl-Bien 2001, 405). Key in this definition are the words *symbolize* and *separate*. An effective tag must do both. Consider the flag of the United States. In representing the nation, it symbolizes the nation—one can think of the flag flying above an Olympic champion—or of the flag being burned by protestors at home and abroad. Raising or burning the flag, just as the television camera arrives, recognizes the sym-

bolic value of the flag. Likewise, the flag separates the United States from other nations (which have other flags). One can think of the United Nations.

Complex leaders drop seeds of emergence. How can leaders encourage the idealized future organization to emerge without coercing followers or creating passive subordinates? Leaders can establish centers of knowledge in the organization, get those centers of knowledge involved in creative activities, and, again, get them in communication with one another. This fact means that complex leaders aren’t really controlling results; they are engaged in creating “organized disorder” through which all aspects of organizational dynamics are occurring at multiple levels. This fact means creating conditions for follower success.

Complex leaders think systematically. They understand dynamic behavior and encourage it. People tend to think linearly, and people tend to think of things being directly caused, without the rich awareness of feedbacks, stocks, flows, and interactions described earlier. Complex leaders see the bigger picture and are aware of patterns of systemic behavior.

Thus, complex leaders, although desirable at all levels of an organization, are more important where they are making decisions for “the long haul.” This notion implies that complex leaders are needed more for strategic leadership of organizations, than for direct or tactical leadership in organizations. U.S. Army doctrine identifies operational-level leadership—leadership at the level in between the strategic and tactical levels. Operational-level leadership—leadership at the level of a military campaign or of an organization competing in a specific business or industry—inevitably will require more complexity than will tactical leadership and less than strategic leadership and may be thought of as leadership within organizations.

Likewise, the environment for organizational leadership influences the requirement for complex leadership. Here systems theorists F. E. Emery and E. L. Trist’s conception of “the causal texture of organizational environments” (Emery and Trist 1965, 21) finds a leadership parallel. When the environment of the organization is itself a “turbulent field,” more complex leadership will be required

(Osborn, Hunt, and Jauch 1980). As Emery and Trist describe the situation, “the ‘ground’ is in motion” (Emery and Trist 1965, 26). This situation will tend to demand more of the leader than will those involving simpler organizational environments.

Marion and Uhl-Bien identified five theoretical implications of complex leadership for leadership theory. Complex leadership (1) links social capital, social exchange, and relational leadership theories; (2) links self-leadership and empowerment theories; (3) links followership theories; (4) links transformational theories; and (5) links theories of charisma. Complex leadership can be related to the major emerging trends in the field of leadership.

Complex leadership links theories of social capital, social exchange, and relational leadership. Each of these theories has experienced growing interest among leadership scholars in the past decade. Together, these theories take into account networks and individual linkages. Complexity theory considers interactions within networks. Microlevel issues of social exchange and relational leadership and macrolevel social capital considerations parallel complex leadership arguments.

Complex leadership links self-leadership and empowerment theories. These theories are similar to the bottom-up or microlevel aspects of complexity theory and emphasize lower- and intermediate-level interactions that cannot be controlled “from the top.” At least one model of leader training fits here. The “three pillars” of leader training are (1) formal (institutional) education, (2) on-the-job (operational) training, and (3) self-development. One should think meta-aggregate levels, aggregate levels, and the individual level of interaction.

Complex leadership links followership theories. These theories, although far from preeminent in the study of leadership, are gaining adherents. Again, the bottom-up principle of microdynamics suggests a critical role for followers. Leadership theorist Gary Yukl emphasizes that followers can make a contribution to effective leadership and lists ten specific “Guidelines for Followers” for the “courageous” follower to apply to the leadership situation. The majority of these guidelines, such as “Take the initiative to deal with problems” or “Provide upward coaching

and counseling when appropriate” (Yukl 2002, 129–134) are bottom-up-type behaviors that are entirely consistent with complexity theory.

Complex leadership links transformational theories of leadership. “Complexity theory suggests that transformation (emergence) occurs bottom-up and is enhanced by moderately coupled interaction patterns” (Marion and Uhl-Bien 2001, 409). Transforming leadership, as described by James MacGregor Burns (1978), emerges from the relationship between a leader and followers. It cannot be imposed on followers without their participation and consent. Most importantly, it changes both followers and their leader in ways they will not change on their own—the definition of *interaction*.

Complex leadership links theories of charisma. In particular, the charismatic leader can function as the previously mentioned leadership tag. Charisma—attributed to the leader by followers, part of the self-concept of the leader, or built into the social situation of the leader, followers, the vision, a crisis, and a solution—matches both microlevel and macrolevel aspects of complexity theory. As a tag the charismatic leader both provides a symbol for the followers and separates them from the ordinary situation of those who are unfortunate enough not have a charismatic leader to follow. Psychologist Howard Gardner’s (1996) concept of the leader’s “story” fits well with the concept of leadership as the tag. From another perspective, Marion and Uhl-Bien (2003) identify the al-Qaeda terrorist leader Osama bin Laden as a charismatic leader who functions as a leadership tag.

APPLICATIONS FOR PRACTITIONERS

What does all of this mean for the practitioner of leadership today? One should consider three applications for the leadership practitioner.

First, how does complex leadership fit the dynamic processes of self-organization? If leadership has any practical meaning, the leader must do something. At the same time, the dynamic processes of self-organization take place in their own fashion. The practitioner of complex leadership must adjust what he or she does to the reality of self-organization, recognizing the interdependencies between the

two. Burns has stated “no single discipline . . . alone can deal adequately with the phenomenon of causation because the subject lies outside as well as inside every discipline” (Burns 2003, 21). An understanding of the dynamics of complex leadership provides a perspective from which to address the difficulties of leadership and causation.

Second, how does complex leadership influence international organizations? A practical application of the influence of complex leadership in international organizations is interfirm coordination. When mergers or acquisitions are not desirable at the international level, interfirm coordination is necessary to interact with other organizations. This coordination “includes such things as co-optation, trade associations, cartels, and informal agreements” (Marion 1999, 121). Especially in times of rapid, dynamic change, interfirm coordination may be the preferred interaction with international peers and competitors. “Command and control” approaches to leadership are doomed to fail in this environment. The complex leader, aware of the leadership context, will best navigate these troubled seas. It takes little imagination to think of the actions within and of the United Nations as an example of the dynamic complexity of behaviors in international organizations.

Third, how does the use of simulation inform complex leadership in organizations? The systems dynamics methodology developed by engineer Jay Forrester (1961) is appropriate for the study of complex leadership in organizations. Systems theorist Chanoch Jacobsen and his colleagues have demonstrated the use of system dynamics approaches in the study of sociological theory in the study of complex leadership itself. Experienced developers and users of system dynamics models find that the dynamic processes of model development are themselves key learning devices, incorporating many of the mentioned concepts. Modeling leadership problems exposes leader mental models and decision-making approaches. The simulation is a practical way to begin to develop a learning organization and is extremely flexible in the data upon which it draws.

Sterman describes system dynamics as both “a set of conceptual tools that enable us to understand the structure and dynamics of complex systems” and “a

rigorous modeling method that enables us to build formal computer simulations of complex systems and use them to design more effective policies and organizations” (Sterman 2000, vii). Simulation serves as a “third scientific discipline” (Hulin and Ilgen 2000, 7) that can go beyond the traditional research methods of experimental and correlational methods while still providing scientifically valid methodological rigor. The idea of system dynamics as a “set of conceptual tools” provides the layperson with a way to make applications to complex leadership situations. The leader’s recognition of the organizational structures that result in growth, goal seeking, and oscillation provides a place for the practitioner to make use of this methodology. For example, a better understanding of the limits to growth might have enabled leaders of e-commerce firms to have avoided the pitfalls of the “get big fast” strategy that led to the failure of so many such firms (Oliva, Sterman, and Giese 2003, 83).

OUTLOOK IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

People can think of organizational dynamics in the future in at least ten ways. These ways are of interest because they are both research strategies and topics of study. The unique aspect of research into leading-edge dynamic processes of leadership and organization is that they can be applied as they are studied, creating opportunities for researchers to develop theory on the fly as they apply it.

Leaders and leadership researchers can do the following:

1. structure interactions through well-designed communication strategies and technologies;
2. stimulate interdependencies by fostering collaborative projects, creating service centers in which one or more network agents provide services such as computer modeling or qualitative analysis for one or more projects, and supporting separate but coordinated research projects in which one project is conceptually dependent upon the findings of the other;
3. foster adaptive tensions by creating heterogeneous teams, setting up moderately pressuring time constraints, and stimulating healthy competition;

4. stimulate creativity by motivating followers to go beyond their comfort zones in the books and journals they read, the trainings they pursue, and the conferences they attend and by providing adequate budgets for these creative outlets;
5. foster meaning (commitment, trust, follower leadership) though persistent communication, articulating the goals of the project to outside agents and engaging in activities that build social bonds and personal relationships;
6. enable bottom-up behavior by avoiding centralized goals and structures, soliciting input from all team members, consistently interjecting new ideas, and encouraging new internal and external collaborations and alliances;
7. garner resources and manage structure and organizational patterns to enable interaction by understanding the needs of individual team members, vesting expenditure decisions to team members, allocating travel funds for external collaborations, and decentralizing decision-making processes;
8. foster external relationships with formal agencies, professional development groups, and members of allied fields;
9. manage co-evolutionary (“evolving together”) dynamics by negotiating adaptations with professional bureaucracies at various institutions and by adjusting to the exigencies of collaborating parties and fostering collateral changes from them in return; and
10. use the notion of the dynamic complexity of leadership as a tool in the development of leadership as a new “master discipline” (Burns 2003, 9) alongside the traditional academic disciplines.

—John N. Davis and James G. Hunt

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ORGANIZATIONAL JUSTICE

Employees respond strongly to unfair treatment in the workplace. Thus, in addition to their many other responsibilities, leaders must ensure a just workplace in which employees are treated fairly. Doing so leads to positive employee and organizational outcomes like higher levels of job satisfaction and commitment, lower levels of theft, absenteeism, and turnover, and higher organizational performance.

THE THREE FACES OF JUSTICE

Research on the impact of justice in the workplace has centered around three distinct fairness types. *Distributive* justice refers to the fairness with which pay, promotions, perks, and other outcomes are allocated. *Procedural* justice emphasizes the process and procedures by which these outcome allocations are determined. *Interactional* justice involves whether leaders provide those around them with fair interpersonal treatment. Each represents an important dimension of employee fairness perceptions, and each may be tied to particular aspects of leadership. In the following sections, we provide a brief history and background, and summarize key antecedents and consequences, of each justice type.

DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE

In the 1950s, social psychologists proposed that individuals make judgments about situations and outcomes in relative rather than absolute terms. They do so by comparing their own situation and outcomes to the situations and outcomes of individuals around them. This theory of relative deprivation suggests that people may feel dissatisfied about an outcome even though in objective terms it may be favorable. Conversely, people may feel satisfied with an outcome even though it is objectively unfavorable. This theory was a precursor to a theory of distributive justice in that it proposed that individuals' comparisons with others are dependent on their understanding of what is right and wrong, what is fair, and what is "just."

Today's understanding of distributive justice is rooted in the work of George Homans and J. Stacy Adams. Homans's conceptualization of distributive justice is grounded in a theory of social exchange. He noted that in the course of normal activities, individuals engage in two types of exchanges: those involving things of a social nature (e.g., favors, friendships), and those involving things of an economic nature (e.g., money, work). He explained that parties involved in such exchanges will perceive the exchanges to be fair as long as the rewards each receives are proportional to the cost each bears.

Adams extended Homans's conceptualization by introducing equity theory. He proposed that individuals' social behavior and attitudes are affected by beliefs that the allocation of costs and benefits within a particular group of individuals needs to be equitable. That is, the outcomes one receives should be proportional to contributions one makes. Under equity theory, a reward distribution is perceived to be fair to the extent that the ratio of one's contributions (e.g., hours of work and effort) to one's outcomes (e.g., pay or promotion) is equal to the same input–output ratio of a comparison other (e.g., a coworker). Adams explained that when inequity occurs, individuals will experience distress, a motivational state that prompts them to engage in actions to restore equity. Considerable research supports the predictions of equity theory that underpaid employees



Worker Benefits Linked to Company Leadership

(ANS)—The type and level of benefits a company's workers receive may depend on who is sitting in the executive's chair, according to a study by the Families and Work Institute.

Companies with women or minority executives at the helm are more likely to offer their workers flexible schedules and childcare than those with no women or minorities in key positions, according to the 1998 Business Work-Life Study.

The study found that 82 percent of companies where women occupy at least half the top-level positions, and 80 percent of companies with minorities in at least 25 percent of top executive positions, offer traditional flextime, compared with 56 percent and 64 percent, respectively, in companies with no women or minorities in key positions.

Companies with women in at least half of the executive positions were found to be six times more likely to provide on- or near-site childcare than those with no female executives. Companies with minorities in at least half of their executive positions were found to be four times more likely to provide on-site or near-site child care than those with no minority executives.

Results of the study came from a survey taken by employers at 1,057 companies that have 100 or more employees. Both for-profit and not-for-profit companies were surveyed.

Proportions of top executive positions filled by women and minorities are the third and fourth most frequent predictors of work-life support benefits, after industry and company size, according to the study.

The type of industry was identified as the number one

predictor. The "most generous" industries, according to the study, are finance, insurance and real estate, while the "least generous" are the wholesale and retail trades.

The study also looked at the breadth of company benefits, programs and policies designed to help workers achieve job satisfaction while maintaining a healthy life at home.

Among the findings:

- 90 percent of companies offer individual retirement plans
- 88 percent allow workers time off to attend their children's school or day care activities
- 56 percent provide employee assistance programs designed to help employees with work-related or personal problems
- 49 percent allow workers paid time off to take care of their children when they become mildly ill
- 33 percent offer part-time employees full or pro-rated health care benefits
- 22 percent have special career or leadership programs for women
- 9 percent offer long-term care insurance for employees' family members
- 0.3 percent sponsor summer programs for teen-age children of employees

The Families and Work Institute is a nonprofit organization that identifies and addresses issues relating to the improvement of families, communities and workplaces.

—Denis Lambert

Source: "Study Finds Worker Benefits Linked to Company Leadership," American News Service, July 1, 1999

will lower their performance, and overpaid employees will increase their performance. More generally, individuals react to perceived inequity by making behavioral or psychological changes in an effort to restore equity.

Equity theory is based on the assumption that the perceived fairness of outcomes depends on an equitable—but not necessarily equal—distribution of rewards. However, other possible allocation rules exist as well. In addition to allocating rewards equitably (allocating outcomes based on relative contribution—I am paid what I am worth), leaders may allocate them equally (allocating outcomes based on equal rank or status—I am paid the same as my

coworker), or based on needs (allocating outcomes based on a Marxist notion of reward distribution—I am paid more because I have a larger family). Different allocation rules are generally the result of different contextual factors (e.g., personal vs. organizational), personal motives (e.g., self-esteem), and organizational goals (e.g., productivity vs. harmony).

ANTECEDENTS AND CONSEQUENCES OF DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE

Antecedents to perceptions of distributive justice include organizational outcomes such as benefits, job security, and punishment, as well as reward allo-

cations like pay, rewards intrinsic to the job, seniority benefits, fringe benefits, job status, and status symbols. Consequences of distributive justice include cognitive, emotional, and behavioral reaction toward these specific outcomes. For example, studies show that when outcomes are perceived to be unfair, it affects cognitions like distorted impressions of one's inputs and outcomes, emotions like anger, happiness, pride, and guilt, and behaviors like job performance.

PROCEDURAL JUSTICE

In the 1970s, researchers began to explore the impact of fair procedures on individuals' justice judgments. This gave rise to the concept of procedural justice. In studying the dispute resolution process, researchers found that disputants were more satisfied with the outcomes they received when they believed the process by which those outcomes were determined was a fair one. Interestingly, this increased satisfaction was present irrespective of whether the outcomes received were favorable or not.

Today's understanding of procedural justice in organizations is grounded in four distinct conceptualizations of how individuals make assessments of the fairness of procedures and why these judgments matter. These include the self-interest model, justice judgment theory, the relational or group value model, and the fairness-as-virtue theory.

John Thibaut and Laurens Walker introduced the self-interest model of procedural justice, which suggests that people seek control over decisions and procedures because they are concerned with maximizing the fairness and favorability of their own outcomes. The need for control over organizational processes increases when individuals recognize that they cannot control all outcomes during decision making or social exchanges. Therefore, being allowed to participate in the process helps to maximize the outcome favorability of a self-interested individual.

The justice judgment model, crafted by Gerald Leventhal, asserts that procedures are perceived to be fair when people adhere to a set of rules that indicates a fair process. Leventhal identified six rules for fair procedures:

1. *Consistency* indicates that fair procedures need to be consistent across persons and time.
2. *Bias suppression* means that procedures are considered unfair if the decision maker has a direct interest in any specific decision or the decision maker is influenced by his or her beliefs and may not consider each point of view adequate and equally important.
3. *Accuracy* requires that fair procedures are based on accurate information.
4. *Correctability* indicates that procedural fairness is enhanced if a process contains provisions for correcting flawed decisions.
5. *Representativeness* necessitates that fair procedures reflect the concerns, values, and outlook of individuals who are affected by the process.
6. *Ethicality* involves assurance that fair procedures conform to standards of ethics and morality. In the justice judgment model, the importance and weight of each of these rules is situation specific and depends on the goals of the individual making the procedural fairness assessment.

The group value or relational model, developed by Tom Tyler and Allan Lind, explains that individuals are strongly affected by identification with groups. Group membership provides them with an identity and permits them to validate their beliefs and behaviors. Members support group procedures because procedures specify authority relations, define norms regarding decision making, and define fair treatment within the group. As a result, when group procedures agree with the values of the group and its members, the members will have a greater sense of procedural justice.

More recent thinking on procedural fairness is suggested by fairness-as-virtue theory, crafted by Robert Folger. Folger's framework recognizes the role of principled conduct in seeking to safeguard human dignity. Thus, procedural justice is viewed as a moral principle about the right way to treat people. Procedures are not viewed as a means for accomplishing equity in distributive justice. Rather, fair procedures are valuable in and of themselves; the value of procedural justice lies in its value to preserve the fairness of the system. This is important to the organization because it forms part of a system of

checks and balances for maintaining a level playing field for all the members, preventing unfair exploitation by others.

ANTECEDENTS AND CONSEQUENCES OF PROCEDURAL JUSTICE

Antecedents of procedural justice include having control over the decision-making process and the opportunity to voice opinions and values. In addition, the six principles of fairness from the justice judgment model are predictive of the perceived fairness of procedures. Other predictors of procedural justice include organizational outcomes and systems like pay-by-performance, affirmative action hiring, and availability of procedural explanations of organizational decisions.

Consequences of procedural justice include especially strong effects on cognitive, affective, and behavioral reactions toward institutions or authorities. When a process leading to a certain outcome is perceived to be unfair, individuals' reactions are typically directed at the entire organization, rather than at one's job or at the specific outcome in question. For example, studies show that employees' assessments of procedural justice are related to subsequent organizational commitment and trust in management.

INTERACTIONAL JUSTICE

In the 1980s, a third form of justice, interactional, emerged from the work of Robert Bies and Joseph Moag, who conceptualized it as distinct from distributive and procedural justice. Interactional justice suggests that fairness perceptions are directly linked to the quality of the interpersonal treatment people receive as procedures and decisions are enacted. The concept is grounded in social exchange theory and involves two types of interpersonal treatments. The first, interpersonal justice, encompasses the degree to which people are treated with dignity, politeness, and respect during the implementation of procedures and the distribution of outcomes. The second, informational justice, includes the quality of explanations people receive about the implementation of procedures, decisions, and specific outcomes.

ANTECEDENTS AND CONSEQUENCES OF INTERACTIONAL JUSTICE

Antecedents to interactional justice perceptions overlap with the antecedents of procedural justice and include structural criteria like explanations, consistency, and voice. However, unlike procedural justice, the consequences of interactional fairness tend to be directed at specific agents of the system, such as commitment to one's supervisor, and the quality of the relationship between an individual and his or her leader.

LEADERSHIP AND JUSTICE: INTEGRATION AND NEEDED RESEARCH

Leadership plays a central role in the creation and maintenance of a fair workplace. Some researchers have begun to explore the relationship between the two tasks, even integrating questions about team structure and workflow into the mix. For example, we know that justice motives are important when leaders make allocation decisions, as they are faced with choices of different distributive rules like need, equity or equality. Research (Pillai, Schriesheim, & Williams, 1999) has shown that leadership style may play a role in this decision, as task-oriented leaders are more likely than relationship-oriented leaders to use equity principles when coworkers are relatively autonomous. Conversely, equality rules seem to be more appropriate in tightly coupled team-based work.

In spite of some promising initial efforts, however, relatively little research has explicitly targeted the relationship between leaders and their leadership style, and perceived justice in organizations. One promising opportunity for better understanding these relationships may lie in social exchange theory. As noted in the sections on distributive, procedural, and interactional justice, social exchange theory plays a role in several prominent theories of justice. Similarly, a number of important leadership theories (e.g., Leader Member Exchange (LMX), transformational leadership, and charismatic leadership) rely heavily on social exchange arguments as well. As a result, social exchange perspectives may provide a natural bridge for scholars interested in better under-

standing the relationship between leadership and employee justice judgments.

Consider LMX approaches to leadership. LMX theory suggests that leadership is a relational phenomenon, that leaders can and do establish unique working relationships with each individual on their team. The quality of these individual relationships influences important outcomes for the employee and the team, including fairness perceptions. Studies have indicated that employees who have high-quality relationships with their immediate supervisors view the workplace as being fairer. Considerably more work is needed to discern whether, for example, justice is an outcome of high-quality LMX, or whether a fair workplace is a key ingredient to high-quality LMX.

Transformational and transactional perspectives on leadership have also exhibited a relationship with organizational justice perceptions. Transformational leaders are those who engage in large-scale leadership, changing an organization's strategy and culture. Transactional leaders are more typically viewed as managers, focusing on day-to-day efficiency concerns. Research (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, & Bommer, 1996) has shown that employee perceptions of fairness and trust can be influenced by whether a leader utilizes a transformational or transactional style. Transformational leadership has been shown to influence employee behavior through increased perceptions of trust and procedural fairness. In contrast, transactional leadership has been linked more strongly with issues related to distributive fairness. Although it appears that different leadership styles induce different justice perceptions in employees, further investigation is needed to understand how these relationships work and whether they are stable across various contexts.

JUSTICE MATTERS, LEADERSHIP MATTERS

Employee perceptions of justice matter. Justice perceptions—procedural, distributive, or interactional—play an important role in determining how people feel about their work, their leaders, and their organizations. Leaders play a key role in determining the fairness of their organizations' procedures, outcomes, and interactions. Thus, leaders play a key

role in determining employee justice perceptions. Recent research has begun to explore the linkages between the two, but much more work is needed to understand these relationships fully.

—Marshall Schminke and Anke Arnaud

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ORGANIZATIONAL THEORY

Leaders today face unprecedented levels of environmental complexity (“Complexity refers to the number and diversity of the elements in an environment” [Hatch 1997,89, emphasis in original].) Social forces and organizations have multiplied and diversified at an astonishing rate between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries (Huntington 1968), through the industrial age to the information age. Our communities, as a result, have become more complex; any one community member may simultaneously belong to a number of diverse organizations. At the most intimate level, individual organizations are populated by diverse and complex people, creating complex, adaptive systems that attempt to cope with the uncertainty of functioning in a more complex society.

If our organizations are complex, understanding and exercising leadership within them must also be more complex. The organizational problems and challenges that leaders face are not always as easily definable and resolvable as in less complex times; understanding organizational theory will help frame leadership decisions. However, Bolman and Deal (1997) note that framing problems and decisions with only one theory will be “incomplete and oversimplified” because surprises, complexities, and ambiguities of organizational life require more powerful and more comprehensive approaches. Determining what is really going on requires more sophisticated lenses than many managers currently possess. It also requires the flexibility to look at organizations from more than one angle (33).

Although our individual and organizational behavior is guided by theory, it is often implicit. By making our underlying assumptions or our theories-in-use explicit, we will be better able to understand

our behavior. And, applying these multiple theories (or “lenses”) helps us to look at organizations from different perspectives and thereby tackle the types of problems facing leaders in such complex organizations.

This entry explains adaptive leadership through the lens of organization theory. Ronald Heifetz (1994) uses the term *adaptive work* to describe the leadership required to resolve problems in complex situations. Heifetz’s delineation of the types of problems that exist in complex organizations is briefly explained. (The typology provided is found in Heifetz’s [1994] *Leadership without Easy Answers*. Similar typologies can be found in the writings of Talcott Parsons and James Thompson [see Shafritz and Ott 2001]).

TYPES OF PROBLEMS IN COMPLEX ORGANIZATIONS

According to Heifetz (1994), there are three types of problems that occur in complex organizations. Type I, routine, problems are definable, recurring, and solvable. The issue in Type I situations is clear and unambiguous and therefore, existing mental models can be used to solve Type I problems. For example, if you are a professor who catches a student cheating on an exam, you can take the exam away and apply the proper punishment as determined by the school’s cheating policy.

Type II problems are those which are definable but for which no apparent solution is available. Type II problems may be broken down into Type I problems, but frequently there exists no adequate response or solution; one needs to be created. For example, if you are a professor and you catch a student cheating on an exam but your school has no policy, you may create your own solution and/or direct the university’s attention to the issue and help to create a university policy.

Type III problems are the most complex. They are nondefinable (the problem is not clear) and thus using existing mental models to solve them is impossible; “technical fixes are not available” (Heifetz 1994, 75). In order to successfully tackle Type III situations, “leadership that induces learning” is neces-

sary “both to define the problems and implement the solutions” (Heifetz 1994, 75). Largely, Type III problems arise out of a gap between the values of an organization and its members and the reality that the organization is facing. In Type III situations, there may be Type I and Type II components (as seen above), but they are viewed as symptoms of an underlying issue, one which is not easily defined. Type III problems exist when there is a gap between values and reality, and possibly a gap between conflicting values. (Heifetz’s [1994] notion of “gap” is similar to Senge’s notion of “creative tension,” as found in his writings on learning organizations [see Senge 1990]).

It is the closing of this gap which is the adaptive work of leaders, Heifetz (1994) maintains. To do this, the organization has to first define the problem, decide how to tackle it, and then work for adaption of either values, reality or both. Tackling Type III problems requires learning and adaption on the part of all members of the organization. Those with formal authority positions cannot do this work alone. Members throughout the organization must use their informal or formal authority to exercise leadership—they must help raise the issues, direct members’ attention to the underlying issues, manage stress levels, protect conflicting voices, and help the members do their own work (Heifetz 1994).

Because Type III problems are difficult to identify, the majority are misdiagnosed as Type I or II problems, and known solutions or “technical formulation[s]” are applied to “nontechnical problem[s]” (Heifetz 1994, 75). In other words, Type III problems are oversimplified as Type I or Type II problems. Generally, oversimplification is caused by looking at problems through a single lens, coming to one of three common conclusions: the problem is caused by a specific person or people (usually those in authority positions); the problem is caused by the structure of the organization; the problem is caused by a thirst for power (Bolman and Deal 1997). Of course, some problems are caused by structure, systems, people, power, and culture; “much of the time, though, faulting people gives us simplistic answers that block us from seeing systems and offer little help, even if they are partly right” (Bolman and Deal

1997, 32). “[A] better alternative is to probe more deeply to pinpoint what is *really* going on” (Bolman and Deal 1997, 29).

LEADERSHIP FOR COMPLEX PROBLEMS: THROUGH THE ORGANIZATIONAL LENS

There have always been myriad types of organizations (e.g., factories, universities, symphonies, nation-states, etc.), but the industrial revolution has borne witness to an increase in the variety and diversity of such organizations that has no historical precedent. Concomitantly, since at least the eighteenth century, researchers have studied organizations and developed theories that would then help to explain concerted group effort. Organizations have continued to change and adapt during the last two centuries and as a consequence, there are nearly as many theories about organizations as there are organizations and the people who study them. Shafritz and Ott suggest a taxonomy of theoretical approaches that connect to, and help explain, Heifetz’s adaptive leadership. These are structure, systems, human resources, power, and culture.

Structure

Those who see organizations through the lens of the structural perspective have a mechanistic view of organizations, focusing on production, structure, division of labor, and rational decision-making processes (Shafritz and Ott 2001). This lens views organizations as rational institutions designed and structured to achieve established goals, with control and coordination maintained by rules and formal authority (Shafritz and Ott 2001). Most problems are perceived to result from flaws in the structure of the organization and therefore, can be resolved by changing the structure. Organizational challenges are perceived as predominantly engineering problems.

The connection to adaptive leadership is that formal, positional, authority and structural features of organizations are important for directing, ordering, protecting, and controlling the organization and its members in order to solve problems. Leaders should always try to look at Type III situations for

the possible structural, Type I problems, which are contributing to the situation.

Systems

Systems theory also describes organizations as rational, goal oriented, and structural, but makes the distinction between closed (as in the structural theories) and open systems. In open systems, there is a constant exchange between the organization and the external environment, thus any organizational problems must be considered within the context of the organization and its surrounding environment. Systems theory “is basically concerned with problems of relationships, of structure, and of interdependence” (Katz and Kahn 1966, 259). In this view, “organizations are not static, but rather are in constantly shifting states of dynamic equilibrium. They are adaptive systems that are integral parts of their environments” (Shafritz and Ott 2001, 243). Thus, the organization is viewed as a problem-facing and problem-solving phenomenon with a focus on “organizational processes related to choice of courses of action, in an environment which does not fully disclose the alternatives available or the consequences of those alternatives” (Thompson 1967, 270).

In his discussion of systems thinking, Senge distinguishes between detail and dynamic complexity. Detail complexity, involving accounting for as many *distinct* variables as possible, is the more commonly considered of the two. Dynamic complexity, by contrast, involves examining the variables not as distinct, but as closely interrelated and correlated with one another. Senge writes:

Unfortunately, most “systems analysis” focus[es] on detail complexity not dynamic complexity. Simulations with thousands of variables and complex arrays of details can actually distract us from seeing patterns and major interrelationships. In fact, sadly, for most people “systems thinking” means “fighting complexity with complexity,” devising increasingly “complex” (we should really say “detailed”) solutions to increasingly “complex” problems. In fact, this is the antithesis of real systems thinking. (Senge 1990, 72).

Organizations are still engineering problems for the systems perspective, but instead of many small,

independent problems, the problems (and solutions) involve much greater interdependence and interaction among them.

The connection to adaptive leadership is this. Leaders need to sense the interconnections, within and outside the organization, in order to anticipate and adapt the organization to changes. They need to be able to see the bigger picture, the Type III problem, in order to identify the “ripe” issues and possible alternatives. Leadership involves directing the organization’s attention to those issues, rather than to the detailed technical issues that can mask dynamic problems.

Human Resource Theory

In both the structural and systems theories, “the personal preferences of organizational members are restrained by systems of formal rules, authority, and norms of rational behavior” (Shafritz and Ott 2001, 298). Contrary to such “engineering” approaches, human resource theory focuses on “people, groups, and the relationships among them and the organizational environment” (Shafritz and Ott 2001, 145). From this perspective, the organization both shapes, and is shaped by, the behavior of its organizational members. Bolman and Deal (1997) note four assumptions about the human resources perspective: (1) organizations exist to serve human needs; (2) there is a codependent relationship between an organization and its members; (3) a poor fit between members and the organization can lead to problems for both; and 4) a good fit between members and the organization can benefit both. In addition to the engineering aspects, organizational leadership involves attention to the human, non-mechanistic aspects of group interaction.

The connection to adaptive leadership is that leadership involves all members of the organization in problem solving at the Type II and III levels. Participatory and situational (exercised differently depending on the people and situation involved) leadership is necessary to direct and hold people’s attention to the issues.

Power

Another outcome of leading people rather than machines is the fact that people have different—



Organizational Lenses

Organizational theorists Jay M. Shafritz and J. Steven Ott suggest that there are a number of theoretical approaches or “lenses” through which one can view an organizational problem. The examples below illustrate how one problem—students cheating on exams—can be seen through different lenses.

Viewed through the Structure Lens

“Students cheat on exams because there are no rules or structures for punishing dishonest acts. Administrators need to engineer rules and mechanisms for punishing offenders. If these rules and structures are in place, students will stop cheating.”

Viewed through the Power Lens

“Students cheat because universities do not value students’ interests, beliefs, values, perspectives and perceptions. When students cheat, they feel that they are using the only power they have within the university. Therefore, if we want students to stop cheating, we need to hand the power over to them. Perhaps allowing students to create and enforce the academic dishonesty rules and policies would serve this purpose.”

Viewed through the Systems Lens

“Students cheat on exams because they are external forces pushing for high grades (e.g. graduate schools) which interact with our lack of processes for handling cheating cases. We need to create rational organizational processes to mediate the actions of our students in the face of these external pressures.”

Viewed through the Culture Lens

“Students cheat because there is an underlying peer culture that supports (or at least does not condemn) cheating. If we want to stop students from cheating, we need to create a new culture. For example, we can have the students develop an honor code and other symbols to represent the valuing of academic honesty.”

Source: Shafritz, J. M., & Ott, J. S. (2001). *Classics of organization theory*. (5th ed). Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt College Publishers.

often conflicting—values and goals. As such, organizations are characterized by power and politics. The Power and Politics lens views organizations as “complex systems of individuals and coalitions, each having its own interests, beliefs, values, preferences, perspectives, and perceptions” (Shafritz and Ott 2001, 298). This perspective makes clear the distinction between “legitimate” or “positional” authority (that determined by hierarchy) and the power that is available to others in the organization even without such formal authority. Since power and perspectives are abundant and diverse with such complex organizations, conflict is inevitable, and therefore

organizational life is about using power, politics and influence to resolve conflict.

The connections to adaptive leadership are the following. Any member of the organization can exercise leadership, using the power and authority they have (from whatever source) to influence others to act on “ripe” issues. Those leading from positions of authority must protect the voices of the dissenting and less powerful, to ensure that their voices are heard in the organization. Those in positions of authority must resist the pull from organization members to do all of the work. They must use the power they have to give the work back to the organization members at a pace that they can handle.

Culture

Finally, the organizational culture theory sees organizations as made up of unconscious patterns of assumptions that influence behaviors within the organization. Personal preferences of organizational members are controlled not by rules, authority or norms of rationality, but by “cultural norms, values,

beliefs, and assumptions” (Shafritz and Ott 2001, 362). Thus, to understand an organization, you must examine its culture. Bolman and Deal (1997) state that there are three main tenets of the culture theory. First, the interpretation of what is going on in the organization is more important than what is actually going on. Second, ambiguity and uncertainty preclude decision-making. And, third, people use symbols to make sense of things that do not make sense.

The connections to adaptive leadership are the following. Leaders both create and are the products of organizational culture. Leading means under-

standing and deciphering the culture (which usually speaks to the underlying issues) to help the organization adapt its values or its reality in order to close the gap that exists between values and reality or conflicting values. Leaders must have an understanding of the culture in order to identify ripe versus unripe issues.

LEADERSHIP LESSONS

Viewing a complex problem through one lens only gives leaders a partial picture of the issue. Therefore, in complex organizations, leaders need to develop the ability to view a problem or issue through more than one lens. One important way to do this, of course, is to bring organizational members into the problem-solving process. Using the typology of organizational problems, we can see that authority figures can easily solve simple, structural, problems on their own. Ensuring multiple voices and lenses may be more detrimental than helpful since this can over complicate the problem and delay the restoring of the organization's equilibrium.

However, in Type II and III situations, significant learning and adaptation on the part of organizational members is required in order to restore equilibrium. All five lenses (and any number of others) should be applied to the situation in order to define the problem, identify the underlying issues, and point to possible solutions. In these situations, formal authority can be used as a resource for leadership, for mobilizing adaptive work on the part of the organization's members. However, all members of the organization can exercise leadership by becoming involved in the tackling of the adaptive challenges. To facilitate this, authority figures must resist the temptation to view problems through one organizational lens, solving them by applying technical solutions. Instead, authority figures exercising leadership will use all five organizational lenses to break the complex problem down into Type I, II, or III problems, thereby directing attention to the issues (rather than dictating solutions) that can elicit stakeholder interventions. Stakeholders should also be involved in Type II and III problems, because even "when authority has some clear ideas about what needs to be done, implementing change often requires

adjustments in people's lives . . . systems must learn their way forward" (Heifetz 1994, 87).

IMPLICATIONS

Exercising leadership in this way is not easy. Mobilizing stakeholders to tackle the challenge themselves will frustrate expectations and turn authority figures into "lighting rods," attracting all the frustrations and anxieties. Social distress within the organization will be high. However, Heifetz (1994) claims that if authority can resist a pull into action and, instead, direct disciplined attention to the underlying issue, give the work back to the stakeholders, and protect voices of those who are speaking to the issue, than the community will work to resolve the challenge where it lies.

Leading in a complex organization requires a different kind of leadership, one that cannot be explained through the view of only one organizational lens. Applying several organizational lenses to the problems that exist in our organizations, can help more accurately define the various issues underlying the complex problem. However, any reliance on one individual or a team of authority figures to lead an organization through problem-solving or change, will most likely fail to restore equilibrium or at the most, temporarily restore equilibrium in a veil of success.

—Tricia Bertram Gallant and Robert Phillips

See also Bureaucracy; Organizational Climate and Culture; Organizational Dynamics

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ORGANIZING

The democratic promise of equity, inclusion, and accountability requires an organized citizenry with the power to articulate and assert its interests effectively. In the United States, the concerns of many citizens remain muted because of unequal and declining citizen participation. Elsewhere in the world, many new democracies struggle to create institutions to make effective citizen participation possible. Organizing confronts these challenges by revitalizing old democratic institutions and creating new ones; it involves learning how to mobilize people for effective collective action.

For people to turn shared values into action, they must learn how to identify, recruit, and develop leadership; they must learn to build community around that leadership; and they must learn to draw power from that community. Organizers challenge people to act on behalf of shared values and interests. They draw people together into new relationships that enable people to gain new understanding of their interests, and they help people develop new resources and new capacity to use these resources for the collective benefit. These relationship-building activities lead to new networks of relationship wide and deep enough to provide a foundation for a new community in action. A second result is a new story about who this community is, where it has been, where it is going, and how it will get there. A third result is action, as the community mobilizes and deploys its resources on behalf of its interests.

THE WORK OF ORGANIZERS

Organizers are people developers in every possible way. They help people come to see why they should act to change their world—that is, they help people find motivation for change—and they also help people figure out how they can change their world (they help people formulate their strategy). To arrive at

motivation, organizers help people get a deeper understanding of who they are, what they want, and why; they mobilize people's feelings of anger, hope, self-worth, solidarity, and urgency while challenging feelings of fear, apathy, self-doubt, isolation, and inertia. People's motivation, once developed, is articulated as a shared story of the challenges they face, why they must face them, and why others should help them.

When it comes to understanding how people can act, organizers help by creating opportunities for people to deliberate about their circumstances, reinterpret them in ways that open up new opportunities, and strategize to make creative use of their resources. They challenge people to take the responsibility to act. For an individual, empowerment begins with taking responsibility; for an organization, empowerment begins with its members' commitment to it, that is, with the responsibility its members take for it. Responsibility, in turn, begins with choosing to act. Organizers challenge people not only to understand, but also to commit, and to act.

The primary vehicle for action is the campaign, a highly energized, intensely focused, concentrated stream of activity with specific goals and deadlines. People are recruited, programs launched, battles fought, and organizations built through campaigns. One dilemma inherent in campaigning is how to depolarize campaigns when inevitable conflicts rear their heads. Another dilemma is how to balance campaigns with the ongoing work of organizational growth and development.

Then there is the connection between organizing and leadership. Organizers build community by developing leadership. They help leaders enhance their skills, articulate their values, and formulate their commitments, and then they work to develop a relationship of mutual responsibility and accountability between a constituency and its leaders.

LEARNING TO ORGANIZE

Part of organizing is a practice, and therefore can only be learned from the experience of taking action. Taking action means accepting risks—risks of failure, of making mistakes, of losing face, of rejection,

and so on. Because organizing is relational (done in interaction with others), the more one can distinguish between one's own goals and the goals of others and can understand the interaction between the two, the easier it becomes to take the risks that learning requires. The more deeply committed one is to one's cause, the more one will learn, because the motivation to take the risks that result in learning will be very strong.

There is also a theoretical side to organizing, but unlike in some academic disciplines, one does not learn the theory first and then apply it. The theory is no more than a way to simplify reality for specific purposes, such as predicting a likely outcome.

Learning to organize means learning about the two notions of time that the evolutionary biologist Stephen Jay Gould described as time as a cycle and time as an arrow. Thinking of time as a cycle helps us to maintain our routines, our normal procedures, our annual budget, and so forth, while thinking of time as an arrow focuses us on making change, on achieving specific outcomes, on narrowing our efforts. While conducting a campaign, time is experienced as an arrow. There is an intense stream of activity that begins with a foundational period, which builds to a kick-off that is followed by periodic peaks and culminates in a final peak, followed by a resolution. As the campaign gains momentum, it gathers more and more resources, much as a snowball pushed through the snow collects more and more snow. Campaigners' motivation increases in the same fashion, with early successes making later successes more achievable.

When it comes to organizing, interaction with others is not an extra; rather, it is at the core of the learning process. Learning how to challenge, support, and motivate those with whom one works—and learning to be challenged, supported, and motivated by them—can be one of the most useful lessons in organizing.

LEADERSHIP IN ORGANIZING

Although we associate leaders with certain attributes (such as power), another way to look at leadership is as a relationship. The historian James MacGregor Burns argues that one sort of leadership can be

understood as a relationship that emerges from repeated exchanges or transactions between leaders and followers or constituents. Leaders provide resources constituents need to address their interests, and constituents provide resources leaders need to address theirs. Constituents may get help solving a problem, a sense of empowerment, access to resources, and so forth. Leaders may get the same things, but they also get something that makes them willing to accept the responsibilities that go with leadership. The key factor in understanding leadership as a relationship is the notion that one cannot be a leader without followers. No matter how fine one's speeches or how numerous one's awards, without a constituency, one is not a leader.

Because relationship building is central to the craft of organizing, it is central to the exercise of leadership in organizing. If the interaction between leader and followers yields a deeper understanding of values and how to translate them into action, it becomes what Burns calls moral leadership. And although identifying, recruiting, and developing leadership is critical to the capacity of most organizations, it is the particular focus of organizers, whose work is to be leaders of leaders. The primary responsibility of an organizer is to develop the leadership capacities of others and, in this way, of the organizations through which their constituents act on their common interests.

How Does Leadership Work?

The voluntary associations that are developed in the course of organizing only work when people are willing to accept both roles of leadership and followership. Leading and following are not expressions of who members are but of what they do in a specific meeting, committee, project, organization, or institution. A person may play a leadership role in one project and a followership role in another.

What are the differences in those roles? Leaders accept responsibility for very specific pieces of work a group must do to work together successfully. As the feminist scholar Jo Freeman argues, organization (or collaboration of any kind) simply doesn't work if people don't have ways to assign clear responsibili-

ties and hold members accountable for fulfilling them. A most important responsibility is that of seeing to the needs of the group as a whole: This is the responsibility of the leader. Although leadership can be exercised by individuals working in a team (and indeed, a leadership team can bring complementary strengths to bear on solving a problem) the responsibility of seeing to the team itself still has to rest somewhere.

One should also distinguish authority from leadership. Authority is a legitimacy of command usually attached to specific social positions, offices, or roles—legitimacy supported by cultural beliefs as well as coercive resources. An organization is a way to formalize authority relations among the participants. Bureaucracies structure authority as a set of rules according to which managers direct subordinates. Markets structure authority as a set of rules according to which entrepreneurs can design incentives for persons to make enforceable choices based on their individual economic resources. Civic associations—the type of structure developed by organizers—usually structure authority democratically: Leaders are accountable to the constituents whom they serve. Exercising leadership in a civic context can require more skill than it does in the other settings because it depends more on persuasion than on command.

Cultures' institutionalized beliefs about who is authorized to lead and who is not can bar certain people from the opportunity to earn the title of leader. Leaders who develop under these conditions constitute a challenge to conventional ideas of authority. Authority can also be a resource a person draws upon to earn their leadership, and conversely, leaders sometimes find authority has been conferred upon them as a result of their having earned their leadership. But leadership and authority are not the same thing.

Finally, leaders should be distinguished from activists. Hard-working activists show up every day to staff the phone bank, pass out leaflets, and put up posters; they make critical contributions to the work of any volunteer organization. This is not the same, however, as engaging others in doing the work of the organization. Leadership is exercised through relational work.

What Do Leaders Do?

Perhaps one way to understand what leaders do in the context of organizing is to compare successful civic associations with unsuccessful ones. The unsuccessful ones might well be called “disorganizations.” They are:

Divided. Factions and divisions fragment the organization and sap its resources.

Confused. Each person has a different understanding of what's going on. There is a lot of gossip, but not very much information.

Passive. Most “members” do very little; one or two people do most of the work.

Reactive. They are always trying to respond to some unanticipated new development.

Inactive. No one comes to meetings. No one shows up for activities.

Prone to drifting. There is little purposefulness to meetings, actions, or decisions, and things drift from one meeting to the next.

Successful organizations, on the other hand, really work. In successful organizations, people

are united. They have learned to manage their differences well enough that they can unite to accomplish the purposes for which the organization formed. Differences are openly debated, discussed, and resolved.

share understanding. There is a widely shared understanding of what's going on, what the challenges are, what the program is, and why the current course of action was adopted.

participate. Lots of people in the organization are active; they not only go to meetings but also get the work of the organization done.

take initiative. Rather than reacting to whatever happens in their environment, they are proactive, and act upon their environment.

act. People do the work they must to make things happen.

share a sense of purpose. There is purposefulness about meetings, actions, and decisions and sense of forward momentum as work gets done.

It is the quality of the work leaders do within them that makes groups work. A good leader steers

the group away from the bad characteristics of the “disorganization” and toward the characteristics of a good organization. Leaders turn division into solidarity by building, maintaining, and developing relationships among those who form the organization. Leaders turn confusion into understanding by facilitating interpretation of what is going on with the work of the organization. They turn passivity into participation by inspiring people to commit to the action required if the group’s goals are to be accomplished, and they turn reaction into initiative by strategizing—thinking through how the organization can use its resources to achieve its goals. Inaction becomes action when leaders mobilize people to turn their resources into the specific actions that will lead to the achievement of their goals, and drift becomes shared purpose when leaders accept responsibility for overseeing the group and challenge others to accept their responsibility as well.

ORGANIZERS AND THE ART OF INTERPRETATION

In the context of organizing, the art of interpretation is the art of figuring out what the group should do and why it should do it. We reinterpret our world and our roles within it even as we change it. Our understanding of ourselves and the world around us is based not on raw data but on interpretation of the data. In examining the data, we ask, Is this good for us? Is it bad for us? Is it irrelevant for us? We interpret data by contextualizing it within schemata, or frames, that we have learned. Frames are patterns of understanding that influence what we remember, what we pay attention to, and what we expect that give meaning to the discrete pieces of information we encounter. Frames are emotionally anchored, derive from our direct experience, and give us our grip on the world.

Two Ways of Knowing: Why and How

We can distinguish between two ways in which we interpret the world: narrative and analytic. We construct a narrative understanding of who we are, where we are going, and how we hope to get there that is

rooted more in how we feel about things (affect) than in what we think about them (cognition). A narrative understanding is inductive; it is “true” insofar as it moves us, and it dominates the fields of religion, literature, poetry, and politics. The psychologist Jerome Bruner argues that the power of narrative understanding to engage comes from the wisdom it promises to reveal to us about coping with uncertainty. Its power to move us grows out of the extent to which we can identify with the protagonists.

Analytic understanding is based on our application of critical reason to data about the world. It is rooted more in what we think about things than in how we feel about them. It is deductive, governed by rules of logic, and often constructed in the form of syllogism. It dominates in the fields of economics, policy analysis, and much scientific research. Although its persuasive power ultimately rests on evidence (experience) that supports or fails to support its hypotheses, it is based on our acceptance of the assumptions on which the logic is based or the authority of those who invoke this logic.

Mobilizing Motivation: Storytelling

As indicated above, leaders motivate followers to transform a passive “disorganization” into an active “organization.” Strategy turns reaction into initiative by mobilizing thinking, but motivation turns passivity into participation by mobilizing feelings.

Organizers mobilize people’s feelings in ways that help people overcome their inhibitions about taking action. Many people have conflicting feelings on various subjects; mobilizing one set of feelings to challenge another produces an emotional dissonance, a tension that can only be resolved through action. This process is sometimes called “agitation.” Anger can be mobilized to challenge fear; hope can challenge apathy; belief in one’s ability to make a difference can challenge self-doubt; solidarity can challenge isolation, and urgency can challenge inertia.

One useful tool is the motivational conversation, a form of storytelling. Henry V (1387–1422) motivated the English troops in France before the battle of Agincourt by telling them a story—not a story about what once was, but a story about what could

be. Stories of what could be, stories of hope, are one of the main ways organizers translate values into action.

In listening—or in telling—a story, we experience the tale’s events as events in our own lives. We become part of the story; we respond, call up our own stories, and tell one in response. Stories engage because they teach us how to deal with the unexpected. Although we often tell stories set “once upon a time,” what moves us to tell stories is concern not with the past but with the future. Through stories we can draw on the past to meet a current challenge, to shape a desired future. That is what Henry V did: He drew on his men’s understanding of their past, their identities, to face a current challenge in a way that would make a new, better future possible for them.

When we start a new organization, we not only build new relationships and mobilize new resources, but we begin a new story—a story that, if it is successful, will weave together many individual tales in an encompassing story of the community within which we live. Organizers learn to tell a story of hope that answers the questions Why now? Why us? and, for those whom one hopes to mobilize, Why you?

If deliberative work occurs in meetings, storytelling occurs in celebrations. Meetings are about thinking; celebrations are about feeling. But a celebration is not a party; it is a way members of a community come together to honor who they are, what they have done, and where they are going—often symbolically. Celebrations can be formal or informal; they include rallies, fiestas, victory parties, shared meals, mass meetings, and religious services. Small celebratory acts can be introduced into many aspects of an organization’s life. Amnesty International, for example, ends its meetings with a short letter-writing session on behalf of one of the prisoners for whom it is advocating. More important than the number of letters written is the affirmation of what the organization is all about.

STRATEGY AND POWER

Strategy is how we turn what we have into what we need to get what we want; that is, strategy is how we turn resources into power. If we think of power as the

influence one actor can have upon another because of an imbalance in interests and resources, one way to correct the imbalance is to find more resources. But more resources aren’t always available. So another way to correct the imbalance is to move the fulcrum on which the balance rests to get more leverage out of the same resources. This is what good strategists learn to do: They learn to get more leverage from the resources that are available. Power, then, is not only a matter of material resources, but also of imagination.

What Is Power?

Power works in at least two different ways. Traditionally we think of it as “power over,” or dependency and domination. I gain power over others by making them dependent on me for resources they need. That power then gives me access to their resources on terms that meet my interests at their expense. An employer, for example, who controls most of the opportunities for income in a company town can exercise power over individual workers who need the income, thus gaining access to their labor at low wages. The employer can exploit the worker because the worker depends on the employer. The employer’s interests get addressed, but at the expense of workers’ interests, which do not.

But there is a second way to look at power—as “power to,” or interdependency. When I have resources you need and you have resources I need, an opportunity exists for an exchange that can enhance our combined power. In this setting, mobilizing power is not a zero-sum game. New immigrants, for example, may pool their savings in a credit union to make low-interest loans available to members, increasing their financial power. “Power to” is a result of social cooperation and our capacity to accomplish together what we cannot accomplish alone.

Organizing based on collaboration requires finding ways to generate power to achieve common interests. On the other hand, organizing based on claims making requires finding ways to generate enough power to alter relations of dependency and domination that are due to preexisting conflicts of interest. If workers combine their resources in a



Advice for Activists

Randy Battle, musician and activist, was involved in the civil rights movement of the 1960s. Below, he offers advice for community organizers and activists.

I have found that it's better to go into a community if you are planning on staying for a while, and first getting to know people and letting people get to know you. Now you can become known and get to know people in many ways. You can first start by going to the churches, cafes, school dances, community club meetings, if there are such. And at all of these, whatever you go to, you should talk to people, and try to get them to either let you come around to their homes or you ask them to yours.

If you are young, like most of us are, then you must be careful about how you go about talking to older people. The best way to get to the older people is to have something to offer. If you have ever been in the field, often it is found that older people like to talk about jobs, bad streets, no street lights, bad housing, and how the white school is so much better than their own. People talk about these because most of the time they don't know enough about any of the other things that affect them to talk about them. So the thing for you to do is to kind of ask questions and answer them at the same time. To do this will, or would, give people other things to think about.

After you have made yourself known you are then able to ask things of the people. You can ask them why they are living in such a bad house and get an answer without offending the person whom you are talking to. But without being known you just can't talk truthfully with a man or woman who only makes \$10 a week in Miss Ann's kitchen, or who toms for Mr. Charles for \$25 or \$30 a week, and look for an answer. I have found that now they will tell why they don't do anything or go along with the things The Movement does. I find mostly people will say that M. L. King won't give me a job when I lost the one I have, nor will he give me any food for my hungry children. So I am going to keep away from them Movement people like my boss told me, because she is the one who is going to help me.

What I will say is that the first thing you do when you go into a community is to get to know as many people as you can, not as a leader or anything of that kind, but as a person tired of living in bad houses on bad streets without

lights, no place for your child to go after school, and not a very good school.

I don't think you should worry about making contact when you go into a community, because if you do the things I have stated heretofore then you have made your contacts. Also, by this time you should know who the key people are, whatever that means. Maybe I should ask what kind of people are considered as key people. Then maybe I could speak to that. I don't know how to get people into a leadership position. But there are ways, I know. Sometimes you just kind of force them one way or another by asking them to do little things, whatever may be the situation where you are or maybe where he's working. All people are not the same; it takes more to get some people going than others.

But to me there is something in your letter of which I have read, that has some real meaning to me. And that is how do you overcome fear, apathy, and suspicion—not only in the hard-core areas, but everywhere there is a movement under way. I don't believe anyone knows how to overcome these. One can only say what he or she feels is the best way to overcome fear, apathy, suspicion.

Before I say what I feel, I would like to go back to what Sherrod would say when he asked people to go down in a march or sit-in. He would look at you a while, then slowly he would say, "If you can free a person's mind, then he or she is able to think." In so many words he would say if you can give a blind man 20-20 vision, then he will be able to see when he comes to a corner. How do you free one mind? In my own mind I would say somewhat in the same way you overcome apathy, fear, and suspicion.

But there is just one thing that I worry about most; and that is fear; for I believe if you can overcome fear then all of the others you can easily overcome. There are many ways to overcome fear, and for some people a few or one of the ways will help them to overcome fear. And for others it may take all of them. The way to overcome fear could be for some people registering to vote, or going downtown in a march or sit-in, or going to the police station to go someone's bond.

Source: Jacobs, Paul, & Landau, Saul. (1966). *The New Radicals: A Report with Documents*. New York: Vintage Books, pp. 129–131.

union, they may be able to balance their individual dependency on their employer with his dependency on their labor as a whole. This way a dependent

“power over” relationship can be turned into an interdependent “power to” relationship.

A key to successful organizing is understanding



Graffiti on a wall in Athens, Greece call people to action against the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003.

Source: Karen Christensen; used with permission.

that getting the power to challenge relations of dependency and domination (“power over”) may require creating lots of interdependency (“power to”) first. Many unions, for example, began with death benefit societies, sickness funds, credit unions—in other words, by creating “power to” based on interdependency among members of the constituency.

We can distinguish three faces of power. The first is the visible face, which can be detected by observing who wins among decision makers faced with choices as to how to allocate resources. But who decides what gets on the agenda in the first place? And who decides who sits at the table making decisions? Deciding what gets on the agenda and who sits at the table is the second face of power—the gatekeeper face. In the years of apparent “racial harmony” before the civil-rights movement, African-Americans ran up against that face of power as they saw their issues repeatedly left off the national agenda.

The third face of power is harder to detect. Some power relations that shape our world are so deeply embedded that we take them for granted. Before the women’s movement, for example, many people claimed that job discrimination against women was

not an issue. Women’s interests were not being voted down in Congress (there were almost no women in Congress) and women’s groups were not picketing outside, unable to place their issue on the agenda. Yet women occupied subordinate positions in most spheres of public life. Was that because they were content with their lot? Perhaps. But sometimes people would like things to be different but simply can’t imagine how they could be—not clearly enough, at least, to take the risks to make them so. To detect the power relations at work in a situation like this, one has to look beyond the question of who decides or who puts issues on the agenda and focus on identifying who benefits and who loses in the allocation

of valued resources. If one then asks why the losers generally lose and the winners generally win, one may discover a power disparity at work. (This can be tricky because the winners always claim they deserve to win and that the losers deserve to lose, and sometimes they convince the losers).

Strategy and Tactics

Strategic action is a way of acting, not an alternative to action. It is acting with intentionality, with mindfulness of one’s goals, as opposed to acting out of habit or emotional reaction. So devising strategy is an ongoing activity, not simply a matter of making a strategic plan at the beginning of a campaign and then sticking to it. Planning helps organizers arrive at a common vision of where they want to go and how they hope to get there, but the real action in strategy is, as the organizer Saul Alinsky put it, in the reaction of other actors, of the opposition, of chance events.

Although strategic action is taken with reference to the future, it occurs in the present. When we strategize, we give a voice to the future in the present. When we don’t strategize it is often not because we don’t know how, but because strategizing can be

very difficult. When we must make choices about how to invest scarce resources, voices of present constituencies speak most loudly; the voice of future constituencies is silent. Strategy is a leadership task in part because it requires real courage: leaders must be willing to say no to current demands and find the faith to commit to an uncertain future. Our choices may result in the hoped-for outcome, but then again, they may not. Trying to shape the future may require choices that involve substantial risk in the present.

We can understand strategy by breaking it down into three elements: targeting, timing, and tactics. Targeting is figuring out how to focus limited resources on doing what is likely to yield the greatest result, especially in terms of constituency, issues, and opposition.

Timing is about sequencing activities to take the initiative and keep it, build momentum, and take advantage of opportunities as they arise. You are wise to use initial tactics that yield resources that can give you a greater capacity to succeed at your next steps. Another timing question is when to confront the opposition, or, if the campaign is collaborative, when to face the most difficult challenge. Alinsky wrote that it was important never to seek a confrontation you could not win.

Tactics are specific activities with which you implement your strategy. They are consistent with your resources, but expose your opposition's lack of resources. They build on your strength and your opposition's weakness. They fall within the experience of your constituency, but outside the experience of your opposition. They unify your constituency, but divide the opposition. They are consistent with your goals. Violent tactics in pursuit of peaceful goals are dissonant, as are goals of empowering people that rely on mobilizing money.

Good strategy is a creative process that involves learning how to achieve one's goals by behaving adaptively in the face of constantly changing circumstances. It relies on inputs from people with diverse experiences, people who know the nitty-gritty detail of the situation, but who also have learned that there is more than one way to look at things. Good strategists have learned what there is to know about the trees, but can also picture the whole

forest. In civic associations a key element in developing good strategy is the deliberative process by which it is devised. The more people are involved in making strategy, the more committed they will be to making it work. Although good strategy can be the fruit of a strategic genius, it is more often the result of a good strategy team.

Action, Planning, and Strategy

One explanation of the way things get accomplished is that we evaluate our environment, we make a plan, we take action, we evaluate our action, we modify our plan, and so forth. In reality, the process is far less methodical than this. Sometimes it is only by taking action that we gain the understanding we need to develop a meaningful plan. The students who conducted the first sit-ins in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1960 in protest of segregation had no elaborate strategic plan about how their action would give rise to a whole student movement. By taking action they focused the issue, inspired others to act, and sparked a movement that made all sorts of plans possible that would have been inconceivable had they not acted. The nineteenth-century social reformer Jane Addams warned against being caught in the "snare of preparation"—a common academic affliction—in which one believes that with just one more survey, just one more data point, or just one more regression, the course of action will be clear. Sometimes it is only by doing that we come to know what is possible, especially in the work of making change.

A complete organizing strategy answers three questions: How do we build relationships, how do we interpret what we are doing, and how do we do it? The account of one of the labor organizer César Chávez's first house meetings offers a glimpse of an action program in the making. Chávez clearly brought with him a vision of where the organization could go. The conversation unfolded, however, in terms of the interests of those who came to the meeting—burial and credit. Chávez led them into a reflection on how establishing a death benefit and a credit union would help them. And how could these goals be achieved? Each person could begin that very

evening by filling out a census card or agreeing to host a meeting of his or her friends. In this way, the goals of an action program evolve from the interests of a constituency, and the steps to be taken are based on the resources available to it. What went on at that house meeting also shows how narrow individual interests can be translated into the basis for broader community action.

Whether an organization pursues a collaborative or a claims-making strategy, its action program usually begins with collaborative tactics, which can help build a broad base of support to develop as much organizational capacity, or “power to,” as possible. These tactics can be used to achieve collaborative goals such as a credit union, a death benefit, or cooperative day care. On the other hand, if the organization has a claims-making intent, a foundation built in this way can be the first step in challenging someone else’s “power over” the community. It might, for example, eventually lead to getting the city to allocate funds, an employer to raise wages, or Congress to pass a law, though those goals may also require direct action, political action, or economic mobilization. In any case, collaborative work lays the foundation by creating enough “power to” to begin to challenge “power over.” Social service programs are usually collaborative, whereas social action programs usually involve claims making. Mobilizing community resources for an after-school tutoring program is an example of collaborative action or “power to.” Mobilizing to require a university to establish an ethnic studies program is an example of claims-making action that challenges “power over.”

RESOURCE MOBILIZATION AND EFFECTIVE ACTION

If you draw all your resources from within your constituency, then you are accountable for how you deploy those resources only to the constituency. Resources gained from outside the constituency, on the other hand, often entail accountability to those who contribute them, which places limits on how they can be used.

Similarly, devising tactics that require lots of money, if what you have is lots of people, can

impose severe constraints on what you do. Basing your action program on tactics that require mobilizing people, on the other hand, can most directly empower your constituency, but it can constrain you to find tactics in which your people are willing to take part.

Finally, action programs that generate resources must be distinguished from action programs that drain resources. In union organizing, for example, the more successful the union, the more members it gets, the larger the dues base, the more leadership it has developed, and the greater its human and financial resources. Similarly, as some community organizations conduct parish renewal work among member churches, their human and financial capacity grows. Grant-based action programs, in contrast, often fail to generate new resources from the work they do, and keep themselves in a state of perpetual dependency.

The beauty of a tactic such as the grape boycott of the 1960s and 1970s is that it was an action in which everyone could play a part, whether by simply boycotting grapes at the supermarket, or, as in the case of one student, by dropping out of school to work full-time for the United Farm Workers. At one point in 1975, pollster Lou Harris found that 12 percent of the American public—at that time some 17 million people—were boycotting grapes. The wider the opportunity to act, the wider the participation and the responsibility.

Action entails cost in the form of time, effort, risk, and hard work. Sacrifice can also be widely shared. The more widely it is shared, the more people have a stake in the outcome. The boycott is a good example of this as well. When one or two people do all the sacrificing, they quickly become burned out, while everyone else blames them for whatever goes wrong.

The flip side of shared sacrifice is shared success. When many people have an opportunity to contribute to the effort, they also share in its success. It is their victory, not someone else’s. This, in turn, creates motivation and a sense of entitlement that facilitates accountability.

There is no right or wrong answer to what an appropriate relationship between resources and action should be. Understanding the relationship is

essential, however, if one is to make conscious choices about how to set up an organization so it has a chance to accomplish its purposes.

LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

Given that leaders are so important to organizing, it helps to develop a “leadership-rich” organization, which means that organizers need to learn to delegate. Letting others take responsibility is easier if one thinks about it in terms of the following seven factors:

1. *Risk*: Risk small failures early in the life of a project in order to avoid *big failures later on*.
2. *Selection*: We develop good judgment about people by taking risks, making choices, experiencing success and failures, and learning from this experience. The more experience one has in selecting people, the better one’s judgment becomes.
3. *Motivation*: When looking for someone to take responsibility, don’t make the responsibility easier, and easier, and easier . . . until there’s nothing left. The challenge is in learning to motivate people to *accept the level of responsibility needed to get the job done*.
4. *Responsibility*: Delegation is not about assigning tasks, but offering responsibility.
5. *Support*: Once a person accepts responsibility, it is in the organizer’s interest to offer him or her as much support as is needed to ensure his or her success. The challenge is learning to offer support without taking back the responsibility.
6. *Accountability*: Delegation is real only if the person is clearly accountable for the responsibility he or she accepted. Accountability should be regular, specific, and timely. The point of accountability is not to catch people to punish them, but to learn what kind of results they are getting so everyone can learn from them.
7. *Authority*: You cannot expect a person to take responsibility without authority.

Developing a leadership-rich organization also requires a conscious strategy for identifying leaders (opportunities for leaders to emerge), recruiting leaders (opportunities for leadership to be earned),

and developing leaders (opportunities for leaders to grow).

Identifying leaders requires looking for them. Who are people with followers? Who brings others to the meetings? Who encourages others to participate? Who attracts others to working with him or her? Whom do other people tell you to “look for?” Alinsky writes about community networks knit together by “native” leaders—people who take the responsibility for helping a community do its work out of their homes, small businesses, neighborhood hangouts, and so on. They can be found coaching athletic teams, serving in their churches, and surfacing in other informal schools of leadership.

Recruiting leaders requires giving people an opportunity to earn leadership. Since followers create leaders, they can’t appoint themselves or be appointed. But one can create opportunities for people to accept the responsibilities of leadership and support them in learning how to fulfill these responsibilities.

Developing leaders requires structuring the work of the organization so it affords as many people as possible the opportunity to learn to lead.

LEADERSHIP TEAM OR LONE RANGER

The most successful organizers are those who form a leadership team with whom to work early on in their campaign. Although it can be a mistake to recruit people to act as an organizing committee too early—especially if you are not careful to recruit people whom the constituency views as leaders or at least potential leaders—organizers more often err in delaying too long. The sooner you have a team of people with whom to work, the sooner the “I” of the organizer becomes the “we” of the new organization. One you have formed a leadership team you can more easily establish a rhythm of regular meetings, clear decisions, and visible accountability that will help make things actually happen.

—Marshall Ganz

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PANAMA CANAL, BUILDING OF

For four hundred years, European nations that wanted faster access to the land and riches of the Pacific Ocean dreamed of building a passage through Central America to unite the two great oceans. As early as 1529, Spanish conqueror Hernando Cortés made a proposal to Charles V for the construction of an isthmian passage through Panama. Other proposals by countries as diverse as England and Russia followed, but it was not until the early twentieth century that the dream became a reality. This was the result of the leadership of a number of powerful, self-confident men, from the visionary French promoter who built the Suez Canal to a slippery Wall Street lawyer, an ambitious U.S. president, a patient and imperturbable doctor, and a handful of talented engineers.

THE FRENCH FAILURE

Before his disastrous attempt to construct a canal through Panama helped bring down the French Republic, Ferdinand de Lesseps, a powerful and convincing promoter, had successfully used the new power of the machine to accomplish what many had regarded as impossible, to build a canal that united the Mediterranean Sea with the Indian Ocean through the strait of Suez. He saw himself as a prophet of biblical proportions, and even stated that what he was doing was nothing less than undoing the work of

Moses. As Moses had separated the oceans with one sweep of his hand, he had united them. When the Suez Canal was completed, de Lesseps, already in his late sixties and the most famous citizen of France, felt he was destined to build the great interoceanic passageway in Central America that people had been dreaming of for centuries. In 1872, he assembled a technical committee and called for a universal congress to study the feasibility of building such a canal. Studies were presented analyzing various routes, including one through Nicaragua. De Lesseps chose Panama because it had the narrowest strait.

In 1879, de Lesseps chartered the *Compagnie Universelle Pour le Canal Interoceanic*; its stated purpose was to build the Panama Canal, *la grande entreprise*. It was the biggest human undertaking ever attempted. The cost was calculated at \$240 million, twice the cost of Suez, and the time for construction was estimated at twelve years, also twice as long as Suez. Most of the money was raised by issuing shares of the company, which were purchased by thousands of small investors who gave their life savings to de Lesseps. Immediately, the tragic work on the French canal in Panama began.

DE LESSEPS'S MISTAKES

The work was expected to be finished by 1882, but by that date, because of crucial mistakes, only one quarter of the excavation had been completed. First,



The SS Ancon officially opens the Panama Canal on 15 August 1914.
Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

de Lesseps had failed to appreciate the differences between Panama and Egypt. The weather in Egypt was dry, whereas in Panama it was humid and torrential, which caused landslides and increased the need for excavations. Second, de Lesseps insisted on a sea-level canal without locks similar to the canal he built in Suez, but the elevation of the continental divide in Panama meant that the digging required for such an enterprise was nearly impossible, even by today's standards. Third, the administrative costs were excessive. De Lesseps, already an old man, did not supervise the work, which fell into the hands of his younger son, Charles, and others, who wasted as much as one-third of the investors' money in matters unrelated to the construction. Finally, yellow fever, malaria, and other tropical diseases took an immense toll on the workers. When it became clear that the company was insolvent, de Lesseps made several attempts to raise more money, but failed. In December 1889, the French government appointed a liquidator, and the work was stopped.

The bankruptcy of the *Compagnie Universelle* was a failure of massive proportions. Hundreds of thousands of peasants throughout the country who had invested their life savings in the company's stock saw their money evaporate. Investigations by French tribunals were instituted to seek out the reasons for the largest insolvency in history. The scandal contributed to the downfall of the French Republic and

destroyed France's cherished image of itself as the technological leader of mankind.

In Panama, all that remained of the original company were a few rusting dredges, and most of the excavation had disappeared under tropical mudslides. The only valuable asset was the concession to build the canal granted by Colombia, of which Panama was a province, but even this was set to expire in a few years. France's only real hope of recouping some of its investment was to sell the rights to build a canal through Panama to the United States.

THE U.S. CHOOSES PANAMA

Since the 1840s, the United States had wanted to build an isthmian route to facilitate the massive migration spurred by the California Gold Rush. However, because of the French failure in Panama, public sentiment in the United States supported a plan to build a canal through Nicaragua, using its two lakes, Lake Managua and Lake Nicaragua, rather than through Panama. For France, however, such a choice would mean the loss of its \$250 million investment in the attempted construction of the Panama Canal. Desperate, they set out to sway American opinion by any means. For that purpose, they went to New York and hired the professional services of a wily Wall Street lawyer named William Nelson Cromwell.

William Nelson Cromwell's Lobby

A little man with wavy white hair, a brilliant mind, and a slippery reputation, Cromwell offered more than a law firm. He had press agents, accountants, and politicians who helped him lobby his cases in Washington, D.C. After he accepted the French offer, he put together a lobby of financiers and politicians to convince President William McKinley and Congress to build the canal through Panama. However, he soon found himself up against an entrenched Nicaragua lobby. Democratic Louisiana senator John Tyler Morgan, president of the Inter-oceanic Affairs Committee, had introduced a bill dedicating U.S. funds to the construction of the Nicaragua Canal.

Not a man who was easily discouraged, Cromwell

used his influence and money to convince the powerful chairman of the Republican Party, Senator Mark “Dollar” Hanna, to block Morgan’s bill and to appropriate money for a new study of all possible routes, including Panama. However, in spite of his great campaign, in January 1902 the House of Representatives passed a bill approving the construction of the canal in Nicaragua. Later that month, the United States and Nicaragua signed a formal treaty for the construction of the canal. The death bells for Panama had begun to toll.

Theodore Roosevelt Decides on Panama

That fall, however, Theodore Roosevelt was rushed into office when President McKinley was assassinated by an anarchist in Buffalo, New York. A powerful, impetuous, and determined leader, Roosevelt immediately sought to put an end to the isolationism of nineteenth-century America and to turn the United States into the most powerful nation in the world. Having fought in the Spanish War in Cuba, Roosevelt knew that in order to protect its vast territory, the United States needed a fast route across Central America to get its fleet from one ocean to the other. Unlike his predecessor, he did not let Congress make the important decisions of his presidency. He opposed the choice of Nicaragua and supported Panama because he believed the latter to be the fastest route. He got his friend Senator Spooner to propose a bill in the Senate for the construction of a canal through Panama, not Nicaragua. A bitter debate in the Senate followed his decision to support Panama. Senator Morgan and other Nicaragua supporters made a vitriolic attack on the defenders of Panama, and the debate raged on.

The Persuasiveness of Phillipe Bunau-Varilla

The major French stockholders of the Compagnie Nouvelle sent the brilliant and flamboyant former head engineer for de Lesseps, Philippe Bunau-Varilla, to help lobby Congress and the press. During the debates, he and Cromwell wrote the report that Senator Hanna presented in favor of Panama. Bunau-Varilla began to preach the dangers of volcanic erup-

tions in Nicaragua. A few days before the final vote, he sent every senator postage stamps of Nicaragua showing a volcano erupting near one of the lakes where the canal was to be built. Many senators who had been ambivalent were won over to the side of Panama. As a result of the lobby’s whirlwind activity, Congress adopted the Panama route.

CROMWELL DEFEATS COLOMBIA’S DEMANDS

The Spooner Bill required the Roosevelt government to negotiate a favorable treaty with Colombia. For this purpose, Secretary of State John Hay, a scholarly man with great experience in international relations, called upon Cromwell to negotiate the treaty with Colombian ambassador Tomás Herran. Cromwell negotiated a \$40 million payment for the bankrupt French Compagnie Nouvelle and a \$10 million payment for Colombia. The Hay-Herran treaty was signed in January 1903, and the U.S. Senate approved it a month later. However, after the treaty was ratified, Colombia demanded part of the \$40 million dollars that the Compagnie Nouvelle was going to receive from the United States for the concessions. Cromwell convinced Roosevelt and Hay that Colombia was acting in bad faith and got them to oppose the demand. This prompted the Colombian Congress to reject the Hay-Herran treaty.

Roosevelt was now faced with the following choices: first, to continue to negotiate with Colombia until it changed its mind; second, to construct the canal in Nicaragua; or third, to support the secession of Panama from Colombia and sign the treaty directly with Panama. Roosevelt chose the third option.

U.S. BANKROLLS THE REVOLUTION IN PANAMA

For more than fifty years, Panamanians had tried to secede from Colombia but they did not have the military power to battle the much stronger Bogotá government. All this changed in September 1903, when the seventy-year-old doctor of the American-owned Panama Railroad Company, Manuel Amador

Guerrero, traveled to New York to procure U.S. military support and Wall Street money for a new rebellion. He planned the independence of Panama with Cromwell and Bunau-Varilla over the course of several meetings in the Waldorf Astoria hotel. During this time, Bunau-Varilla acted as a go-between for the Panamanians and Washington.

Having procured the support that he sought, Amador returned to Panama, and on 3 November he led a local rebellion that declared Panama independent, propelling the Colombians to send troops to regain the territory. Roosevelt sent a warship, the *Nashville*, to Colón on the Atlantic coast to prevent the landing of the Colombian troops. During the revolution, the Panamanian patriots relied on their unlimited supply of Wall Street dollars to bribe Colombian troops to go home without fighting. As a result of the support of Washington and New York, Panama became an independent country without bloodshed. The United States could now negotiate the Panama Canal treaty directly with the new Panamanian government.

Bunau-Varilla's creativity and aggressiveness thrust him to the forefront of the negotiations between Panama and the United States for the treaty. He was instrumental in getting the U.S. government to grant recognition and its continuing protection to the new Panamanian government. In exchange, however, he demanded the right to negotiate and sign the Panama Canal treaty on behalf of the new country. Panamanians did not want to give Bunau-Varilla such authority, but instead wanted Amador, who had departed for Washington, to do so. However, under pressure, the Panamanians bulged to Bunau-Varilla's demands, and in a matter of days he swiftly negotiated and signed the treaty on behalf of the Panamanian government with Secretary Hay before the Panamanian delegation arrived in Washington.

According to the treaty, Panama transferred sovereignty to the United States for perpetuity over an area ten miles wide on each side of the canal. Despite some hesitations from Secretary Hay to sign such a one-sided treaty, on 18 November, he and Bunau-Varilla dipped their pens into an inkwell that had belonged to Abraham Lincoln and signed the Hay-Bunau-Varilla treaty. The Hay-Bunau-Varilla

was ratified by the Panamanian Junta only three days after it was signed, and by the U.S. Senate a few months later.

Despite the initial criticism of Roosevelt for the means he used to obtain the rights to build the Canal, the debate over his methods ended when he exclaimed, "Let the dirt fly!" to start the Herculean task of building the Panama Canal. From that moment, the medical, administrative, and engineering challenges of splitting two continents occupied center stage.

THE CONSTRUCTION CHALLENGES

The first main challenge was to eradicate malaria and yellow fever from the Isthmus. The American builders realized that unless they eradicated these diseases, they would face the same fate as the French canal builders, who lost more than ten thousand people and sealed their project's doom. They drafted Dr. William Gorgas for the job.

Dr. William Gorgas Cleans Up the Isthmus

Gorgas was a military doctor whose disciplined approach to conquering yellow fever in Cuba by eradicating the mosquitoes that carried the disease landed him the dangerous job of replicating the miracle in Panama. He was a charming and likable man who had spent most of his life at frontier outposts facing extreme hardships that would have defeated other men, including catching yellow fever, which almost killed him. Instead of succumbing to the hardships, the imperturbable Dr. Gorgas learned discipline and devotion to duty.

Even though he had played no part in discovering their cause, he believed that the most effective way to eradicate both yellow fever and malaria was to reduce the number of mosquitoes by preventing them from hatching eggs, and also to keep them from getting near anyone who had been infected with the disease. But Gorgas faced many obstacles. First, the entire isthmus was a mosquito paradise; during the rainy season, the innumerable pockets of water that collected everywhere were perfect for mosquito breeding. Second, since the mosquito the-

ory of disease was a matter of much debate, he faced opposition by his superiors to his campaign and was not given the supplies or manpower that he requested.

Despite official skepticism and lack of support, the stubborn Dr. Gorgas launched his campaign with only seven paid men, and he used his charm to convince locals to volunteer with some of the more menial tasks. He divided the Isthmus into zones and assigned people to them; within each zone, doors and windows to infected people's rooms were sealed off with newspapers; people with disease were kept underneath mosquito nets; water jars, cisterns, stray buckets, and barrels with rainfall were turned over; footprints of cattle, or any puddles in which water might collect, were dried. Once the campaign was fully organized and took effect, the mosquito population diminished significantly and epidemics became a thing of the past. It was a laborious, tedious task, but one that saved thousands of lives and made possible the massive engineering work.

John C. Stevens Brings Order

Before the engineering work could be undertaken, it was necessary to determine the strategy for doing so and to organize the labor force for the largest construction project in history. This required an enthusiastic leader with personal charisma, a top strategic thinker, and a great planner. The railroad engineer and executive John C. Stevens was chosen by Roosevelt to be this man. A free spirit with no formal education who had risen himself from poverty to become head of railroad companies, Stevens stressed planning, familiarity with details at every level, and organization. "If I have five minutes in which to save my life, I would take three to think about it and two to do it," he used to remark. When he took over in July 1905, he stopped the digging of the canal that his predecessor, John F. Wallace, had commenced, and spent the following year thinking how best to approach the majestic task ahead of him. He interviewed people, asked thousands of questions, sought advice, became familiar with details, and built consensus before making a decision. Borrowing from the strategy he used to build the great

Northern Railroad across the Rockies, he gave the "best-fitted" men tremendous responsibility and then held them strictly accountable and ensured that important decisions were made in the field and not in Washington, D.C.

Unlike his predecessor, Stevens gave Gorgas all the men and supplies that he needed to free Panama of disease and to improve the moral of workers. He personally spent much effort organizing the labor force to boost worker productivity, ensuring that every one of the 24,000 employees that came to Panama from all over the world to build the canal had adequate housing, food, and the tools and training that they needed to perform an optimal job. He also established clear guidelines to control the supply of inventory and to ensure that constructors were not overcharging. As a result of his actions, he turned a chaotic process riddled with inefficiencies, fraud, and waste—that had partly caused the downfall of the French—into a manageable project.

Stevens came up with the idea of using the railroad cars to carry the gravel and stones that were dug from the canal out to landfills on the sea. This not only prevented the accumulation of earth that had created landslides during the French period, but also sped up the process of digging. Perhaps Stevens's greatest contribution was to convince Roosevelt and the U.S. Congress that a sea-level canal was not possible. He advocated a canal with locks on the Pacific and the Atlantic Oceans that would raise and lower a ship by as much as 240 feet from sea level. Instead of cutting through the mountainous continental divide, he decided to build several dams to create an artificial lake to flood approximately two thirds of the Isthmus and cut down on digging; this lake would also provide the water that the canal needed to operate the locks.

With the plan of attack for building the canal set, what lay ahead was a complex organizational task requiring masterful engineering that would extend for half a decade. Stevens, a free spirit, was not well suited for this mission, and quit in early 1907. Roosevelt replaced him with someone who had the experience needed for the job and the determination to stay the course, Army Corps of Engineer Lieutenant Colonel George Goethals.

GEORGE GOETHALS'S ENGINEERING FEATS

An official all of his life, Goethals was a model officer and an extremely capable engineer since graduating second in his class from West Point. He had proven his technical skills building bridges and locks for the Army Corps, and he possessed the patience, dignity, determination, and discipline of the soldier, which were needed to accomplish the long, arduous, uphill mission ahead.

Everything that Goethals did was on a colossal scale. The dam that he built to create the Gatun lake was the largest in the world. He built three locks on the Atlantic side which would raise the ships 240 feet vertically to the level of the lake, and another set of two locks on the Pacific side. Each of the five locks required four walls, each 1,200 feet long; each such wall required more cement than the tallest building in the world; and the tunnels to channel the water through the locks to raise and lower the ships were several times the height of a person and wider than the tunnels that connect New Jersey with New York. The giant electrical generators that moved the gates of the locks were undreamed of even a few years earlier.

Goethals's greatest challenge was excavating the Culebra Cut, a ten-mile-long area of bedrock in the steepest part of the cordillera. The French had failed miserably there because they had attempted to maintain a steep angle that became impossible to hold due to landslides. After facing several heart-breaking mudslides that wiped out a few months of work, with military discipline, Goethals decided to cut at a wider angle. To do so, he filled the Cut with water and continued the work with dredges. The result was four times the amount of excavation planned by the French which created a spectacular canyon that took half a decade to dig. In total, 19 million pounds of dynamite were used to remove 96 million cubic yards of dirt, enough to build a road to the moon or to build the Great Wall of China from San Francisco to New York.

A CONTINENT SPLIT

In August 1914, only a few months after World War I exploded in Europe, the steamer *Cristobal* became the first ship to travel from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean through the Isthmus of Panama, quietly mark-

ing the end of the greatest engineering project in history. Instead of the sea-level canal that de Lesseps had dreamed about, the Americans had built an intricate and complex waterway consisting of a huge dam to create and hold the largest artificial lake in the world 240 feet above sea level, a series of five locks, three in the Atlantic and two on the Pacific side, which would raise the ship from one ocean to the lake level and lower them again to the level of the other ocean. Instead of using their own power, ships would be pulled through the locks by railroad-type cars.

The story of the construction of the Panama Canal spans half a century. Few events in world history have led to so much conflict and pain. Its construction brought down a French republic, created a new republic, turned the United States into the technological leader of the world, and cost tens of thousands of lives. Ultimately, however, all the conflict and pain were forgotten when the dream of centuries became a reality and a new path connected the two great oceans.

—Ovidio Diaz Espino

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PANAMA CANAL TREATIES

On 7 September 1977, at a ceremony held at the Organization of American States (OAS) in Washington, D.C., United States President Jimmy Carter and Panama's military leader Omar Torrijos signed the Panama Canal Treaty. The agreement provided for the transfer of the waterway from U.S. to Panamanian

jurisdiction over a twenty-year period, concluding on 31 December 1999. Concurrently, the two leaders signed the Treaty Concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal (known as the Neutrality Treaty), which established the waterway's neutrality under joint U.S. and Panamanian protection.

Hailed as a momentous event in the history of hemispheric affairs, the agreements stipulated an end to U.S. administration of the Panama Canal and the 553-square-mile Panama Canal Zone as well as to Washington's military operations by 1999, after nearly one century of statutory U.S. presence on the isthmus. But a controversial condition attached to the Neutrality Treaty by the United States Senate authorized the use of armed force by the United States, at its sole discretion, to guarantee the security of the waterway against any threat on the isthmus, at any time in the future. This amendment and other unilateral conditions adopted by the United States undermined the Panama Canal Treaties' main objective from the Panamanian and Latin American perspective: recovering the exercise of sovereignty, the principal attribute of modern nation-states, over the national territory.

The complex negotiations whereby the Panama Canal Treaties were approved illustrate the tensions between idealism and pragmatism in domestic and international politics and how these tensions influence the decisions of political leaders. The treaty that was finally to end U.S. involvement in the administration of the Panama Canal was achieved as a culmination of a long effort at a juncture in which Panamanian and U.S. interests, as articulated by Torrijos and Carter, overlapped. Although at the termination of the process the national aspirations of Panamanians for possession of their territory were realized, the many concessions to conflicting interests created injuries and imbalances, whose high cost set back the development of Panama as an independent democratic nation and tarnished the image of the United States as a friend to the legitimate aspirations of other peoples.

TREATY NEGOTIATION: A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Panama had for decades demanded a revision of the 1903 Isthmian Canal Convention, whereby the

United States secured the right to build, operate, and defend the Panama Canal. For these purposes, Panama had allowed the United States to administer the territory adjacent to the waterway, in perpetuity, as if it were sovereign in the area. Panama also gave the United States the right to reestablish public order, were it perturbed, in the cities of Panama and Colon, located at the opposite ends of the canal. Subsequently, the Isthmian republic acceded to Washington's request to fortify the canal through the militarization of the Canal Zone and the establishment of U.S. military sites outside the transit area.

Panama, a fledgling republic founded with U.S. assistance in November 1903, awarded Washington these rights out of necessity to protect its independence and from a position of debility vis-à-vis the United States. The Isthmian republic's demands for national affirmation were usually dismissed by Washington, whose policymakers counted on ensuring stability and responsiveness through the exercise of U.S. hegemony and cooperation with Panamanian dominant sectors (including an increasingly assertive armed force). Throughout the half century following the canal's inauguration in 1914, progress toward Panama's goal of affirming its sovereignty was only possible when aspects of Panamanian nationalistic aspirations and U.S. hegemonic interests coincided.

For instance, in 1936 President Harmodio Arias of Panama, one of the leaders of the country's nationalist movement, found an ally in U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose Good Neighbor Policy sought to conciliate Latin American animosity over U.S. interventions in the region. As a result, Presidents Arias and Roosevelt signed the General Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, which abrogated the public order clause of the 1903 convention, one of the most hotly contested issues. The 1936 treaty also affirmed Panama's sovereignty over its airspace.

THE 1964 RIOTS AND THE OVERHAUL OF U.S.-PANAMANIAN RELATIONS

The incident most significantly determining the beginning of negotiations toward the 1977 treaties occurred in 1964, on the canal's fiftieth anniversary. On this occasion, decisions taken by Presidents



Selection from the Panama Canal Treaty of 1977

Article I

Abrogation of Prior Treaties and Establishment of a New Relationship

1. Upon its entry into force, this Treaty terminates and supersedes:
 - (a) The Isthmian Canal Convention between the United States of America and the Republic of Panama, signed at Washington, November 18, 1903;
 - (b) The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed at Washington, March 2, 1936, and the Treaty of Mutual Understanding and Cooperation and the related Memorandum of Understandings Reached, signed at Panama, January 25, 1955, between the United States of America and the Republic of Panama;
 - (c) All other treaties, conventions, agreements, and exchanges of notes between the United States of America and the Republic of Panama concerning the Panama Canal, which were in force prior to the entry into force of this Treaty; and
 - (d) Provisions concerning the Panama Canal, which appear in other treaties, conventions, agreements, and exchanges of notes between the United States of America and the Republic of Panama, which were in force prior to the entry into force of this Treaty.
2. In accordance with the terms of this Treaty and related agreements, the Republic of Panama, as territorial sovereign, grants to the United States of America, for the duration of this Treaty, the rights necessary to regulate the transit of ships through the Panama Canal, and to manage, operate, maintain, improve, protect and defend the Canal. The Republic of Panama guarantees to the United States of America the peaceful use of the land and water areas which it has been granted the rights to use for such purposes pursuant to this Treaty and related agreements.
3. The Republic of Panama shall participate increasingly in the management and protection and defense of the Canal, as provided in this Treaty.
4. In view of the special relationship established by this Treaty, the United States of America and the Republic of Panama shall cooperate to assure the uninterrupted and efficient operation of the Panama Canal.

Source: U.S. Department of State. Retrieved October 15, 2003, from <http://www.state.gov/p/wha/rlnks/11936.htm>

Roberto F. Chiari of Panama and Lyndon B. Johnson of the United States were instrumental in initiating the process. Influenced by the force of events and heightened pressures for nationalist assertion in Panama, Presidents Chiari and Johnson provided the leadership required to initiate a significant revamping of U.S.-Panamanian relations.

Since 1903, the fact that Panama's flag was not flown in the Canal Zone had become emblematic of the country's subordination to the United States, the unfair cession of Panamanian land to Washington in

perpetuity by the Isthmian Canal Convention, and the U.S. "colonial" presence in the Canal Zone. All were attributed to U.S. hegemony and the complicity between Washington and Panama's dominant sectors.

The Panamanian flag became the symbol of the country's struggle to recover the exercise of sovereignty over the Canal Zone and obtain control of the Panama Canal. In November 1958 and 1959, demonstrations attempting to "plant" Panamanian flags in the Canal Zone ended in clashes between U.S. security forces and Panamanian demonstrators. Endeavoring to deflate rising tensions, in 1960, U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower ordered that the Panamanian flag fly alongside the Stars and Stripes at certain locations. In 1962, after meeting with President Chiari in Washington, U.S. President John F. Kennedy added fifteen more locations where Panama's standard should fly.

But on 9 January 1964, when a crowd of residents of the Canal Zone (colloquially called "Zonians") prevented a group of Panamanian students from raising their flag at Balboa High School, under U.S. administration, the Panamanian

banner was torn. As news of the altercation spread throughout Panama City and Colon, thousands of Panamanian protestors took to the streets adjacent to the Canal Zone, where they were fired upon by U.S. soldiers stationed there as part of the U.S. Southern Command. Violence escalated with Panamanian radios transmitting details to an incensed population throughout the entire country.

For several days, the areas bordering the Canal Zone were the scene of bloodshed, fires, and looting. The tragic balance of the riots was twenty-three

Panamanians and four U.S. soldiers dead, plus scores of injured and widespread property destruction. Accusing the United States of unwarranted aggression, in an unprecedented act in the history of hemispheric affairs, President Chiari broke off diplomatic relations with the United States.

Broadcast around the world, the dramatic events of January 1964 sparked widespread sympathy for Panama as the underdog and condemnation for the United States. It was President Lyndon B. Johnson's first international crisis since assuming office after the Kennedy assassination. Fearing a Communist takeover in Panama, he determined to engage in a significant overhaul of U.S. relations with Panama. Through the good offices of the OAS, diplomatic relations were restored on 3 April 1964 and treaty negotiations commenced.

Satisfying the main interests of both Panama and Washington through a negotiated agreement initially seemed possible once the United States agreed to renounce its claim to perpetuity and to resign control of the waterway to Panama after a transition period. By 1967, bilateral talks had advanced to the point of producing three texts concerning the Panama Canal, U.S. military bases on the isthmus, and the possible construction of a sea-level canal. The treaties contemplated an orderly handover of the canal to Panama culminating in 1999 and the legalization of a U.S. military presence on the isthmus. The "three-in-one" treaties had been initialed by representatives of both countries and were ready for formal signing and submission to the respective legislative branches, but the proximity of elections in Panama and vocal Panamanian opposition to the texts suspended the process.

The primary objection of Panamanian nationalists focused on the legalization of U.S. military facilities, which had not been formally contemplated in any of the preceding canal treaties. Panama had consented to the U.S. military presence only for purposes of canal defense, not as a vital part of worldwide U.S. security arrangements, as Washington was now proposing. Notwithstanding these disagreements, the Johnson administration was hoping for a treaty approval in Panama after the May 1968 elections, as part of the agenda of a new Panamanian president.

When the popular, charismatic, but unpredictable Arnulfo Arias (Harmodio's brother) was elected as Panama's president, representatives of the U.S. government began to lobby with him for swift approval of the "three-in-one" treaties.

In tandem, the United States was pursuing another strategy through its support for Panama's armed force, the National Guard. Visualizing the Guard as a deterrent to nationalist and Communist agitation on the isthmus (a role played by U.S.-backed constabularies elsewhere in the region), U.S. assistance levels mounted after the 1964 riots to include training, equipment, and payment of part of the armed force's payroll. From the School of the Americas, situated off the Atlantic entrance to the canal, the United States gave counterinsurgency and civic action instruction to Panama's military, stimulating their encroachment into the political arena.

Almost immediately after his inauguration, President Arias took steps to reduce the power of the National Guard. Middle-level Guard officers retaliated by staging a military coup on 11 October 1968. Although Panamanian democracy suffered a significant setback, the United States could rest assured that well-known, predictable friends now controlled Panama.

TREATY COMPLETION UNDER THE MILITARY REGIME

Panama's National Guard took power not to promote any specific ideology or political program, but to prevent the removal of its corporate privileges and benefits, which U.S. assistance had helped build. With CIA support, in December 1969 Omar Torrijos (1929–1981) consolidated his role as leader of the Panamanian military government. Subsequently, the regime began to implement a legitimizing strategy based on Panama's historic struggle for nationalist affirmation to offset the military dictatorship's repression of its opponents and *de facto* rule. The strategy consisted of promoting Torrijos as a populist and nationalist leader both at home and abroad, especially in Latin America but, more broadly, in the Third World as well.

Facilitated by the elimination of freedom of

expression and the curtailment of other constitutional rights as well as the suppression of democratic institutions, the regime's propaganda efforts reaped significant benefits. Directly following President Arias's overthrow, the new regime suspended the constitution, dissolved the National Assembly, and placed the press under censorship. The military expropriated opposition media, including *Editora Panamá América*, which published three major dailies and was owned by the family of Presidents Harmodio and Arnulfo Arias. At the hands of regime security personnel, known opponents suffered imprisonment, torture, exile, assassination, or simply "disappeared." Casting the country's military leader into a nationalistic role was easier with the opposition out of the way.

Torrijos's government declared the 1967 draft treaties "worthless" and in 1971 requested the reinstatement of the negotiating process. When the Nixon administration procrastinated, Torrijos played the nationalist card. He emphasized his broadening international connections, a tactic reverberating in Washington circles embedded in a Cold War mentality and still fearful of a replay of the 1959 Cuban revolution elsewhere in the hemisphere.

An astute strategist who knew well how to deal with the United States, the Panamanian military leader applied sufficient pressure to alarm but not antagonize Washington policymakers. At the same time, he was ready to cooperate with Washington and international capital to promote U.S. strategic and economic interests in Panama and in the region. A long association with the U.S. army as a paid informant of U.S. military intelligence (1955–1970) and as a recipient of U.S. military training helped him develop leadership skills, as did advice provided by a team of shrewd Panamanian negotiators as well as regional and Third World leaders.

In 1973, Torrijos achieved a resounding victory when the United Nations approved his proposal to hold a meeting of the Security Council in Panama for the purpose of considering Panama's demands for treaty revision. A resolution in support of these demands, discussed on 20 March 1973, was only

defeated by the U.S. veto, which caused Washington added embarrassment on top of the 1964 incident. Negotiations reinitiated in November 1973 and on 7 February 1974, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Panamanian Foreign Minister Juan Tack signed a joint declaration listing eight guiding points for continuing talks. However, President Richard Nixon's resignation a few months later, on 9 August 1974, brought the talks to a virtual standstill.

Negotiations gained momentum once Jimmy Carter assumed the presidency on 20 January 1977. Intent on repairing what he saw as unfair treatment of Panama by the United States, President Carter waged a determined and prolonged battle to convince the people of the United States that the canal should be transferred to Panama. The objective coincided with Panama's nationalistic aspirations, whose main exponent at the time was Torrijos. This posed even more difficulties for Carter because, contrary to his ideals of promoting and preserving human rights, he had to negotiate and sign an important agreement with a military dictator.

A government that championed human rights as no other U.S. administration had previously advocated found itself discussing arrangements of far-reaching effects with a military regime that denied those same rights to its population and whose claim to represent the nation lacked democratic credentials. After the September 1977 signing ceremony, Torrijos agreed to submit the treaties to a referendum, without, however, allowing a free and informed discussion of the texts. In an attempt to secure an impressive share of the vote, the military government also manipulated the voting process. As an indication of the regime's repressive quality, on the eve of President Carter's visit to Panama, on 15 June 1978, paramilitary squads shot two treaty opponents to death and severely beat several hundred others.

Subsequent to Panama's approval in the referendum of 23 October 1977, in early 1978 President Carter sent the treaties to the Senate for its advice and consent. Thus began one of the most controversial debates in the upper chamber of the U.S. Congress, eliciting strong reactions from conservative sectors that, in the immediate aftermath of Vietnam,

saw treaty approval as the equivalent to giving away U.S. property to the enemies of the United States. These claims were met by inspired argumentation focusing on notions of fairness deeply embedded in the tradition of the U.S. founding.

President Carter succeeded in putting together a broad coalition of civic, religious, and business leaders and eventually obtained the support of sixty-seven senators, the minimum required to pass the treaties. But faced with strong opposition in the U.S. Congress, both Carter and Torrijos were obliged to compromise. Despite the administration's strenuous efforts, approval came only after the Senate added a number of reservations and conditions to the treaties, the principal of which was the DeConcini Condition, named for its proponent, Senator Dennis DeConcini (R-Arizona).

The condition stipulates that if the waterway were closed or its operations interfered with, Panama and the United States would "have the right to take such steps as each deems necessary . . . including the use of military force in the Republic of Panama, to reopen the canal or restore the operations of the canal." The addition of conditions and reservations to the original texts approved by Panama posed an international law problem, for these additions were not submitted to constitutional approval in the Isthmian Republic, one of the treaties' contracting parties. Still, the military government, exercising sovereign powers on behalf of the people of Panama, decided to abide by them.

SOME CONSEQUENCES OF THE 1977 TREATIES

The Panama Canal Treaties entered into force on 1 October 1979. Pursuant to their stipulations, the Canal Zone ceased to exist and land and property under U.S. jurisdiction was progressively transferred to Panama up to 31 December 1999. On that date, Panama achieved full responsibility for operating as well as protecting the Panama Canal, and U.S. military forces left Panama definitively. This was no doubt a major accomplishment in the history of U.S.-Latin American affairs, contributing to more balanced and egalitarian relations between the

United States and Panama. Its principal authors were Harmodio Arias and Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936, Roberto F. Chiari and Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964, and Omar Torrijos and Jimmy Carter in 1977.

But the fact that the treaties remedying an unfair and unequal relationship came to fruition under a military regime in Panama also had important, albeit less publicized consequences. In the hands of the military government, much property transferred by the United States was assigned to nonproductive uses, such as facilities for an expanding bureaucracy and National Guard or housing and recreational services for regime favorites. Under military control, the sustainable development of these areas and their integration into the Panamanian economy, after being prevented by the United States for several decades, were further postponed.

As a result of treaty provisions, the National Guard received additional assistance from the United States. Between 1969 and 1978, Washington provided \$10.6 million to Panama in total military assistance (loans and grants, in current U.S. dollars). Between 1979 and 1987, military assistance increased fourfold to \$48.8 million. Additionally, in 1985-1986, the Reagan Administration provided Security Supporting Assistance for a total of \$63.2 million. The rationale behind the U.S.-abetted military buildup, which further strengthened the grip of the military on Isthmian politics, was the Panamanian armed force's expanding role, alongside the U.S. military, in defending the Panama Canal, pursuant to the 1977 agreements.

As the Panamanian military regime lost value for U.S. policy in Central America in the mid- to late 1980s under military leader Manuel Noriega (Torrijos's successor), it entered a collision path with the Reagan and Bush administrations, leading to the U.S. invasion of 20 December 1989. President George Bush justified the military operation "to safeguard the lives of Americans, to defend democracy in Panama, to combat drug trafficking, and to protect the integrity of the Panama Canal Treaty." Historically, U.S. intervention in Panama's affairs was one of the major complaints of Panama's nationalist sectors, and the text of the 1977 treaties reaffirmed Panama's territorial integrity. But the amendments

attached by the U.S. Senate, accepted by Panama's military government, served to provide a justification, at least to Washington, for military intervention on the isthmus.

Although, as recognized by President Carter, Panamanian demands for national self-determination were justified, the fact that they were recognized through negotiation with a military regime had deleterious consequences for Panama. The process served to curtail democratic development, preventing Panamanians from freely discussing the most consequential political issue of the century. More broadly, it provided some legitimacy to a military dictatorship whose permanence delayed Panama's transformation into a mature, independent, and democratic state, a central goal of its nationalist political movement for decades.

Through open, democratic debate, Panamanians would have been better prepared to discern solutions to future disclosures, such as the contamination of defense sites operated by the U.S. armed forces, or later needs, such as the expansion of the waterway and the shape of relations with the United States in the twenty-first century, pending issues on the country's foreign agenda. A democratic decision-making process might well have rejected the strengthening of the National Guard, which had such harmful effects on Panama's national development and ultimately led to a destructive confrontation with the United States. These objectives were not achieved mainly because of the decisions made by President Jimmy Carter and military leader Omar Torrijos, who—when confronted with the choice and the risks attached to the decision-making process—opted for securing U.S. interests and Panamanian regime stability over ensuring that ideals of national justice and democracy were implemented in Panama.

—Carlos Guevara Mann

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PARLIAMENT, BRITISH

The British Parliament is the most powerful governing institution in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Parliament consists of two chambers, the more powerful House of Commons, elected by the British people, and the House of Lords, which includes both hereditary and appointed peers and leaders of the established Church of England. Parliament is a legislative body which debates the issues of the day and enacts law. While the hereditary monarch, currently Queen Elizabeth II, serves as titular head of state and appoints the executive, led by the Cabinet chaired by the Prime Minister, she is guided in her appointments by the political realities in the House of Commons. There is no separation of powers as in the United States because Cabinet members are also Members of Parliament, most with seats in the House of Commons. A Cabinet gains and is sustained in office by its ability to command a majority in Commons.

Since there is no written British constitution, Parliament is the supreme organ of governmental power and leadership in the nation. In the absence of a judicial body to review parliamentary legislation, there are no legal restraints on Parliament's actions. It can make or change law, ignore customs and traditions, and even extend its life beyond the legislated five-year limit without consulting the electorate (as it did during World Wars I and II). In practice, however, Parliament rarely violates convention, customary practices, or the common law. Ultimately, of course, Commons is answerable to the electorate, which has the power to defeat members and end a party's majority. Britain is a functional democracy, but one without a written constitution or comprehensive bill of rights. The elected House of Commons is the central institution in that democracy, reflecting the will of the electorate and wielding power over both the legislative and executive functions of government.

EARLY HISTORY

The British Parliament is among the world's oldest surviving governing bodies. Its origins lie in the *witans* of medieval England, councils of secular and

ecclesiastical magnates summoned by Anglo-Saxon kings in the ninth century to provide counsel and sanction laws. These early consultations, irregular and not required by law, arose from the practical need for advice and consent. The term "Parliament," from Latin and French words meaning to talk, speak, or parley, came into wide usage in the early thirteenth century to describe larger gatherings of the king and the great magnates. Kings convened such meetings primarily to gain additional monies to handle emergencies, especially the waging of warfare. In order to maximize revenue possibilities, they included not only the great landed barons, but also church leaders and representatives of the counties, or shires, and towns, or boroughs.

By the late fourteenth century, these groups began to divide into two distinct bodies—the religious leaders (lords spiritual) and landed magnates (lords temporal) eventually came to be known as the "House of Lords" and the knights and burgesses, from shires and boroughs respectively, as representatives of their communities acquired the appellation "House of Commons." Late medieval parliaments met frequently, although often for short periods, to provide counsel to the king, authorize taxation, pass legislation, and provide justice. By the early fifteenth century, it was generally accepted that the more broadly representative Commons should have a special role in the raising of revenues.

Parliament's self-awareness and confidence, and the general recognition of it as an integral part of the English government, grew in the Tudor period (1485–1603). Tudor monarchs, including Henry VIII (1509–1547) and Elizabeth I (1558–1603), actually convened Parliament less frequently than many of their predecessors had, but sought its approval for the monumental religious changes of the English Reformation as well as for social and economic regulations (for instance, the Statute of Artificers in 1563, and the Poor Law in 1601). Many of Parliament's procedures, customs, and privileges, including the committee system and free speech, developed in this period. Parliament also grew in size with the incorporation of Welsh representatives after the union of England and Wales in 1536, and the granting of charters of incorporation and thus the right of representa-

tion to more boroughs. The landed gentry came to monopolize both shire and borough seats and thus the House of Commons. Meanwhile, the temporal lords gained a majority in the House of Lords following the removal of abbots and priors as a consequence of the dissolution of the monasteries in the late 1530s.

In the seventeenth century, this larger, more self-assured Parliament dominated by landed interests clashed with the early Stuart kings, James I (1603–1625) and Charles I (1625–1649), who came to the throne from Scotland as champions of royal prerogative. Friction developed between these monarchs and their Parliaments, especially the Commons, which in particular resented Charles's attempt at personal rule by refusing to convene Parliament for eleven years, from 1629 to 1640. Faced with an empty treasury and war with Scotland, arising from his religious policies, Charles was forced to convene Parliament in 1640. Its testy mood after eleven years of exclusion led to clashes with the king and his ministers that erupted in civil war in 1642 between royalist and parliamentary factions. The latter prevailed, leading to the execution of Charles in 1649 and an experiment with republican forms of government in which Parliament in altered form continued to play a key role.

In time the experiment failed, which led to the Restoration in 1660 of traditional institutions of government, including the monarchy, Lords, and Commons. The new king, Charles II (1660–1685), was obliged to accept an enhanced role for Parliament and a weakened royal prerogative, but the relative balance of power was still not clearly defined. Charles's successor, James II (1685–1688), sought to expand the royal prerogative, which led to clashes with Parliament over religion, foreign policy, appointments, and other issues. Leaders of Parliament engineered the "Glorious Revolution" (1688–1689), which replaced James with William (1689–1702) and Mary (1689–1694) and secured the agreement of the monarchs to a series of laws (for instance, the Bill of Rights and the Mutiny Act of 1689 and the Act of Settlement of 1701) that clearly established the ascendancy of Parliament.

The Bill of Rights limited royal authority by

requiring parliamentary consent for the making or suspending of laws, the levying of taxes, and the maintenance of a standing army. This, combined with the Mutiny Act, which authorized for a limited time only the trial of soldiers by courts-martial, assured regular meetings of Parliament. In fact, Parliament has met annually since 1689. In the Act of Settlement, Parliament provided judges with security of tenure and defined the line of succession for the throne, excluding the Catholic descendants of James II and providing for the Hanoverian succession of 1714. Parliament's assumption of the power to determine who could and could not occupy the throne symbolized its victory in the struggle against royal prerogative.

MODERN HISTORY

Parliament grew in size and became more truly British in the eighteenth century with the political merger of Scotland with England and Wales in the 1707 Act of Union. Fifty-five Scottish members were added to Commons, raising the total membership to 558, and 16 elected representatives of the larger Scottish peerage were included in the Lords. Parliament was further enlarged and diversified in 1801 as a result of the union of Ireland with Britain. Commons grew to number 658 with the addition of 100 Irish seats. The Lords included 28 representatives of the Irish peerage and 4 bishops of the established Church of Ireland (Anglican). The electoral system changed little between the Restoration in 1660 and 1832. A limited franchise, restricted mostly to property owners, enabled the landed elite to dominate political life during the eighteenth century.

Although the "Glorious Revolution" and subsequent legislation demonstrated the superior power of Parliament, that power was still largely negative. In a contest between Parliament and the crown, the former could prevail by denying the monarch funds to carry on a government or by impeaching the monarch's ministers. Over the next century and a half, Parliament was able to develop more positive and systematic control over the executive. The key to this was the development of political parties, whose roots lay in the Whig and Tory groupings of the late

seventeenth century. By the Victorian period (1837–1901), better organized parties could establish majorities in Commons and through these majorities determine the shape and policies of the executive. Members of the Cabinet were still appointed by the crown, but they were servants of and answerable to Parliament of which they were also members.

Changes in British society in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including a rapidly increasing population, the growth of industry and cities, an expanding middle class, and increased literacy, led to a demand for electoral reform. The political establishment resisted these demands for a generation or more, but the Whig administration (1830–1834) of Lord Grey (1764–1845), sympathetic to modest reform and concerned about the possibility of revolution, enacted the Reform Bill of 1832. This act redistributed seats away from the worst rotten and pocket boroughs—those whose population had dwindled over time and those “in the pocket” of a patron—to the more populous cities and expanded the franchise to include middle class voters. Overall the electorate was increased by 50 percent with approximately one in five males now eligible to vote. In one sense, the 1832 reform was modest, leaving political power in the hands of a property-owning elite, but in another sense it was profound in that it established the precedent for electoral reform by legislation.

Within a generation, the 1832 precedent was followed by the Reform Act of 1867, which increased the electorate by some 80 percent by enfranchising male heads of urban households. A third Reform Bill, enacted in 1884, enfranchised male rural householders, again increasing the electorate by almost 80 percent. An accompanying reapportionment act established single-member constituencies of roughly equal population as the standard. The 1918 Representation of the People Act eliminated property and household qualifications for all males over the age of twenty-one. The principle of individual suffrage replaced the concept of household suffrage. The 1918 act also extended the franchise to women for the first time, but only to those over age thirty. A decade later, the age at which women were eligible to vote was reduced to twenty-one. An act in 1948

ended plural voting by persons who could qualify in more than one constituency and terminated the separate representation for graduates of Oxford and Cambridge. In 1970, the voting age was reduced to eighteen.

Thus, within less than a century and a half, Britain moved gradually and peacefully from government by a small landed oligarchy to a participatory democracy. This transition had important implications for political parties. Following the second Reform Act, qualified voters numbered over 5.7 million. This mass electorate stimulated the development of modern political parties to appeal to those voters. The more organized and rigid party system restricted the freedom of action of members of Parliament who were obliged to answer to the Whips of the party under whose auspices they had campaigned.

COMMONS AND LORDS

In the spirit of the developing British democracy, the balance of power between Commons and Lords continued to change in favor of the chamber that represented increasing numbers of the British populace. The process of passing the 1832 reform was important in establishing the supremacy of Commons over Lords. The latter gave its consent to the bill only after being threatened by the king, William IV (1830–1837), with the creation of enough new peers to ensure a majority. However, the power of the Lords to veto legislation led to occasional conflicts with Commons. This became especially acute in the early twentieth century when the Conservative-dominated Lords frustrated the legislative agenda of Liberal governments. The result was the Parliament Act of 1911, which limited the legislative powers of the Lords. It provided that money bills, including budgets, passed by Commons would become law within one month with or without the Lords' assent, and other public bills would become law if passed by Commons in three successive sessions over two or more years.

In 1949, the potential of Lords to delay public bills was reduced to two sessions and one year. The composition of the Lords also evolved. Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century monarchs continued to



Choosing a Member of Parliament in the Highlands of Scotland

The political heirs of the Land League are the Labour Party in Scotland and the Scottish National Party. This apparent contradiction is highlighted in the Western Isles where the labour movement, historically and conceptually, has been involved in nationalist ideology and the middle class is often symbolised not as “capitalists” but as “Englishmen.” The Western Isles constituency was the first electoral success for the Scottish National Party in a general election. Prior to this the islands had returned a Labour MP to parliament for thirty-five years. One of the underlying issues in the changeover is admitted by many islanders to be that of personality. It was more an expression of dissatisfaction with a particular Labour MP than with the tenets of socialism.

Personality is a vital component in this small constituency. At this level even national politics work on a face-to-face basis. The character, family and history of the Member of Parliament were well known by acquaintance and gossip to his 29,000 constituents. He was a familiar figure in the islands and had worked his way up in local-government politics before standing for parliament. Many people in Stornoway can remember him from school and recall his work in a local mill. His reputation as an honest local man is possibly the highest political card he holds. There is an acceptance in the islands that they have only a single voice in the corridors of Westminster and they wish it to be a Hebridean voice.

Source: Ennew, Judith. (1980). *The Western Isles Today*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p. 62.

create new hereditary peerages. The Appellate Jurisdiction Act of 1876 authorized the crown to appoint special Law Lords, legal experts, to fulfill the body’s traditional function as the supreme court of appeal. In 1958, the Life Peerages Act sanctioned the creation of non-hereditary peerages for life. These could be awarded to persons of either sex, thus allowing for the first women in the chamber. A 1963 act granted all Scottish peers seats in the Lords.

The future of the House of Lords, a body seen by many as an anathema in a representative democracy, continues to be an issue in early twenty-first-century Britain. The House of Lords Act in 1999 removed the right of most hereditary peers to sit and vote and created a Royal Commission to consider the composition, role, and functions of the second legislative chamber. Ninety-two hereditary peers were allowed to remain in the Lords until it was fully reformed. Current proposals call for a chamber partly elected and partly appointed but with no hereditary peers.

The contemporary House of Commons consists

of 659 elected Members of Parliament (MPs), 529 representing English constituencies, 40 Welsh, 72 Scottish, and 18 Northern Irish. A Parliament’s legal life is five years, although it may be dissolved early by the monarch upon the request of the Prime Minister. Most early dissolutions occur because Parliament is near the end of its term and the Prime Minister thinks an early election may be advantageous for the government party. Others occur when the government lacks a working majority. A Parliament’s life is divided into annual sessions usually running from November to the following October. Each session begins with the State Opening in which the queen, in regal dress and seated on the throne in the House of Lords, presents a speech to the assembled Lords and Commons outlining the government’s policies and program for the coming year.

Parliament typically sits or meets about 150 days during a session, with extended adjournment periods around various holidays. Parliamentary procedure is based heavily on precedent and is set down by each House in its “Standing Orders.”

FUNCTIONS OF PARLIAMENT

Only Parliament can enact statute law for the United Kingdom. Draft laws move through the legislative process as parliamentary bills. Most are proposed by the government as part of its legislative program and are known as “Government Bills.” They are introduced in a “First Reading” in one house (usually Commons), printed, explained, and debated in a “Second Reading,” referred to a standing committee where they are examined clause by clause with possible amendments, reported out to the whole house for further consideration, and finally voted on in a “Third Reading.” Having passed one house, bills are then sent to the other chamber to undergo a similar

process, then reported back to the originating body to consider any amendments made by the second chamber. When the two houses have agreed on a bill, it is sent to the monarch for royal assent, which has not been refused since 1707.

In addition to its legislative function, the other central responsibility of Parliament is to oversee and scrutinize the work of the executive. Its select committees shadow the work of various Cabinet offices, examining policies, expenditures, and administration, and questioning ministers and civil servants. Through hearings and reports, the committees enlighten Parliament and the general public on the workings of government. Supplementary to the scrutiny of the select committees, both houses of Parliament provide opportunities for the Opposition and government backbenchers to examine policy in “question time.” For approximately an hour at the opening of each Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, sitting ministers are subjected to questioning by fellow MPs. The Prime Minister submits to questions for half an hour on Wednesdays when the Commons is sitting. Also, hundreds of questions are submitted each day to the government for written answers. Parliament’s oversight function contributes to governmental transparency and helps inform and educate the electorate.

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

Members of Parliament are commonly drawn from professional and business backgrounds. MPs have a variety of responsibilities, including looking after the interests of their constituents by taking up the latter’s concerns with relevant ministers, considering proposed legislation, participating in debates on public policy, and holding the government accountable for its actions. In all but the first of these responsibilities their actions occur within the context of the political party to which they belong. MPs are expected to support the party line and vote as instructed by their party’s Whips, MPs responsible for party management.

The majority of MPs are backbenchers, those not serving in ministerial positions or in the leadership of the Opposition. Most MPs who enter Commons probably aspire to leadership positions. Only about

25 percent ever attain any kind of ministerial appointment and two-thirds of those never move beyond junior positions. Fewer than 8 percent ever become Cabinet-level ministers. The competition is stiff for advancement, requiring a long and successful performance as a backbencher and junior minister. Studies have shown that the average length of service in Commons before the first Cabinet appointment is fourteen years. Even fewer rise to the most eminent offices of Foreign Secretary, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and First Lord of the Treasury (the official title of the Prime Minister). Reaching these exalted offices requires ambition, self-assurance, intelligence, demonstrated skill in parliamentary debate and questioning, administrative ability, and, of course, a certain amount of luck.

PAST LEADERS OF DISTINCTION

Parliament has produced many outstanding leaders during its long history. Among these are Sir Robert Walpole (later Earl of Orford) in the eighteenth century, William E. Gladstone in the nineteenth century, and Sir Winston Churchill in the twentieth century. Walpole (1676–1745), usually seen by historians as the first Prime Minister although he did not like or use the title, held the offices of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1721 to 1742, longer than any of his successors. He entered Commons in 1701 and was appointed to his first ministerial position in 1708. Able and ambitious, he was aided by luck in his rise to the ministerial leadership as two of his chief rivals died. He sustained himself in the highest offices because he understood better than most contemporaries the evolving political system of his day, in particular the critical importance of both royal favor and parliamentary support. He cultivated royal good will by attending to crown interests and managed Parliament by the skillful use of patronage, by cultivating a rustic, folksy style designed to appeal to independent backbench gentry, by understanding and practicing the art of compromise, and by pursuing sound and popular commercial, fiscal, and foreign policies. He fell from power in 1742 only when his foreign policy grew to be at odds with parliamentary and public opinion.



Excerpt from *Phineas Finn* by Anthony Trollope

Anthony Trollope's novel Phineas Finn: The Irish Member (1869) is the story of a young Irish barrister who comes to London to take his family's set in Parliament. The excerpt below offers a vivid glimpse of how a new member of Parliament might have felt in Victorian times.

There was a slight pause, and as some other urgent member did not repeat himself, Phineas heard the president of that august assembly call upon himself to address the House. The thing was now to be done. There he was with the House of Commons at his feet,—a crowded House, bound to be his auditors as long as he should think fit to address them, and reporters by tens and twenties in the gallery ready and eager to let the country know what the young member for Loughshane would say in this his maiden speech.

Phineas Finn had sundry gifts, a powerful and pleasant voice, which he had learned to modulate, a handsome presence, and a certain natural mixture of modesty and self-reliance, which would certainly protect him from the faults of arrogance and pomposity, and which, perhaps, might carry him through the perils of his new position. And he had also the great advantage of friends in the House who were anxious that he should do well. But he had not that gift of slow blood which on the former occasion would have enabled him to remember his prepared speech, and which would now have placed all his own resources within his own reach. He began with the expression of an opinion that every true reformer ought to accept Mr. Mildmay's bill, even if it were accepted only as an instalment,—but before he had got through these sentences, he became painfully conscious that he was repeating his own words.

He was cheered almost from the outset, and yet he knew as he went on that he was failing. He had certain arguments at his fingers' ends,—points with which he was,

in truth, so familiar that he need hardly have troubled himself to arrange them for special use,—and he forgot even these. He found that he was going on with one platitude after another as to the benefit of reform, in a manner that would have shamed him six or seven years ago at a debating club. He pressed on, fearing that words would fail him altogether if he paused;—but he did in truth speak very much too fast, knocking his words together so that no reporter could properly catch them. But he had nothing to say for the bill except what hundreds had said before, and hundreds would say again. Still he was cheered, and still he went on; and as he became more and more conscious of his failure there grew upon him the idea,—the dangerous hope, that he might still save himself from ignominy by the eloquence of his invective against the police.

He tried it, and succeeded thoroughly in making the House understand that he was very angry,—but he succeeded in nothing else. He could not catch the words to express the thoughts of his mind. He could not explain his idea that the people out of the House had as much right to express their opinion in favour of the ballot as members in the House had to express theirs against it; and that animosity had been shown to the people by the authorities because they had so expressed their opinion. Then he attempted to tell the story of Mr. Bunce in a light and airy way, failed, and sat down in the middle of it. Again he was cheered by all around him,—cheered as a new member is usually cheered,—and in the midst of the cheer would have blown out his brains had there been a pistol there ready for such an operation.

Source: Trollope, Anthony. (1968). *Phineas Finn: The Irish Member*. Frogmore, UK: Panther Books Ltd, pp. 228–229. (Originally published 1869)

Gladstone (1809–1898) operated in an era when royal power was waning and the significance of parties increasing. He served in Parliament for a remarkable sixty-two consecutive years, from 1832 to 1894, entering as a Tory, breaking with the party in the 1840s and becoming a third-party Peelite, and in the 1860s leading the Peelites to join with Whigs and radicals to form the Liberal Party. Gladstone was appointed to his first cabinet-level position as President of the Board of Trade in 1843, achieved great prominence as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the

1850s, and was four times Prime Minister (1868–1874, 1880–1885, 1886, and 1892–1894). The colossus of Victorian politics, Gladstone possessed a powerful intellect, splendid education, strong religious and moral convictions, prodigious energy, and great rhetorical skills. He came to epitomize Victorian liberalism, which condemned privilege, injustice, and inhumanity. Inclined to see issues in moral terms, he became the conscience of his supporters, of whom there were many, especially among the general populace. His great ego, moralistic tone, and larger-than-

life aura were unsettling to many associates and complicated relations with his colleagues and the Queen. Although he made grievous political mistakes, not the least being the splintering of his party over Irish Home Rule, he was a man of vision who often placed principle over practicality.

Churchill (1874–1965), born into an aristocratic family with a long record of public service, was, like Gladstone, an MP for sixty-two years, from 1900 to 1922 and 1924 to 1964. His leadership qualities—ambition, confidence, intelligence, energy, and oratorical skills—were soon recognized and he was appointed to a junior office in 1906 and to the Cabinet in 1908 as President of the Board of Trade. He subsequently held a broad range of ministerial offices, Home Secretary, First Lord of the Admiralty, Minister of Munitions, Secretary of State for War and Air, Colonial Secretary, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, before heading his first government as Prime Minister in 1940 at the age of sixty-five. Churchill was viewed with suspicion by many of his contemporaries because of his arrogance and lack of party constancy. He entered Parliament as a Conservative, switched to the Liberals in 1904, held his first offices as a Liberal, switched back to the Conservatives in 1924 after the Liberals split and were reduced to third-party status, broke with the Conservative leadership in 1931 over its India policy, and was critical of the appeasement policies of the Conservative-dominated national governments of the 1930s. Becoming Prime Minister as Axis armies spread across continental Europe, Churchill provided his nation determined, courageous, charismatic, and inspirational leadership. His powerful rhetorical skills challenged the British people to persevere in the face of adversity. Both Churchill and Gladstone demonstrated the qualities of transformational leadership as defined by James MacGregor Burns.

PERSPECTIVE

Critics suggest that Parliament has declined in power and significance with the rise of disciplined political parties. A well-led, cohesive party with a comfortable majority in Commons can form a government, routinely secure parliamentary approval of its legislative

program, and deflect the criticism of the Opposition party. But these parties and governments are creatures of Parliament. The electorate determines in a general election which party wins a majority, but the election occurs in individual constituencies to decide who occupies the seats in Commons and it is the composition of Commons that determines which party forms a government. Also, government ministers achieve high office because they have distinguished themselves in parliamentary debate. Parliament, then, is the nursery and training ground for all leaders of the British national government.

—John L. Gordon Jr.

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PATH-GOAL ANALYSIS

“Leaders, to be effective, engage in behaviors that complement subordinates’ environments and abilities in a manner that compensates for deficiencies and is instrumental to subordinate satisfaction and individual and work unit performance” (House 1996, 324). Management scholar Robert J. House’s remark about leadership concisely captures the essence of the path-goal theory of leadership. According to this theory, followers consciously consider alternative courses of action and assess the likelihood that each course of action will yield desirable as well as undesirable outcomes. After consciously considering these alternative actions, proponents of the theory propose that followers act in a manner they believe will maximize the attainment of positive outcomes while minimizing the attainment of negative outcomes. Using this conceptualization of motivated behavior, path-goal leadership theory suggests that an effective leader directs followers’ behavior by changing followers’ perceptions of the relationship between behaviors and outcomes.

HISTORIC CONTEXT FOR PATH-GOAL THEORY

During the 1950s and 1960s, leadership researchers primarily focused on identifying the behaviors of effective leaders. Although many specific behaviors were identified by researchers at the University of Michigan and the Ohio State University, they independently classified these behaviors into two general

categories: initiating structure and consideration. Initiating structure, encompassing production-centered leader behaviors, refers to leader behaviors that clarify performance expectations for subordinates. Examples of initiating structure would be the leader implementing a formal performance appraisal system or the leader setting specific production goals. On the other hand, consideration covers more employee-centered behaviors and refers to leader behaviors that communicate concern for followers’ welfare. Examples of consideration behavior would be the leader publicly defending the interests of followers or publicly expressing appreciation for followers’ work.

Unfortunately, although the research on leader behavior initially appeared to eliminate the ambiguity of prior findings, it soon became apparent that a singular focus on behavior is also insufficient for identifying when a leader would be effective. For example, some behavioral studies found that initiating structure enhanced follower performance, whereas other studies showed no effect or even a negative effect on follower performance. Clearly, factors other than leader behavior (e.g., situational conditions, leader personality, follower beliefs) have to be considered to understand when leader behaviors will produce effective follower performance.

In 1970, Martin G. Evans published a paper that considered some of these additional factors by connecting the leader behavior research to the most popular motivation theory of the time: Victor H. Vroom’s (1964) VIE (valence, instrumentality, and expectancy) theory. VIE theory states that the motivation to act in a certain way depends on the valence, instrumentality, and expectancy beliefs of individuals. Valence refers to an individual’s assessment of the desirability of the outcome. Instrumentality refers to an individual’s belief in the likelihood that a particular performance outcome leads to particular outcomes/rewards. Lastly, expectancy refers to an individual’s belief in the likelihood that a particular behavior results in various performance outcomes. VIE theory states that these three beliefs interact in determining motivated behavior. Specifically, if only one of the aforementioned beliefs is low for a particular action, then it is predicted that the individual will be less motivated to take that action.

To link the leader behavior literature with VIE theory, Evans emphasized the connection between the leader's behavior and the follower's beliefs and behavior. He argued that initiating structure and consideration behaviors would lead to leadership effectiveness when these behaviors strategically change followers' beliefs about the outcomes that result from various actions. In 1971, Robert J. House extended Evans's ideas when he articulated the role of contingencies in Evans's model. This elaboration by House is called the "path-goal theory of leader effectiveness."

FUNDAMENTAL ASSUMPTIONS AND PROPOSITIONS OF PATH-GOAL LEADERSHIP THEORY

The first complete description of path-goal leadership theory was provided by House in 1971. In this paper, House made three assumptions about human behavior. First, consistent with VIE theory, subordinates are assumed to behave in a rational, self-serving manner. Second, House assumed that people are uncomfortable and experience stress in ambiguous situations. More specifically, House believed that people would seek ways to minimize role ambiguity, which refers to confusion about how certain tasks should be conducted or confusion about how role performance will be evaluated. Finally, House assumed that a reduction in role ambiguity would lead to increased subordinate satisfaction and performance enhancement.

Based on these three assumptions, House structured path-goal theory around two categories of leader behavior: path-goal clarifying behavior and subordinate need fulfilling behavior. In terms of path-goal clarifying behavior, which parallels initiating structure, House argued that leaders will be effective when they do two things. First, leaders need to act in ways that increase the valence of outcomes associated with subordinates' work-goal attainment. This can be accomplished when leaders use their reward power to affect the desirability of outcomes associated with attaining and not attaining work goals. It was predicted that this type of leader behavior would greatly reduce subordinate role ambiguity.

Second, House predicted that leaders would be effective if they behaved in ways that clarified and strengthened subordinates' path-instrumentality beliefs. Leaders can do this by sending clear messages about which outcomes result from the attainment and non-attainment of work goals. One way of sending these clear messages is for the leader to consistently deliver rewards and punishments as a function of subordinate performance.

Although the strengthening of path-instrumentalities can increase the likelihood of the leader being effective, House noted that it does not always lead to effective behavior. According to House, initiating structure behaviors are only necessary in highly ambiguous task situations. In the absence of task ambiguity, House predicted that initiating structure on the part of the leader would reduce follower satisfaction, due to subordinates perceiving the leader as exercising unnecessary levels of control.

In terms of subordinate need fulfilling behavior, which is conceptually similar to leader consideration behaviors, House proposed that subordinate performance can be enhanced by leader behaviors that fulfill subordinate personal needs. When need fulfillment is, in the follower's mind, contingent on goal-directed behavior, it can increase the positive valence of goal-directed effort.

Thus, the basic tenets of path-goal leadership theory are that leaders will effectively motivate followers by making the outcomes associated with work-goal achievement desirable and by helping followers understand the behaviors and strategies that will lead to these desirable outcomes.

REFINEMENT OF PATH-GOAL LEADERSHIP THEORY

Since its initial formulation, there have been two major refinements of path-goal theory. The first refinement, in 1974, was primarily concerned with issues of leader behavior measurement. The second refinement, in 1996, was focused on contemporizing the theory.

In 1974, House and Mitchell elaborated path-goal theory by increasing the specificity of the two general types of leader behaviors. To facilitate measurement,

they proposed four distinct types of behavior: directive path-goal clarifying behavior, supportive leader behavior, participative leader behavior, and achievement-oriented behavior.

Directive path-goal clarifying leader behavior is generally aimed at reducing role ambiguity, clarifying the link between follower effort and goal attainment, and linking follower goal attainment to extrinsic rewards. Again, it is very similar to the original "initiating structure leader behavior" discussed earlier. In deciding how much directive behavior is necessary, a leader must consider both the characteristics of the task and the needs of the follower. When tasks are relatively unstructured, directive behavior can help reduce ambiguity. Similarly, more directive behavior can be effective with certain followers who have a greater individual need for role clarity.

Supportive leader behavior focuses on the personal needs of followers. It is very similar to the original "consideration leader behavior" discussed earlier. Specific supportive leader behaviors include making the work environment an enjoyable place and expressing concern for the personal welfare of followers. As stressed in House's initial theory, fulfillment of followers' personal needs can, when tied to goal-directed effort, enhance follower motivation and performance. This performance boost is due to the reduction of stress and frustration. Reducing such negative affect is posited to result in an increased net positive valence for work-related activities. House and Mitchell suggested that supportive leader behavior would be most effective when work-related activities were not intrinsically satisfying. In such a way, leader behaviors can serve to complement task characteristics.

The third type of behavior specified by House and Mitchell in 1974 is participative leader behavior. Participative leader behavior involves considering followers' input and valuing their opinions when making decisions that affect them. This type of leader behavior is essentially a combination of directive and supportive leader behavior. House and Mitchell claimed that the impact of this type of behavior is highly contingent on follower personality. Specifically, they argued that the extent to which subordinates prefer external control, as opposed to

independence, moderates the effect of participative leadership. House and Mitchell suggested that participative leader behaviors would be most effective when directed toward followers who prefer independence.

Finally, achievement-oriented behavior, which is also a combination of directive and supportive leader behavior, is concerned with enhancing follower performance in an almost inspirational manner. Leaders engaging in such behavior express confidence in the capability of followers to reach their goals and encourage followers to set high goals and elevate standards of excellence. The net result is an overall increase in follower performance and satisfaction. Yet again, the impact of such behavior is contingent on situational and follower characteristics. House and Mitchell posited that achievement-oriented behavior would be most effective for unstructured, ambiguous tasks because follower confidence in such situations is likely to be low.

In summary, by elaborating the categories of leader behaviors, House and Mitchell stressed the importance of follower dispositional characteristics as well as situational characteristics to identify leader behaviors that result in effective behavior. It should be noted that subsequent revisions of path-goal theory have expanded the number of leader behavior categories to ten. Like the elaboration discussed above, this new expansion of leader behavior explicates the conditions under which these various types of leader behaviors would enhance motivation, abilities, performance, and satisfaction of subordinates. The primary reason for this additional refinement of leader behaviors was to enhance the accuracy of measurement. Interested readers should consult House's 1996 paper for a detailed description of these behaviors.

In 1996, House attempted to contemporize path-goal theory by expanding the theory's predictions about how leader behavior can enhance follower ability. House claimed that by intentionally working to develop follower abilities, and by acting as role models of effective task behaviors, leaders can facilitate the growth of follower task abilities. Leaders clarify how followers should complete tasks by modeling appropriate role behaviors. Further, lead-

ers can affect the development of followers' abilities by individually attending to the capabilities of each follower. House believed that follower ability improvement should result in enhanced follower performance.

A second change to path-goal theory made in 1996 was the inclusion of predictions regarding the effect of leader behavior on work-unit performance. All prior versions of the theory focused on the individual relationship between a leader and a follower. In the 1996 version, however, House recognized the importance of work group leadership and expanded path-goal theory to incorporate how a leader can enhance the performance of an entire work group. Specifically, he predicted that group performance should improve when the leader acts in ways that enable meaningful interactions among work group members as well as develop quality relationships between the work group and the rest of the organization. Additionally, the leader can augment group performance by facilitating access to necessary resources for the group. Thus, this new version of path-goal theory not only discusses the role of the leader in motivating an individual, but also extends this theory to explain how a leader can affect a group as an aggregate.

EMPIRICAL SUPPORT FOR PATH-GOAL THEORY

While path-goal leadership theory has generated a considerable amount of research since it was first proposed, empirical validation of the theory as a whole has proved difficult. Some hypotheses of the theory have been well supported, while others have not. For instance, hypothesized relationships between leader behavior and follower performance are more consistently found than are the hypothesized relationships between leader behavior and follower satisfaction. Further, whereas the theory discusses the hypothesized relationships in causal terms, the majority of empirical evidence is correlational in nature, allowing possible alternative interpretations for the results.

Despite many empirical studies, most leadership scholars agree that path-goal theory has not been

adequately tested. One of the most frequently noted deficiencies in path-goal research is that of improper measurement. Most research on path-goal theory has relied on various versions of the leader behavior description questionnaire (LBDQ) to measure leader behaviors. Yet, scholars have repeatedly noted the inappropriateness of this instrument in investigating the relationships posited by path-goal theory, arguing that the scale does not adequately tap the proposed constructs. In light of such findings, much of the early research on path-goal theory is in need of reassessment.

A second criticism of path-goal research is that it tends to be relatively simplistic, despite the complex nature of the theory. The majority of research on path-goal theory has focused on determining how task structure moderates the relationship between leader behavior and follower performance and satisfaction. Investigations of directive leader behavior and supportive leader behavior have dominated the literature, while research has generally neglected the other types of leader behavior about which the theory makes predictions. In order to comprehensively evaluate path-goal theory, all of the hypothesized relationships must be tested.

A third criticism of the research on path-goal theory is that it has not examined the basic motivational assumptions of the theory. Seminal reviews of the VIE research all noted some empirical support, but have also identified several problems. These problems have ranged from mismeasurement of the three key constructs (valence, instrumentality, and expectancy) to the use of inappropriate research designs to assess the validity of the theory. A late-twentieth-century meta-analysis found that despite these problems, there is evidence that the three VIE components predict job performance. Finally, while rationale theories like VIE have received less attention from social scientists over the years, recent work by Lord, Hanges, and Godfrey (2003) has integrated the original VIE conceptualization into a framework more consistent with current models of human information processing.

In sum, while research on path-goal leadership theory has generally been supportive of its assertions, the theory as a whole has not been adequately

tested. Some scholars have suggested that path-goal research has been hindered by flawed methodology and incomplete, simplistic testing of the theory. Furthermore, some have suggested that the basic assumptions of the theory could be flawed.

IMPACT OF PATH-GOAL THEORY ON THE FIELD

Aside from contributing to our understanding of leadership through empirical tests, path-goal leadership theory has been instrumental in the development of new perspectives in the leadership field. The substitutes for leadership theory is one such example.

Substitutes for leadership theory, developed by Steve Kerr and John Jermier in 1978, was inspired by the path-goal leadership theory prediction that followers with certain characteristics in unambiguous situations do not need leaders to clarify their jobs. Substitutes theory suggests that certain alternatives for leadership can exist, such as organizational formalization, that make leader behaviors redundant. In both path-goal leadership theory and substitutes for leadership theory, such redundancy is hypothesized to decrease follower satisfaction. In addition to making predictions about leaders occasionally being redundant, substitutes theory claims that some contextual variables can also have a direct effect on employee outcomes.

Substitutes theory is conceptually distinct from path-goal theory in that the latter does not argue for the complete irrelevancy of leader behaviors to employee outcomes. However, the theoretical roots of substitutes theory are clearly in the contingent nature of path-goal theory. Although the evidence for substitutes theory is mixed, it is widely cited in organizational behavior texts and has an extensive following in the field.

A second theoretical outgrowth of path-goal leadership theory is the 1976 theory of charismatic leadership, also developed by House. While House's path-goal theory stresses the importance of leader adjustment to and fulfillment of follower needs, charismatic leadership theory posits that arousing, changing, and overall enhancing follower needs and desires is an important facet of leadership. Follower

motives for achievement, affiliation, and power can all be aroused to increase intrinsic motivation and outcome valence. The theory's focus on leader-initiated change in followers' needs is symmetrically opposed to path-goal theory's tenets of leader adjustment to such needs and thus is an expansion of path-goal theory. Stated differently, path-goal theory defined the gap that charismatic theory filled. Decades after its development, the theory of charismatic leadership continues to exert strong influence in the leadership field due to generally supportive research findings.

CURRENT STATUS OF PATH-GOAL LEADERSHIP THEORY

Methodological limitations and incomplete empirical support have led to a decline in research on path-goal theory. While the theory generated a great deal of research throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, work on path-goal theory has since tapered off. Scholars have asserted that the theory must be further developed if it is to continue to inspire empirical research. House's 1996 revision addressed some of these concerns. To date, few empirical investigations of the 1996 reformulation have been conducted.

Despite difficulty in empirically validating path-goal theory, it has proven to be quite valuable to broader leadership and organizational theory. In the early 1970s, a time of simplistic behavioral conceptualizations of leadership, the theory forced leadership scholars to consider more complex relationships between leader behaviors and subordinate outcomes. Specifically, the theory forced the incorporation of situational and dispositional contingencies into leadership models. In recognizing the complexity of the phenomenon, path-goal theory paved the way for more intricate theories of leadership. Some of these theories, such as substitutes for leadership and charismatic leadership theory, grew directly out of path-goal theory. Thus, while currently not a hotbed for empirical research, path-goal theory is an important part of the development of contemporary theories of leadership and, therefore, has secured a place in the history of organizational theory.

—Andrew P. Knight, Gary Shteynberg,
and Paul J. Hanges

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PATRIARCHY

The word *patriarchy* means, literally, “rule of the father.” In this narrowest definition, *patriarchy* means a social system controlled by men, in which lineage is traced through males (patrilineal descent), inheritance is passed from father to son, and family members are dependent and subservient to the male head of household. In its most precise meaning, *patriarchy* refers to the system, historically derived from Greek and Roman law, in which the male head of household had absolute legal and economic power over his dependent female and male family members.

The word *patriarchy* acquired a more general usage, especially in some feminist theories, when it came to mean “male domination in general.” This concept was systematically set out in broader feminist terms in the early 1970s by such writers as Kate Millett in her groundbreaking *Sexual Politics*, in which she posited that patriarchal power is all-encompassing and ubiquitous, and Shulmath Firestone, who, in her landmark *The Dialectic of Sex*, grounded the universal oppression of women in sex and the control of women’s reproduction.

In this wider definition of the concept, patriarchy is a system in which men dominate, oppress, and exploit women and in which the institutionalization of male dominance over women and children in the family extends to male dominance over women in society in general. From this perspective, males control the economy and occupy positions of power and status. Women are denied access to power and deprived of rights, influence, and resources. Patriarchal ideologies are employed to explain and justify male dominance in major cultural institutions, such as religion, education, and the media.

Dominance and control are perceived to be at the heart of patriarchy. The German sociologist Max Weber spoke of patriarchal power’s structures of

domination enforced by virtue of authority, that is, the power to command and duty to obey. Continuing the themes of patriarchal dominance, contemporary writer Alan Johnson argues in his *Unraveling the Gender Knot* that patriarchy is based on control as a core principle and that, as a system, is driven by a relationship between control and fear. In order to control fear and each other, patriarchy depends upon dominance of men over women (and over other men, it might be added) and by definition, therefore, involves a hierarchy of power with women on the bottom. This hierarchical structuring is modeled throughout the system with lower, less-valued tiers being dominated by those on top.

Today, many people use the word *patriarchy* as shorthand for “male-dominated society” with deep social structures that are male dominated, male identified, and male centered. Understanding these characteristics holds important implications for the study of leadership. In that structures are male dominated, positions of authority and power, such as formal leadership in political, economic, religious, and military institutions, are generally reserved for men. In that they are male identified, core cultural ideas about what is considered desirable, preferable, or normal are likened to what a culture thinks about men and masculinity, such as the accepted notion of a “good” leader as being one who is decisive and in control. To the degree that structures and practices are male centered, the focus of attention is on the actions and thoughts of men, and male experience comes to represent the human experience, such as in the “great man” approach to history.

PATRIARCHY’S STORY

People have debated the roots of patriarchy for decades. A common response to the question “Where did patriarchy come from?” is simply, “That’s the way it’s always been. Men are stronger and, therefore, in power.” The assumption behind this response is that patriarchy is some sort of biological destiny, a natural order. However, in the 1970s, with the explosion of the “second wave” of feminism (as it is commonly called), vibrant feminist scholarship took issue with the “natural order”

approach. Archaeological research, for example, began to point out the male-biased interpretations of Old World relics and revealed pre-patriarchal societies based on female gods and matrilineal social organizations and kinship structures. In the 1987 book, *The Chalice and the Blade*, Riane Eisler argues that these societies were not just mirror images of patriarchal society with women oppressing men but, in fact, were less hierarchically designed and that women’s power was equated more with responsibility and love than with fear, control, and privilege. Although such arguments are difficult to make definitively, the fact that such interpretations found public airing in the final decades of the past century demonstrates challenges to patriarchal biases in history, anthropology, and many other fields and disciplines. Instead of seeing patriarchy as a “natural order,” these studies and interpretations of matriarchal societies showed that patriarchy was a choice.

In her landmark book *The Creation of Patriarchy* (1986), author Gerda Lerner offers a theoretical framework for understanding patriarchy’s historical creation in the ancient Near East and Greece in the period 3100–400 BCE. These were essentially patriarchal cultures, asserts Lerner, and the control of women’s sexuality (reproduction) was an essential element of the patriarchal order. She argues that the subordination of women and their reproductive roles preceded the development of private property and served as a model for the subsequent subordination of other humans by dominant ruling classes.

Through the years, scholars have debated patriarchy’s trajectory. Some have argued that patriarchy is transhistorical and that the oppression of women is a constant through time and place. Critics caution that overgeneralizations that suggest that all women through all time experienced the same oppression and victimization and that all men through all time experienced the same role as oppressor need to be tempered. Such overgeneralizations simply aren’t true. This does not mean that patriarchy is not a valuable descriptor and tool of analysis, but rather only that we must take care to account for variances because of race, class, educational level, ethnicity,



The Prerogatives of Patriarchy in the Arab World

The prerogatives of patriarchy are reflected in the differential pressures placed on male and female Muslims when they are contemplating a religious intermarriage. Should a Muslim woman wish to marry a non-Muslim, the prospective husband must convert to Islam. In contrast, a Muslim male may marry a non-Muslim woman without the requirement that she convert to his religion. The underlying rationale for this practice is that husbands not only have more power than wives to enforce a particular religious environment within the home, but also, in the event of a divorce, since children traditionally remain with the husband's lineage, the children of a non-Muslim father would be lost to the faith.

The virginity of the unmarried female is highly valued and there are often extreme negative sanctions invoked against women who engage in premarital sexual relations. Negative sanctions regarding extramarital relations are also very strong. The concept of family honour is closely tied to the chastity of its female members. Family honour can be tarnished, not only by verbal or physical attacks from outsiders, but by the unmarried woman's loss of virginity or the married woman's extramarital sexual transgressions. Similar prohibitions do not apply as strongly to the male members of the family. However, males are expected to be the protectors of family honour. In this role, fathers, brothers and husbands are frequently expected both to restrict and to judge the behaviour of daughters, sisters and wives. The concept of family honour, somewhat alien to the Canadian scene, plays an important role in the Arab world, as in many Mediterranean countries. Violence (sometimes against the women in the family) and protracted feuds with outsiders can arise in defence of the family's honour.

Children (particularly sons) are highly valued. The birth of the first son signals a name change for his parents. If,

for example, the first son is named Ramsey, the father becomes known as "Abu Ramsey" (the father of Ramsey) and the mother as "Im Ramsey" (the mother of Ramsey). This change in names is important to traditional couples and is generally a cherished transition in adulthood. Similarly, children are often identified by their father's name (for example, as "Ibn Khalid" or the son of Khalid). The high value placed on parenthood, together with the traditional aversion towards contraceptive techniques, means that the average family size in the Arab world is greater than in Canada. However, differences in family size among Arabs are associated with the same factors as in the West. Thus, there is a negative relationship between education and family size and between socio-economic status and family size.

Religion is also related to fertility, with Muslims tending to have more children than Christians.

Thus, the traditional family in the Arab world is male dominant, monogamous, and sexually conservative with particularly heavy restrictions on female conduct. Arabs tend to value children highly and emphasize a broad sense of familism which encompasses obligations, reciprocities and privileges for individual family members. Although precise statistics are lacking, it appears that in the Arab world as elsewhere the functions and obligations of the extended family unit are becoming more circumscribed as the conjugal family unit gains prominence. Further, the self-sufficiency of the larger family system has weakened as it has become more dependent on the larger economy. There have been significant changes in the position of women, in particular in the past three decades as they have had access to formal education. Like other institutions in the Arab world, the family has been experiencing changes, both in its structure and functioning. Familism, however, continues to be a distinctive feature of the region.

Source: Abu-Laban, Baha. (1980). *An olive branch on the family tree: The Arabs in Canada*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, pp. 29–30.

religion, a nation's stage of economic development, and the like.

Recent discussions of the concept of patriarchy posit the importance of using the word in ways that recognize difference and complexity in the world. Using the word *patriarchy* does not require that it be seen as making claims for primacy above all dominant relationships, be they class or race, nor as equivalent to all other forms of inequality. Using the word

does, however, offer a way to understand certain dimensions of social structures and gender relations and to discern the coexistences of progress and backlash in different spheres.

As one example, in *Theorizing Patriarchy* (1997), author Sylvia Walby suggests six patriarchal structures or sites that are in process at any one time—sexuality, the household, employment, culture, the state, and male violence. In each of these sites,

different sets of practices are relatively autonomous yet interconnected in complex ways. The degree and form of male dominance in each of these sites change over time and place, and the relationships between them are what give patriarchy's character in a particular culture.

Such an approach has implications for understanding the relationship of patriarchy and leadership. Forms of patriarchal practices in the paid labor world, for example, limit women's access to leadership positions, exclude women from better forms of work, segregate women into worse jobs, and create obstacles to women's fullest realization in the workplace. State structures may legislate equal pay while opposing family leave legislation that would increase women's ability to achieve fullest employment opportunities. While all of that is going on, patriarchal orientations in the media lead to images of sexual objectification while presenting images of the "new" superwoman leader. As these examples show, the interplay of structures is complex and diverse and sometimes contradictory. To understand the degree and form of patriarchy at any one historical time and place, one needs to look at these structures and the interplay within and between them. This multitiered analysis allows for an understanding of change, of improvements in one site, for example, while allowing intensification of patriarchy in another and the variances determined by other factors, such as age and ethnicity.

PATRIARCHY AND LEADERSHIP

Leadership is embedded in deeply ingrained patriarchal systems and structures, for example, in women's access to and distribution of resources, in genderized perceptions of effective leadership traits and qualities, and in expectations of who can lead, where leadership takes place, and for what purposes. Certainly in the United States we are distanced from the absolute "rule of the father" in all spheres of public and private life. Even the term *head of household* is more gender neutral, given the radical shifts in modern family arrangements.

The last quarter of a century has brought expanding research on leadership and gender and on the

relationship between the two. One substantial emphasis of this research has been on issues of opportunities and excluding practices, such as the glass ceiling and unequal access, practices that keep women from leadership positions. Another substantial emphasis has been on the actual exercise of leadership and gender differences in style, effectiveness, priorities, and expectations. Still another emphasis has been on the very redefinition of leadership itself, seeing it as empowering rather than overpowering, and finding it occurring in informal and relational ways.

During most of recorded history, women have been largely excluded from formal leadership positions. We may understand this exclusion in many ways, provide statistical portraits of the phenomenon, and describe the consequences. Even in just one of the patriarchal structures identified earlier—employment—the practices are complex and varied. Women typically earn less than men, engage in more unpaid work than men, and hold different and usually lower-status jobs. Although the percentage of women joining the paid work force has risen steadily since World War II, men and women typically do not work in the same occupations. Occupational segregation is an international phenomenon. Even in the upper echelons of work, the professions, patriarchal practices frame the ways in which professions themselves are sex segregated and gender coded, with those professions that are most male segregated—such as the practice of medicine—having more status, wealth, and power, and those professions that are more female identified—such as nursing and social work—having less status.

The invisibility of women as leaders and their exclusion from formal leadership positions—whether in industry or in the state—have much to do with the practices of patriarchy. The "glass ceiling" is not the entire story. Patriarchy sinks deep into cultural values and concepts, and the expectations of leader/leadership are perfect examples. Leadership studies actually started off with the "great man" theory, a phrase whose male biases couldn't be more self-evident. The next stage of leadership studies identified traits, and, given underlying patriarchal premises, we should not be surprised that the pre-

dominant cultural expectation of leaders asserts that they are decisive, in control, and heroic, typically characteristics associated with males in power. More female-associated characteristics, such as being relational and compassionate and demonstrating a willingness to negotiate, are often viewed as weaknesses in leaders. Feminist organizational scholar Amanda Sinclair proposes “a close but obscured connection between constructs of leadership, traditional assumptions of masculinity, and a particular expression of male heterosexual identity” (Sinclair 1998, 1).

Rethinking patriarchy and its practices has implications for rethinking what leadership is and isn't. Take, for example, notions of leaders' exercise of power and control—the heart of patriarchy. In his landmark book, *Leadership*, James MacGregor Burns defines power “not as property or entity or possession but *as a relationship*” (Burns 1978, 15). Although not articulating his position in order to dethrone patriarchy, Burns believes that those who hold *power over* others are not leaders, rather they are simply power wielders. Leaders, on the other hand, hold power differently. They share power, and they empower their followers. If this definition were to become truly accepted and practiced, women might be more likely to be recognized as leaders and to engage in leading.

We could argue that the “power as control” approach to leadership is rooted in a decidedly male disposition expressed through the hierarchal distribution of resources, influences, and position. Instead of simply seeing the exercise of power over employees, for example, as an archaic style that is no longer useful in contemporary workplaces, the dominance and hierarchal model could be seen as patriarchal structures and practices.

IS PATRIARCHY OVER?

We might be tempted to imagine, given all the progress in women's lives and rights in the United States today, that patriarchy is over. However, we must recognize that its degrees and forms evolve through time and in differentiated ways in the structures and spheres of modern life. Women, for example, remain dramatically underrepresented in formal

leadership positions in the major institutions of the United States. Although more women are now elected officials holding public office, the percentages are nowhere representative of the population as a whole and are far below those of many other highly industrialized democracies in the world. Although few women lead corporations, more women have reached the ranks of senior management, although women still hold less than 5 percent of the upper management and executive positions. Although the absolute exclusion of women from paid work is diminishing, their segregation into low-paying industries and occupations and part-time work has declined only a little. Women are gaining access to the public sphere of paid employment but are subordinated to men within it.

As feminist scholar Cynthia Cockburn states:

“Patriarchy” is not merely a colourful term used by feminists to rebuke men. It is not a thing of bygone days, nor a rhetorical flourish. It is an important dimension of the structures of modern societies, whether capitalist or state socialist. It is a living reality, a system that quite observably shapes the lives and differentiates the chances of women and of men. The struggle for sex equality . . . is an attempt to contradict, to undo, patriarchy. (cited in Bryson 1999, 322)

Similarly, the efforts to rethink and redefine who is a leader and what is leadership challenge patriarchal practices and, in that way, move society that much closer to gender equality.

—Laurien Alexandre

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PATTON, GEORGE S. (1885–1945)

United States general

The German military theorist Carl von Clausewitz (1780–1831) wrote that “a distinguished commander without boldness is unthinkable” (Clausewitz [1832] 1976, 198). In World War II, George Smith Patton, Jr., was the epitome of a bold commander in campaigns in North Africa, Sicily, and northern Europe. He became one of the greatest generals in U.S. military history.

Patton was an effective and passionate leader of troops, but was also a man whose emotions could get the better of him and either cloud or completely

Never tell people how to do things. Tell them what to do and they will surprise you with their ingenuity.

—George S. Patton

obscure his judgment. He was by many accounts an enigmatic or even strange man, given to historical disquisitions about battles from the remote past and equally prone to passionate and profane tirades about victory, duty, and soldierly obligations. As controversial as some of his actions were, however, they did little to lessen the overall quality of his leadership.

PATTON'S PAST

Although Patton himself was born in San Gabriel, California, his family had its roots in Virginia and traced its line back to the 1760s. Many of Patton's ancestors attended the Virginia Military Institute, and several fought in the Civil War, including a great uncle who died at Gettysburg and a grandfather who was killed in battle in 1864. He revered these men for their exploits, and most of the tales he heard at his father's knee involved bravery, boldness, and duty. His father also read *The Iliad* and other classics of military history to the impressionable young boy. His afternoons were spent camping, fishing, and learning to ride horses and shoot rifles.

For years, the family resisted sending him to school, preferring to encourage his reading and study at home. Not until he was eleven did he enter a private academy in Pasadena, California. In the early years of this more formal education, his essays were peppered with references to Alexander the Great, Epaminondas (a Theban tactician of the fourth century BCE), and Julius Caesar, and comments on their leadership and effectiveness. He wrote about the Athenian tactics at the 490 BCE Battle of Marathon and the Athenian Sicilian expedition in 415 BCE. By the time he was seventeen, he had decided that he wanted to be an officer in the U.S. Army.

He transferred from the private school he was attending to the Virginia Military Institute in the hope that it would prepare him for an appointment to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, something his father worked tirelessly to secure for the boy. When, on being fitted for his VMI uniform, he found that his measurements were exactly those of his father and grandfather, Patton was even more certain of his military destiny. After a year at VMI, he transferred to West Point.

PATTON'S IMAGE

One element of Patton's character that became clear at West Point was his burning desire to succeed. He pushed himself to live up to the examples of his ancestors and to more remote but no less vivid examples from history. Along with his determination, though, came a lifelong difficulty sympathizing with those who fell short of success. As a cadet in charge of underclassmen, Patton gained notoriety for reporting every minor infraction of discipline or deportment. He even spent hours in front of a mirror, practicing a stern, intimidating expression.

As amusing as this image may be, it is indicative of an element of leadership that he understood instinctively. Whether as a hard-driving cadet scaring freshmen with his scowl or as an immaculately dressed tank commander brandishing ivory-handled pistols, Patton understood that a certain image and a measure of theatrics were necessary to capture the attention of those whom he led. Years later, he would also insist that his soldiers wear proper uniforms at all times. When he assumed command of the U.S. Army's II Corps in North Africa in March 1943, after the disappointing U.S. defeat at Kasserine Pass in Tunisia, he was disgusted by the poor dress and lack of discipline he found among the Corps' soldiers. He knew that if men did not look and act like soldiers, there was little chance they would fight like soldiers. His attention to detail both reinforced and projected his self-confidence. "Self-confidence and leadership are twin brothers," he wrote, and believed that his "claim to greatness hangs on an ability to lead and inspire" (Blumenson 1974, 625, 98).

PATTON'S ACTIONS

Appearance was only half of leadership. Patton believed that direct action was every bit as important as image, and that a leader who insisted upon remaining in the rear was not a leader at all. During World War I, Patton accompanied his tanks into battle either atop them or on foot. At the outset of his first big battle, he was ordered to hold back to the rear as his tanks went forward. On a rainy September morning, Patton watched his tankers advance across a valley



General Patton inspecting troops stationed in Britain on 22 April 1944. Initially denied command because of his behavior off the battlefield, Patton later led a charge across Europe to Germany.

Source: Bettmann/ Corbis; used with permission.

toward the German lines. The waiting and watching quickly grew unbearable. After two hours, it was all he could stand. He rounded up a handful of aides and took out on foot to catch his tanks. Soon he caught the vanguard of the attack and hitched a ride on top of a tank into a town through which German forces were retreating. The infantry followed behind. In the subsequent Meuse-Argonne battle, he found himself so far out in front of his tanks that he came under direct German fire and was seriously wounded.

PATTON'S PLACE IN HISTORY

Patton remains a controversial figure. Some believe his faults outweighed his abilities. The notorious instance in which he threatened and slapped two soldiers during the Sicilian campaign nearly ended his career and damaged his reputation beyond repair. Nevertheless, he led thousands of men to victory in Europe and North Africa and contributed to the ruin

Be willing to make decisions. That's the most important quality in a good leader.

—George S. Patton

of Nazi Germany in World War II by racing his army across France as fast as German forces could retreat. He felt deeply responsible for the very same men he pushed and slapped, and, despite his affinity for war, he knew that the fastest way to get his boys home was to keep pushing hard until the enemy's forces collapsed.

—David A. Smith

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PAUL, ST. (10–67? CE)

Early Christian theologian

St. Paul became an important figure to the Christian church and theology after his conversion to the Christian faith. Converted only a few years after the death of Jesus Christ, he became the leading apostle of the new faith and played a decisive part in delineating it from Judaism to become a worldwide religion. His surviving letters are the earliest existing Christian writings that have continued to influence the religion to the present.

The sources for information about Paul's life are found in the New Testament of the Bible, specifically the Acts of the Apostles, in which he is the dominant figure, and the Pauline Epistles. The value of the latter depends on the extent to which they are accepted as genuinely written by Paul. The authorship of Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians, and Philemon is undisputed; the others, although initially attributed to Paul, are of debated authorship. They include Ephesians, 2 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, and Hebrews. The majority of those letters frequently echo his philosophy and thus are of great importance to Christian theology in spite of their radical departure in style from Paul's epistles.

PAUL'S EARLY LIFE AND CONVERSION

Paul was born with the name "Saul" in Tarsus (now in modern Turkey) and had a strict Jewish upbringing. Little is known about Paul's early life, including the year of his birth. Like many of the Jews there, Paul inherited Roman citizenship. This explains his two names. He used his Jewish name, "Saul," within the Jewish community and his Roman surname, "Paul," when speaking his native tongue of Greek, the lingua franca of the Middle East at that time. Growing up in a cosmopolitan city prepared him for his special vocation of converting Gentiles.

At some point Paul became a fervent member of the Pharisees, a Jewish sect that promoted purity and strict fidelity to the law of Moses. He drew on his knowledge of the law and of rabbinic methods of interpreting repeatedly in his missionary work. He never met Jesus while in Jerusalem, but he learned enough about Jesus and his followers to regard the Christian movement as a threat to the Pharisaic Judaism that he had embraced so eagerly. It was during his travels to persecute members of the newly founded Christian movement that he underwent conversion.

The Hellenists (Greek-speaking Jews) in Jerusalem were the first to come under persecution by fellow Jews. They not only had proclaimed Jesus as the messiah, but also had claimed that Mosaic law could be disregarded because the sacrificial death of Jesus

superseded the teachings of the Jewish temple and its ritual sacrifices. Paul joined in the effort to eradicate the Christian movement. The Hellenist converts fled to foreign cities, while the original Aramaic-speaking group in Jerusalem kept a low profile to avoid further trouble. Paul received a commission from the chief priest to go to Damascus to help suppress Christianity. As he approached Damascus, Paul experienced a spiritual revelation and conversion. He was left convinced that Jesus was risen from the dead and exalted as Lord in heaven and that, just as the Christians claimed, his death could be understood as a sacrifice on behalf of others.

To Paul, his own conversion had universal significance and application. He, like many Jews of his time, believed that God's final Judgment Day, on which God would come to free the world from evil and to establish lasting peace and righteousness, was imminent. In agreement with the earliest apostolic preaching, though, Paul believed that Jesus, having died for the sins of humankind, was now to serve in heaven as God's representative for the judgment. On Judgment Day, Jesus would deliver those who believed in him and acknowledged him as Lord. This faith in Christ became the foundation of Paul's preaching and theology. Paul then saw as his responsibility the spread of this message to people of every nation to prepare them for God's coming.

Paul retreated for a brief period of reflection to the solitude of Arabia, where he worked to reconcile the contradictions stemming from his vision of Jesus with his beliefs as a Pharisee. The implications of his revelation would take nearly three years to sink in. During that time he lived in Damascus, where he presumably contacted Christians, learned about Jesus and his teachings, and started his first missionary work. It is noteworthy that after his conversion he did

not immediately go to Jerusalem to meet with the founders of the Church but rather worked with the Christians he had originally intended to persecute.

His three years in Damascus ended abruptly with his escape from government authorities before they could kill him. He traveled to Jerusalem, where he met the apostle Peter and James, the brother of Jesus. The meeting proved critical because it established Paul as a recognized apostle alongside the founders of the Church at Jerusalem. After a stay of about two weeks, Paul had to flee from danger, this time from the Pharisees, who regarded him as a dangerous traitor. He moved on to Cilicia and Syria and then to Tarsus. No information about this mission exists. He then moved on to Antioch, the capital of Syria, to join the apostolic father Barnabas in his work with the Gentiles.

EARLY CONTROVERSY

The controversy that emerged regarding the Gentiles led to Paul's most important contribution to Christian theology. His defense of the Gentiles defined Christianity as a universal religion, not just a Jewish



Map of St. Paul's journeys.

Source: James Lewis; used with permission.

sect. Early Christianity was a close association between followers centering around the common meal and the Eucharist. The Jewish adherence to Mosaic law made many Jews reluctant to eat with “unclean” Gentiles for fear of violating the law, which orthodox Jews believed must be strictly followed to prepare for salvation. Some of the converted Pharisees held the belief even that Gentile converts should be required to accept circumcision and other obligations of the law. Although Jesus taught that purity of heart is more important than adherence to rules, many of his followers did not abandon their old ways.

The conversion of Gentiles in Antioch had created a mixed congregation in which Jewish and Gentile Christians ate together for the sake of fellowship. However, in Jerusalem Christians had gone to great pains not to offend Jews; their mission was struggling as a result of their trying to be faithful to the law. After a meeting in Antioch with Peter, in which Paul publicly rebuked Peter and argued against the forced Judaizing of the Gentiles (including circumcision), Paul continued preaching the gospel of faith. Paul argued that because faith in God preceded the law of Moses and because the law has no authority over a dead person (including Jesus, who died and became free from the law), belief in Christ means freedom from the law. However, freedom from the law does not grant one a license to sin, Paul added; it means an obligation to live a righteous life according to the Holy Spirit. Peter, James, and the other Church leaders cautiously supported this position but still had to act cautiously while in Jerusalem.

Paul later laid out these arguments in his first letter to the Galatians, the Christians living in the Roman province of Galatia in Asia Minor (in modern Turkey). Paul invented a new literary form, the epistle, which was new in its length as a letter, in the theological character of its contents, and conversational in tone, to help bolster the flagging morale of the far-flung churches of the Mediterranean world or to clarify points about belief. His epistles, combined with his travels throughout the Mediterranean world to establish churches, quickly placed him at the fore of the movement’s leaders.

THREE MISSIONS AND HIS DEATH

From Antioch, Paul set out on his first missionary journey, accompanied by Barnabas and, for part of the trip, Barnabas’s cousin John Mark. In general they went from city to city preaching in synagogues and in marketplaces to tell people of the impending Judgment Day. Churches were set up, and as soon as the little Christian groups seemed strong enough, the men moved on. They went to Cyprus and then to Asia Minor. At this point John Mark returned to Jerusalem, and Paul and Barnabas continued through the southern part of the Roman province of Galatia. After several other stops, they made their way back to Antioch.

While they were there, word from Jerusalem reached Paul that Gentiles were indeed to be circumcised. Paul traveled to Jerusalem with Barnabas and Titus, a Gentile whom Paul had converted. Paul and Barnabas met with James, Peter, and John, compared the content of their missionary messages, and decided they were in basic agreement. This confirmed for Paul that the Gentiles did not have to undergo circumcision or eat kosher food. In other words, Gentiles did not have to live like Jews. The men then held a larger conference to inform all regarding the position on the Gentiles. Still, some time passed before the Christian Jews would accept Paul’s position. The Jerusalem faction persisted in pushing for strict dietary rules and other pure habits as a way to segregate the Gentile converts.

On his second mission (50–53 CE), Paul refused to allow John Mark to accompany Barnabas and him because of John Mark’s earlier desertion during the first mission. Silas, a fellow Roman citizen, instead accompanied Paul, and Barnabas traveled with John Mark. Given that Paul was already angry with Barnabas for his support for Judaizing the Gentiles, the two men decided to go their separate ways. During visits to Philippi and Corinth, Paul and Silas founded two churches, but Paul’s attempt to found one in Athens failed. During his long stay at Corinth, which became a major center of early Christianity, he wrote 1 Thessalonians (52 CE). This letter to the Gentile converts of the city of Thessalonica (modern Thessaloníki, Greece) assured them

that dead Christians would be resurrected to join the living at the time of the Second Coming. Also while in Corinth, Paul met a Jewish couple, Aquila and Priscilla, who became his lifelong friends. Together they went to Ephesus before Paul sailed alone to Caesarea in Palestine, visited Jerusalem again, and returned to Antioch.

The third mission took Paul to Galatia, then Phrygia, and then over to Ephesus. His two-and-a-half-year stay in Ephesus was one of the most fruitful periods of his life; he wrote his two letters to the Corinthians (c. 56 CE). In the first letter he gave the account of the Last Supper in its oldest form. He also wrote his letter to the Galatians in which he tried to quell the problems over Judaizing the Gentiles. He went to Corinth to help the Christians there who were struggling with their faith, and he probably wrote the epistle to the Romans there. He then returned to Ephesus and finally to Jerusalem. This was his last visit to that city (57–59 CE). Soon after he arrived, he was arrested for provoking a riot.

After being held prisoner for two years and after hearings before a number of authorities, Paul appealed to Rome on his citizen's right and was sent to Rome under guard. On the way, the group was shipwrecked on Malta but finally made it to Rome, where Paul was imprisoned (60 CE). Tradition states that he died a martyr's death, either beheaded south of the city or burned on a cross. However, some scholars have argued that Paul was released after his imprisonment and that he went perhaps to Spain to minister and died there.

PAUL'S LEGACY

Paul is the most dominant figure of the early Christian age, and his epistles have left a tremendous mark on Christianity. His writings carry weight and influence far greater than those of James or Peter. The first Christian theological writing, filled with more spiritual fervor than systematic analysis, is found in his epistles. Subsequent Christian doctrine is rooted in his writings, and countless interpretations have been given of his teachings. Roman Catholic theology relies heavily upon him. The German religious reformer Martin Luther derived from the Epistle to

the Romans his principle of justification by faith alone, and later theologians also drew upon him. Paul's interpretation of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus, his doctrine of the Church as the mystical body of Christ, his teaching on law and grace, and his view of justification have been decisive in the formation of the Christian faith.

A charismatic individual, Paul was also a natural leader of men who harbored little self-doubt. He believed his mission was not only to bring the word of Christ to the Gentiles, but also to organize the church so that it would develop and flourish, even in his absence. To do so, he created an organization that would one day become modern Christianity and trained its leaders. One of Paul's followers, Luke, whom Paul met during the time of his second and third missions, wrote one of the Gospels as well as the Book of Acts. Ultimately, Paul made Christianity a "universal" church both physically through his travels and theologically through his writings.

—James G. Lewis

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PEARL HARBOR

Perhaps once or twice in a century, a nation undergoes an event so unexpected, so shocking, so traumatic that the event becomes a turning point in history. One such event was the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941. In the perspective of history, the span of sixty-plus years is only a flash, but it is a long time in the life of an individual. Those people who remember Pearl Harbor as a direct experience have reached senior-citizen status, yet the subject continues to fascinate them and their descendants. Why?

No doubt one reason is the irrational but undeniable glamour of defeat; the people of the United States are winners, but they remember and sympathize with their losers. Another reason is the puzzle aspect. The merciful years have erased much of the pain and anger, but the subject remains an eternal doublecross puzzle in which the clues help fill in the story, and the story helps provide the clues. However, instead of clarifying the subject, the years have compounded it.

How could it have happened? How could the Japanese have sailed more than 4,800 kilometers across the Pacific without being seen? How could they have developed a torpedo that would not sink in the mud of Pearl Harbor (which was less than 10 meters deep)? How could they have developed a bomb weighing 780 kilograms that would penetrate the deck of a battleship? How could they have refueled three times in the cold northern Pacific on the way to their target? How could they have avoided air detection when they came within 400 kilometers of their target? How could the Japanese have caught the U.S. fleet napping at Pearl Harbor, the Gibraltar of Asia, and sink or damage 8 battleships, kill more than 2,400 men, wound 1,178, destroy almost 300 aircraft and damage another 128 but not get caught? Their losses were only 29 aircraft, 129 men, 1 major submarine, and 5 midget submarines.

Where were the U.S. carriers? What about radar? How much did President Franklin D. Roosevelt know? What about the Japanese submarines caught in the harbor? Was there a third wave? Why did the Japanese not finish off the U.S. fleet when they could have? How about the breaking of the Japanese code? Could it happen again? These and other questions are still being asked and studied more than six decades later.

The myth that still exists today sprang from these questions: that the Japanese could not have bombed Pearl Harbor without outside help; that leaders in Washington had access to the Japanese secret code and, led by President Roosevelt, knew about the impending attack but allowed it to happen because they needed an excuse to get the United States into World War II.

However, none of that myth has ever been proven,

and the debate continues. After more than sixty years, most historians have concluded that Japan's success was due to its excellent leadership and that the U.S. failures were due to poor leadership. The Japanese were simply better at the operational level.

Japanese Comdr. Isoroku Yamamoto had to report only to the naval minister, Vice Adm. Shigetaro Shimada, and to Prime Minister Hideki Tojo. Shimada, Yamamoto's friend and colleague, had just been promoted to his position, and Yamamoto had just replaced him as commander of the Japanese Navy. The prime minister usually allowed Yamamoto to do what he wanted. Yamamoto was responsible to no one else, nor did he have to coordinate any of his operational activities with the Japanese army.

On the other hand, the two U.S. commanders at Pearl Harbor, Lt. Gen. Walter Short and Adm. Husband Kimmel, had to coordinate their activities between themselves and their two separate staffs. They then had to answer in Washington to the chief of naval operations, Admiral Harold R. Stark, and to the Army chief of staff, Gen. George C. Marshall, who in turn had to report to the secretary of war, Henry Stimson, and the secretary of the navy, Frank Knox. If one includes the leaders of both houses of Congress and President Roosevelt, plus the free U.S. press, it becomes clear that it was much harder for Short and Kimmel to make decisions and to coordinate their functions. After an operation began, Yamamoto could make his decisions with his own staffs and effect change. The United States had to work together at all levels, and this became its Achilles heel.

DEFINITION OF LEADERSHIP

There is no shortage of books on leadership and definitions of leadership. Leaders and the characteristics of leadership are constantly being defined and redefined. These definitions and characteristics have crossed over into many disciplines, creating an absence of consensus. In the field of military science, people debate leadership and the role of the leader. These debates include the leader versus the manager, whether leadership is an art or a science, and whether leadership is inherited or can be taught.

Perhaps Omar Bradley, a famous U.S. general in World War II, said it best when he wrote that leadership for the military is intangible and no weapon invented can replace it. He felt that it is most common and least understood, that it may be directed or undirected. Searching the literature of the field, the most common definition for military leadership is that a good leader is one who is able to motivate others to do things they normally would not do. In the military context, leadership is motivating soldiers and sailors to accomplish their mission.

CHARACTERISTICS OF LEADERSHIP

The literature also contains a spate of characteristics of good leadership. Among them are intelligence, self-awareness, self-regulation, motivation, empathy, integrity, knowledge of job, ability to delegate, vision, communication skills, social awareness, self-confidence, ability to adapt to change, coordination, initiative, will, values, decision-making ethic, motivation, trust, ability to take charge, direction, clear idea, self-discipline, willingness to sacrifice, physical fitness, knowledge of their followers, knowledge of the enemy, character, courage, and competence. Four of these will be used to depict the variation among the commanders involved with Pearl Harbor and to analyze why the Japanese were more successful. The four characteristics are vision, knowledge of job (understanding the mission), ability to delegate (choice of staff), and communication skills.

In the military, the commander is in charge and is responsible for what happens—the good and the bad. When one wins, one gets the credit, and when one loses, one takes the blame. Although many men can be praised and blamed for the Pearl Harbor fiasco, Yamamoto more than any other man was responsible for the Japanese success at Pearl Harbor. Husband Kimmel and Walter Short have to bear the blame for the U.S. failure. These three men were the major actors on that day that Roosevelt dubbed “a day of infamy.”

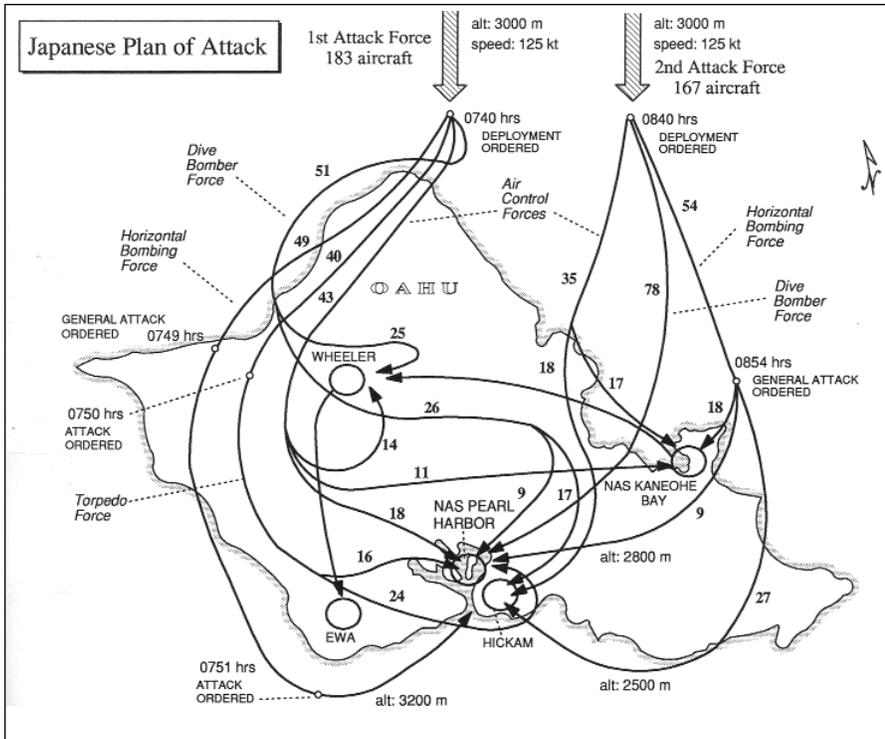
YAMAMOTO: BACKGROUND AND VISION

Isoroku Yamamoto was born in 1880 and graduated from the Japanese Naval Academy in 1904, just in

time to take part in the Russian-Japanese War and the great Japanese naval victory at Tsushima Straits in 1905. He was educated at Harvard and served as a naval attaché in both London and Washington. Probably no man in Japan wanted to avoid war with the United States more than Yamamoto. He had seen firsthand the power of the United States, and he understood that in a protracted war there was little hope of victory because the United States vastly outstripped Japan in science, technology, and especially natural resources. During his naval career, he quickly climbed the ladder of promotions until he was commander-in-chief of the Japanese Navy. At the time that the attack on Pearl Harbor was planned, his vision was to destroy the U.S. Navy in an all-out, one-time battle. The plan was to push on to southeast Asia, including the Dutch East Indies, and win the natural resources that Japan so desperately needed to be a world power. He realized that in order for Japan to conquer China and become the hegemonic power in Asia, he had to destroy the U.S. fleet, which was located at Pearl Harbor in Oahu, Hawaii.

The British and the French, having taken their hits in 1940 from the Germans, were no longer viable foes. Many of Yamamoto’s colleagues believed that his plan was impossible, but he pursued it to its conclusion and several times threatened to resign if he did not get his way. Although not a pilot, he had been closely associated with naval aviation and had realized its great potential for years. He became an advocate of naval air power through the positions to which he was successively appointed, including commander of the First Carrier Division and director of the Aeronautical Department of the Japanese Navy.

When he became commander of the Japanese Navy in 1940, Yamamoto fought for two essential points: a heavy emphasis on air warfare and the advancement of the battle line toward Hawaii so that he could fight the great all-out battle. His plan was simple: destroy the U.S. fleet at Pearl Harbor, then move south and either sue for peace (wishfully hoping that the United States would have no stomach to fight a war against him) or, if the United States chose to fight, use the resources he then would have at his



The plan by which the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor.

Source: D. M. Goldstein; used with permission.

disposal to engage in a protracted war, which he knew would be almost impossible to win. Thus, he set out to implement his plan.

Yamamoto specified that his fleet would have carriers, cruisers, destroyers, and submarines, but no battleships to slow him down. His plan was predicated on the maximum use of air power: His fleet would have the greatest concentration of air power ever assembled. His plan called for six aircraft carriers with over 360 airplanes. He appointed an excellent staff led by Comdr. Minoru Genda and Comdr. Mitsuo Fuchida. Yamamoto was a charismatic leader who was determined to get his way, and when he put his plan into motion, he never looked back.

HUSBAND KIMMEL: BACKGROUND AND VISION

Husband Kimmel was born in 1882 in Henderson, Kentucky. In 1900, he entered the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland, where he excelled in navigation, seamanship, ordnance, and languages.

He was rated second in his class in efficiency. Throughout his naval career, his insistence on order, routine, and efficiency was his hallmark. He graduated thirteenth in his class of sixty-two in 1904.

Nothing in his early career indicated the bad luck that he was to have by being at Pearl Harbor at the wrong time. In fact, his career up to Pearl Harbor was highly successful. In 1933 he realized the dream of every naval officer: command of a battleship, the *New York*. Later he went on to command a battle force of several battleships. Three elements stood out in his early career before he obtained flag rank: an excellent record in gunnery, important staff assignments, and a solid background in battleships.

In 1939, Kimmel was assigned as a budget officer to the Navy Department, where he became known as an excellent administrator. After several assignments in that department, he was assigned late in 1939 aboard the *Honolulu* as commander of a cruiser battle force where he did an outstanding job, demonstrating a keen knowledge of naval history, tactics, and strategy. By 1941, just prior to Pearl Harbor, his fitness reports bulged with high ratings and predictions of great things to come. When he was appointed commander-in-chief of the U.S. fleet, he was selected over many men who were his senior. Although he had some creative imagination, he was not a big advocate of air power, and he assumed his new command as a highly regarded, intelligent man who demanded and got the respect of his subordinates but who lacked a genuine sense of humor.

Although equal in rank in the command structure to Yamamoto, Kimmel did not have the free rein that his adversary had, and he had constantly to confer with Washington on most important matters. He was mainly a battleship advocate, and his vision of the

role of aircraft carriers and the role of the U.S. fleet in Hawaii was completely different from the Japanese commander's.

WALTER SHORT: BACKGROUND AND VISION

Kimmel's counterpart for the army was Lt. Gen. Walter Short. Born in Fillmore, Illinois, in 1880, Short graduated from the University of Illinois in 1902. In March of that year, he received a direct commission, and for almost forty years his personal history exemplified a typical infantry officer of his generation. He spent his early career in various stateside positions, mainly in charge of training. Just prior to World War I, he accompanied the Sixteenth Infantry Division to Mexico to fight Pancho Villa under Gen. George Pershing. In 1917, during World War I, he racked up a respectable record performing duty with the French and the British forces. Short was an excellent weapons officer, and he helped train officers in machine gun training. He stayed on after the armistice until 1919 as officer in charge of the Third Army's training unit.

Between the world wars, Short was an old-line army officer who attended the Army Command and General Staff College and the Army War College. He did several tours of duty in Washington and in the field and in 1937 was promoted to the rank of brigadier general. With the outbreak of World War II, he received assignments to command Fort Hamilton in New York and Camp Jackson in Columbia, South Carolina, both training bases. Finally, he was sent to Pearl Harbor. There was no controversy about his assignment, unlike Kimmel's. He was not promoted over others, and this was to be his final assignment before retirement.

In summarizing Short's career, one gets the picture of a confident, capable, conscientious officer, neither brilliant nor overly aggressive but competent and honest enough to do a good job. The one drawback might be that he had too many assignments involving training missions. Such a background could suggest that he might mistake the shadow for substance and regard training as an end in itself. Ultimately, in fact, he never understood that his mission was to defend the fleet. He thought that it would be to defend Hawaii from ground attack and sabotage.

His failure to recognize this became one of the major causes of the catastrophe at Pearl Harbor—the unclearness of the commanders' understanding of their mission. Both Kimmel and Short would have major problems in their interpretation and vision about what to do on 7 December, and both in essence would pursue their own ends without meaningful coordination. Yamamoto and his staff would not.

KNOWLEDGE OF JOB (UNDERSTANDING THE MISSION): YAMAMOTO

Yamamoto understood his mission and certainly planned well for it, but even he had a blind spot. He failed to realize the strategic necessity of destroying the oil and fuel storage tanks and the dry docks at Pearl Harbor. Had he done so, this catastrophic damage to the United States would have set it back for six months because most refueling and repairs would have had to be done at San Diego, California, and other stateside bases nearly 4,800 kilometers away. His not destroying the dry docks and fuel storage tanks allowed the U.S. fleet to refuel and repair at Pearl Harbor, greatly reducing the logistic, supply, and maintenance problems.

In all other aspects, Yamamoto's plan was almost flawless, and the technological advances in dive bombing, torpedo bombing, refueling, and using air power were brilliant. He and his staff expected to lose at least two aircraft carriers, and they lost none. The final outcome was successful beyond his wildest dream.

KNOWLEDGE OF JOB (UNDERSTANDING THE MISSION): KIMMEL

Kimmel was dedicated. He was obsessed with the physical part of his job, and he seemed to feel guilty if he were not on the job every minute of the day. As one staff officer commented, Kimmel spent more time and money on paint and polish than the Japanese spent on fuel. He devoted so much of his time to details that he left himself little time to think, to analyze relationships of events, or to see the bigger picture and grasp broad meanings. He left little room for the intangibles of command—intuition, flair—such

things that separate great leaders from merely competent ones.

When he received a warning message on 27 November that indicated that the Japanese were moving toward southeast Asia and that war might be imminent, he continued training. He failed to initiate long-range patrols; he failed to put up his submarine nets; he failed to take into account that the Japanese just might attack his ships in port. He suffered from the defects of his virtues. The very qualities that could have made him a real fighting admiral—physical courage, effectiveness, and offensive mind-set—worked against him in this situation, which called for dynamic defensive action.

KNOWLEDGE OF JOB (UNDERSTANDING THE MISSION): SHORT

Short did not understand that his mission was to defend the fleet—not Pearl Harbor—from attack, and he did not think much of air power. He frittered away some of his resources by using many pilots in non-flying jobs such as personnel, logistics, and communications. Because he was worried about sabotage, he sought to protect his airplanes by lining them up bumper-to-bumper, thus making them easy targets for the Japanese pilots. The planes were so vulnerable during the attack that most were destroyed before they could get off the ground—like bowling pins hit by a bowling ball. His understanding of radar was even worse. He failed to communicate with his men at the radar sites or to have his staff explain radar's proper use.

The first wave of Japanese planes was picked up on the radar screen approximately one hour before the attack at about 212 kilometers from Pearl Harbor. This sighting was reported to Short's operation center but never passed on to him. Failure to understand the mission and failure to understand the new technology were two of his most grievous errors.

ABILITY TO DELEGATE (CHOICE OF STAFF): YAMAMOTO

Although Yamamoto was the one person most responsible for conceiving the plan to attack Pearl

Harbor and using his dynamic personality and incontestable prestige to push it through to acceptance, its success depended upon the workings of his staff and the efforts of dozens of other people. Here Yamamoto was at his best. Choosing his people carefully, he assembled the cream of the Japanese Navy, and he delegated to this group the operation and minute planning of the whole operation. One cannot say that without this excellent staff he would have failed, but without them it would not have been the same. The best and brightest were assigned to the mission: the best brains and the best equipment, the *crème de la crème* of Japan. To these men Yamamoto gave his trust. He delegated and trusted them to come up with the plan and its implementation. Although he was consulted and made some input, they did the spade work.

Comdr. Minoru Genda was the foremost planner and Comdr. Mitsuo Fuchida the flight leader. Under them were superb staffs who led and were never micromanaged. They alone did the planning, organizing, and coordination of the attack. They worked in close harmony, spent hours rehearsing, took nothing for granted, and were readily accessible to each other. They were the major reason the attack was so successful.

ABILITY TO DELEGATE (CHOICE OF STAFF): SHORT

When Short assumed command, he waved aside a report prepared for him by his predecessor, Maj. Gen. Charles D. Heron, who later testified before the congressional committee investigating the attack that Short touched base with him over the defense plans but never asked him his opinion about the true threat. Short took the position that his job was to defend the island and that the fleet would take care of itself; he fell into the old rut as a training officer and worried more about disrupting his training than coordinating the defense of the island. His staff was afraid of him, and he often went into angry tirades when he was not happy. His staff was not of the caliber of Yamamoto's or even Kimmel's. Short seldom delegated and very seldom informed his staff of war plan changes. He used his staff daily to train. His intelligence officer

was a poor choice and did not even have a security clearance. In his office he had information, found after the attack, that, had he processed it properly, would have helped Short and perhaps even tipped him off that something was going to happen. This intelligence officer, Lt. Col. Kendall J. Fielder, was given the position not because he was good but solely because he was a friend of Short.

Instead of taking his chief of staff, Col. Walter C. Phillips, to meetings with him, Short took other friends. He seldom attended departmental meetings and did not have a good grasp of what his intelligence and operations officers were doing. He assumed that they were coordinating and getting the information from each other, but this was not the case, and they were often frustrated. There was little exchange of information among his staff members, and he dealt with each on a one-on-one basis. He attended staff meetings only when he thought that there were important matters to discuss and then did not stay long. Hence, there was a breakdown in communications between the staff and the commanding general that would prove costly.

ABILITY TO DELEGATE (CHOICE OF STAFF): KIMMEL

Kimmel acted just the opposite of Short. He conferred almost daily with his staff members, who never hesitated to tell him what they thought, although he did not listen to them at key times. For instance, a joint report by Rear Adm. Patrick N. L. Bellinger, commander of the naval air arm, and Maj. Gen. Frederik L. Martin, commander of the army air forces in Hawaii, predicted the attack and how the Japanese would execute it. A later report by Col. William E. Farthing, commander of Hickam Air Force Base, also predicted the attack and how it would possibly take place. Both reports placed the attack on a Sunday morning.

Kimmel's intelligence officers also warned him several times of the impending attack, but he ignored them. In addition to warnings that relations between Japan and the United States were about to break off, U.S. newspapers, some as early as 1931, had predicted war between the two countries and

discussed problems between them. The *Honolulu Star Bulletin News* predicted an attack one week before it actually happened.

Coordination between Kimmel's staff and Short's staff was almost nonexistent, and Kimmel failed to pass on to Short more than a dozen important messages that contained information that Short should have received. Kimmel never briefed and seldom talked to Adm. Claude Bloch, commander of the Fourteenth Naval District, who was responsible for the fleet's defense. The lines of communication between his air arm commander, Rear Adm. Patrick Bellinger, and Bloch, as well as between Martin and Bloch, were nonexistent. Short and Kimmel played golf together, but there was little coordination between the two. Yamamoto had none of these problems.

COMMUNICATION SKILLS: YAMAMOTO

When the charismatic Yamamoto spoke, the navy and the country listened. He and his staff were friendly and approachable. After the plan was formulated, it was clear and concise. All aspects, from maintenance to operations to logistics, were coordinated. Each group pilot and team practiced and knew what to do; in fact, if anything they practiced too long and too much and maybe underestimated potential outcomes and what they could do. The lines of command went from Yamamoto to Vice Adm. Chuichi Nagumo, the task force commander, to Fuchida, the leader of the attack, through Genda and the staff. The navy department in Tokyo and the ships at sea had no problem communicating, even though the ships maintained radio silence and their equipment was sealed so that they could not broadcast in the open. They communicated by means of searchlights and flags.

The planning, training, and logistics before the attack and the communications among the participants during the attack proceeded with few problems.

COMMUNICATION SKILLS: KIMMEL AND SHORT

Many of the problems for the U.S. fleet at Pearl Harbor revolved around communications coordination

and the failure of the leaders to communicate with and understand each other. The commanders failed to confer not only with each other but also with their senior officers. For example, the army had one code alert system, which went from one to three, “one” being full alert and “three” being sabotage alert. The navy had a system set up just the opposite, where “code one” meant sabotage and “code three” meant combat or full alert. The two arms were supposed to have the same codes, so people in Washington thought that when Short went on code three he was on full alert, not sabotage alert.

The leaders and staff in Washington assumed that Kimmel had all the information that they themselves had, and he, in turn, assumed that the leaders and staff in Washington knew what he was doing. In reality, neither was sure what the other intended or was doing.

Hence, Pearl Harbor for the United States was full of examples of failure to communicate: interpreting messages incorrectly, making incorrect assumptions about what the field commanders and staff knew, failing to follow up on orders, issuing too many classified messages, which then had to be declassified, having rigid procedures such as locking up ordnance on alert so that it would take a command order to get to the ammunition, being too complacent when on alert, fostering jealousy between the naval and air forces and between the army and navy, and failing to define authority and responsibility. Of all the characteristics of good leadership and command not exhibited at Pearl Harbor, failure to communicate, coordinate, and understand orders and procedures probably was the major reason for the U.S. failure.

THE VERDICT OF HISTORY

“Pearl Harbor never dies and no living person has seen the end of it.” So Admiral Kimmel’s lawyer told this writer some forty years ago. Never has anyone made a truer statement about Pearl Harbor. The arguments about who, what, when, and where at Pearl Harbor will probably go on ad infinitum. Yamamoto and his staff were extremely well organized. They planned, coordinated, managed, directed, and used the principles of war, such as concentration, objec-

tive, security, and surprise, better than their U.S. counterparts. Much of their success had to do with the nature of their government. In Japan’s monarchical system of government, Yamamoto had to answer only to two people: Prime Minister Hideki Tojo and Emperor Hirohito. Neither one ever challenged him: Tojo was afraid of him, and the emperor respected him. Yamamoto did not have to worry, as Kimmel and Short did, about the constraints of a democratic society. Perhaps it is not fair to judge them as equals, but among the characteristics and factors of leadership such as vision, communications, decision making, and general application of the principles of war, Japan was far ahead of the United States.

Yamamoto’s plan had one major flaw—it did not go far enough. Had he planned to destroy the dry docks and fuel dumps, he would have done far more damage. Nevertheless, from a tactical point of view it was still a huge success. From a strategic point of view, however, it was another story. He made a fatal miscalculation in attacking the United States because he awoke a sleeping giant. He had studied and lived in the United States, and he knew that he could not win a protracted war against a country so endowed in resources and technology, but he did it anyway. He gambled and lost. The tactics drove the strategy, and hence, although Pearl Harbor was a tactical victory for the Japanese, it was a strategic mistake. Despite this mistake, Yamamoto displayed all the characteristics that make a leader great; even though he lost in the end, he will go down in history as a winner because he was a great charismatic leader.

Kimmel and Short were good men but not good leaders. They lacked vision, charisma, and the ability to plan, coordinate, direct, and control. They made errors of omission and commission, and although they were not solely responsible for the failure to be ready for the attack on Pearl Harbor, they were unfortunately there. In the military the old axiom always holds true: The man in charge is the one who gets either the credit or the blame. Kimmel and Short were in charge, and they failed to produce. They and their staffs made mistake after mistake, from using reconnaissance poorly to lifting the protective submarine nets in the harbor, from misinterpreting messages to implementing a confusing alert system,

from keeping ammunition locked up in the armories to lining the planes up bumper to bumper and shooting down their own fighters and bombers. In the final analysis, on that Sunday morning of 7 December 1941, at dawn they slept.

—Donald M. Goldstein

See also D-Day; Military Leadership

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PERSONALITY AND GROUP ROLES

One way that leaders shape the organizational, societal, or political climate of their group is through their style of communication and interaction with other group members. The effectiveness of leaders has been determined by analyzing both the dispositional qualities of leaders and the situational factors that contribute to the creation of a great leader. The tendency of most research is to underestimate the extent to which specific situations promote evaluations of exceptional leadership. Instead, much of the research focuses on what is often termed the “great person” approach, that is, analyzing whether successful leaders share any personality characteristics. Therefore, any discussion of leadership warrants a discussion of personality.

Generally, personality refers to a person’s consistent temperament and interaction style, but not always. While personality is generally discussed in terms of traits (stable predispositions in behavior) there is a growing literature that discusses people’s motives (contextual drives) in relation to personality. Although the history of personality assessment focuses on fixed traits, in order to describe and explain human personality accurately, it is necessary to include a discussion of situational motives for behavior also.

Why is the discussion of personality motives as important as traits? Personality research reveals that although “great” leaders share similar personal characteristics, the findings are not as powerful as the great person approach might lead one to suspect. Leaders have been found to be more intelligent, more outgoing, and more dominant than followers, but the situation the leader confronts seems to be as important as his or her personal characteristics. Favorable situations for leadership occur when the leader has

considerable authority and a clear-cut task while simultaneously being situated in contexts where group members communicate well both with one another and with the leader.

Leaders are assigned a particular role in groups based on the formality of the situation. Formal leadership roles (for example, CEO of a corporation) are often designated prior to any group interaction. Therefore, persons in formal leadership positions systematically maintain power and status despite fluctuations in situational demands. Situational demands are more significant for small, leaderless groups convening in more informal settings. It is in these settings that individual personality characteristics can play a role in whether certain people emerge as the group leader. People may bid for the leadership role based on whether or not they were previously group leader, or group members may assign the leadership role to a person exhibiting personality characteristics, such as flexibility or fairness, deemed suitable for an informal leader who must adapt to the ever-changing climate of small-group decision making.

EARLY PERSONALITY RESEARCH

Psychologists are not the only ones to look at the puzzle of personality; in fact, personality differences have interested people across time. Both ancient philosophers and modern-day psychologists have attempted to formalize their conjectures into reliable and comprehensive systems predicting human behavior. Perhaps the earliest personality psychologists in the West were ancient Greek physicians such as Hippocrates and Galen, who distinguished between four different types of temperament. They linked these temperaments to the four elements—air, earth, fire, and water—and saw different fluids within the body as representative of the various temperaments. As science progressed, so did personality theories.

It was in 1930s that personality psychology defined itself as a separate field. At that time the psychologist Gordon Allport published his landmark text *Personality: A Psychological Interpretation*. Allport distinguished between levels of personality traits (that is, between surface characteristics and

core personality tendencies) in attempting to explain variations in personality.

Following in Allport's tradition, early personality theorists attempted to generate a taxonomy of personality based on adjectives describing human behavior. One of the first personality theories, Raymond Cattell's sixteen-factor theory (1950), focused on clusters of sixteen adjectives describing general surface characteristics. Believing that Cattell's theory was overly complex, later researchers pared down the taxonomy to as few as three to five traits. For example, in 1952, Hans Eysenck developed a three-factor theory that focused on paired oppositional central traits (for example, introversion and extroversion) and was similar in ways to the ancient four-factor model of Hippocrates and Galen.

Prompted by Walter Mischel in the late 1960s, researchers began to question the view of personality as a collection of inherent and stable traits. A new theoretical structure emerged that focused on situations as the determinants of behavior. A classic example of how situations can determine personality is the Stanford Prison Experiment. In 1971, Philip Zimbardo and his colleagues constructed a mock prison environment and arbitrarily assigned research participants to be either guards or inmates. What happened was astonishing. In a matter of days the guards assumed a sadistic, authoritarian demeanor, while the inmates succumbed to anger and depression. Although planned as a two-week experiment, it was cancelled after only 6 days. The prison experiment clearly illustrates the power that situational forces can have on one's disposition.

CONTEMPORARY PERSONALITY RESEARCH

In the 1960s and 1970s, the field of personality shifted its focus from research on discrete and unchanging personality types to incorporate perspectives that acknowledged the influence of culture and environment upon the individual. This development was achieved in part by focusing more prominently on personality in terms of group roles.

One result of this shift was socioanalytic theory, which integrates themes of psychoanalysis, sociological role theory, and evolutionary psychology.

Socioanalytic theory argues that people have come to survive more efficiently by living in small, hierarchical groups, and that within these groups, they seek fulfillment of two main goals, acceptance and status. In addition, socioanalytic research suggests that people's behaviors are influenced by the necessity to manage one's reputation in the service of these goals, which ultimately are rooted in the desire for reproductive success.

Another current area of research is known as social cognitive theory. It provides a sophisticated discussion of the integration of research on personality and group roles. The social cognitive approach to personality emphasizes the importance of cognitive processes in determining personality and behavior patterns. Sociocognitive theorists are interested in how a person's expectations, goals, and feelings of competence determine personality and behavior. Following in the tradition of Mischel, the social element of sociocognitive theory links person to environmental context.

From the late 1980s, personality research has increasingly relied on these interactionist perspectives. Although there is still a substantial reliance on trait taxonomies, the interactionist framework can be applied specifically to the study of groups and the individual roles that exist within them. One of the most well-known taxonomies, referred to as the "Big Five," considers personality as a confluence of five traits: extroversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, openness to experience, and neuroticism. Researchers often use the Big Five taxonomy to study how a particular trait functions within a specific group role. Although the Big Five model is sometimes criticized for its neglect of social and cultural influences, it has achieved wide recognition because of its cross-cultural applicability and similarity to the early personality models.

TWO APPROACHES TO STUDYING PERSONALITY IN GROUPS

Research on personality and group roles has led to examination of the ways that individuals operate within the social realm. There are two distinct approaches to studying personality in terms of group

roles. One approach examines whether certain personality types (for example, the extrovert) are suitable for certain group roles. The second approach examines how one's role in a group affects how others perceive one's personality.

Relation of Personality Types to Group Role

Psychologists have examined the relationship between individual personality and relationships within groups in three main ways—through an examination of the distinction between authoritarian and authoritative personality traits, through exploration of the Type A personality, and through examination of the bimodal types described in the Big Five taxonomy for particular group roles.

Authoritarian Personality Types

Research on the authoritarian personality began in 1941, when Erich Fromm composed the California F (*F* standing for fascist) scale to describe characteristics of the authoritarian personality. Later researchers refined descriptions of the authoritarian personality. With the authoritative personality at the opposite end of the spectrum, authoritarian personality types are described as having a behavioral tendency toward dominance and leadership, a preoccupation with achievement, and a tendency toward interpersonal conflict and verbal hostility. These personality characteristics drive authoritarian individuals to seek the leadership position within a group. Authoritarian personality types tend to be ethnocentric and to find self-esteem through loyalty to a cohesive "in-group." These types tend to seek membership in groups in which their personality characteristics are either prototypical or sought after, which results in their gaining power.

Type A Personality

Although research on the Type A personality was originally conducted to examine the increased risk of coronary heart disease incurred by people with that personality type, this line of research is also relevant for studies of organizational behavior. The Type A personality is described as being extremely competitive, achievement oriented, hostile, aggressive, and as exhibiting a sense of urgency through the use of



Personality and Group Roles

<i>Common Big Five Label</i>	<i>Common descriptions</i>
Extroversion (vs. Introversion)	gregarious assertive outgoing energetic dominant
Agreeableness (vs. Antagonism)	trustworthy straightforward compliant modest appreciative generous cooperative
Conscientiousness (vs. Lack of Direction)	competent orderly dutiful achievement-oriented self-disciplined organized efficient responsible
Neuroticism (vs. Emotional Stability)	anxious self-conscious impulsive temperamental tense
Openness (vs. Closedness) to Experience	active feeling imaginative clever ingenious intelligent

emphatic speech and certain psychomotor mannerisms. People with Type A personalities tend to be inclined to seek out highly active and competitive roles within a group setting (for example, they may choose to be stock brokers or corporate managers). People with Type A personalities tend to experience stress when lacking mental stimulation or physical activity. To relieve this stress and to construct a constant state of stimulation, they may attempt to elicit competitive reactions from others.

The Big Five Taxonomy

While often cited as more of a research taxonomy than an organizational tool, nonetheless an abun-

dance of research has been conducted on the Big Five personality traits within organizational or group settings. Of the five major personality traits, extroversion is the one most pertinent to leadership roles. Similar to the Type A personality, extroverted people tend to seek out situations of high activity and a great deal of interpersonal interaction. The core characteristics of extroverts (outgoingness, assertiveness) emerge during interpersonal interactions and group relationships. Dan McAdams describes extroverts involved in leaderless, task-oriented groups as more likely to initiate and engage in conversation and more often chosen for leadership roles by the other group members. It is not surprising that extroverted personality types are often successful in sales, management, and other leadership positions.

Other Big Five personality traits have also been correlated with predictable ways in which individuals interact in group settings. For example, conscientiousness has emerged as an indicator of competence and strong job performance. People who score high on openness tend to change careers more often in adulthood and perform better in job training programs. These trait-by-situation interactions may help researchers develop a nuanced understanding of the ways in which core personality traits relate to performance in various environments.

Effect of One's Role in the Group on Outward Manifestations of Personality

The structure of an organization often determines the roles played by its various members. For that reason, another line of personality research examines the group dynamic as the determining force in the outward manifestation of personality. It suggests that one's placement within a group contributes to one's attitude and subsequent behavior. The scholar Rosabeth Kanter has delineated three structural factors: opportunity, proportion, and power, which work to determine an individual's role within a group structure.

Opportunity refers to one's possibility for mobility and growth within a particular group. People high in opportunity have the potential to rise upward through the organizational ranks of a group. Upward

mobility is marked by an increase in personal status and facilitates access to the group's limited resources. People who find themselves in positions that offer a good amount of opportunity may adopt attitudes of competitiveness, openness to learning, and commitment to the group. In other words, one's level of opportunity affects the expression of core personality traits, and to observers also implies possession of a particular personality.

Proportion is the ratio of different types of people within a group—for example, between a minority group and the majority group—and the relationships among those types. The dynamic created by skewed group ratios has a powerful influence on an individual's personality within the group setting. Those who find themselves in a minority or token position often experience considerable pressure to conform to the stereotype that the majority, or dominant group, has created. Kanter describes role encapsulation, a process through which minorities are encouraged to limit shows of competence and resist challenging prevailing norms. Many people respond to such pressures with conservative behaviors, which might inhibit their upward mobility within the group. In such a case, one can imagine how a person who was rated as a stable personality type might be perceived as neurotic (or unstable) when put in the position of a token.

Finally, power is an obvious determinant of behavior within a group structure. People possessing more power have greater access to resources, perform less-routine tasks, and are perceived as more important to the group. Power can influence personality in a variety of ways. It can have a negative effect (for example, leading a person to become condescending, paternalistic, or overly controlling), but can also lead to feelings of security and high self-esteem.

PERSONALITY ASSESSMENT IN ORGANIZATIONAL SETTINGS

Of the different approaches to leadership, the trait perspective or personality approach is most commonly associated with determining one's advancement within an organization. Personality measures have been widely used in the selection and develop-

ment of employees, although their use has waned since the 1960s and 1970s when it was asserted that personality measures are not always predictive of employee success.

The Myers-Briggs type indicator (MBTI) is the most widely used personality assessment tool in North American society. According to the Center for the Applications of Psychological Type, the company that holds rights to the MBTI, it is administered to nearly 2 million people in the United States each year. Since 1975, the instrument has been used by many organizations searching for the best candidates for advancement or admission.

The MBTI groups people into sixteen different personality types along four bipolar dimensions: extroversion-introversion, sensate-intuitive, thinking-feeling, and judging-perceiving. A person arrives at his or her type by translating his or her score on the questionnaire into one of the sixteen types describing their "conscious orientation." For example, a person scoring high on extroversion, intuitiveness, thinking, and judging (ENTJ) would be described as "assertive, outspoken, and driven to lead." Persons scored as ISTJ, ISFJ, ESFP, and ESFJ are described as cooperative and loyal group members, while persons scored as INTJ, ENFJ, and ENTJ are described as excellent leaders.

Although research often describes certain personalities as being more successful in the leader or follower role, some researchers assert that each job probably requires a mix of different traits specific to that particular job. Therefore, it is better for organizations to compile a composite of traits optimal for each job rather than relying on generalized descriptions of what makes a great leader.

It has been argued that leadership should not be determined exclusively on the basis of productive outcomes, but group processes as well. If leadership was contingent upon outcomes alone, personality might be a suitable measure of leadership potential. But leaders also strive to demonstrate competence, accept accountability for their actions, and satisfy other group members' expectations within group interactions. In fact, in his description of three general leadership styles (autocratic, which is task oriented; democratic, which is both task oriented and

socially focused; and laissez-faire, which offers little direction), Kurt Lewin determined that a democratic leadership style procured the most successful results in terms of both task accomplishment and group member satisfaction.

NEW DIRECTIONS

Contemporary personality research acknowledges that people's personalities are multifaceted, richly contextualized, and not reducible to a few static descriptive categories. The research to date highlights the importance of the ongoing interaction between personality traits and the context in which they are expressed. Group communication is a bidirectional, dynamic process: An individual's personality both affects and is affected by the group.

How can organizations and leaders learn from personality research? It is important to note that people sometimes vary in personality typology across different personality instruments and across time and context. If organizations and institutions use personality tests in their search for the best job candidate or leader, the dynamic aspect of personality should also be taken into consideration. Universal personality measures have yet to capture the context-specific nature of personality, so organizations will benefit from using a variety of criteria to assess leadership potential. If organizations seek the best leader for the specific task rather than clinging to assumptions that people with particular traits always make the best leaders, they are likely to experience improved productivity, satisfaction, and group commitment.

—*Jamie L. Franco and Greg Reaume*

See also Group Cohesiveness; Group Norms; Group Process; Groupthink

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PHILLIPS, SAM (1923–2003)

U.S. record producer

Sam Phillips was one of the leaders of twentieth-century cultural change in the United States. Phillips was the founder of Memphis Recording Service in 1950. That service produced Sun Records, which included the first records of some of the legendary figures in rock-and-roll history. Among the recording artists discovered by Sam Phillips were Howlin' Wolf, B. B. King, Johnny Cash, Roy Orbison, Carl

Perkins, Jerry Lee Lewis, Charlie Rich, and, most notably perhaps, Elvis Presley. For many years people interested in the history of rock and roll and the rise of Elvis Presley called Phillips to talk about Presley. In recent years people realized the tremendous influence of Phillips in developing not only Presley but also many other artists. Then the calls were about Phillips, not Presley.

Samuel Cornelius Phillips was born in Florence, Alabama. He was the youngest of eight children. His father's farm failed during the Depression, and Sam picked cotton and worked in a grocery store and funeral parlor to help the family survive. From his earliest years Sam loved music, the music he heard in nearby black churches and the music he heard in the cotton fields. Much of it was the music of the poor. "There were two types of downtrodden people back then . . . black field hands and white sharecroppers" (Guralnick 2000). As a child Sam listened to their blues, their gospel, and their country music. As he grew older, his interest in music grew deeper. He played the sousaphone, trombone, and drums in high school and led a seventy-two-piece marching band. During those years he developed an interest in sharing the music he felt so privileged to hear. The result was radio. "I was in love with sound, and in love with radio" (Guralnick 2000). While still in high school he worked as a disc jockey in a small 250-watt station in nearby Muscle Shoals, Alabama. Shortly after high school, in 1942, he married Rebecca Burns. They had two sons. To support his family, Phillips struck out to work for radio stations in Nashville and other southern towns until, at age twenty-three, at the end of World War II, he moved to Memphis. There he became an announcer on radio station WREC, where he worked for more than six years.

His interest in broadcasting music shifted toward an interest in producing music. He felt that the undiscovered music of his early years should be recorded and shared. He also developed the distinctive vision that marked his entire career. That vision was to have people of different races hear and appreciate each other's music. In particular Phillips wanted the majority white culture to hear and integrate the music of African-Americans, the music of his youth, heard years before in black churches and cotton fields. "It

was a secret assault on a racist system—the realization of a true sense of democracy, something very much against the mores of the time and place they lived" (Guralnick, cited in Halbfinger 2003, A10). In 1949, with a performer at WREC, Buck Turner, Phillips leased a small storefront at 706 Union Avenue and installed recording equipment. In 1950, at the age of twenty-seven, Phillips opened the Memphis Recording Service there. Its motto was "We record anything—anywhere—anytime." Because the new studio was clearly a financial risk, Phillips held on to his job at WREC. The stress of the two jobs took a toll on Phillips. He suffered a nervous breakdown and was treated with electroshock therapy. Shortly thereafter he bet his future on the recording service and left WREC. He put all his considerable drive into producing music.

"ROCKET 88"

The first artists whom Phillips recorded were black. Initially he produced the records at the Memphis studio and then sold the rights to larger companies such as Chess and RPM. One of the songs that Phillips produced in Memphis and sold to Chess is regarded by many as the first rock-and-roll hit record, Jackie Brenston's "Rocket 88." It became number one on rhythm-and-blues charts. After some time and a few rights disputes with the larger labels, Sam Phillips decided to create his own label, and in 1952 he began Sun Records. He didn't want to be the farm team for the major league record companies and let them profit from his creations. In the early Sun years, Phillips recorded some influential artists, including B. B. King, and he arranged to have a group called "the Prisonaires" transported from a penitentiary in Nashville to record a haunting song called "Walking in the Rain," which became a big hit a few years later for a white singer, Johnny Ray. Although Phillips had some modest successes, he was not making the financial or cultural breakthrough that he envisioned. What he did do was develop a distinctive Sun style. He took firm control in the studio and produced records that had rhythm, a strong bass line, and sensual vocals. At some point, Phillips began to imagine that perhaps the best way to integrate rhythm and

blues, country and western, and what came to be known as “rockabilly” was to find a white artist who could convey a black sound.

In 1953, Elvis Presley had just graduated from high school and came by Memphis Recording Service during the summer to make, he said, a birthday record for his mother. Because his mother’s birthday wasn’t until the spring, it’s likely that Presley wanted to hear himself on record and maybe attract some attention at Sun. When Presley came by, Phillips was out of the office, and the recording was handled by his secretary, Marian Kiesker. She noted Presley’s name on an index card and jotted “good ballad singer.” Presley came by the studio several more times in the next year, asking if there was anything he might perform. In the summer of 1954, Sam Phillips was looking for someone who might record some songs with a local guitarist, Scotty Moore, and a bass player, Bill Black. Marian Kiesker asked Phillips, “How about the kid with the sideburns?” Phillips took her advice and invited Presley to an evening recording session with Moore and Black. During a break Presley picked up his rhythm guitar and started singing a fast and energetic version of Arthur Crudup’s blues song, “That’s All Right.” Moore and Black quickly joined in. When Phillips asked the trio what were doing, they said they didn’t know. He told them to keep doing it. In short order, they had made what they were sure was a hit record.

Because records had to have a song on each side, the trio needed to find a number for the “B side.” Phillips chose a country-and-western song written by Bill Monroe, “Blue Moon of Kentucky.” Presley, Moore, and Black recorded the song in a distinctive upbeat “rockabilly” style that complemented the feel of “That’s All Right.” Phillips was aware that a record with rhythm and blues on one side and country and western on the other would break new ground. That was precisely his vision. Phillips liked to say, “If you’re not doing anything different, you’re not doing anything.” Now young people, looking for something new, and something uniquely their own, would get a record that clearly had black roots on one side and white roots on the other, both performed in the manner that helped define rock and roll. Sam signed Elvis to a Sun Records contract

almost immediately, but in late 1955 he sold the contract to RCA records for \$35,000. Although many people have said that this was a bad deal for Phillips, he consistently defended the sale as the right move at the time. He would have been unable to properly market and distribute Presley’s records, and he needed the cash. Interestingly, with the cash Phillips attempted to further break the boundaries of traditional music and traditional radio. He tried to establish an all-black, twenty-four-hour radio station in Memphis but was blocked by the political establishment. However, he did manage to create the first all-female radio station in Memphis, WHER.

“THE MILLION DOLLAR QUARTET”

At the same time, Phillips began recording other artists while trying to contribute to the new music that Sun Records and other studios were creating. Phillips was interested in having these artists sound like themselves but also perform in the distinctive Sun style. The songs they produced for Phillips and Sun were legendary: “I Walk the Line” and “Folsom Prison Blues” by Johnny Cash, “Blue Suede Shoes” by Carl Perkins, and “Whole Lotta Shakin’ Going On” and “Great Balls of Fire” by Jerry Lee Lewis. One of the most memorable records produced at Sun involved those three artists and Presley. In late 1956, after Presley had sold more than 30 million singles and made his first movie, *Love Me Tender*, he drove by the Sun studio when Carl Perkins was working on some songs to follow “Blue Suede Shoes.” Presley, Perkins, and Jerry Lee Lewis started playing around, spontaneously singing songs from their common southern background, mostly gospel numbers. Phillips knew that this was a rare moment that should be captured on tape. He turned on the recording equipment and made the album “The Million Dollar Quartet.” (Johnny Cash is pictured on the album cover with the others but was not actually present when the others sang.) The album is a compelling mixture of talk and song, with music from several traditions.

Phillips left 706 Union Avenue in the early 1960s and set up a new studio. It never produced the likes of the early Sun records. Fortunately, the Union

Avenue building was rescued and restored as a national historic landmark. Phillips continued to pioneer new sounds, and although he never made a great deal of money in the recording business, as one of the first investors in the Memphis-based Holiday Inn hotel chain, he was financially secure.

Sam Phillips died at his home in Memphis in 2003. He had a driving vision of reaching a wide segment of the U.S. population with a kind of music that expresses life's basic emotions, a kind of music that appeals to youth, and a kind of music that acknowledges, brings together, and celebrates the many strands of music that a diverse country has developed. He remained true to that vision not only in identifying artists but also in trying to produce their sounds as freshly and authentically as he could. The music that Sam Phillips helped create changed the world. Rock and roll is here to stay. Perhaps rock and roll and Elvis Presley might have happened without Sam Phillips, but he was one of the most central figures in their development.

—George R. Goethals

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PHILOSOPHY

The word *philosophy*, from the Greek *filosophia*, means “love of wisdom” and, in Hellenistic (Greek) Judaism and Gnosticism (the early Christian view that knowledge is necessary for salvation), “love of the spirit of wisdom, Sophia.” As an academic discipline, philosophy is the pursuit of any of several

main areas of study: metaphysics, epistemology, logic, aesthetics, and ethics. Metaphysics considers the nature of reality; epistemology, the nature of truth and knowledge; logic, the nature of reasoning; aesthetics, the nature of beauty; and ethics, the nature of the good and the right. Philosophy also encompasses topics of inquiry both within and across these areas, including philosophy of mind, philosophy of science, philosophy of language, the history of philosophy, and social, political, and legal philosophy.

Although each of the main areas of study and their related topics come to bear on the study and exercise of leadership (not least of all epistemology, ethics, and logic or critical thinking), perhaps none is more relevant for an understanding of both leadership and the influence of philosophers on leaders than historical work in social and political philosophy. Categorized within the main area of ethics, social and political philosophy wrestles with questions about the proper organization of the collective. Given that leadership is a social or political relationship between people, one can trace the origins of the philosophical study of this relationship to social and political philosophy. Both philosophers and leadership scholars ask what kinds of relationships between people best meet their needs for security and cooperation or, more strongly, help them to lead good lives.

Historically, philosophers preoccupied with answering this question have thus had ample occasion to address leadership issues. For example, in his dialogue *Republic*, the Greek philosopher Plato (428–348 BCE) defends a strict division of the labor of leadership, arguing that only an elite class of philosophers is fit to rule. In many ways, then, the social and political philosophy found in the *Republic* assumes an integration of all the main areas of philosophy for the study and exercise of leadership. Leadership essentially requires coming to terms with the nature of reality, appreciating people's sometimes limited access to it, exercising good reason, and grasping ideals such as beauty and justice.

PHILOSOPHERS AND LEADERS

Many social and political philosophers have influenced—or, more accurately, attempted to influence—

leaders. Plato visited the tyrant Dionysius I of Syracuse in 388–387 BCE, and at the request of Dionysius' cousin Dion, Plato returned to Sicily in 367 BCE to instruct Dionysius II. Neither trip was at all successful. Plato nevertheless established his academy as “a training-ground for rulers, not only maintaining a particular political theory, but also furnishing practical guidance to such of its members who had attained to political power” (Wormell as cited in Plato 1987, xx). The Greek philosopher Aristotle (384–322 BCE), Plato's most famous student, was likewise tutor to the Macedonian king Alexander the Great, but scholars have little knowledge of any real impact the philosopher might have had on Alexander's leadership.

During the Renaissance, the Italian political philosopher Niccolò Machiavelli's (1469–1527) motivation for writing his book *The Prince*, in part at least, was to endear himself to the Medici regime, which had come to power after the dissolution of the republic of Florence in 1512. Machiavelli, who had been secretary of the second *cancellaria* (chancery) of the city for fourteen years, puts it this way in his “Letter to Francesco Vettori”: “I have made notes of what seem to me the most important things I have learned . . . and written a little book *On principdoms* . . . [A] ruler, especially a new ruler, ought to be delighted by it” (Machiavelli 2001b, 420). During the seventeenth century, the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) wrote his book *Leviathan* as a defense of absolute sovereignty in the “hope that the arguments in the book might have some effect upon the outcome” of the English Civil War (Hobbes 1991, xi). Yet, the book's more liberal elements, specifically the grounding of political legitimacy in the consent of the governed, led to Hobbes's exclusion from the court of King Charles II upon the publication of this work in 1651.

For better and sometimes for worse, philosophers are not always ineffectual political advisors. This is especially true when one considers their influence over time. One should not, for instance, underestimate the influence of Aristotle on the Catholic church, primarily through the work of the Italian philosopher Thomas Aquinas (1224?–1274), or ignore the fact that, in the eighteenth century, the

English philosopher John Locke's (1632–1704) words of a hundred years prior made prominent appearance in the Declaration of Independence of the United States. Nor should one overlook the negative influence that philosophers have had on political leadership. During the twentieth century, for example, the German Nazis followed the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) in rejecting a morality of compassion and created their own version of the Nietzschean *Übermensch* (superman), a leader who would help the German people transcend the values of what Nietzsche called “slave morality.”

Fortunately, this more dangerous kind of philosophical influence has been relatively uncommon, in large part because dictators rarely have much patience for abstract ideas. According to philosopher Jonathan Glover, the Soviet leader Joseph Stalin (1879–1953)

appointed the philosopher Jan Sten to be his tutor. Sten must have thought that he had a chance of influence not given to any philosopher since Aristotle taught Alexander the Great. He drew up a programme to teach Stalin about [the philosophers] Kant, Hegel, Fichte, Schelling, Feuerbach, Plekhanov, Kautsky and F. H. Bradley. In the tutorials, Stalin sometimes asked questions like “What's all this got to do with the class struggle?” or “Who uses all this rubbish in practice?” (Glover 1999, 279)

Martin Heidegger (1889–1976), who joined the Nazi Party in 1933, was even less successful than was Sten. Heidegger had wanted “to lead the Leader” but, despite being perhaps the most famous philosopher in Germany, he was unable get a single meeting with German Nazi leader Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) (Glover 1999, 368). One can only speculate, of course, as to whether a little more philosophy would have done both Stalin and Hitler some good.

PHILOSOPHICAL PRECEDENTS TO LEADERSHIP THEORY: TRAITS AND CONTINGENCY

The trait approach to leadership, which was popular in leadership studies until the mid-twentieth century, holds that “leaders are not like other people” (Kirkpatrick and Locke 1991, 59). Like other contemporary

approaches to leadership, this approach can be understood as an intellectual descendent of standard views in social and political philosophy. For example, on the basis of Plato's claim that the philosopher-king is "fitted by nature both to engage in philosophy and to rule in a city, while the rest are naturally fitted to leave philosophy alone and follow their leader" (Plato 1992, 149 [474c]), the *Republic* has traditionally been read as a clear endorsement of the trait approach. On this reading, the justification for leadership turns on the fact that leaders—unlike followers—are "by nature good at remembering, quick to learn, high-minded, graceful, and a friend and relative of truth, justice, courage, and moderation" (Plato 1992, 161 [487a]).

Despite the common identification of trait approaches with the "great man" view of leadership—the idea that leadership should be reserved for great men—Plato's argument does not imply that men, but not women, should be leaders. In fact, in Plato's discussion of the role of women in the republic, he concludes that "if it's apparent that they differ only in this respect, that the females bear children while the males beget them, we'll say that there has been no kind of proof that women are different from men with respect to what we're talking about, and we'll continue to believe that our guardians and their wives must have the same way of life" (Plato 1992, 128 [454d]). In other words, because only some natural differences are relevant to the exercise of leadership, women should not be excluded from these positions simply on the grounds that they differ from men in other, irrelevant respects.

Recognition of the contingencies of leadership eventually undermined the ascendancy of the trait approach to leadership. As one leadership scholar puts it, "The persistence of individual patterns of human behavior in the face of constant situational change appears to be a primary obstacle encountered not only in the practice of leadership, but in the selection and placement of leaders" (Stogdill 1948, 65). However, the contingency approach to leadership finds much earlier philosophical expression in Aristotle's *Politics*. Although Aristotle shows some commitment to the trait approach, suggesting that "when there happens to be someone who is superior

He who knows not and knows not he knows not: he is a fool—shun him.

He who knows not and knows he knows not: he is simple—teach him.

He who knows and knows not he knows: he is asleep—wake him.

He who knows and knows he knows: he is wise—follow him.

—Arabian proverb

in virtue . . . everyone [should] obey such a person gladly" (Aristotle 2001, 331 [1284b28–33]), he concedes that the appropriate constitution for a city-state will depend upon whether there are individuals who can make this kind of contribution for the common benefit. In the end, the appropriateness of kingship, as well as the other "correct" constitutions (aristocracy and polity), is contingent upon the makeup of the city-state itself.

In Machiavelli's *The Prince* and especially in his *Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titius Livius*, one finds even greater appreciation for the contingencies of leadership. Some of the behavioral contingency he advocates for leaders in *The Prince*, however, is straightforward "moral" contingency. Machiavelli writes,

And it must be understood that a ruler, and especially a new ruler, cannot always act in ways that are considered good because, in order to maintain his power, he is often forced to act treacherously, ruthlessly or inhumanely. . . . Hence, he must be prepared to vary his conduct as the winds of fortune and changing circumstances constrain him and . . . not deviate from right conduct if possible, but be capable of entering upon the path of wrongdoing when this becomes necessary. (Machiavelli 1988, 62)

For princes, though, even the form of "bestly" behavior required will depend on the situation: "One needs, then, to be a fox to recognise traps, and a lion to frighten away wolves. Those who rely merely upon a lion's strength do not understand matters" (Machiavelli 1988, 61).

Machiavelli further defends behavioral contingency

with respect to leadership styles in his *Discourses*, arguing that “whether men have good or bad fortune depends on whether they adjust their style of behavior to suit the times” (Machiavelli 2001a, 486). However, in this work he is certainly less optimistic about the behavioral flexibility of leaders than are many contemporary leadership scholars, excluding contingency theorists such as Fred Feidler. Machiavelli claims that “someone who is used to proceeding in a particular way will never change . . . , so it is inevitable that when the times change and become unsuitable for his particular style, he will be ruined” (Machiavelli 2001a, 486–487). Leaders are unable to change their styles, he thinks, because they are largely constrained by their own natures and inclined to adhere strictly to styles that were successful in the past. For this reason, Machiavelli prefers republics to monarchies, the former being made up of people with a variety of characters.

PHILOSOPHICAL PRECEDENTS TO LEADERSHIP THEORY: TRANSACTION, TRANSFORMATION, AND PARTICIPATION

From organizational psychologist E. P. Hollander in the 1950s to current advocates of leader-member exchange theory, many contemporary leadership scholars understand the relationship between leaders and followers in terms of a series of transactions or bargains. In social and political philosophy, this approach to leadership is well represented in the social contract tradition. For instance, according to Hobbes and Locke, leadership is based on the consent of the governed, which is offered in exchange for goods such as peace and security or the preservation of property, respectively. Political leadership is justified, then, only when it secures these goods for followers. As Hobbes puts it in a section of *Leviathan* called “Of the Liberty of Subjects,” “The Obligation of Subjects to the Sovereign, is understood to last as long, and no longer, than the power lasteth, by which he is able to protect them” (Hobbes 1991, 153), and Locke puts forward the stricter condition in his *Two Treatises of Government* that “the power of the Society, or *Legislative* constituted by them, *can never be suppos’d to extend farther than the common good*” (Locke 1988, 353).

In his 1978 book *Leadership*, James MacGregor Burns criticizes transactional approaches to leadership on the grounds that they do not go beyond the individual purposes that people bring to the bargaining process and the collective effort needed to meet these purposes. In place of transactional approaches, Burns advocates a transformational approach to leadership, one that draws on genuine collective purposes in an effort to raise leaders and followers “to higher levels of motivation and morality” (Burns 1978, 20). Here, Burns is certainly in good philosophical company. Aristotle’s *Politics* similarly defends the view that social and political life should not only “facilitate exchange and mutual assistance” (Aristotle 2001, 326), but also help people to live good lives. In the work of the Swiss philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), however, one finds an explicit appeal to the notion of transformation. Rousseau writes of the legislator,

He who dares to undertake the making of a people’s institutions ought to feel himself capable, so to speak, of changing human nature, of transforming each individual, who is by himself a complete and solitary whole, into part of a greater whole from which he in a manner receives his life and being; of altering man’s constitution for the purpose of strengthening it; and of substituting a partial and moral existence for the physical and independent existence nature has conferred on us all. (Rousseau 1973, 214)

For Rousseau, this transformation ultimately demands the active participation of citizens in government. Through direct involvement in the decision-making process, they attain a kind of moral liberty in the civil state, “which alone makes [them] truly master of [themselves]” (Rousseau 1973, 196). Such an understanding of the value of participation implies that “sovereignty . . . cannot be represented; it lies essentially in the general will” (Rousseau 1973, 266). In marked contrast, contemporary participatory approaches to leadership focus on the instrumental value of follower participation, specifically, on using it as a means to “higher decision quality . . . and more development of follower decision skills” (Yukl 2002, 83). In this respect, their understanding of the value of participation is much closer to the English philoso-

pher John Stuart Mill's (1806–1873) argument that leaders cannot “be at all times informed correctly, in considerable detail” and that excluding followers from the decision-making process impedes “development [of] . . . their thinking or active faculties” (Mill 1991, 56–57). Most contemporary accounts, however, stop well short of advocating the more robust Millian claim that when followers are denied participation, “their moral capacities are equally stunted” (Mill 1991, 58).

GENERAL ASSESSMENT

One should be careful not to overestimate the impact of the discipline of philosophy on the study of leadership. As compared to social scientific disciplines such as psychology, its direct influence has been quite limited. Indeed, one might more accurately say that the immediate effect of philosophy on leadership studies has been about as great as that of philosophers on leaders. The literature rarely makes explicit even relatively straightforward conceptual connections between social and political philosophy and leadership theory. These omissions are partly due to the fact that much of philosophy works at a high level of abstraction, which precludes easy application of the discipline to concrete organizational problems. Still, the philosophical approach to leadership, especially in its many historical incarnations, arguably has much to contribute to the understanding and exercise of leadership. By giving precise, well-reasoned articulations of the basic alternatives for social and political organization, philosophy lays the groundwork for the way people think about leaders and leadership.

—Terry Price

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PICASSO, PABLO (1881–1973)

Spanish artist

In 1916, at thirty-five years old, Pablo Ruiz Picasso compared himself with a tenor who reaches a note



Picasso at work at his home in southern France in October 1950. He is working on both paintings and ceramics and exploring the use of nontraditional materials such as shovels and bicycle handles.

Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

higher than the one written in the score (Podoksik 1996, 19). His self-assessment, while unabashedly boastful, serves as a fitting metaphor for the magnitude of his influence on both modern and contemporary art. Picasso felt constrained by the aesthetic conventions of the classical tradition, and he eventually rebelled against them, creating highly original styles and techniques that better captured the confusion and alienation we now associate with the twentieth century. Through his multifaceted contributions in the media of painting, sculpture, graphics, and collage, Picasso is largely responsible for forming our visual perceptions of our modern, technologically advanced world.

Born 25 October 1881 in Málaga, Spain, Picasso was a prodigy who could draw before he could speak. “My first drawings could never have been shown at an exhibition of children’s drawings,” he

wrote. “I lacked the clumsiness of a child, his naivety. I made academic drawings at the age of seven, the minute precision of which frightened me” (Walther 1993, 8). His parents recognized their son’s talents and encouraged him in his artistic ambitions. He received his formal training first from his father, who was an art teacher at the School of Fine Arts in La Coruña (1892–1895), and later at “La Lonja” school of art in Barcelona (1895–1897) and the Academy of San Fernando in Madrid (1897–1898). During these formative years he rapidly mastered the painting techniques of the ancient and Spanish masters, astonishing his teachers with phenomenal accuracy. Picasso would soon cast off the traditional painting techniques he perfected during these early years, but he would later return to them, rearranging and mixing traditional techniques with his own aesthetic innovations.

The young painter first traveled to Paris in 1900 where he admired and studied works by the Impressionists, most notably Paul Cézanne, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, and Pierre Bonnard. While living there, he frequented Parisian cafés and clubs, scenes of which frequently became the subject matter of his works. For a brief time, he painted decorative, lively representations of Paris night life. But after the suicide of painter and close friend Carlos Casagemas, a fellow Spaniard with whom he had shared his studio, Picasso’s paintings shifted in mood from gaiety to melancholy. “The Absinthe Drinker” (1901), which portrays a lonely woman sitting in a café with her glass of green absinth, marks the beginning of this shift. While still honoring the Impressionist fascination with bright, festive color, the absinth drinker is strikingly somber, underscoring life’s more tragic dimensions. “The Burial of Casagemas,” painted the same year, marks Picasso’s entrance into the Blue Period (1901–1904), a time in which poverty, death, and suffering became central themes. The figures represented are desperate and often pathetic, and were painted almost exclusively in varying shades of blue and green.

Picasso would return to Spain for brief spells when his money ran out, but he never stayed away from Paris for long. The city was, at the time, the most cosmopolitan art center in Europe. Here,

Picasso had the freedom to forge his identity as a painter. In May 1904, he moved to a dilapidated tenement in the Montmartre district of Paris known as the Bateau-Lavoir. It was here that Picasso met his first long-term mistress, Fernande Olivier, whose companionship improved his mental state considerably and who served as a catalyst for his stylistic shift into the Rose Period (1904–1906). During this time, he became fascinated with acrobats, harlequins, and other circus folk, and portrayed these enchanting, marginal figures in rose-colored shades and with remarkable classical perfection.

The Rose Period marked Picasso's first commercial successes, and it was also a time in which he became an integral part of bohemian café life, participating regularly in stimulating intellectual discussions with fellow artists and writers. He soon began hosting these groups on a daily basis in his atelier, where creative figures from other fields, such as the poets Guillaume Apollinaire, André Salmon, and Max Jakob, and the mathematician Maurice Princet, discussed literature, art, and politics, and related these subjects to the current developments in science and technology. The group, known as *la bande à Picasso*, became the core of the French avant-garde, and served as inspiration for Picasso's revolutionary methods in painting, sculpture, and collage.

During the summer of 1907, Picasso seriously offended the sensitivities of the Parisian art world with "Les Femmes d'Alger (O. J.)," a work that, once accepted, drastically altered the direction of twentieth-century painting. The painting represents five prostitutes in a bordello, each of whom is composed of thoroughly diverse elements. Far from beautiful, these figures are represented through the use of geometrical planes and angles that superimpose their own laws onto the women's natural proportions. While united by a general geometrical principle, the figures obey contradictory aesthetic principles that give the effect of visual dissonance. One woman's face, for example, is comprised of red and green parallel lines, whereas another face is represented by a distorted mask reminiscent of African art. Some of the bodies and heads are deformed, and in one case, the observer views the front and backside of a woman simultaneously. The women's forms meld into the

painting's background, which is also full of angular, crag-like shapes, an effect that suggests spatial disorientation. With this painting, Picasso flouted the traditional idealizations of feminine beauty, and simultaneously rejected the aesthetic values upon which the entire tradition of Western Art had been based. *Les Femmes d'Alger (O. J.)* is considered to be the first cubist painting created before Cubism as a movement was established.

Late in 1907, Picasso met the artist Georges Braque. Their discussions and experimentation gave way to Cubism, a movement that revolutionized painting by marking the end of a continuous development in Western art. By representing three-dimensional objects through fragmented planes and overlapping, interpenetrating forms, the Cubists were able to depict objects from different vantage points. This was a revolutionary break from the traditional Renaissance perspective in which the viewer is offered one vantage point. Picasso continued to develop the Cubist technique for ten years, creating landscapes, still life paintings, and portraits, and often combining these forms. His most famous Cubist paintings are his portraits of women, often representations of a beloved wife or mistress, in which the front and profile can be viewed simultaneously. Picasso's introduction of Cubism into the vocabulary of the twentieth century was a radical break from the classical tradition. Later, the painter reintroduced classicism into his painting repertoire, allowing for an even broader, more dramatic scope of expression.

Between 1937 and 1945, Picasso again astounded the art world by creating powerful works that captured on an abstract level the suffering and horror of war. His most famous painting of this period is *Guernica*, painted in 1937, a massive black and white oil on canvas dedicated to the small village that was bombed by German and Spanish fascists. In this work the painter expresses his own personal horror at the events of the attack, as opposed to giving a precise, eyewitness account. While Picasso continued to paint war paintings and commentaries about fascism following *Guernica*, this work, in particular, has become part of the collective consciousness of the twentieth century.

By the end of World War II, Picasso had become world renowned and tremendously successful. Until

his death in 1973, he continued to create works of a personal and political nature, many of which chronicle in abstract fashion his relationships with the most important women in his life. The most versatile of twentieth-century artists, Picasso has left behind an immense body of work that also includes sculpture, collage, ceramics, drawing, and printmaking. His aesthetic innovations and expressive power are evident in all these media, and have greatly influenced our visual perceptions of the twentieth century.

—*Sydney Jane Norton*

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PLATO (c. 428–c. 348 BCE) *Greek philosopher*

While volumes have been written about Plato's politics, little research has focused on his views of leadership and the education of leaders. Yet Plato's work is important to leadership studies because his observations of leaders provide scholars with some of the timeless themes and questions that inform the field today, such as: What are the qualities of good leaders? What is the best way to develop competent and moral leaders? And what is the best kind of leadership? Moreover, when Plato wrote about leadership, he drew on his own experiences with leaders, and his dialogues and letters reflect those experiences.

EARLY YEARS

Plato was born in 428/427 BCE to one of the most distinguished political families in Athens. The family of

his father, Ariston, extended back to the old kings of Athens and, according to myth, to the god Poseidon. Plato's father died when he was young and his mother married her uncle Pyrilampes, who was a key political figure in Athens. Less is known about Plato's mother Perictione's side of the family; however, her family appears to be equally distinguished. Plato's maternal grandfather, Dropides, was archon (chief magistrate) of Athens in 644 BCE and a close friend of the great lawmaker Solon. Plato's family grew up under the traditions of Solon, which emphasized public service. While Plato believed that philosophers' greatest happiness came from a serene life contemplating truth, he said that philosophers had an obligation to sacrifice this reclusive life to serve others as statesmen or legislators. It is likely that Plato, like all young men in his time, served in the military, but he never held a political position in Athens. Plato lived to be eighty-one; he never married. He died in 348/347 BCE.

Plato was strongly influenced by Socrates, who had met Plato's maternal uncle Charmides when Plato was a child of three. Plato probably became a good friend of Socrates when he was in his teens; he was about thirty-one when Socrates was executed. After the execution, Plato journeyed to the nearby city of Megara and then to Egypt, Italy, Cyrene, and Sicily. When he returned to Athens from his travels, he started his school of philosophy, the Academy. While the exact year is uncertain, historians assume that Plato was in his forties at the time. The school brought together some of the great scientists and scholars of the day; the philosopher Aristotle was a student at the Academy.

PLATO'S INSIGHTS INTO LEADERSHIP

Plato's most important insights into leadership are in the *Republic*, the *Statesman*, and to some extent, the *Laws*. His *Letter VII* is central to understanding how Plato's own experiences with leaders shaped his ideas about leadership.

Letter VII

Plato wrote *Letter VII* late in life, and it is his most autobiographical work. The letter is written to the

friends of the Syracusan philosopher and politician Dion, who was also the brother-in-law of that city's tyrant Dionysius I. Plato begins the letter telling the reader that in his youth he had cherished the hope of a political career. But there was a revolution in Athens and an oligarchy of thirty, some of whom were his relatives, was established there. The members of the oligarchy were corrupt and were soon overthrown. Although Plato's letter notes his disillusionment, he still thought that he might enter politics. But he was again discouraged when the new government that came into power put Socrates on trial on trumped-up charges of impiety. Plato writes that he was dissuaded from politics after seeing the sort of men it attracted, and the growing corruption of laws and customs. He writes, "the human race will not see better days until . . . the stock of those who rightly and genuinely follow philosophy acquire political authority" (*Letter VII* 326–326b, Hamilton & Cairns 1971, 1576).

This view of politics was reinforced after his first trip to Syracuse around 390 BCE when the tyrant Dionysius I ruled the city. Plato was disgusted by his rule by force and dismayed by the decadent life of the court—large banquets twice a day, sexual promiscuity, and all manner of self-gratification. He notes, "In such an environment no man under heaven, brought up in self-indulgence, could ever grow to be wise" (*Letter VII*, 226c1–c3, Hamilton & Cairnes 1971, 1576). During his time in Syracuse, Plato met Dion and as Plutarch tells us, "of all the scholars that attended Plato he [Dion] was the quickest and aptest to learn, and the most prompt and eager to practice, the lessons of virtue" (Plutarch 1910, 248). When Plato returned from this visit, he started the Academy as a school to train young men for public life, and he wrote the *Republic*.

Twenty years later, after the death of Dionysius I in 366/365 BCE, Dion, who was now the strong man of Syracuse, invited Plato back. Dion was a thorough believer in Plato's concept of developing leaders by teaching them about virtue and science. He wanted Plato to educate Dionysius's son and put some of his educational ideas in the *Republic* into practice. In the letter, Plato recalled his strong misgivings about doing this, but since Syracuse was under threat from

Carthage at the time, Plato felt obliged to try to bring the poorly educated Dionysius II up to the task of defending Syracuse. Plato also says that it would dishonor the academy if he did not go and attempt to put his educational theories into practice.

Dionysius II was not a good student, but he admired Plato. During Plato's time with him Dionysius II became jealous of Dion's power and had Dion banished. Plato then returned to Athens, but maintained a correspondence with Dionysius II and Dion, trying in vain to patch things up between them. He then returned to Syracuse in 361–360 BCE and spent a year working on a draft of a constitution for a proposed federation of Greek cities. But the old tyrannical regime was still too strong: Because of political tensions, Plato left Syracuse, never to return.

The Republic

Plato wrote the *Republic* after his first visit to Syracuse. The *Republic* is a book about ethics, politics, and leadership, not as separate subjects, but as an integrated whole. Political scientists focus on the idea of the philosopher-king and the organization of Plato's ideal society. For leadership scholars, Books I, II, and VII of the *Republic* are of particular interest. The Book I dialogue concerns justice and power: Plato argues that leadership is in the interests of the followers, not the leader, and because of this, the only reason a just man becomes a leader is out of fear that someone worse will lead. Plato demonstrates why justice is in the self-interest of everyone, including rulers.

In Book II, Plato addresses questions of power and morality. Glaucon, the protagonist in this part of the dialogue, asserts that the only reason people are just is that they do not have the power to be unjust. He illustrates his point with the story called "The Ring of Gyges," in which a shepherd finds a ring that makes him invisible. This tale challenges readers to think about what they would do if they had the power to do unethical things when no one was watching. Plato tells us that just people are those who are ethical even when they have the power to be unethical. The story offers a way to think about the ethical challenges of power for leaders.



Selection from Plato's *Apology*

Plato's Apology is an account (thought to be largely accurate) of the trial and conviction of Socrates in 399 BCE. The following extract sets forth Socrates' ideas about virtue and conscience.

And so he proposes death as the penalty. And what shall I propose on my part, O men of Athens? Clearly that which is my due. And what is my due? What ought I to have done to me, or to pay—a man who has never had the wit to keep quiet during his whole life; but has been careless of what the many care for—wealth, and family interests, and military offices, and speaking in the assembly, and magistracies, and plots, and parties. Reflecting that I was really too honest a man to be a politician and live, I did not go where I could do no good to you or to myself; but where I could do privately the greatest good (as I affirm it to be) to everyone of you, thither I went, and sought to persuade every man among you that he must look to himself, and seek virtue and wisdom before he looks to his private interests, and look to the state before he looks to the interests of the state; and that this should be the order which he observes in all his actions. What shall be done to such an one? Doubtless some good thing, O men of Athens, if he has his reward; and the good should be of a kind suitable to him. What would be a reward suitable to a poor man who is your benefactor, and who desires leisure that he may instruct you? There can be no reward so fitting as maintenance in the Prytaneum, O men of Athens, a reward which he deserves far more than the citizen who has won the prize at Olympia in the horse or chariot race, whether the chariots were drawn by two horses or by many. For I am in want, and he has enough; and he only gives you the appearance of happiness, and I give you the reality. And if I am to estimate the penalty fairly, I should say that maintenance in the Prytaneum is the just return.

Source: Jowett, Benjamin. (Trans.). (1953). *The Dialogues of Plato*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Reprinted in McNeill, William H., and Sedlar, Jean W. (Eds.). (1969). *The Classical Mediterranean World*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 78–79.

Book VII interests leadership scholars because it contains the allegory of the cave, which is about the obligations that come with knowledge and the difficulties of change. In the allegory, Plato depicts the inhabitants of a cave seated facing the cave's back wall, their necks chained. All they see of the world are shadows on the wall of things passing by outside of the cave. Plato describes the fate of those who take the journey out of the cave and see the light of reality and reason. When these people return to the cave (as Plato believes that they must), the inhabitants there ridicule them. This story sums up three of Plato's basic beliefs about leadership: first, that leaders must take the difficult path to truth and knowledge; second, that knowledge carries with it social

responsibility; and third, that conveying a different reality to others is a challenge.

Plato is best known for his discussion of the philosopher-king in the *Republic*. The word *philosopher* had a different connotation then than it does today. A philosopher was anyone who was a lover of wisdom. Plato was not a fan of democracy, so his vision of leadership was based on rule by an elite group of the wisest and most capable people. According to Plato, leaders were both born and made. Potential philosopher-kings would be selected from the best and the brightest people who had admirably performed military service. As A. E. Taylor argues, philosopher-kings would be educated as scientists and saints, as “the authority whose personal insight into good creates the public tradition by which the rest of society is to live” (Taylor 1936, 282). Plato thought that the study of science—which included mathematics and geometry in particular—was essential for leaders because it developed character as well as intellect. Plato believed that the intellectual

discipline of the sciences led to a vision of the good. For Plato, the ideal leader was a seamless combination of strength, courage, intellect, and moral virtue in the service of good for society.

The Statesman

His adventures in Syracuse with Dion and Dionysius II changed Plato's idealistic view of the philosopher-king in the *Republic* and set the stage for his more pragmatic book, the *Statesman*, which was written after the second visit to Syracuse in 366–365 BCE. In the *Statesman*, Plato seems more sympathetic to the human side of leadership and the human frailties of leaders. Plato criticizes his own earlier view of lead-

ership; in the *Republic* he had depicted guardians ruling like shepherds over their flock—and shepherds are naturally superior to sheep. In the *Statesman*, Plato observes that in the current age, kings or statesmen are men ruling over men. Rulers are the same as their followers. They are not naturally superior.

The ruler in the *Statesman* is not a philosopher-king; instead, statesmanship is a practical art that is practiced by a skilled expert. In this dialogue, Plato introduces a new metaphor for leadership. Leaders are weavers, says Plato; their job is to weave together the vigorous and aggressive with the moderate and quiet into the fabric of a society. This cloth, like the clothes that we wear, protects society from outside elements. The art of the statesman is to produce a fabric that links all kinds of citizens together so that they share the same ultimate values and ideals.

In the *Republic*, Plato expresses confidence in the ability of education to perfect the intellect and character of leaders. One still finds that faith in the *Statesman*, but Plato takes a more modest view of the potential of educating for leadership. Plato's visits to Syracuse had put him in touch with the hard work of leading and developing leaders. Reflecting on his experiences in *Letter VII* he writes, "the more I advanced in years, the harder it appeared to me to administer the government correctly. For one thing, nothing could be done without friends and loyal companions, and such men were not easy to find. . . . Neither could such men be created afresh with any faculty" (*Letter VII*, 325 c6–c11, Hamilton & Cairnes 1971, 1575).

In the *Statesman*, Plato concludes that because it is so difficult to find good leaders, no ruler—no matter how just—should be allowed to lead without being subject to the law. The rule of one under the law is monarchy, while the rule of one without law is tyranny. Plato suggests (although not in these terms) that in the absence of competent leaders, the law is a leader substitute.

The Laws

The *Laws* were written after Plato's third visit to Syracuse, during which he was engaged in writing a constitution for a federation of Greek cities. Scholars

estimate that Plato was in his seventies at the time. The first three books of the *Laws* examine the underlying principles of law. The next two books concern the scheme for the organization of a new city in Crete, and the last seven books describe a constitution and system of law for the new city. The *Laws* is Plato's longest and most practical work in political philosophy. It can be tedious reading; when Plato discusses law (*nomos*), he is talking about social norms, morality, and religious practices as well as regulations—and he therefore details every aspect of a citizen's life.

Plato believed that good leadership was a matter of knowledge. He argued that people should be ruled by knowledge; however, leaders frequently have imperfect knowledge or suffer from weakness of the will (*akrasia*) and fail to control their passions. When they fail to control their passions, they do not act on the basis of knowledge and reason. Since people are not gods, Plato argues, they need checks and balances on their leaders. The law should restrict their power and act as the ultimate sovereign.

Plato depicts laws as a gift from the gods. Laws represent the cumulative knowledge of society and are therefore better than the knowledge of one ruler. People come closest to being ruled by the gods when they are ruled by just laws. The key moral virtue Plato discusses in the *Laws* is self-control (*sophrosune*), not in the sense of restraining or overcoming the passions, but as a means of producing harmony between reasoned judgments and the passions.

CONTEMPORARY VIEWS OF PLATO

Like all great works, Plato's writing is open to interpretation and criticism. In *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, the twentieth-century philosopher of science Sir Karl Popper offers one of the most savage criticisms of Plato's politics. He accuses the *Republic* of advocating dictatorship that could only be imposed on a society by violence. Popper characterizes this society as a racist caste system. He argues that the *Laws* represents a blueprint for a closed collectivist society whose laws are unchanging and regulate every detail of life. R. F. Stalley has responded to Popper's criticism by emphasizing Plato's contri-

bution to political theory. He points out that Plato's most enduring contribution to politics is his emphasis on the sovereignty of law and the theory of checks and balances. Stalley argues that Plato realized that laws would change as society changed. Plato's defenders also argue that the ideal state that Plato describes in the *Republic* is meant to be a metaphor for society, not a real model of it.

While Plato does not endorse democracy in his later works, he understands the folly of leading by force and without the consent of the people. Critics of the *Republic* and *Laws* are right in pointing out one of the ironies of Plato's philosophy. While Plato seems to have sharp insights into leaders and leadership, few people today would want to live in the societies described in these two books.

Joanne B. Ciulla has written that in his early work, Plato makes the same mistake some contemporary leadership scholars do. He establishes an ideal model of leadership, and then through his life experiences comes to appreciate why human frailty and fallibility makes this model almost impossible to attain. Plato helps us see why it is important to understand the ethical challenges faced by imperfect humans who take on the responsibilities of leadership, so that we can develop morally better leaders, followers, institutions, and organizations.

—Joanne B. Ciulla

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POLITICAL SCIENCE

Political science is the study of the institutions, people, ideas, and processes of government and the public uses of power directed toward collective goals. The study of leadership is both old and new to political science. The study of leadership is as old as the Greek philosopher Socrates addressing a crowd in the marketplace on the meaning of justice or the Greek philosopher Plato asking people to consider the efficacy of the "Philosopher King" in his dialogue *Republic*. The study of leadership can be seen in the Italian political philosopher Niccolò Machiavelli's advice to a prospective sponsor in his book *The Prince* or the Dutch scholar Erasmus's countering of Machiavelli's worldly concern on the accumulation and use of power with a moralistic concern for leadership in *The Education of the Christian Prince*.

Perhaps surprisingly, given the centrality of leadership to the study and exercise of political power, the political science of today does not devote itself to the study of leadership as much as one might expect. The primary journal of the discipline, *The American Political Science Review*, has published only forty-two articles (less than 1 percent of its

4,856 articles published) on leadership since it began publishing in 1906.

Political scientist Betty Glad argues that the discipline's neglect of leadership as a topic of inquiry stems from a desire "to find general laws of political behavior that are not time bound" (Valenty & Feldman 2002, 10). Thus, political scientists are more concerned with institutional structure and patterns that lead to theory building. The study of individual leaders is seen as too idiosyncratic and less significant than other forces. Better to be less comprehensive and more theoretical; better to reduce political reality to a few manageable variables—the better to build theories with—than to account for everything; better to capture the essence than the entirety. The discipline should, in Stanford University political scientist Terry Moe's words, "move toward a methodology that values simplicity and parsimony rather than complexity and comprehensiveness" (Moe 1993, 388). All of this activity is directed toward building a theory of politics. Glad notes that

the attraction of the textbook scientific model is based on two assumptions—that any research that aspires to be scientific must be directed toward general laws which are applicable everywhere and that decision makers and political actors are rational in their behavior. Like the laws of classical physics, general laws cannot include the local, the particular, the idiopathic. So individual leaders need not be considered. Any discussion of the non-rational and emotional aspects of their behavior is particularly beyond the bounds of scientific inquiry. (Valenty & Feldman 2002, 10)

There is, then, a controversy over how (or even whether) to study leadership in political science, with those who stress the "hard" science side of the discipline dismissing the study of individual leaders or leadership in general as being not sufficiently scientific to be legitimate, but others seeing the study of leaders and leadership as indispensable for an understanding of how political systems operate.

Political scientists use a variety of methods to study leadership. From the more traditional methods such as philosophy, ethics, biography, history, and constitutional and institutional studies to more "sci-

entific" methods, political scientists have no one agreed-upon "best" way to study leadership.

POWER AND LEADERSHIP

Political scientists sometimes confuse power with leadership. Power is the ability to use law or force to compel compliance. Leadership is a process that involves choice on the part of followers and persuasion and/or influence on the part of the leader.

The sources of power are position, force, tradition or custom, law, and money or other valuable resources. The sources of leadership are relational (interpersonal and reciprocal) and involve a connection between leader and follower based on persuasion, personal qualities, skill, vision, and group dynamics.

In the modern era, political scientists have applied both qualitative and quantitative approaches to the study of leadership. In the 1930s Harold Lasswell advocated the study of motivations of political leaders, later suggesting that leaders are of two types: "democratic" and "power-seeking" personalities. Although Lasswell opened a door of inquiry, not until 1972 with James David Barber's *The Presidential Character* did political scientists really begin to explore leadership from a psychological perspective.

Barber's pioneering work of political psychology identified five factors that shape presidential behavior. Two of these factors (the power situation and the public's climate of expectations) are contextual variables that influence a president's power position; the three remaining factors (style, character, and worldview) relate to the inner person of the president.

Barber focuses on style and character. By "style," Barber means the public manner in which a leader carries out his or her duties; by "character," he means a leader's self-image and security.

Barber then establishes a framework of understanding the inner life of a president by combining style (active or passive) with character (positive or negative) to create four types: active-positive (Barber's ideal type), active-negative (a dangerous personality type), passive-positive, and passive-negative. Although Barber's work drew a tremendous amount of scholarly as well as public attention, through the years subsequent studies have found his

taxonomy (system of classification) of marginal use in either understanding or predicting the behavior of political leaders.

Another qualitative work is Richard Neustadt's book *Presidential Power* (1960). Prior to Neustadt, political scientists focused on constitutional and/or institutional aspects of power. However, Neustadt, although acknowledging the institutional restraints and powers of a leader (the formal aspects), argues that the key to gaining and using power can be found in the informal aspects of leadership: prestige, bargaining, and persuasion. This focus on the formal and informal aspects of power greatly advanced people's ability to understand both the constraints and opportunities of leaders to exercise political power and influence.

One of the key theoretical contributions of political science to the study of leadership is James M. Burns's distinction between transactional leadership and transforming leadership. Transactional leadership is based on an incremental exchange model. Citizens give support to a leader in exchange for goods and services. It is a minimalist model of the use of authority: It asks little of citizens and leaders and produces incremental change.

Transformational leadership implies "real" change based on the relationship between leader and follower as they pursue common goals for the public good. There is, to Burns, a moral as well as a political dimension to a transforming leadership that truly seeks to transform the political system. Transformational leadership implies significant change based on a bond between leader and citizens. Citizens empower the leader, whose policies empower citizens.

OFFICEHOLDERS

Another key theoretical distinction made by most political scientists is the difference between leaders and officeholders. Officeholders can exercise the power or authority of position. Leaders move beyond the mere power of position to exert influence over others. Leaders need not hold office to gain influence. Their influence is not based on position but rather on their ability to draw followers, influence their behavior, and persuade others.

Political scientists also draw a distinction between

skills and context. Leaders have variable levels of skills such as intellect, persuasive ability, managerial insight, analytical skill, creativity, emotional intelligence, and so forth, and political scientists believe that skills are important in determining success. However, skills are not enough; leadership is largely contextual. Leadership is based on context or circumstance—forces generally beyond the control of the leader. The word *context* refers to, for example, the margin of victory at the last election, the number of partisans of a leader's party in the legislature, public demand for action, state of the economy, and so forth. This context makes up a leader's "level of political opportunity" (Lammers & Genovese 2001, 3–6). Effective leaders maximize, through their use of skills, their opportunities presented by context.

As one looks to the future of leadership studies, political science seems especially important. Given the link between politics and the exercise of political leadership, political science likely will remain the key discipline in the study of leadership. Several areas of study seem especially promising. First, as more women rise to positions of political authority, scholars will have more opportunities for the study of gender and leadership. Second, as the world becomes more interdependent and interconnected, studies in international leadership and globalization should provide insights and challenges. Third, as globalization continues, studies of the link between justice and leadership should be especially germane. Fourth, in a post-Cold War age, with one superpower, aspects of hegemonic leadership should become more important.

Political science promises to remain at the center of the study of leadership. Although the discipline is mired in controversy over how to study leadership, the diversity of approaches used to examine leadership offers the potential for a rewarding set of results that could advance understanding of the art of political leadership.

—Michael A. Genovese

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POLITICS

The term *politics* derives from the ancient Greek term *polis*, meaning “city-state,” which was the typical form of political community in ancient Greece. We continue to use the term *politics* even though with the exception of Singapore and perhaps the Vatican, there are no city-states in the contemporary world. Instead, the world is divided into states, which are organized according to variables that include ethnicity (e.g., Japan, Israel), liberal democratic political principles (e.g., United States), communist political principles (e.g., China), religion (e.g., Iran), or some combination of ethnicity and political principle (e.g., most European states). The umbrella term for these organizing principles is the *nation-state*, which differs from other political forms including empire (e.g., the Roman Empire) or tribe (e.g., Blood, Navajo, Tutsi). Despite these numerous

possibilities of political organization, and despite the fact that the state, and not the polis, is the dominant form of political organization in the world today, we continue to use the term *politics* to signify what it is that these units do.

THE ACTIVITY OF POLITICS

It is helpful to think of politics as what the polis (or any other state form) does, just as athletics is what athletes do. Both *politics* and *athletics* are generic terms, for there are diverse types of athletics (e.g., track and field, hockey, golf, etc.) just as there are diverse types of political societies. As a result, the type of athletics depends on the form it takes, just as the type of politics depends on the form it takes place in, whether it be in a democracy, communist society, theocracy (run by clerics), or an oligarchy run by the wealthy.

The form of the political community influences political leadership. For example, it would be difficult (though not impossible) for an Adolph Hitler, who was called, “*der Führer* [Leader],” to succeed in a political system like the United States with its numerous checks and balances that are intended precisely to prevent a despot from succeeding. The American president differs substantially from *der Führer*. Thus, understanding leadership in politics requires one to consider the institutional and political setting in which leadership operates, because that setting will influence the way leadership is practiced. As James MacGregor Burns has argued, “Political leadership is a product of personal drives, social influences, political motivations, job skills, the structure of career possibilities. Thus the need for esteem from others motivates the tyro to run for office, but the office and the career possibilities in turn shape the esteem received. Leadership is fired in the forge of ambition and opportunity” (Burns 1978, 126). The study of politics illuminates not only the offices that provide for leadership opportunities, but also the means by which leaders seek esteem, which enables them to lead and to conduct political activity.

As with the term *politics*, many of our words for leader and leadership derive from the past. For instance, many of the terms we use to signify power

The first method for estimating the intelligence of a ruler is to look at the men he has around him.

—Niccolo Machiavelli

and authority (which are attributes of leaders) derive from ancient Rome (Minogue 1995, 22). Authority derives from *auctoritas*, the founder of a city; the term also gives us our term *author*. The Romans distinguished “official” political leadership (e.g., Emperor) as *potestas*, from unofficial or moral leadership (*potentia*). The moral connotation of *potentia* can be seen when we consider that it gives us our term *potential*. While the Romans gave us many of our terms for leadership, they also gave us many of our words for citizenship. Indeed, from the Latin term for city, *civitas*, we have citizen (*civis*); a related term is *civilization*.

Politics has been defined in numerous ways. For example, the philosopher Plato (427–347 BCE) once defined it as the art of caring for souls, by which he thought that the primary role for political leadership is to cultivate the virtue or moral excellence of citizens (Plato 1988, 650b). Focusing on power or wealth is a sign of bad leadership, as is building public monuments or empires, for which Plato’s teacher, Socrates (469–399 BCE) criticized the Athenian statesman Pericles.

Contemporary social scientists tend to deemphasize the place of moral excellence as part of politics. Recent definitions instead tend to emphasize the use of power and the distribution of goods within a community. For example, the French writer Bertrand de Jouvenal considered politics as the activity of gathering and maintaining support for human projects: “we should regard as ‘political’ every systematic effort, performed at any place in the social field, to move other men in pursuit of some design cherished by the mover” (Jouvenal 1963, 30). Alan Ball’s definition emphasizes conflict. “[Politics] involves disagreements and the reconciliation of those disagreements, and therefore can occur at any level. Two children in a nursery with one toy which they both want at the same time present a political situation” (Ball 1971, p. 20). Harold Lasswell’s definition of

politics, which emphasizes distribution, is reflected in the subtitle of his book, *Who Gets What, When, and How*.

While these definitions have their benefits, they tend to neglect what makes politics an activity separate from, for example, distributing toys among children. Bernard Crick offers a more encompassing definition: “the activity by which different interests within a given unit of rule are conciliated by giving them a share in power in proportion to their importance to the welfare and the survival of the whole community” (Crick 1972, 22). This definition clarifies how politics requires the harmonious and cooperative coexistence of groups with divergent interests and goals, and that entails the promotion and protection of a community’s goods as well as survival. As the activity of the polis, then, politics is conducted by a political community that itself is relatively autonomous (more so than, for example, a family that depends on outsiders for numerous goods) and organized around a certain set of goals and principles (Dickerson and Flanagan 2002, 21–23).

The activity of the polis depends on the form that political community takes. Politics in Nazi Germany, which was based on a personality cult of Hitler as well as a utopian dream for a “Third Reich,” differs from the politics of a liberal democracy in which coalitions of interests form and dissolve within a law-based electoral system. An ideological dictator like Hitler leads by the force of his personality, propaganda, and a quasi-religious utopian vision based on the superiority of the Aryan race. Conversely, a democratic politician in the United States tends to appeal to voters with shorter-term and more mundane proposals on health-care or taxes, while proclaiming his own good “character” and the bad “character” of his opponent. The Nazi leader shares the tendency of other utopians (including communist) of promising an end to the activity of politics because his ideal community requires the elimination of diverse interests and political viewpoints (either through the expected necessary unfolding of the historical process or by mass murder, or both). Conversely, the Constitution induces the liberal democratic politician to treat politics as a never-ending activity of negotiation and bargaining because liberal

democracy assumes that the diversity of interests and political viewpoints is permanent and that politics can never “end” in an ideal and “final” community. However, in both liberal democratic and utopian systems, politicians will portray themselves as friends of the people.

TYPES OF POLITICAL COMMUNITY AND THE CONCERN FOR JUSTICE

Political scientists since Plato have categorized the forms of political communities according to several criteria. In Plato’s *Republic*, Socrates speaks of five separate forms that a political community can take, depending on the type of goods that it seeks. The best type of community is one guided by the wisdom of the philosopher-kings. The only way a polis can be just is to be ruled by those who know what justice is. Since justice is so complex and requires an excellent moral character to discern, he proposed that only philosophers have the energy, wisdom, and love of truth to be able to rule with justice. Everyone else tends to equate justice with his own interest. Thus, he called the second best regime timocracy, which is ruled by warriors who love honor. The third best he called oligarchy, which is ruled by lovers of wealth who think that their wealth gives them the right to rule. (Consider the claim by leaders of business who seek political office on the basis of their success in business.) Socrates thought that democracy is the third best regime because, by loving freedom, democrats seek to gratify all their desires, which leads to anarchy. The worst regime is tyranny, which is dominated by a single tyrant who dominates over subjects by force and by a cult of personality.

Central to these different political forms is the “anthropological principle,” according to which the political form depends on the predominant personalities, moral values, and goals and objects of love that a people pursue. As leaders and citizens devote themselves to seeking wisdom, and better their goals and objects of love, then the regime improves and the closer its government approximates justice. Ironically, despite arguing for the superiority of rule by philosopher-kings, Socrates did not think that philosophers would wish to rule or lead because it

interfered with their favorite activity, which is to seek wisdom. Socrates thus teaches us that politics and political leadership are not the highest goods, and can conflict with our deepest yearnings for self-knowledge, which, paradoxically, is the precondition of good leadership.

Plato’s student, Aristotle (384–322 BCE), provides a different typology of political forms (Aristotle 1984). Moral excellence also guides his inquiry, but he thought rule of law, not rule of philosopher-kings, served as the best guarantee for good politics. His typologies are guided by two basic questions: Who rules? and For whom? If a ruler or ruling group rules for their own interest, then the political form is corrupt; if they rule for the common good and according to law, then the political form is good. He identified three possible types of rulers, which he further subdivided into six: rule by a single person, by a few, and by many. A single constitutional monarch is good; a single tyrant who serves only himself is corrupt. Rule by a committee of elders or wise people is good; rule by a few wealthy oligarchs who wish to exploit the many poor is corrupt. Rule by the people under laws is good; lawless mob rule is corrupt. Aristotle called the rule by the people under the laws a “polity,” which approximates what we today call a liberal democracy because both restrict majoritarian power by means of a constitution and a system of institutional checks and balances. In fact, Aristotle praised polity as the best practical regime because it combines the wisdom of the laws with the equal participation of all citizens. It also promotes moral excellence equally for all citizens because, by sharing political offices, they learn the habits of cooperation in ruling and in being ruled by their fellow citizens.

Plato and Aristotle provided our civilization with its basic categories of politics. They also taught us about political leadership. One of Plato’s most famous images of leadership is that of a captain of a ship (Plato 1991, 488a–490a). Comparing the polis to a ship, the statesman must be wise about political matters in the same way that a ship captain understands the tides, the stars, and the winds. The image has an antidemocratic element, of course, because Socrates in the *Republic* also states that the ship’s

crew, who compare with the people whom the philosopher-king rules, lack knowledge to guide the ship and so must obey the ship's captain. If they presume to possess political wisdom and mutiny against the captain, then the ship of state will falter and sink. Aristotle's notion of rotating offices is more hopeful about the capability of non-philosophers to rule, which is due, in part, to his view that philosophic wisdom does not necessarily translate into political wisdom. Knowledge of essences, forms, and even virtue does not necessarily translate into knowledge of fiscal, economic, or military prudence that is the hallmark of a political ruler. But that begs the question: How does or can one reconcile leadership in maintaining the survival of the polis with cultivating moral virtue?

One answer to this comes from a medieval follower of Aristotle, St. Thomas Aquinas (1224–1274). In “On Princely Government,” he begins by drawing a Platonic image (in Fuller 2000, 83–87). God's loving government over creation is the model for good political government. God cares for the good of creation, just as a good parent cares for her family, and just as a good ruler must care for the good of his society. He then distinguishes the activity of political leadership from other activities that people in his day and ours propose as identical to political leadership. He distinguishes political leadership from the activity of a doctor, whose activity is to safeguard health, from an economist, whose activity is to safeguard wealth, from that of a professor (and philosopher) who seeks truth, and from a moralist and priest whose activity is to preserve moral and religious virtue. The activity of the political leader is to safeguard all of these things because life in a political community encompasses safeguarding bodily health, wealth, truth, and virtue. Aquinas does not claim that a political leader should perform all the activities of a doctor, economist, philosopher, or priest. Rather, the political leader synthesizes these activities and the people who perform them for the welfare of the community as a whole. After distinguishing these separate activities from political leadership, he concludes, “The object for which a community is gathered is to live a virtuous life. For men to consort together that they may thus attain a fullness of life which would

not be possible to each living singly: and the full life is one which is lived according to virtue” (in Fuller 2000, p. 85). Political leadership for Aquinas, as for Plato, for Aristotle, and for us, consists in bringing together disparate elements, interests, and values into a harmonious whole. They emphasized virtue as the purpose of politics and political leadership, while today the emphasis lies in freedom and security.

THE MODERN STATE AND THE CONCERN FOR FREEDOM AND SECURITY

Around the fifteenth-century, beginning in Italy but soon spreading throughout Europe, a new political vocabulary entered into play. The French king Charles VIII invaded the Italian peninsula in 1494, which ended the prominence of city-states there, and forced Italians, and then the rest of Europe, to abandon the political forms that had dominated Europe since the collapse of the Roman Empire a millennium earlier. Medieval Europe had been characterized by kingly realms, the Christian Church that symbolized a universal Christian realm, and the numerous city-states in Italy and the Baltic. By the fifteenth-century, these forms could no longer endure and political communities reconstituted themselves as “states,” the term we use to this day.

The term *state* is ambiguous. It derives from the Latin term *status*, which meant “state of affairs.” During this time, however, its meaning transformed into an “institutionalized ‘situation’” (Bobbitt 2002, 87). Instead of basing political rule on dynasty or having the realm consist of a series of overlapping political, feudal, and ecclesiastical orders that characterized politics in the Middle Ages, the modern state became characterized by an “institutionalized ‘situation’” of permanent government structures (e.g., bureaucracy, military, tax revenues) under a single sovereign. The state is not identified with a particular monarch or family line. Rather, it gains its legitimacy by effective government over territory and population. Thus, the preeminent early theorist of the modern state, Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), could describe the state as having its own ethics or “reason of state [*ragione di stato*],” as it became known. The significance of this change



The Headman of the Kapauka

A form of political leadership not generally found in modern nations, but common in societies classified by anthropologists as tribes, is the headman or the bigman. The individuals are usually part-time leaders of the community who serve for life and whose role and status is determined by a set of personal characteristics that mesh well with group needs and expectations. The following example details the selection criteria used by the Kapauka people of Papua New Guinea.

The leadership in the household coincides with ownership of the house; the authorities in polygynous and nuclear families are defined on the basis of kin and marital bonds (father, husband). However, such formal criteria of authority are absent in the rest of the Kapauka groups. In all these there is only one type of authority, which the natives call *tonowi*, the rich man. Since he is an informal authority with limited power, we may label him headman. The Kapauka headman's status is defined by two sets of criteria of different order. First, the personal criteria refer to the attributes of the headman as an individual; second, the societal criteria determine his status in the society according to his membership in the particular subgroups of the society. The former criteria determine an individual as leader; the latter designate his rank in the hierarchy of headmen.

Following is a listing of the personal criteria of a headman. Numbers 1 through 3 may be considered basic; 4, conditioned; 5 and 6, nonessential but power-enhancing.

1. *Wealth.* The Kapauka are capitalistically minded and place high value on wealth, from which they derive most of prestige. Thus it is not surprising that wealth is a pre-requisite for attaining political leadership. The importance of wealth in the political field becomes even more apparent when the economic inducement is recalled: extension of credit is a primary factor of social control. People follow the decisions of a wealthy man; they do so either because they are his debtors and afraid of being asked to repay, or out of gratitude for past financial aid, or because they expect some future financial favor. To comply with the requests and decisions of a wealthy man means economic security. Wealth depends on successful pig breeding as well as upon a man's age; the political structure of a group may therefore change rather rapidly. New individuals succeed to leadership to lose their position some years later to more successful pig breeders.
2. *Generosity.* Hoarding of wealth does not itself carry prestige and fails to attract followers. It is the distribution of wealth, the extension of credit, which performs this function. Wealthy creditors not only become leaders, but are also regarded as most moral individuals.
3. *Eloquence and verbal courage.* In the village of Botukebo lives a wealthy and most generous creditor. He failed, however, to attain leadership because of his shy personality. Despite his wealth and generosity, a man who is afraid to argue publicly and pass judgments has hardly a chance of becoming a headman.
4. *Physical fitness.* Since lack of health and old age preclude economic efficiency and gathering and retaining of wealth, a native headman is as a rule healthy and middle-aged.
5. *Bravery.* Only brave men can become war leaders. Although nonessential to political leadership, bravery enhances the prestige and power of the native headman.
6. *Shamanism.* The supernatural power of a shaman provides a headman with additional means of social control. Like bravery, it is not a necessary attribute.

Source: Pospisil, Leopold J. (1958). Kapauka Papuan Political Structure. In *Systems of Political Control and Bureaucracy in Human Societies*, edited by Verne F. Ray. Seattle, WA: American Ethnological Society, pp. 17–18.

can be seen in Machiavelli's advice to princes to treat his friends in the same way as he treats his subjects and enemies (Machiavelli 1998, ch. 15). Following what Thomas Hobbes (1588–1682) in *Leviathan* called "policy," political leaders brought with the state a way of understanding political ethics and community far different from that of Plato and Aristotle, for whom justice was central.

Machiavelli's and Hobbes's observations were not borne simply out of cynicism. They observed that people desire to protect and perpetuate their own freedom. If the ancient Greeks and Romans bestowed to us our language of citizenship and leadership, medieval Europe bestowed to us a lasting legacy of freedom, articulated most prominently in Christianity. The Greeks and Romans, of course, defended lib-

erty, but not for all individuals. Christianity articulated a relationship between the individual and God that went beyond any political identity as Greek or Roman, which meant that politics became understood as an activity that serves the good of the individual instead of the other way around. It took the Reformation, the Renaissance, as well as the Enlightenment, to transform this religious idea into a political one. Even so, the “policy” of the modern state, and its new political forms, corresponds to the individual who seeks to maximize his freedom.

Determining a way to govern the often tumultuous ambitions of individuals seeking to maximize their freedoms has since become the primary concern of political leaders and thinkers of the modern state. Even so, it is strange that its characteristics and forms are actually simpler than those of the ancient Greek polis or of Rome. Stranger still is that the modern state, which derives from European political experience, has become the dominant form throughout the world among non-European peoples, due to the attractiveness of the freedoms secured by the modern state, but also due to the ability of the state to manage technology and military power (Bobbitt 2002).

S. E. Finer identifies six basic characteristics of the modern state (Finer 1999, 1473-1484):

1. Since the French Revolution (1789), *nationality* has been the basis for territorial organization, as contrasted to “traditional” bases including dynasty, kinship, or religion. This is seen in the demand of nations to have their own states (e.g., Palestinians), the designation of the United Nations in terms of nationhood instead of statehood, and by the fact that non-Europeans invoked the principle of nationalism to combat against their colonial oppressors (e.g., India, African societies, and pan-Arabism, which is a secular nationalism based on Arabic ethnicity instead of on the Islamic religion).

2. *Popular sovereignty* requires that “the people” confer legitimacy upon their government. Divine right, noble birth, or caste are no longer viewed as legitimate. However, this does not mean that the people govern. Rather, the people can place themselves under a liberal democratic constitution and representative government (e.g., United States, Canada, and

European countries) or they can delegate rulership upon non-democratic rulers (e.g., the dictatorships of the French Revolution, Napoleon, Hitler, Mussolini). Today, even political Islam, which often demands rule by clerics as in Iran, is said to reflect the will of the people.

3. *Secular principle* separates political from religious activities. Liberal democracies, which separate church and state, present the obvious example of separating the activity of saving souls from political activities. However, the above example of St. Thomas Aquinas indicates that one need not be a modern liberal to accept the distinction between church and state. Even so, it is difficult to view Iran or Saudi Arabia as secular, or even the former Soviet Union, for which communism served as a political religion intended to redeem the world. Secular principle might better be understood to signify a “this-worldly” political attitude, in contrast to the “other-worldly” and apolitical attitude that characterized the Middle Ages. Machiavelli and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) criticized the other-worldliness of Christianity because they thought it led to political weakness. “This-worldliness” characterizes the religiosity of various ideologies including Soviet communism, as well as political Islam in Saudi Arabia and Iran, where leaders view submission to Islamic law as securing political and worldly success (Ruthven 1997).

4. Popular sovereignty entails *social purposiveness*. Since the people must be consulted, then politics is no longer a matter of following the rules of traditions and obedience to and reverence of authority. It becomes an active process by which support is obtained for policies and coalitions are formed, with an eye toward the future instead of to the past. Politics is seen to be the art of making anew, instead of inheriting the wisdom of the past.

5. States require *economic independence*, not in the sense of absolute self-sufficiency, but as the construction of an independent and nationally sovereign basis for health, wealth, and power. This requires technological and industrial infrastructure instead of a traditional rural economy. The legitimacy of the state depends upon its ability to ensure sufficient

material and social welfare for its people. The second part of the twentieth century saw a competition between capitalism and communism for the title for having the legitimate means of securing economic independence. With capitalism prevailing for the time being, the early twenty-first century will likely be characterized by challenges to its ability to provide for the welfare of all people across the globe. A corollary to industrialization is the ability of the state to administer its population, which includes its ability to control it. The scope of the state's activity in people's daily lives has dramatically increased over the past fifty years and this poses an acute problem for leadership.

6. *Citizenship* stipulates not only that people have political and civil rights that they actively protect, and which distinguishes them from the status of "subject." The state, in order to maintain its legitimacy, must further be able to ensure economic and social rights, including the right to education and to social-welfare benefits. The complexity of modern society means that decisions by corporations can leave thousands out of work, who, without economic protection, might suffer inordinate economic hardship (as well as being unable to exercise their civil rights like hiring a lawyer) and might also constitute a drain on the state's functioning. The history of the liberal democratic state involves the expansion of citizenship and civic rights for racial minorities, women, those without property, the poor, and others. Political leadership needs to balance the state's role in protecting citizens while avoiding protecting them too much so that they become passive citizens or dependents incapable of exercising their rights (Oakeshott 1991).

Military power can of course be added to this list of characteristics of the modern state. Along with economic activity, it is the primary material means by which the model of the modern state has been exported to non-European people (Finer 1999, 1481–1484). In the words of the old couplet: "Whatever happens, we have got The Gatling gun, and they have not." Only the modern state has the capability of directing industrial and technology output to produce aircraft carriers, fighter jets, and the host of

conventional and non-conventional weaponry that overwhelm those who lack them.

Even so, the technological innovation that drives industrial society presupposes a culture that allows for free scientific inquiry and free political debate that challenges traditions that have outlived their utility. Thus, while Western guns have carried Western ideas of rights and freedoms into non-European nations, many of which are more hierarchical and paternalistic, those nations adapted those ideas for their own cultures and moral principles. For instance, Western concepts of freedom (both political and personal) have been adapted to analogous Asian concepts including *tu do* in Vietnam, *kemerdekaan* in Indonesia, and *lut-myauk-ye* (meaning "detached from affairs") in Burma (Kelly and Reid 1998, 15). Such adaptations suggest that freedom, which the modern state is meant to secure, contains an inner attractiveness, meaning more than simply crass self-interest and egoism, and that speaks to a multiplicity of cultures (Walsh 2000). However, without a proper philosophical understanding of freedom, justice, and moral virtue that people from different cultures can debate, the modern state can only justify itself to outsiders by simple military might, and to its own citizens simply as a benefactor of material well-being accompanied by charismatic appeals to keep the citizenry sufficiently enthralled, entertained and distracted.

DILEMMAS OF POLITICS IN LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

The modern state both upholds and restrains freedom, which means that it simultaneously enables and disables people's attempts to secure their freedoms and well-being. As statesmen including George Washington (1732–1799) and Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865) have noted, echoing Machiavelli and Hobbes, the endeavor to maximize freedoms in the modern world poses a challenge to political leadership, because it makes the activity of politics—of crafting a harmonious whole out of diverse parts—that much more difficult.

Washington, in his 1796 "Farewell Address to Americans," argues that, while the primary purpose of the Constitution is to preserve liberty, its bad

Dictators ride to and fro upon tigers which they dare not dismount. And the tigers are getting hungry.

—Winston Churchill

effects include factional strife that threaten to rip apart the new republic (in Fuller 2000, 144–145). The spirit of freedom has thus to be balanced and preserved by the sacred character of the Constitution. Liberty depends not on the personal rule of guardians (Washington refers to his government as “administration,” which is a more democratic term than “ruler,” for example), but on respect for the laws of the state.

Lincoln, in his 1838 “Address before the Young Man’s Lyceum of Springfield, Illinois,” points to a deeper challenge for constitutional democracy. He observes that numerous great individuals have crossed the stage of politics: Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Napoleon, and George Washington. Such great individuals can be creative because they found new societies and champion just causes, but they are often destructive because they can also make wars, champion unjust causes, and destroy societies. Lincoln observes that Americans are fortunate because their great individuals, the Founding Fathers, channeled their enormous ambitions and love of fame into creating a new society. However, the founders will not be the last great individuals to arise in the United States. How will society channel future great individuals, those towering geniuses “who disdain the beaten path” and those who belong to the “family of the lion or the tribe of the eagle” (Lincoln 1992, 17)? Lincoln reiterates Washington’s defense of the Constitution as the best guarantee to channel ambitions: “Reason, cold, calculating, unimpassioned reason, must furnish the materials for our future support and defense. Let those materials be molded into general intelligence, sound morality, and, in particular, a reverence for the constitution and laws” (Lincoln 1992, 19).

The American founders established a system of institutional checks and balances that are meant to cultivate good leaders and to restrain bad ones. The

American system of government includes numerous branches such as the President, Congress (upper and lower chambers), judiciary, as well as federal and state governments, with each checking the powers of the other. In the words of James Madison in *Federalist Papers No. 51*, “ambition must be made to counteract ambition” (Hamilton et al. 2001, 268). The basic idea of checks and balances informs other liberal democracies including those of Great Britain and other European states.

The modern state simultaneously undermines and protects ambitions. By doing so, it is fair to ask whether the modern democratic state goes too far in undermining ambitions, not merely the destructive ones, but also the ones that enable citizens to be active in securing their well being. This was the concern of Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–1859), as well as contemporary scholars including Ronald Glassman, who worries that a technologically oriented and bureaucratic culture depreciates the need for leadership.

Tocqueville, a French scholar and politician, wrote, in *Democracy in America*, that equality and democracy are great achievements. However, they come at the cost of a general lowering of intellectual and moral pursuits that can turn citizens into big children who focus on their private lives at the expense of the common good. They focus exclusively on their immediate economic and family affairs, as well as on frivolous entertainments (today this would include television), which leads them to neglect local, state, national, and international affairs. They end up requiring a paternal state to exercise their freedoms for them because they lack sufficient political wisdom and constructive ambition for self-government. The danger to democracy is lack of leadership, which is the problem opposite of that feared by Washington and Lincoln. Tocqueville observes that “there are so many men of ambition in the United States but so few with lofty ambition,” and that “they are much more in love with success than with glory” (Tocqueville 1999, 603). The frustrations of living in mass society, composed of numerous people and talents, make distinguishing oneself in a variety of pursuits extremely difficult, which leads people finally to give up trying to dis-

tinguish themselves as citizens: “What frightens me most is the danger that, amid all the constant trivial preoccupations of private life, ambition may lose both its force and greatness, that human passions may grow gentler and at the same time baser, with the result that the progress of the body social may become daily quieter and less aspiring” (Tocqueville 1999, 604).

Glassman updates Tocqueville’s insights when he worries how modern technological society and bureaucracy corrodes citizenship. He identifies two modes of leadership in modern society: bureaucracy and charisma. Bureaucracy “represents the total institutionalization of task leadership. . . . [It] gains legitimacy simply because people accept the fact that complex tasks need to be done in large-scale societies” (in Fuller 2000, 209). Bureaucracy is about process and routine. In the words of sociologist Max Weber (1864–1921), it is legal authority, and is justified by its effectiveness instead of by the purpose or justice of its functions. According to Weber, charisma refers to “a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities” (in Fuller 2000, 204). For Glassman, widespread charismatic appeals to mass society legitimate bureaucracy because charisma appeals to political purposes. However, charisma appeals primarily to people’s emotions and not to their reason. This means that political debate in the modern state cannot really exist. Instead, “debate” and leadership are always in danger of flitting back and forth between unquestioning bureaucratic process (effectiveness) and a demagoguery that whips up public emotions. Media images, including those on television and on the Internet, play a crucial role in political affairs because it constructs and shapes charisma. These dangers pose acute problems for practicing justice in the modern state.

The modern state in its liberal democratic form, the predominant form in the world today, fosters greatness as well as undermines its own order. Fostering leadership and citizenship require the cultivation of intellectual and moral faculties. Plato’s definition of politics as the care of souls holds true

twenty-five centuries later. The definition of politics as the art of harmonizing diverse parts (i.e., interests, morals, factions, etc.) into a unified whole holds true, even though modern notions of liberties, rights, and technology complicate this art. The key to understanding politics is to understand the following: (1) the laws and institutions that form it and in which it operates (called “elemental representation”); (2) the morals and principles that guide it (“existential representation”); and (3) whether or not those morals and principles are indeed just (“transcendental representation”) (Voegelin 1987, 27–75). In our time, as in the time of Socrates, the understanding of politics begins with self-knowledge.

—John von Heyking

See also Akbar; Ataturk, Mustafa Kemal; Castro, Fidel; Charlemagne; Christian Right; Churchill, Winston; Congressional Leadership; Cromwell, Oliver; Elizabeth I; Gandhi, Mohandas K.; Guevara, Ernesto Che; Haile Selassie; History; Hitler, Adolf; Kenyatta, Jomo; Lenin, Vladimir; Lumumba, Patrice; Machiavelli, Niccolo; Mao Zedong; Methodologies of Leadership Research; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Nkrumah, Kwame; Nyerere, Julius; Parliament, British; Presidential Leadership, U.S.; Qualitative Research; Shaka Zulu; Sociology; Stalin, Josef; Süleyman the Magnificent; Tokugawa Ieyasu; United States Constitution; Women and Political Leadership

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. . . [gives] to economic studies their chief and their highest interest” (Marshall 1920, introduction). Alongside economists and sociologists, scholars of leadership have dedicated attention to poverty and inequality. James MacGregor Burns, a towering figure in leadership studies, has recently called for the “biggest, boldest kind of leadership [in order to] confront the largest, most intractable problem facing humanity in the twenty-first century: the basic wants of the world’s poor” (Burns 2003, 230).

How and whether societies should attack deprivation is a perennial issue facing leaders, policymakers, and citizens. The optimism of the Progressive Era (c. 1890–1925) and the economic growth of the post–World War II period ushered in the possibility that poverty could be virtually eliminated by modernity’s advances. Although neither poverty nor excessive inequality has been removed altogether from any society, the degree and quality of public commitment to these issues has made a significant difference in how much deprivation plagues a society’s citizens.

DEFINITIONS

Poverty and inequality are interrelated but distinguishable concepts. Poverty entails the lack of certain requisites for a decent standard of living. How to define what goods or circumstances constitute poverty is a matter of heated academic and practical debate. Definitions of poverty depend upon a prior understanding of what persons need to live within their society. A bare-minimum conception of poverty is the lack of what is required in order simply to stay alive. Starvation is one severe result of undernutrition and/or hunger, which are forms of poverty. Hunger-focused definitions depend upon nutritional minimums—that is, those nutritional inputs (in terms of calories, proteins, vitamins, etc.) that allow a person to subsist.

Beyond sheer survival, the question of what persons really need in order merely to escape poverty is by no means a settled one. Healthy food and potable water are widely agreed upon as requisites, but also important are decent housing, clothing appropriate for one’s climate, and basic medical care. Many

POVERTY AND INEQUALITY

The neoclassical economist Alfred Marshall wrote that “the question of whether it is really impossible that all should start in the world with a fair chance of leading a cultured life, free from the pains of poverty

social scientists assert (explicitly or implicitly) some “hierarchy” of needs, such as Abraham Maslow’s (1954) pyramid of needs, conceptions that place so-called subsistence needs as more fundamental than “higher-order” needs, such as self-actualization. Similarly, most basic definitions of poverty focus on material goods that address physical needs. In the standard, neoclassical model of economics, income becomes the basic currency of analysis; income is seen as a reasonable indicator of utility or welfare. As will be discussed, however, income can be a very imprecise indicator of one’s standard of living.

While poverty reflects persons’ unfavorable condition vis-à-vis some societal standard, inequality is a concept that has to do with the interrelationships among all segments of a group—the well-off, the poor, and those in between. That is, for any particular good, poverty is a reality of those at the bottom of that good’s distribution, whereas inequality is a phenomenon of the distribution as a whole. Even as poverty and inequality often exist together, societies can have relatively high poverty and low inequality (e.g., India), or relatively low poverty (by international standards) and high inequality (e.g., the United Kingdom).

RELATIVE OR ABSOLUTE DEPRIVATION?

The relationship between poverty and inequality becomes more complicated as one explores more closely the nature of human need. By accounts of “absolute” need, poverty is determined by setting a fixed threshold for caloric intake, basic health indicators, or income. To the degree that need is a function of a person’s social surroundings, however—not only because of what he or she perceives to be a social standard, but also because of the actual forms of exclusion that arise from relative deprivation—then poverty takes on relational characteristics.

Adam Smith, the moral philosopher and founder of classical economics, addressed this issue, asserting that “by necessities I understand not only the commodities which are indispensably necessary for the support of life, but what ever the custom of the country renders it indecent for creditable people, even of the lowest order, to be without” (Smith 1976

[1776], 869–870). Nearly a century later, Karl Marx (1977 [1867]) also argued that the understanding of “subsistence” was a product one’s social context.

In most current-day societies, the use of a telephone—along with, increasingly, access to the Internet—is necessary for full social participation. Contemporary research by sociologists and economists, including Richard Easterlin (1995) and Richard Wilkinson (1996), supports the view that, at levels beyond the struggle for survival, happiness and well-being are largely determined not by absolute holdings of goods but, rather, by one’s relative position within a social or economic distribution. Such findings underscore the value of attending to relative poverty and inequality, even if some minimal, absolute measures are employed as well.

THE UNITED STATES: TRENDS AND PROGRAMS

The contemporary analysis of poverty and inequality in the United States begins with the public responses to the desperate conditions of the Great Depression, which began in 1929. Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s domestic initiative known as the New Deal (1933–1939) introduced a social security program and public works projects that offered employment for many Americans. The New Deal thus laid the groundwork for broad and sustained government social initiatives to fight poverty. At the end of the World War II, poverty remained high. The twin engine of private sector expansion and government programs such as the G.I. Bill coincided with a period of increasing prosperity and the reduction of poverty and inequality.

In 1959 (the first year of comparable Census Bureau data), poverty for the U.S. population stood above 22 percent. Lyndon B. Johnson’s Great Society domestic initiative (1965–1969) included the president’s declaration of a “war on poverty,” and he established programs such as Head Start, the Job Corps, Medicare, and Medicaid. These programs had the most success in the targeted initiatives; in particular, the medical insurance programs disproportionately aided the elderly, whose poverty rate was cut in half in less than two decades.

In the postwar period, poverty and inequality both steadily reduced from the late 1940s to about 1970. The lowest official poverty rate for U.S. individuals in the postwar period, based on the official income measure, was obtained in 1973 (11.1%). Since the early 1970s, the rate has fluctuated closely with business cycles. The 2001 rate was 11.3 percent. The lowest level of income inequality for households (measured by the Gini coefficient, a standard indicator of inequality) occurred in 1968. Inequality increased for the next two and a half decades, beginning to level off in the late 1990s at the highest levels in the postwar period (Census Bureau data). Inequality remained on the public agenda in the early George W. Bush administration, as critics asserted that his domestic program, especially a series of tax cuts, was designed to benefit wealthy Americans disproportionately and thus to increase income inequality.

GLOBAL POVERTY AND INEQUALITY

World Bank figures from 2000 to 2001 estimate that 2.8 billion persons in the world, or about 45 percent of the world's population, live on less than \$2 dollars per day. Within that group, 1.2 billion, or about 20 percent of all humans, receive less than \$1 per day, the generally accepted international level of absolute poverty. Other indicators of extreme deprivation include the estimate by the World Health Organization (WHO) and UNICEF that 1.1 billion persons live without access to safe drinking water, and the Food and Agricultural Organization's figure that 840 million adults and children are severely undernourished (FAO 2002).

The global inequality levels are as staggering as the poverty figures. Milanovic (2002) estimates that, in 1993, the richest 1 percent of the world population received more income than the poorest 57 percent (p. 88), and the top 10 percent of the population accounted for over half of total world income (p. 73). The complex causes and trends of global inequality are under intense dispute. Although there is no broad consensus on whether global inequality increased from 1970 to the 1990s, it is clear that the current level of global income inequality is at least as high as

income inequality in the most unequal nations of the world (e.g., South Africa, Guatemala, etc.).

The discussion continues over which aspects of globalization are contributing to greater levels of inequality and which aspects are helping to alleviate it. While debate about the relationship between economic growth and poverty is fiery, a growing consensus of development scholars see that private-sector growth and government social support systems should be seen as complementary and mutually reinforcing for sustained and equitable growth (see Sen 1999; UNDP 1999). It is clear that inequality is impacted by social policy and philosophies of public leadership. As one significant example of contrasts, the social welfare states of Europe, and particularly Scandinavian countries, experience far less inequality (measured in various ways) than the more *laissez-faire* economic and political approaches of the United States and the United Kingdom.

In September 2000, a United Nations summit approved the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), a series of international commitments to fight destitution. Most prominent of these targets is the effort to cut in half, by 2015, the number of persons who earned less than \$1 per day in 1990. The eight overarching Millennium Development Goals aim to do the following: "eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; achieve universal primary education; promote gender equality and empower women; reduce child mortality; improve maternal health; combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; ensure environmental sustainability; and develop a global partnership for development" (United Nations Development Programme 2003).

GENDER, POVERTY, AND INEQUALITY

Women and children make up a disproportionate number of the poor. In every society in the world, women lag behind men in basic income, health care, and education measures (UNDP 2003). The biological advantage of women in terms of life expectancy is severely attenuated in many countries. Amartya Sen has calculated that if girls and boys, and men and women, received roughly equivalent social, medical, and educational advantages, over 100 more million

females would be alive in the world than are presently alive today (Sen 1999). The causes of gender-based poverty and inequality require analysis not only of the formal economic sphere—from which women are often excluded—but also of the social and political conditions of a society as well as of family and religious structures (see Nussbaum 2000; Tinker 1990; UNDP 1995).

MEASUREMENT ISSUES: POVERTY

When one determines a poverty “threshold” through absolute or relative means, basic indicators of poverty divide a population into “poor” (i.e., below the threshold) and “non-poor” (i.e., above the threshold). This type of indicator can be communicated in either the number of poor people or as a proportion of a total population. Such “head-count” measures have certain limitations. One of the most significant is that they do not measure *depth* of poverty, counting a person just under the poverty threshold in the same way as someone who is completely destitute. Similarly, these measures do not indicate how many persons are just above the threshold, and thus just one catastrophe away from poverty. Depth of poverty measures, including one proposed by Sen (1976), have helped to address these problems.

Assessing changes in the poverty level over time creates a host of conceptual and practical issues. First, while a poverty rate can be traced over the years, threshold-based measures do not indicate how permanent or temporary any specific person’s poverty is. A society might have a different degree of concern about poverty if persons were able to move in and out of poverty readily than it would if, say, one-seventh of the population were permanently stuck in the condition.



Indigenous or Government Control?

A central issue in efforts to alleviate poverty in developing nations is the clash over power and control between the government and local people who are often members of indigenous minority groups. The following text provides an example of an effort by the Aymara of Peru to control their own future.

Peasants rejected ideologies that associated their ethnic identity with monolingualism, poverty, and ignorance. In building schools and adopting the Spanish language and Western dress, they did not reject their indigenous heritage per se, but denied that it should prevent them from functioning as full citizens of the republic. In a letter to President Leguía, a representative of sixteen communities from Huancané, Carlos Condorena Yu-jura, explained the rationale behind the actions taken by the Aymara at Wancho Lima. . . . Yujra continues:

As a hard-working people, we have this right [to establish schools, industrial centers, and markets and expositions], and believe that our initiatives toward well-being and progress are neither evil nor harm anyone; to the contrary they open a new and grandiose era of National Industrialization to the honor of Peru and all of America. These are our uprisings: to think about educating ourselves and to work peacefully and thus save our race, with thousands of schools, Federated Workshops and Rural Settlements, which are legally recognized by the Ministry of Development. . . . I ask for a special commission from the capital, issuing from the three legal powers, because in Huancané and all the provinces of the department of Puno, there is no justice for the Indian. . . . We ask the immediate removal of the subprefect . . . and reparation for the harms caused the indigenous population.

Source: Carlos Condorena Yujra, Expediente numero 348, Archivo de la Sección de Asuntos Indígenas, Ministerio de Fomento, Lima, 1924; published in Reátegui Chávez 1978. Quoted in: Collins, Jane Lou. (1988). *Unseasonal migrations: The effects of rural labor scarcity in Peru*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p. 60.

The issue of whether the threshold should be fixed, or if and how it should be adjusted over time, is another problem. The official poverty threshold in the United States, developed by Mollie Orshansky in 1965 and adopted by the Social Security Administration, is determined by pricing an “economy” food basket and multiplying by three, on the view that food expenditures comprise about one-third of a vulnerable person’s budget. The Orshansky index has been widely criticized but is still employed as the official U.S. measure. Since 1965, in addition to problems of how best to adjust for inflation, the cost of housing vis-à-vis food has risen, and thus some analysts have called for multiplying by a factor greater than three times the food budget in order to

maintain a comparable poverty threshold. Others call the food basket inadequate except in emergency periods. These and related issues have led to alternative poverty measures, now calculated by the federal government as “experimental measures.” No political leader, however, has been willing to adopt a new index that would suggest that poverty had increased during his or her term of office. These issues serve as a reminder that measuring and addressing poverty are issues of political leadership as much as they are economic questions.

CONCEPTUAL AND MEASUREMENT ISSUES: INEQUALITY

Evaluating inequality depends upon a number of conceptual choices. The first question is one of scope: inequality among which people or which groups of people? Standard approaches to inequality examine all individuals of a population; they reflect inequality among all U.S. citizens or among all residents of Boston. It is also possible, through a “differential” analysis, to examine the distance between the respective average of two groups of persons—for example, the differential between the average wage of working men and that of working women.

It is also necessary to ask what good or circumstance is being assessed: inequality of income, or of years of schooling, or of food intake, and so forth. As will be discussed in the following section, inequality measures yield different results in various spheres, so context and values will determine what good or condition should be the object of inequality evaluation. Leaders in one context have good reason to focus on inequalities of income, while persons in another situation might focus on inequality of educational training. It is possible, of course, to attend to multiple forms of inequality, but the point is that these exercises are a question of priorities.

Even after one chooses to focus, say, on income alone, measures of inequality have varying properties. One simple way in which to assess inequality is by comparing income “classes,” which requires ranking the individuals (or households, etc.) in terms of income within the distribution. It is then possible to provide, for example, the share of total income

received by the bottom quintile (i.e., the lowest 20%), or the ratio of the top quintile to the bottom quintile. This approach has certain advantages, including its intuitive appeal. More complex calculations like the Gini coefficient, Theil-class measures which allow analysts to give special weight to changes at either the top or bottom end of a distribution), and Atkinson-class measures (which enable attention to the degree of a society’s overall aversion to inequality) incorporate information about the entire distribution, and each measure has distinctive virtues and limitations. The Gini coefficient is readily calculated from information about the shares of income held by different persons, is easily expressed in geometric terms, and has many desirable properties when the requisite data is available. The latter two measures may be preferable in situations in which inequality among the entire group is to be compared to that of subgroups. The technical issues are discussed in Sen (1997), Litchfield (1999), and Hicks (2000, 247–256).

MORAL, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL DEBATES

The methodological and empirical issues fuel sharp debates among economists and statisticians; they also inform the wider discussions of deprivation as a contemporary issue. The economic analyses have tended to focus on income—and sometimes wealth (see Wolff 2002)—as the “space” or “currency” in which inequality and poverty should be measured. The moral, social, and political debates, however, easily expand to discuss ends that are more intrinsically valuable than money alone. For instance, equality (or inequality) of opportunity broadens the focus on deprivation of various sorts. The concept of equality of opportunity, itself a contested term, has proponents on all parts of the U.S. political spectrum, and to the extent that it can be made specific, it serves as a common ground for moral and political debates about inequality.

The political and moral philosopher John Rawls, in his seminal book *A Theory of Justice* (1971), suggests that a set of “primary goods”—wealth and income, liberties, powers, and opportunities, and the social bases of self respect—gives a broader view of

well-being and its lack. Moving further toward a focus on intrinsically valuable ends, Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum suggest that inequality and poverty should be analyzed in terms of human capability, or what persons are able to be and to achieve within their own social contexts (Sen 1999; Nussbaum 2000). By their accounts, it is more significant to discuss not inequalities in means such as income, years of schooling, or even Rawls's all-purpose "primary goods." Rather, inequalities in ends, such as being well nourished or being able to appear in public without shame, deserve our fundamental attention and merit effort that expands human capability.

LEADERSHIP TO COMBAT POVERTY AND INEQUALITY

The philosophically centered question of the "space" of analysis of poverty and inequality challenges leaders and citizens to ask why and how deprivation is a moral or social problem. What forms of inequality are acceptable for common life? How much effort will be made to reduce poverty so that only temporary or transitional forms of deprivation occur? The measurement of poverty and inequality cannot be done adequately without an answer to the prior question of how deprivation is understood within any given social context. Similarly, any leadership efforts to combat poverty or disparity need to make choices about which forms of deprivation should be attacked.

On the international level, various explicit leadership efforts presently are taking place, with unclear success to date. Progress toward the Millennium Development Goals has been mixed, but the very fact that these goals have gained public attention is significant. Some leaders in the fight against international terrorism have acknowledged that the despair of living in poverty is one contributing factor in the turn to violence, and thus Western leaders are showing signs of deepening the resolve to fight poverty.

Yet, official development assistance by wealthy nations, as a percentage of their national income, remains below the United Nations' target of 0.7 percent, except for a handful of exemplary nations. The United States, which provides a large amount of aid in absolute terms, stands near the bottom of the pack



The Clan Chief in Scotland

Once the clan system was established, there were few individuals without allegiance to some chief. The individual's status and protection depended on clan membership. An individual who could not name his chief had no dignity. Thus, under the Law of Arms of Scotland the clan is described as an aggregate of families actually descended, or accepting themselves as descended, from a common ancestor.

The Clan Chief. At the head of the clan stood the *ceann-cinnidh* (literally the head of the kin), the living representative of the common ancestor and the group. While giving the clan coherence and endurance, he served as the military leader, protector, lawgiver, arbiter, judge, and administrator of the community of fate. His power and position, backed by a resolute body of supporters, was almost independent of royal authority. He did not, however, enjoy absolute power. The obligation to consult the leading men of the clan on communal affairs tempered his rule. He was a patriarch who governed by custom and general consent. Always, in a general sense, he was the father of his people. His government rested on reciprocal relations. The chief and the clan brotherhood mutually owed and received devotion. Right or wrong the clansmen were sheltered and defended in quarrels by their chief.

Source: Ducey, Paul R. (1956). *Cultural Continuity and Population Change on the Isle of Skye*. Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, p. 72.

in relative terms, with a figure of less than 0.1 percent of gross domestic product.

Analysts contend, however, that even at current levels of assistance by developed nations, the careful coordination of efforts will produce steady progress in meeting the MDGs. Burns's call for new linkages between "freedom leaders" from developed countries and local leaders in developing countries is an innovative proposal in leadership studies that can contribute to the policy debates (Burns 2003). Burns's work also supports the view that addressing deprivation will be most effectively (and ethically) accomplished when influential persons from developed and host countries find ways to share their power with the poor, and impoverished persons find ways to exercise their own agency in the process.

The domestic picture in the United States remains

problematic. One in eight Americans, just as thirty years earlier, live below the official poverty line, even as real, average, per capita income has gone from about \$13,000 to \$23,000 over that period (Census Bureau data). In addition, inequality has significantly widened since 1970. Putting and keeping up a fight against poverty and excessive inequality on the domestic, as well as the international, agenda is a matter of public leadership.

—Douglas A. Hicks

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POWER DISTANCE

Leadership is found as an important function in human groups all over the world. Everywhere, the leadership role is associated with power and status. Most cultures have symbols that convey power and status. For example, in some cultures leaders may be recognizable by objects or clothing they alone are allowed to carry or wear by virtue of their position.

Such symbols are also found in the business world. Examples from that sphere are company cars, job titles, or office location and size.

Status and power differentials are found everywhere, although they are more visible or stronger in some cultures than in others. Geert Hofstede, a cofounder of the Institute for Research on Intercultural Cooperation, refers to culture as the collective programming of the mind. Power distance is one of the four dimensions of cultural variability that Hofstede discussed in his well-known 1980 study of IBM employees in forty countries. The other dimensions he discussed were individualism-collectivism, masculinity-femininity, and uncertainty avoidance. In later research a fifth dimension emerged, labeled Confucian dynamism (or a long versus short term orientation). This entry focuses on the impact of power distance on leadership.

Hofstede defines power distance as the extent to which a society accepts the fact that power in institutions and organizations is distributed unequally. Research has shown that power distance has a strong impact on organizational as well as personal functioning. For example, in a 1998 study, the researchers Randall Schuler and Nikolai Rogovsky found that the greater the power distance in society (that is, the more acceptance there is for unequal distribution of power in society), the less likely that companies in that society will have employee stock ownership plans. In the same year, the researcher Chet Robie and his colleagues reported that the relationship between job satisfaction and job level was weaker in low power distance cultures than in high power distance cultures.

Hofstede is not the only one to have studied power differentials as an important element of culture. All societies must find ways of eliciting responsible behavior from their members, but there are many different ways of doing so. Hierarchical cultures emphasize the chain of authority and rely on hierarchically structured roles. An unequal distribution of power and status is legitimate and expected. Employees are expected to comply with management's directives without questioning them. In contrast, egalitarian cultures encourage people to view each other as moral equals. Leaders motivate employees in a more partic-

ipative manner and appeal to them to act on behalf of all. Employees typically have input into decisions and share in goal-setting activities.

In cultures with large differences in power between individuals, organizations will typically have more layers and the chain of command is felt to be more important. There is clearly a connection between power distance and leadership. For example, compared with their counterparts in low power distance countries, subordinates in high power distance countries are typically more reluctant to challenge their supervisors and more fearful of expressing disagreement with their managers. Not only are people in high power distance countries less likely to provide negative feedback to superiors spontaneously, the very idea that subordinates would be allowed to provide feedback is more likely to be rejected in high power distance countries, because such upward feedback may be perceived as threatening status positions.

Thus, power distance has an impact on subordinates' expectations and preferences (people want and expect more guidance in societies with more power distance) as well as on acceptable or typical patterns of leader behavior (autocratic leadership is more acceptable and effective in high power distance societies).

BEING SEEN AS A LEADER: THE GLOBE STUDY

To be successful in a leadership role, leaders need to show characteristics or behave in ways that others equate with leadership. The vastly different types of leaders one can find in the media worldwide illustrate that people from different cultures associate different characteristics and behaviors with the leadership role. Power distance is one of the factors shaping cultural perceptions of effective leadership. For instance, some cultures expect their leaders to be bold, directive, and decisive heroes, whereas elsewhere a good leader may be someone who is calm, involves others in decision making, and seeks consensus before acting.

The GLOBE (Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness) Project is one of the

largest studies of leadership and culture carried out to date. The project involves researchers from some sixty countries working together to collect different kinds of data on leadership and culture. A large portion of the study involves a survey among middle managers in three different industries. In total, more than sixteen thousand managers in more than sixty countries have participated in the survey.

One of the results of the GLOBE study was a report that lists which leadership attributes are universally endorsed as contributing to outstanding leadership, which are universally seen as undesirable, and which are culturally contingent. In all participating countries, an outstanding leader is expected to be encouraging, motivational, dynamic, and to have foresight. Universally, a leader is also expected to be oriented toward excellence, decisive, trustworthy, and intelligent. Several other attributes were universally viewed as impediments to outstanding leadership—for example, being noncooperative, ruthless, and dictatorial. The term *autocratic leadership* is often used to refer to leaders who do not allow subordinates to have any say in decision making. Dictatorial leadership can go even further, and depicts a situation in which leaders become feared tyrants. Although neither of these is seen as positive, the latter universally has the most negative connotations.

The importance of other attributes was found to vary across cultures. For example, being autonomous, unique, and independent were found to contribute to outstanding leadership in some cultures, but to be undesirable in others. People within a given culture tend to agree that a particular characteristic is desirable or undesirable, but vast differences exist between cultures. Culturally contingent attributes that contributed to outstanding leadership in some cultures while being seen as detrimental in others included being enthusiastic, subdued, indirect, intuitive, and compassionate.

Several of the culturally contingent attributes varied in accordance with whether there was a cultural preference for high power distance or egalitarianism. For example, in high power distance cultures, people tend to react more favorably to leaders who were status conscious, class conscious, elitist, and

domineering, whereas in low power distance cultures people tend to react negatively to leaders with those traits.

The GLOBE study combined leadership items into several dimensions of leadership characteristics, one of which was participative leadership—that is, leadership that is not autocratic and allows participation in decision making. Of the leadership dimensions, participative leadership is most directly related to power distance. The GLOBE study found that endorsement of participative leadership varied in different parts of the worlds, with regional clusters of cultures reacting similarly. For example, the Anglo cluster (which includes the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, and Australia), the Nordic cluster (which comprises the Scandinavian countries), and the Germanic cluster (which includes Germany, Austria, Switzerland and the Netherlands) all were particularly attuned to participative leadership. By contrast, the Middle Eastern, Eastern European, Confucian Asian, and Southern Asian clusters did not endorse participative leadership as strongly.

LEADER BEHAVIOR: AUTHORITARIAN LEADERSHIP

Authoritarian leaders and autocratic decision-making procedures are likely to be more accepted and expected in high power distance cultures. For example, research showed that Dutch managers had a more negative attitude toward autocratic leader behavior and status consciousness than did Polish managers, which is probably related to the much more egalitarian values found in the Netherlands.

According to Hofstede, subordinates in high power distance countries see their managers primarily as well-meaning autocrats, whereas subordinates in low power distance countries prefer to see them primarily as resourceful democrats. In low power distance cultures, employees expect more say in decisions affecting their work. Hofstede describes some studies that compared the role of managers in France (which has a high power distance culture) and Denmark (which has a low power distance culture). The French respondents felt that their supervisor always had to be consulted simply because he or

she was the boss, whereas the Danish indicated supervisors had to be consulted only when they were likely to know the answer to the problem. In France, managers were highly respected by virtue of their position, whereas in Denmark respect was much less dependent on position. Danish firms were also characterized by more delegation of authority and fewer layers of authority.

Other research highlighting the role of power distance focuses on employees' willingness to accept supervisory direction and their emphasis on gaining support from those in positions of authority. A 2001 study conducted by the researchers Nailin Bu and colleagues compared these characteristics among Chinese, Taiwanese, and U.S. employees by examining their responses to several vignettes. Overall, the Chinese employees in their sample demonstrated the strongest tendency to accept direction and the U.S. employees the least. Peer consensus had more influence on the tendency to accept in the United States than in Taiwan or mainland China. Also, Chinese employees were most sensitive to the consistency between the supervisory direction and company policies, and were less responsive to their own assessment of the merit of the directions they were given. The differences again seem to reflect differences in power distance. A 1995 study conducted by Scott Shane and colleagues focused on innovation in different countries. Their study showed that support from superiors is more important in high power distance countries than in low power distance countries. The greater the power distance in a society, the more people focused on gaining the support of those in authority before taking other action on an innovation. In societies with less power distance, the focus is on building a broad base of support for new ideas among organization members rather than on gaining support from above.

How managers handle day-to-day matters is also influenced by power distance in society. The social psychologist Peter B. Smith has headed several studies that examined managerial styles; those studies show that formal rules and procedures set by the top managers are more important in high power distance cultures. The studies also indicate that managers in high power distance cultures rely less on subordinates and their own experience in dealing with

everyday events than do managers from low power distance countries. The results suggest that in high power distance countries a more strict hierarchy is found in which employees and managers alike are more likely to follow directives, rules, and policies set by higher levels.

PARTICIPATIVE LEADERSHIP

Participative leadership is typically found in low power distance countries. A 1997 study by Peter Dorfman and his colleagues compared leader behavior in the United States, Mexico, Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea. They found that leader supportiveness, contingent reward leadership, and charismatic leadership were consistently endorsed in all five cultures, whereas participative leadership, directive leadership, and contingent punishment behaviors were culturally contingent, in different ways. Contingent punishment had positive effects in the United States but undesirable effects in the other countries. Directive leadership behaviors had positive effects in terms of increased satisfaction and commitment in Taiwan and Mexico, while participative leadership behaviors had similar positive effects in the United States and South Korea. The differences they found reflect relative differences in power distance between these countries, as the countries involved in this study—Mexico and Taiwan—are cultures relatively high on power distance and the United States and South Korea are cultures relatively low on power distance. In Mexico (high power distance) and the United States (high power distance), the researchers were also able to collect job performance data. In the United States, only participative leadership (and not the other five measured leader behaviors) had a direct and positive relationship with performance. In contrast, in Mexico, only directive and supportive leadership were directly and positively related to performance.

PATERNALISTIC LEADERSHIP

In the study by Dorfman and colleagues described above, the combination of directive and supportive leadership was found to be highly effective, especially in many developing nations. Cultures of devel-

oping countries tend to be somewhat higher on power distance. In many developing countries, an effective leadership style is highly status oriented, requires a high level of involvement in subordinates' non-work lives, and is highly directive. Such a style is often called paternalistic.

When leadership is paternalistic, the superior assumes the role of the benevolent father who provides for subordinates, guides them, and protects their interests. In return, they comply with the superior's wishes and show high levels of loyalty. The guiding role of the leader can go beyond the work sphere and include issues that are not work related; for example, a paternalistic leader typically shows a strong concern for the well-being not only of the subordinate but also of the subordinate's family. Paternalistic behaviors may include attending the weddings or funerals of subordinates or their family members, providing financial assistance (donations or loans) to employees for expenses such as housing, health care, and children's education, and acting as mediator in interpersonal conflicts among employees. In return, employees display high levels of loyalty and deference and a willingness to perform personal favors for superiors. If a paternalistic leader is perceived to treat some workers better than others, rivalry and jealousy may develop among subordinates.

EGALITARIANISM AND TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Transformational leadership has received increased attention in the last decades of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. Transformational leadership entails inspiring others to transcend their own self-interest for the sake of the collective. This is done through articulating an attractive, exciting, and shared vision and inspiring trust and faith that the vision can be reached through collective effort. Followers become highly committed to the goal and perform beyond expectations. Transformational leadership also entails developing followers to their full potential and challenging them to take risks and view problems in new ways.

A preference for transformational leadership is found in many different cultures and has positive

effects in most cultures. However, transformational leadership is enacted in different ways. For example, the psychologist Bernard Bass states that "Indonesian inspirational leaders need to persuade their followers about the leaders' own competence, a behavior that would appear unseemly in Japan" (Bass 1997, 132).

Power distance is one factor that determines culturally appropriate enactment of transformational leadership. In the Netherlands (a low power distance culture), for instance, transformational leaders tend to encourage participation in decision making. The same has also been found in Australia, another egalitarian country. Thus, in highly egalitarian societies transformational leaders may need to be more participative to be effective. In contrast, in high power distance societies, transformational leadership is likely to take a more directive form.

—Deanne N. Den Hartog

See also GLOBE.

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- reputation in the eyes of others. The notion that power is a basic goal in human social life, and that individuals differ in the extent to which they seek power, is rooted in such classical Greek concepts as Empedocles' dualism of strife (versus love), Thucydides' conclusion in the "Melian Dialogue" (*A History of the Peloponnesian Wars*) that "the strong do what they have the power to do and the weak accept what they have to accept," and Plato's account of the decline of the ideal state and the rise of the despot. Modern cognate psychological concepts include Alfred Adler's "striving for superiority" and Henry Murray's "need dominance."
- Whereas people who want power usually attempt to get it by various means and often succeed, power as a motive must be distinguished from other power-related concepts such as social roles that permit (or encourage) power behaviors, skill in using power, the feeling of being powerful, and positive or negative values about the exercise of power (such as authoritarianism, Machiavellianism, or Gandhi's nonviolent "truth force").
- The power motive is conceptualized as a stable disposition or potential. It is aroused by various situations and stimuli involving power, which create anticipations and lead the person to take appropriate instrumental activity. Thus the overall power motive reflects individual differences in the kinds and range of experiences that arouse the motive, and how quickly and to what level it is aroused as well as in the refractory period or time it takes for the motive to "recover" after engaging in power behavior (this last is analogous to how soon a person feels hunger after eating).

POWER MOTIVATION

Power motivation is the operationally defined psychological term for what is often called the desire for power, the will to power (Nietzsche) or even the aggressive drive (Freud). People with high levels of power motivation want to have impact on other people or the world at large, or to acquire prestige and

MEASURING POWER MOTIVATION

Power motivation is usually measured by content analysis of spoken or written text for images portraying one person or group having impact on the behavior or emotions of another, or being concerned for prestige and reputation as potential for such impact. Such images may be taken as the core of power motivation. Observer ratings of motivation are problematic because they are based on external behavior (especially outcomes of that behavior) and

not on inner wishes. Depending on circumstances, the same behavior might result from many different motives, and the same motive might lead to many quite different behaviors. Furthermore, people are often unable (or unwilling) to report directly on their own motives, and, since “power” is a word fraught with negative connotations, this is especially likely to be the case with the desire for power. Thus the content analysis measure is usually uncorrelated with direct questionnaires, which may reflect people’s conscious values or preferred ideal self-concepts with respect to power.

For ordinary people, stories written to the Thematic Apperception Test or other imaginative texts are scored; for political leaders or historical figures, transcripts of speeches or press conferences can be used. Power motivation can even be scored from such diverse sources as popular fiction, diplomatic documents, or corporate annual reports (Winter 1992).

POWER MOTIVATION AND BEHAVIOR

Men and women scoring high in power motivation tend to make themselves visible, and are active in defining group agendas and encouraging participation. They seek and use the symbols of prestige. They are adept at building alliances, especially with lower-status or less well-known others, who thereby can constitute a loyal base of support. By high school, they tend to emerge as student leaders of the “academic” (rather than “social”) variety. In ways consistent with traditional sex roles, they are generative. They are drawn to occupations (such as business executive, journalist, professor or teacher, and psychologist) that involve exercising institutionally legitimized positive and negative sanctions to direct the behavior of individual others in accordance with some preconceived plan. They are active in voluntary organizations, as members and officers. They are capable of verbal and physical aggression when provoked, according to McClelland’s studies (*Power: The Inner Experience* 1975; *Human Motivation* 1985) and Winter’s work (*The Power Motive* 1973). However, McClelland also suggested that when activity inhibition (measured by frequency of

the word “not”) is high, power motivation is expressed in more socially productive ways.

On the other hand, if combined with low activity inhibition, a lack of responsibility or self-control, power motivation is also associated with a variety of “profligate” impulsive (and ultimately self-destructive) behaviors such as taking extreme risks, drinking and drug use, and sexual exploitation. Control, responsibility, and/or inhibition, then, moderates or directs the expression of power motivation in prosocial or anti-social channels.

CORPORATE AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

For all these reasons, it is not surprising that power motivation (especially when combined with a sense of responsibility or impulse control) is associated with successful leadership, both in corporate and political settings. This confirms Max Weber’s ([1919] 1948) prescription for political leadership, given in his lecture on “Politics as a Vocation”:

[The political leader] works with the striving for power as an unavoidable means. Therefore, “power instinct,” as is usually said, belongs indeed to his normal qualities. The sin against the lofty spirit of his vocation, however, begins where this striving for power ceases to be *objective* and becomes purely personal self-intoxication, instead of exclusively entering the service of “the cause.” (115–116)

Corporate leaders high in controlled power motivation are able to create high morale among their subordinates—that is, a climate that emphasizes organizational clarity, team spirit, responsibility, and (interestingly enough) *low* conformity. Doubtless as a result, over time subordinates rise more rapidly in the corporate hierarchy. In a military setting, they draw higher performance ratings from their supervising officers.

Power motivation plays a major role in political leadership, both by itself and as a balance to achievement motivation, according to David G. Winter’s studies (2002b). United States presidents whose inaugural addresses scored high in power motivation are rated high by historians and observers of the presidency on overall greatness, as well as on mak-

ing “great decisions,” communicating effectively with the public, combative skill, and humor. (Their sense of humor and overall capacity to get pleasure from the exercise of power probably acts as a buffer or counterpoise to the inherent problems and stresses of politics: making compromises, trimming programs to fit budgets, and getting other people to carry out their duties on behalf of the leader.) Analysis of subordinates’ memoirs shows that these presidents act in charismatic ways and elicit charismatic reactions from followers. Power motivation, then, may be one psychological basis or component of charisma, according to the study by R. J. House and colleagues (1991).

However, power motivation by itself is not consistently related to electoral success, at least in the U.S. political system, although power-motivated candidates are more attractive to authoritarian voters generally and to all voters in times of threat. Overall, however, election performance (measured by vote percentage or vote margin) is related to the degree of congruence between a candidate’s overall motive profile (achievement-affiliation-power) with that of the society. (There is some evidence for a different kind of motive-profile congruence in the former Soviet Union. There the profile of the Communist Party General Secretary preceded that of Soviet society.)

In the light of all these findings, it is not surprising that power motivation is strongly associated with the political scientist James David Barber’s classification of “active positive”—that is, active presidents who enjoy the office. This relationship is further demonstrated in a study of President John F. Kennedy’s motives over time: When Kennedy’s level of power motivation was higher, he arrived at the office earlier and worked longer days, while maintaining a more flexible schedule.

THREAT, STRESS, AND AGGRESSION

Kennedy’s speeches during times of domestic or international crisis and threat were relatively higher in power motivation, which is consistent with laboratory studies of the effects of threat on power motive arousal. In fact, power motivation appears to be linked to activity of the sympathetic nervous sys-

tem, which drives the “fight-or-flight” patterns of behavior in response to challenge. (As a result, people scoring high in power motivation are more vulnerable to challenge-related stress, cardiovascular problems, and impaired immune system functioning.) Further, for power-motivated people, successful exercise of power appears to set off a “testosterone high.”

Consistent with these results, power-motivated presidents are relatively more likely to involve the United States in war (as well as near-war crises). Even within the same presidential administration, different power motive levels predict corresponding different results: For example, in President James Polk’s 1845–1846 speeches and diary, passages relating to Mexico show increasing levels of power motivation up to the outbreak of the United States–Mexican War in May 1846, whereas passages relevant to the Oregon Boundary dispute with Great Britain show decreasing levels as the dispute was peacefully resolved by treaty in June 1846. Along these same lines, leaders from southern Africa in the late 1970s whose speeches and press conferences scored high in power motivation were rated by experts in African affairs as relatively more “likely to support the initiation, escalation, continuation, or escalation of armed conflict” (Winter 1980). In archival and laboratory studies of crisis diplomacy, power motivation levels were negatively associated with the likelihood of making concessions.

NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF POWER MOTIVATION

The findings about power motivation and aggression may be an illustration of Lord Acton’s pronouncement that “all power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely.” Other negative or self-defeating aspects of power motivation especially relevant to leadership theory and practice include the following: a lack of “strategic” cognitive style (that is, not realizing and attending to the long-term consequences of policies framed in the light of current goals and in the heat of current rhetoric), vulnerability to flattery, a propensity to evaluate others in terms of status-related social labels rather than their own

direct impressions, proneness to ignore moral considerations, and inability to learn from past mistakes and failures. Further, if opportunities for actual power are blocked, power-motivated people may seek the feelings (if not the reality) of power in alcohol consumption, drug use, or sexual exploitation. In negotiations, power-motivated people tend to be confrontational and exploitative, rather than rational and cooperative, especially when they perceive an advantage.

Some other recent research suggests that high levels of power motivation are related to *negative* emotions, such as boredom and a general anhedonia (inability to feel pleasure). It seems paradoxical to suggest that people may not really enjoy the exercise of power. However, such a notion would explain why (for men, at least) power so often fuses with sexuality to become sexual exploitation; or why power can become an addiction, leading people to seek ever-larger “doses” in a futile quest to extract pleasure from power.

ORIGINS OF POWER MOTIVATION

There are two theories about how people develop high power motivation. One notion, often associated with the psychologist Alfred Adler and political scientists Harold Lasswell and Alexander George, holds that power-striving originates as (over)compensation for early perceived weakness, lack of power, or being the target of others’ power. On this view, playground bullies and brutal dictators alike are responding to experiences of early power deprivation. Another perspective suggests that power motivation results from direct early reinforcement of power behaviors, especially aggressive behaviors. There is currently some research support for each perspective, so that there is no clear consensus on the origins and developmental trajectory of power motivation.

CAN POWER BE TEMPERED OR CONTROLLED?

Thus the motive for power has a dual nature, corresponding to power itself: It can inspire and build via successful charismatic leadership, but it can also

mislead, exploit, and destroy. Can power and the striving for power be tamed? Although it is easy to recall examples where love, religion, or reason have tempered power, it is also possible to think of cases where power striving has been able to evade or even “hijack” these restraints and turn them to its own purposes. In some conflict situations (particularly international crises), even responsibility can become a force leading toward conflict escalation. (Probably the key issue is *for whom* the leader feels “responsible”—for example, the people of one’s own faction or group, or all humankind.)

In the end, therefore, power and power motivation may require structural controls (for example, the separation of powers) as well as restraints of individual psychology. Like fire, power has immense potential for good and ill. Thus in dealing with the necessity and problems of power, leadership theory and practice may find it useful to turn to concepts drawn from fire protection, borrowing specifically analogies of confinement (power places), barriers (power proofing), prevention, and extinguishing (power fighters).

—David G. Winter

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POWER OF IDEAS

There is a bewildering variety of ideas—great and small ideas, scientific and moral ideas, realistic and fantastic ideas, actionable and idle ideas, complex and simple ideas, to say nothing about ideas specific to different fields, such as politics, economics, and religion. Ideas, as abstractions or as elementary units of thought or meaning, feature in numerous discourses, including many different branches of philosophy, as well as the history of ideas. In relation to power and leadership, however, ideas are most closely examined through the related concepts of knowledge, vision, and, especially, ideology.

IDEOLOGY AND MARX

Ideology refers to groups of interrelated ideas, beliefs, and values. The term *ideology* was coined by the French philosopher Destutt de Tracy (1801). The emancipatory power of ideas was a crucial feature of the European Enlightenment, and ideology was seen as the science of ideas that would eventually dispel prejudices and superstitions. In this context, ideas such as the ideals of the French Revolution (liberty, equality, and fraternity) and, more generally, ideas rooted in rational discourses were viewed as driving away not merely the obsolete ideas of the ancient regime, but also its economic, political and social structures. Eugene Delacroix's famous painting ("La Liberté guidant le peuple" ("Liberty Leads the People," 1831) gives eloquent artistic expression to this view of people led by ideas.

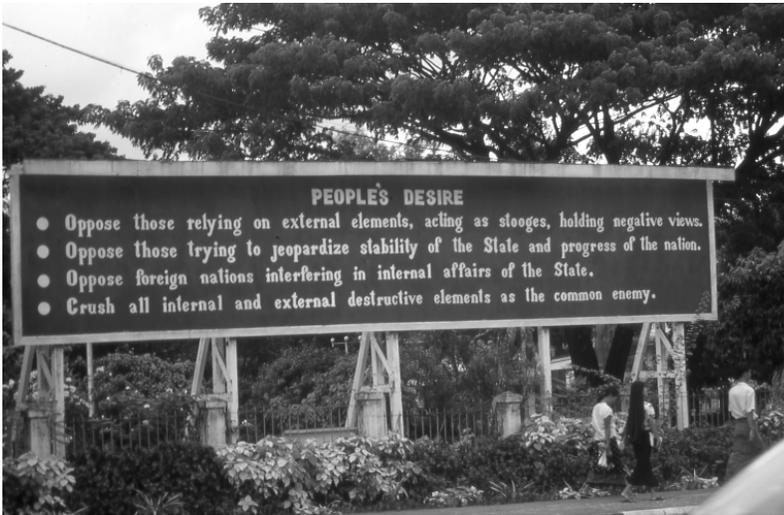
Marx's intervention in the discussion of ideology was decisive. Ideologies, he claimed in the preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*

(1859), were part of the social superstructure—it is not "the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their existence that determines their consciousness" (Marx [1844] 1972, 4). Far from initiating social change and transformation, ideas substantially reflect the material conditions of production, and especially the interests of ruling classes. Ideas do not evolve by themselves, nor are they the product of some abstract cognitive processes. Still less are ideas manifestations of a sovereign reason or subjectivity. Instead they emerge, come into conflict with each other, prevail or decline broadly in line with changing social, economic, and political conditions. Furthermore, ideologies (like the superstitions of old) are systematically distorted forms of consciousness, which allow for domination to go unnoticed or be regarded as natural. Nowhere is this more evident than in Marx's well-known description of religion as "the opium of the people" and in "the sigh of the oppressed creature, the sentiment of a heartless world, the soul of soulless conditions" (Marx 1956). Far from dismissing religion and other ideologies as irrelevant or redundant, Marx saw them as decisive weapons in class conflict.

With Marx, the concept of ideology acquires a deprecatory quality: at best, as unscientific bundles of ideas; at worst, as false consciousness. Ideas are correspondingly stripped of any independent power they might have had as generalized vehicles of social emancipation. Science, on the other hand, is seen as objective, yet unavailable to classes whose material interests it threatens. The distinction between science and ideology has been a constant focus of debate, not least within Marxism itself. The chronic difficulty in drawing a hard and fast line between the two has made Marxism itself subject to its own critique, as the ideological expression of a particular class interest and a specific form of false consciousness.

WEBER AND MANHEIM

Max Weber, in his *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (originally published in 1904–1905), made a radical qualification of Marx's approach. While linked to material interests, Weber viewed ideas not merely as reflections of these interests, but



A public notice posted by the SLORC government of Myanmar (Burma) in Rangoon in 1996 seeks to win popular support for the government's ideology.

Source: Stephen G. Donaldson; used with permission.

as involving and even initiating social dynamics of their own. Thus, in the early phases of social or revolutionary movements, various groups and classes may espouse ideas of charismatic leaders, which are discordant with their material interests, at least in the short term. Gradually, with routinization setting in, followers tend to retain those elements of revolutionary ideas with which they continue to identify and which serve their interests, discarding those which are economically or psychologically disadvantageous. Thus Weber saw early capitalism as emerging from the ideas associated with the *Protestant Ethic*, which included hard work, frugality, community orientation, and resistance to sensuous pleasures. These ideas encouraged instrumental rationality, calculation, and accumulation of capital; they consistently devalued what is present, sensuous, and material in the interest of the future, the spiritual, and the rational. Yet, victorious capitalism, with its materialism and hedonism, no longer needed the Protestant ethic to sustain it and substantially discarded its ascetic heritage. Weber himself, as he became increasingly disenchanted with German politics, tended to move more towards the Marxist position, where material interests overshadow even the loftiest ideas. "Not ideas, but material and ideal interests, directly govern men's conduct. Yet very frequently the 'world

images' that have been created by 'ideas' have, like switchmen, determined the tracks along which action has been pushed along by the dynamic of interest" (Weber 1946, p. 281).

Weber used the concept of ideology sparingly (though he used *ideas* frequently). The concept of ideology was extensively developed in the twentieth century in the work of Karl Mannheim, whose *Ideology and Utopia* (1929) sought to initiate a new field of "sociology of knowledge." Mannheim tried, not altogether successfully, to proclaim intellectuals as a free-floating social group which alone is capable of creating disinterested, objective knowledge. All other ideas, he argued, are intimately linked to social position of different

groups and classes and their truth claims derive from styles of thought or worldviews specific to their interests. This applies to Marxist ideas too. Yet, Mannheim, like many before him, was not able to defend a clear distinction between scientific and nonscientific (ideological) ideas. This has continued to prove evasive, and most postmodern thinkers have sought to abolish the distinction altogether.

END OF IDEOLOGY AND POWER/KNOWLEDGE

Another contribution to the study of ideology in the twentieth century originated in a group of American social theorists including Daniel Bell, Edward Shils, Seymour Martin Lipset, and Philip Rieff, who in the 1950s and 1960s viewed ideology as a secular form of religion, an all-encompassing worldview with strong normative content. Ideologies not only divided up the world into good and evil but also offered recipes of universal salvation from suffering and addressed deep existential anxieties. These thinkers argued that we were witnessing the end of ideology. Apocalyptic communal visions of universal salvation through religion and politics were in terminal decline, replaced by an ethic of well-being guided by enlightened self-interest and market values. Margaret Thatcher's claim

that “there is no such thing as society, only individuals and their families” sums up well this approach. Thatcher’s and Ronald Reagan’s policies of replacing the “nanny state” with sovereign consumer/citizens who determine how to spend their money was an onslaught not only on social democratic ideology but on all ideology. Yet, in a curious way, it was ideological in its own right, representing a consumerist and individualist ethos. This ethos has undoubtedly come to dominate business organizations with their emphasis on customer service, quality, and consumer choice. Increasingly the same values are to be found in the public sector, where they assumed an institutional form in Citizens’ Charters aimed at providing a protection for citizens equivalent to legislation aimed at protecting consumers.

Since the 1970s, the concept of ideology has rather gone out of fashion, being reduced to its pejorative sense, used to denigrate “everything that is doctrinaire, abstract, opinionated, rigid, and unrealistic” (Burns 1978, 249). The discussion of ideas and their ability to influence social, economic, and political development, however, has continued unabated, usually associated with the terms culture, discourse, or knowledge, all of which seem to evade the strict requirement that truth claims should be substantiated by external criteria. Instead “regimes of truth” are seen as residing within a culture, a discourse, or a body of knowledge itself. Following the work of Foucault, numerous theorists (many of whom accept the labels postmodern or post-structuralist) view these regimes of truth (according to which, for example, some ideas are viewed as common sense, others as aberrant and others as politically incorrect) as inextricably linked to the operation of power in society and have adopted Foucault’s term “power/knowledge” to denote the impossibility of dissociating knowledge from power. Viewed this way, ideas are thoroughly entrenched in social and political practices. Practices do not follow ideas, but are coextensive with them. And ideas are most pervasive when invisible and unobtrusive.

LEADERSHIP, VISION, AND IDEAS

It is interesting then that in many leadership and management discourses, ideas have been restored to a

quasi-independent, autonomous, and dominant position. An entrepreneur, for example, is one who can see the commercial or other potential of an idea, can sell the idea to investors and can then turn the idea into a marketable proposition. Ideas, in this sense, become the core currency of information-led economies, where value resides not on the exploitation of labor but the exploitation of ideas. More generally, management practices are seen as following the changing fashions of management beliefs and ideas. Business schools and MBA programs have thus emerged as agencies for the diffusion of management ideas, exercising a profound influence on the way that companies and other organizations are run. Many of these ideas are associated with high-profile management consultants or academics, commonly referred to as gurus. Management gurus are, therefore, sometimes seen as intellectual leaders, whose influence crosses national boundaries and influences the lives of millions of people. Thus, for example, the ideas of Thomas Peters and Robert Waterman, whose *In Search of Excellence* (1982) sold millions worldwide, became the starting point of innumerable programs of cultural change, while Hammer and Champy’s (1993) advocacy of business process reengineering signaled the onslaught of a wave of downsizing that saw millions of middle managers worldwide being laid off. Such management ideas have proliferated in the past twenty years and it can be argued that they are following the well-known dynamics of imitation and differentiation that characterize fads and fashions. An idea is launched by a guru, adopted by various trendsetters, exorbitant claims are made for its success, and numerous others jump on the bandwagon, only to realize that the trendsetters have moved on to a new panacea for organizational ills. Under this dynamic of fashion, old ideas often reemerge in new guises and new packages, reinvented with some new magic ingredient.

Leadership scholarship has looked at the power of ideas to drive action through the concept of vision. For example, Bennis and Nanus, in *Leaders*, argue that “vision animates, inspires, transforms purpose into action” (1985, 30). Rediscovering a core feature of Weber’s charisma, such theorists propose that leaders with visions can initiate processes of social

transformation and achieve collective purpose which goes beyond rational planning and promotion of material interests. Instead, such visions or ideas unleash enormous amounts of emotional energy and unlock possibilities that would remain forever inaccessible to the rational mind. What makes such visions or ideas so powerful? In *Leadership*, Burns has argued convincingly that what transforming leaders do is “make conscious what lies unconscious among followers” (Burns 1978, 40). In order to achieve this, leaders must understand their followers and their deeper needs better than the followers understand their own needs. The power of the vision, the idea, or even the single word is that it opens up the unconscious, allowing repressed desires and needs to find expression, to turn into conscious desires and collective action. Ideas then can unleash conflict, acting as catalysts for social or political change, every bit as effectively as material interests, something well understood by leaders, martyrs, demagogues, and many of those referred to as terrorists.

LEADERS AND TYRANTS

Is there a difference between ideas as used by genuine leaders and as deployed by demagogues and other opportunists? This is a vital issue which divides leadership theorists, with Burns (1978) arguing that the relation of genuine elevation and transformation engendered by true leaders precludes the types of sham, deception, and manipulation practiced by demagogues and tyrants. Bass (1985), on the other hand, refuses to acknowledge a difference between tyrants and leaders; transforming leaders, he argues, may deploy similar skills both in reading the unconscious needs of their followers and in channeling their emotional energies. This is supported by numerous reports of the effects of Hitler’s oratory on his followers. Otto Strasser, one of Hitler’s bitterest enemies from within his milieu, described thus Hitler’s effect on his followers:

Hitler responds to the vibration of the human heart with the delicacy of a seismograph, or perhaps of a wireless receiving set, enabling him to act as a loudspeaker proclaiming the most secret desires, the least admissible instincts, the sufferings, and personal revolts of a whole

nation. . . . Adolf Hitler enters a hall. He sniffs the air. For a minute he gropes, feels his way, senses the atmosphere. Suddenly he bursts forth. His words go like an arrow to their target, he touches each private wound on the raw, liberating the mass unconscious, expressing its innermost aspirations, telling it what it most wants to hear. (Bullock 1962, 373–374)

IDEAS, MYTHS, RATIONALITY, AND ILLUSIONS

What are the characteristics of ideas that can generate the tremendous emotional surge necessary to bring about deep-reaching social transformation? In an influential argument, Georges Sorel (1847–1922) described such ideas as “social myths,” gripping and inspiring in their effect, rather than rational plans or scientific ideas. To Sorel as a revolutionary socialist, it was not Marx’s *Kapital* and its scientific claims that would galvanize the working class to world revolution, but rather the myth of the general strike. According to this, social transformation would come from the belief that if workers refuse to work en masse the capitalist system would grind to a halt, and no army or police force would be able to reverse its demise. The myth is not something which will ever be realized, but the belief in it drives transforming social action. Such irrationalist approaches to the power of ideas have been criticized on both political and intellectual grounds. On political grounds, they are viewed as ineffectual, perhaps generating paroxysms of violence, but no long-term social change or achievement of collective purpose. On intellectual grounds, they are seen as replacing one set of illusions with a different one, whose result, as Freud pointed out in *The Future of an Illusion* (1927), is to accentuate the very discontents for which they purport to offer solutions and consolations.

Yet, transforming ideas do not have to be grand or sweeping. At times, the simplest platitudes or clichés uttered by leaders can be viewed as momentous utterances by adoring followers, stimulating desire and unleashing forces of social transformation. This is not altogether surprising. The vast majority of influential and powerful political, economic, and military leaders were men and, less commonly, women of action rather than men or women of ideas.

By contrast, genuinely innovative individuals, in science, philosophy, and the arts, whose ideas have created lasting legacies, were too preoccupied with their work to lead others. In conclusion then, it would be fair to say that those ideas in themselves have little transforming power until they are embraced, interpreted, communicated, and put to work by leaders who can see their potential given the requirements of the times.

—Yiannis Gabriel

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POWER SHARING

Power sharing is a process designed to eliminate the concentration of power. Most theories about power sharing arise from the findings of research projects that are working actively to change power structures, whether in corporations, unions, social movements, or schools. The research methods are most often adapted from psychology, sociology, ethnography, and action research.

HOW POWER STRUCTURES WORK

Power is possession of control, authority, or influence over others; it presupposes culturally organized social relationships that are usually hierarchical. A power structure depends on internal coherence and external recognition. Three factors often define a power structure: its functions, the strength of its internal social control and its capacity to defend its domain, and the norms that determine who belongs and who is excluded.

Power sharing needs a foundation, which is constructed by triangulating the personal, the social, and the subjects of the power structure—which is to say, all the people who participate in the power structure. The parties' different attitudes, knowledge, and experiences must be acknowledged. The rights and duties associated with different positions in the power structure are all potential targets for change. The goal of power sharing is to have all the parties participate in all phases of the process: the initial brainstorming, the planning and decision making, the division of work, and the evaluation of both product and process.

All people in a power structure, although operat-

ing on unequal terms, take part in the process of transforming the power structure or maintaining the status quo. Although both position in the hierarchy and personal capabilities influence a person's degree of authority and strength to preserve or change the domain, power holders control resources and have the right to make and execute decisions, as well as the privilege of delegating and sharing influence.

Interaction between people in different hierarchical positions unfolds in many ways, but certain generalizations are often made: Lower-ranked subjects tend to express indifference or resistance—both bodily and verbally, both individually and collectively. Power holders, for their part, tend to express the opinion—both speaking as individuals and as managers—that their subordinates are not fully responsible, engaged, or concerned about the organization. Power sharing can change those conceptions. Participants in power-sharing arrangements move from corporate behavior to cooperative behavior.

PRELIMINARIES TO POWER SHARING

Before the process of power sharing begins, the parties must agree on the issues they will address and what the parameters for action will be. In some cases, the urge for democratization may cause problems at this point. Research and scholarship have not addressed this problem very extensively, but it becomes a crucial issue when power sharing becomes the dominant policy in public services: Self-governance in public services can only occur insofar as the services are able to meet the standards expected by governing agencies.

Having agreed on issues and parameters, and having established that decision-making processes will be transparent and open for participation, the parties next must decide upon the different procedures and methods that will be used for dealing with distinct, different interests. People in the lowest-ranking relevant position make the decisions; participants are obliged to suggest workable options, conditions, and goals. Subordinates have the ability both to exercise increasing influence over the reorganization of power and privilege systems and to improve their

personal situations, increasing personal satisfaction and improving the social climate.

In investigating the power structure of an organization, more subtle questions also arise, such as how relations between different layers of power work and how changes in policy affect relations between subordinates and managers as well as relations among subordinates. Social relations are embedded in an exchange of goods conditioned by economy, policy, and culture, but social relations are neither static nor unidirectional. People perform against a background of strongly managed and enforced norms and embedded strategies; they are impressionable and express reflected views.

HIERARCHICAL UNITS, PROBLEM SOLVING, AND AGREEMENTS

To understand how people on different levels in a hierarchy come to solve problems and reach agreements together, we must first understand the nature of hierarchies. Hierarchies are culturally organized forms of social relations in a certain context (for example, a school, a company, or a nation). Hierarchies are vulnerable when different positions have different interests and differing degrees of access to resources and when these differences lead them into conflict.

The power in a hierarchy is limited; it depends on internal coherence and external recognition. Different layers in a hierarchy are differentiated by legal, economic, or personnel policy means. The power to make decisions and the decisions themselves—whether related to routine business, strategic planning, or personnel matters—are important at any level, although the way they affect people depends on where people are in the hierarchy. People react to the power to make decisions and to decisions themselves in a number of ways that become standardized behaviors, such as innovating, ignoring, living with, or leaving the situation.

One goal of power sharing is to give all units the power to make decisions and to distribute that power as equally as possible. This is one of the more fragile moments in the process: If things go awry, then subordinates in the power structure are likely to lose

enthusiasm for the process, becoming at best apathetic and at worst resistant. It is at this moment, too, that misinterpretations of organizations arise, because researchers may fail to recognize that subordinates have shifted the focus of their social and cultural relations to outside their hierarchical unit. In the hierarchy, they do what they have to do, but their real focus is on their families, their neighborhoods, and so forth.

Problem Solving

Depending on circumstances, problem solving can involve struggle, negotiations, persuasion, behavior control, or organized structure. Sometimes problem solving requires institutional collective action, such as a strike or a demonstration; other times it is possible to reach a cease-fire, consensus, or even agreement on the contested matter. The more that an organization's internal social relations have depended on domination, the more important it is to give space to dissenting interests and hitherto unrecognized personal resources. Although any analysis must take contrasts (for example, between lower and upper positions in a hierarchy, between democratic decision making and authoritarian orders and instructions, or between academic knowledge and knowledge gained from life experience) into account, it is not enough to think in terms of contrasts. Very often one is forced to acknowledge that apparently polar opposites are only interesting when they are taken as coexisting, complementary phenomena. If one side ceases to exist or be important, then the phenomenon ceases to be interesting. Therefore, the goal is generally not to eliminate one pole or the other, but to let differences thrive as much as possible without the total collapse of fellowship between the various partners.

Agreements

An organization's rules and procedures are often difficult to break or reform, but agreements that are created through power sharing have proved otherwise. If an agreement turns out to be unsuited to the actual conditions under which a group operates, then it can be renegotiated. Rules for social interaction are

No man will make a great leader who wants to do it all himself, or to get all the credit for doing it.

—Andrew Carnegie

important, but agreements are a valuable tool for discovering new possibilities. There are many difficulties in social intercourse that cannot be managed through the application of rules; those difficulties can be handled better through negotiation-based agreements, which are based on dialogue and exchange.

FOUR TOPICS FOR ANALYSIS

In analyzing the foundations of power sharing, four topics are of special concern: interests, access, resources, and actions. Data collected from different hierarchical layers will reveal both the potential for power sharing and the willingness of the parties to use it.

Interests

It is fairly easy to find out the interests of parties at different levels in a hierarchy: One has only to ask them. In academic reports, interests are often categorized as technical (that is, concerned with construction, instruction, and production), practical (that is, with a focus on society and social relations; for example, being interested in fairness), or liberating (for example, an interest in democratization). Information on participants' interests is combined with other data, such as income level, socio-economic background, working conditions, and so on. All this information has to be accessible to all participants, as openness is a prerequisite for reaching agreements about relevant and substantial actions. The power-sharing process gives people freedom of speech, but also obligates them to express their views in the public forum formed by the venture. It is possible to ask empathetic questions to get more clear and complete answers as soon as participants have expressed themselves—seldom before. The dialogue forms the basis and the agenda for cooperation. It also shows the

fragility of the venture: Everyone can say no. Getting everyone to express their interests is the first step in power sharing. Participants' interests—both managers' interests and subordinates' interests—must be well described, easy to understand, and shared publicly.

Access

The analysis of the distribution of privileges, rights, and duties is the second step in power sharing. It is important to know who actually wants to participate in a venture. On the one hand, participants must overcome their stereotyped notions of others' positions and abilities; on the other, participants must create and acknowledge one another's rights to participate and capacity to handle the responsibility. For some people, access seems often to be blocked by a huge—sometimes only imaginary—wall. But walls can be torn down, and access to power can be granted where before it was denied. Power sharing requires participants to grant other participants access to power, step by step. This is the main area for development of the individual and the group as well. Through careful analysis, the participants can learn what knowledge each layer in the power hierarchy possesses, as well as what rights and status. Participants also learn one another's competence and capacity to influence or master the system and the situation. Decisions must be delegated to the lowest possible layer in the hierarchy, which if possible should be self governing. Management positions must be filled by election and for limited periods of time.

Resources

Resources refers to the time, knowledge, and further qualifications the single participant or group of participants possesses and is willing to invest in the power-sharing process. An investigation of resources helps in two ways: It makes participants aware of needs, and, if they discover that they or others are not inclined to invest all their potential into the project, it keeps them from being too disappointed by failure. A declaration of shared interest is

worthless if participants are unwilling to put their resources into implementing change based on that shared interest. On the other hand, a group may be willing to commit resources but the resources may be insufficient. The investigation of resources reveals the potential to act on the group's interests successfully. In addition, an investigation of resources can stimulate participants to expand the resources themselves; they may become more resourceful, autonomous, and self-reliant. One of the more powerful ways to expand resources is for individuals to come together in a group to organize and coordinate the use of what resources they have. This represents the third step toward power sharing: Participants must examine their resources and find a means (or several means) to solve the problems that their statement of interests revealed.

Actions

Once a plan has been decided upon, participants' actions—or lack of them—can be observed. Having descriptions of the participants' interests, access, and resources in mind, and keeping in mind also the fact that the participants have other obligations and interests outside the organization, an evaluation of activity becomes more meaningful and sympathetic. It is quite seldom that the process generates only one possible solution; on the contrary, quite often there are several paths toward the goal. If participants do not seem to be following through with actions, it may be that the group needs to choose another path. Doing so often energizes formerly nonparticipative members.

DIFFERENT ACTIONS AND COMMON GOALS

Taken together, interest, access, resources, and actions reveal how well power sharing is likely to succeed. Findings in schools, for example, show that working with the combination of education and social matters makes more solutions possible. Schools are better off allowing competing solutions to develop rather than insisting on only one solution, quite simply because more people are actively involved with multiple solutions, and administration

avoids needing to discipline the staff. In other contexts, too, factions, coalitions, and alliances within and between power layers will emerge and demonstrate that different actions can successfully advance common goals.

—*Knud Jensen*

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POWER, SIX BASES OF

Though there have been many formal definitions of leadership that did not include social influence and power, any discussion of leadership must inevitably deal with the means by which a leader gets the members of a group or organization to act and move in a particular direction. One of the most widely cited analyses of social power is that proposed by John R. P. French and Bertram H. Raven in 1959. They defined social influence as a change in the belief, attitude, or behavior of a person (the target of influence) which results from the action of another person (an influencing agent), and they defined social power as the potential for such influence, that is, the ability of the agent to bring about such a change using available resources. French and Raven identified five bases of power: coercive, reward, legitimate, expert, and referent. To this was later added a sixth: information power.

DEFINING THE BASES OF POWER

The bases of power differ according to the manner in which social changes are implemented, the perma-

nence of such changes, and the ways in which each basis of power is established and maintained. To illustrate these distinctions, we will examine a leadership situation involving the power of a supervisor who attempts to influence the behavior of a subordinate in a work situation.

Power That Leads to Socially Independent Change

One basis of power the supervisor might use is information power. The supervisor carefully explains to the subordinate how the job should be done differently, using persuasive reasons to explain why that would be a better and more effective procedure. The subordinate understands and accepts the reasons and changes his behavior. Information influence, then, brings about a cognitive change in and acceptance by the target. It is thus called “socially independent change” in that the target now continues the changed behavior without necessarily referring to, or even remembering, the supervisor as the agent of change.

Power That Results in Socially Dependent Change with Surveillance Necessary

Reward power stems from the ability of the agent to offer a positive incentive for the target to comply (for example, a raise in pay, a promotion, or special work privileges). An agent who uses coercive power brings about change by threatening a target who does not comply with undesirable consequences (for example, demotion, termination, or undesirable work assignments). In both reward power and coercive power, the influence is clearly socially dependent, since the target relates compliance to the actions of the agent (for example, “I did it because my supervisor offered me a reward if I complied”). Reward power and coercive power both from other bases of power in that not only are they socially dependent, but also because their effectiveness requires surveillance by the influencing agent: If reward and coercion are the only bases of power used by influencing agents, targets will comply only if they believe that the agents will be able to determine whether or not they complied. However, coercive power differs from reward power

in the ease by which an agent may maintain surveillance. With reward power, it is to the advantage of targets to let agents know that they have complied; with coercive power, there may be a tendency for targets to hide the extent of their noncompliance, so that agents may require targets to demonstrate their compliance. There is also a tendency for the targets of coercive power to resent the threat of punishment, to resent feeling forced, and to have ill feelings toward the agent, as well as toward the behavior which they feel forced to accept. This is less likely to be true for reward power; indeed, the positive feelings associated with the reward may lead to a greater acceptance of the change and a greater liking for the influencing agent.

Power That Leads to Socially Dependent Change with Surveillance Unnecessary

The remaining three bases of power result in change which, initially, is dependent upon the influencing agent, but where surveillance is not necessary for the influence to occur: Legitimate power stems from the target's accepting the right of the agent to require the change in behavior (for example, "After all, I should do what my supervisor requests of me"). Terms such as "obliged" "should," "ought to," and "required" may signal the use of legitimate power. Expert power results from the target's faith that the agent has some superior insight or knowledge about what behavior is best under the circumstances. (For example, "My supervisor has had a lot of experience with this sort of thing and so is probably right, even though I don't really understand the reason.") "Understanding the reason," then, is what distinguishes informational power from expert power. Referent power stems from the identification of a target with an agent. (For example, "I really admire my supervisor, and wish to be like her. Doing things the way my supervisor believes they should be done gives me some special satisfaction.")

FURTHER DIFFERENTIATION

The six bases of power have been further differentiated based on additional research.

Coercive Power and Reward Power: Personal versus Impersonal Forms

In our original statement, coercive power and reward power were presented in terms of tangible rewards and real threats—for example, the promise of a bonus or promotion or the threat of being fired or fined. However, the personal approval of someone we respect can also be a very powerful reward, and a threat of rejection or disapproval from someone we value highly can serve as a source of coercive power.

Legitimate Power: Position, Reciprocity, Equity, Responsibility

Legitimate power stems from social norms requiring that the target of influence comply with the request or order of the influencing agent. Legitimate position power, the most obvious form of legitimate power, stems from a social norm that requires that we obey people who are in a superior position in a formal or informal social structure, such as a supervisor or a higher ranking military officer. Other examples include the right of parents to influence children, of older people to influence younger ones, and of teachers to influence students.

Other, more subtle forms of legitimate power based on social norms include legitimate power of reciprocity, legitimate power of equity, and legitimate power of responsibility. The reciprocity norm states that if someone does something beneficial for us then we should feel obliged to reciprocate. Legitimate power of equity, also called a "compensatory norm," would be something like "I have worked hard and suffered and therefore I have a right to ask you to do something to make up for it." Finally, the norm of legitimate power of responsibility, also called the "power of the powerless," suggests that we have some obligation to help others who cannot help themselves or who depend on us. A supervisor could conceivably say, "Look, I am not about to force you to follow my method, but it is absolutely essential to me that you do so in order to get the job done this way. I really depend upon you to do this for me."

The Power/Interaction Model of Interpersonal Influence

The bases of power are included within a larger context through the development of a power/interaction model of interpersonal influence designed in 1988 by Bertram H. Raven. The model begins with a consideration of the motivation for influence and the use of power, and goes on to explore the factors which lead to an agent's choice of a power strategy, the preparatory devices for implementing the bases of power, the manner in which a power strategy is utilized, the effective changes or lack of change in the target of influence, the aftereffects, and the agent's readjusted perceptions and choices of future strategies.

MOTIVATION FOR CHOOSING A BASIS OF POWER

Typically, an agent's motivation for influence will be very obvious, the purpose being to attain some goal or desirable outcome, and the agent will then use the basis of power that will accomplish that end most expeditiously and effectively. Often the situation will affect what bases of power will be selected. For example, different power strategies will be chosen by a supervisor in a supermarket, a warden in a prison, the leader of a boy scout troop, a parent influencing a child, and a teacher in a classroom.

In addition, the selection of power strategies will depend on how an agent views a target and even more, on how an agent believes that a target views him. In an analysis in 1960, social psychologist Douglas McGregor distinguished between "Theory X" supervisors and "Theory Y" supervisors. The former believe that workers cannot be trusted, that they do not really like their work, and that they try to do as little as they can. In this model, Theory X supervisors rely on coercive power and legitimate position power and surveillance. By contrast, Theory Y supervisors, who have a more positive view of workers, are more likely rely on informational and expert power, and also perhaps on legitimate power of dependence, and to place less emphasis on surveillance. The basic point is that influencing agents, motivated to achieve the most positive outcome, will select bases of power

based on their perception of what would work best with a specific target.

The choice of power strategies may also depend on more subtle motivations. David McClelland, David Winter, and their colleagues found three important but subtle motives: the need for power, the need for affiliation, and the need for achievement. A leader or supervisor with a high need for power will be more likely to select impersonal coercive power and legitimate position power. Those with strong affiliation needs and a concern that their subordinates will like them will more likely prefer referent power and reward power, especially personal reward power. A need for achievement might result in more use of informational and expert power. Other personality characteristics might also affect the choice of a power strategy, including an agent's having high or low self-esteem. One reason for this might be that successful influence from informational power tends to be attributed to the target (for instance, "I gave him good reasons, but he decided to do it"), while successful influence from coercive power tends to be attributed to the influencing agent (for example, "She did so because I influenced her to do so"). Influencing agents who have low self-esteem find it satisfying to know that they are calling the shots and they would be more likely to select a basis of power like coercion.

Another sort of motivation which might affect the choice of power strategies is the attitude of the influencing agent toward the target of influence. It is, of course, the agent's perception of the target which helps determine what basis of power would be effective or ineffective, but, in addition, a strong negative feeling toward the target might lead to a choice of a harsh basis of power, such as impersonal coercion, even when that power strategy might not be the most efficient or effective. Similarly, a strong positive feeling toward the target might preclude the use of a harsh basis of power even when, objectively, it might seem most appropriate.

ASSESSMENT OF THE COSTS AND BENEFITS OF DIFFERENT POWER STRATEGIES

The agent might also go through a cost-benefit analysis of the influence strategy. Informational

influence or persuasion would ordinarily be highly desirable, but may require more time and effort than is available. Coercion, as we had indicated, may result in more rapid compliance, but carries with it the costs of having to maintain surveillance, the hostility of an unhappy subordinate, and sometimes the violation of one's personal value system or generally accepted social norms. The legitimacy of dependence ("I need your help") may lead to loss of respect and perhaps may imply an obligation to return the favor. Referent power, which emphasizes similarity, may undermine the target's respect for the agent's superiority in expertise and legitimacy of position. In addition, as we have noted, powerholders, because of their personalities, experiences, and values, or force of habit, may tend to prefer some bases of power over others.

PREPARATORY DEVICES FOR IMPLEMENTING BASES OF POWER

Though influencing agents may often have immediate access to their bases of power, it is often the case that some preparation or stage-setting is necessary. To use coercion, it is sometimes necessary to first make the target realize that the agent has both the means and the will to follow through on the threat. Edward Jones and Thane Pittman in 1982 and Erving Goffman in 1959 described a number of "self-presentational strategies" and "impression management" techniques by which an influencing agent or leader may set the stage for the use of a particular power strategy.

Establishing Information Power

Agents might carefully rehearse their speeches, examine the logic, and practice the delivery. Or they may first give a target some background information, which would build a basis for the subsequent persuasion.

Intimidation

To use coercion effectively, it may be important to demonstrate to the target not only that the means are

available for coercion, but also that the agent is ready and willing to pay the costs that coercion implies. Workers will not be influenced by a threat of dismissal if they do not really feel that their supervisor is ready to implement the threat. A supervisor, attempting to establish the credibility of coercive power, may launch into an emotional tirade, or even fire a worker, just to set an example.

Ingratiation

In order to utilize personal reward or coercion, or referent power, the agent may first attempt to ingratiate her- or himself with the target, with well-placed compliments, flattery, and so on.

Emphasizing Communality

To establish referent power, the agent must also develop a sense of communality with the target. ("Look," the supervisor may say, "we are really all one team, trying to get this job done.")

Self-Promotion

For expert power, a few choice demonstrations of one's superior knowledge would be useful. The supervisor might tell the worker of the amount of training and experience he or she has had on this and similar jobs. (Physicians, attorneys, professors, and other professionals go through elaborate stage-setting devices for expertise—for example, displaying diplomas and extensive libraries or using impressive language.)

Authorization for Legitimate Position Power

To establish his/her formal legitimate position power, the supervisor might subtly mention that he or she is, after all, the supervisor who is responsible for this job. Similar preparatory devices may be seen in the cases of the usurper who seizes the throne and then presents evidence that actually heredity justifies his or her ascendance, or the dictatorial modern ruler who establishes a legitimate position power through rigged elections.

Doing Favors to Establish Legitimate Reciprocity

To establish this form of legitimacy, the agent may first do a favor for the target, or emphasize the various favors that he or she has done in the past.

Guilt Induction for Legitimacy of Equity

An agent may induce guilt in order to establish his or her legitimacy of equity. Somehow the agent may convince the target that the target has caused harm or pain, for which the agent is entitled to compensation in the form of unhesitating compliance.

Demonstrating Effective Surveillance

Since both coercive power and reward power require surveillance, influencing agents who expect to use these bases of power may find it necessary to establish their ability to determine whether a target has complied. They may do this by confronting a subordinate regarding an infraction that the subordinate thought had been done in private.

Implementing the Power Strategy and Assessing Its Effects

Following the influence attempt, the agent will want to assess the effects. Was it successful? Is there evidence that the target has actually accepted the influence, has actually altered his or her behavior in accordance with the outcome desired by the influencing agent? Does the target really accept the change personally, or is the change socially dependent? Is surveillance important for the change to continue—will the target revert to earlier behavior patterns as soon as the agent cannot continue to check on the degree of compliance? Will the target subsequently internalize the changes in his/her behavior?

How about secondary effects? How has the influence attempt, successful or not, affected the target's perception and evaluation of the agent? Has respect for the agent diminished? Is there greater personal liking or disliking? Have the power bases previously available to the agent increased or decreased in their potency? Agents may attempt to repair the damage

and reassess their relationship with a target. If influence attempts are unsuccessful, then it is likely that agents will try again. But this time their motivations may change: Whereas previously they had merely wanted to achieve the extrinsic goal, they now may have developed some hostility toward the target, which in turn will affect their choice of an influence strategy the second time around. An agent's success or failure will also lead to a reassessment of the available bases of power and the development of a very different strategy.

METAMORPHIC EFFECTS OF POWER

David Kipnis and his colleagues have pointed out that the very process of surveillance that goes with coercive power contributes to the distrust of the influencing agent and further demeans the target of influence. Demeaning the target allows the agent to feel more powerful and then to use even harsher power strategies—typically, the use of informational power may diminish, and the use of coercive power and legitimate position power will increase. In 1976, Kipnis referred to this escalation process as the “metamorphic effects of power.” There are many examples of forthright leaders who have been transformed into tyrants, leading Lord John Acton (1834–1902) to observe that “power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely.”

Power/Interaction from the Perspective of the Target

We have thus far examined the power/action model from the perspective of the influencing agent, but it can also be profitably examined from the perspective of the target of influence. Following an essentially similar pattern, the target may have various motives to either accept or reject influence from the agent, some of which may involve personal factors, such as a need for independence, for power, and for self-esteem, and positive or negative personal feelings toward the influencing agent. Also, like agents, targets may be concerned about how they would look to third parties if they complied or did not comply. Thus, just as agents or leaders may operate less effectively because of inappropriate motives, targets

may sometimes resist influence inappropriately. For example, workers might marshal their personal resources in preparation for a verbal assault. They might have tried to anticipate what bases of power the influencing agent might attempt to use and have prepared to counter these one by one. Targets might even invoke the powers of third parties to assist in their resistance or to organize other potential targets so as to resist influence collectively.

Subsequent Relations Between Agent and Target

The influence attempt, successful or unsuccessful, has very likely changed both the influencing agent and the target, changed their perceptions of themselves and changed their perceptions of the other. An unsuccessful influence attempt may result from a misperception of the available effective power bases, as perceived by the influencing agent and by the target. Indeed, unsuccessful influencing agents may alter their strategies as the result of a failed first attempt, adopting new strategies which might now be effective—except for the fact that the target has also changed. The target may now be amenable to influence strategies which would not have worked the first time round, or be more resistant to strategies which might earlier have been effective. The issues become even more complex as the two participants attempt to influence one another, each serving as both influencing agent and target with respect to the other. Interpersonal or intergroup conflict can be examined in terms of mutual influence attempts, using various bases of power and strategies by both parties to the conflict and analyzing the effects which these have on one another.

MEASURING THE BASES OF POWER

Several investigators have developed questionnaires to measure the bases of power, as perceived both by the influencing agent and by the target of influence. In most cases, these questionnaires have measured only the original six bases of power. The Interpersonal Power Inventory, introduced by Bertram Raven, Joseph Schwarzwald, and Meni Koslowsky in 1998, measures the eleven power strategies in a

model they call “the power/interaction model”: coercion (personal and impersonal); reward (personal and impersonal); legitimate (position, reciprocity, equity, and dependence or responsibility); referent; expert; and informational. The thirty-three-item scale includes three items that measure the likelihood or effectiveness of each of these strategies. Factor analyses have indicated that for some situations, these power strategies can be differentiated into two major components, a “soft” group consisting of Expert, Information, Referent, and Legitimate Dependence, and a “harsh” group comprised of the other seven strategies. Job satisfaction was found to be more positive when supervisors used the “soft” strategies and more negative when “harsh” strategies were used. Power/interaction profiles for individual respondents illustrate the ways in which leaders may differ in their choice of strategies and show how their influence may be made more effective.

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF VARIOUS BASES OF POWER

It is of particular practical interest to know what bases of power or which power strategies are most likely to be effective, but it is clear that there is no simple answer. For example, a power strategy that works immediately but relies on surveillance (for example, reward power or coercive power) may not last once surveillance ends. One organizational study found that reward power tended to lead to greater satisfaction on the part of employees, which means that it might increase influence in a broad range of situations. Coercive power was more effective in influencing a subordinate who jeopardized the success of the overall organization or threatened the leader’s authority, even though in the short term it also led to resentment on the part of the target. A power strategy that ultimately leads to private acceptance and long-lasting change (for example, information power) may be difficult to implement, and consume considerable time and energy. In the short term, complete reliance on information power might even be dangerous (for example, telling a small child not to run into the street unattended). A military officer leading his troops into combat might

be severely handicapped if he had to give complete explanations for each move. Instead, he would want to rely on unquestioned legitimate position power, backed up by coercive power. Power resources which may be effective for one leader, dealing with one target or follower, may not work for a different leader and follower. The manner in which the power strategy is utilized will also affect its success or failure. Where coercion is deemed necessary, a leader might soften its negative effects with a touch of humor. There have been studies indicating that cultural factors may determine the effectiveness of power strategies.

As long as humans have had to interact with one another, they have utilized power strategies, and in various degrees the strategies have been effective even when an agent has had no formal knowledge of a power/interaction model or of the bases of social power. The model is simply an attempt to understand how this process operates and the conditions under which social influence is more or less effective. It is reasonable to conclude that a leader who is more aware, either formally or informally, of the various options in social power strategies will be more successful and effective.

—Bertram H. Raven

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POWER: OVERVIEW

Power is a concept that philosophers, politicians, and scholars have discussed and tried to define for thousands of years. In the early seventh century BCE, Pit-tacus, a Greek statesman and military leader, noted that, “The measure of man is what he does with power.” Although most people believe that they know power when they see it or feel its effects, it is still useful to create a working definition of power and, more importantly, to explore its relevance to those who manage organizations today. After reviewing common definitions of power, highlighting the types of power typically seen in organizational settings, we will discuss the sources of that power and reactions to it, and make some suggestions for using that power effectively.

DEFINITIONS OF POWER

What is power? It seems almost synonymous with the idea of influence, because people with power can influence others to do what they ask. However, while power is almost always linked to influence, the term itself has been defined in various ways. A politician has power when he is able to influence the direction of public policy. Parents have power when they determine what a teenager can and cannot do on weekends. A manager has power when she is able to hire, fire, and/or reward employees. One reasonable way to define power is the potential ability for one

individual to exert influence over the attitudes and behavior of others. Such power might derive from a variety of sources. These include a person's position in a hierarchical organization (whether as leader or as subordinate), an interpersonal relationship, or even an individual's unique characteristics or attributes.

TYPES OF POWER

In general, the many types of power fall into two very broad categories, which could be termed interpersonal and structural.

Interpersonal

Most research on types of power utilizes a categorization scheme developed in 1959 by social scientists John R. P. French and Bertram Raven. This taxonomy involves the following five principal interpersonal types:

Reward Power

With this type of power, an individual dangles rewards (“carrots”) to influence the behavior or attitudes of another. Obviously, the types of rewards necessary for compliance vary greatly because they depend on individual needs and characteristics. For example, one employee will work extra hours without pay for the reward of receiving some form of recognition from the manager. Another employee may expect his manager to promise him a reward before will do anything over and above his normal job duties.

Coercive Power

One way to think of coercive power is to view it as the opposite of reward power (“the stick”). When a manager uses coercive power, an employee complies due to fear of punishment. The threat may be imaginary or quite real. For example, an employee who works for a company which has recently gone through major downsizing or restructuring efforts may take on added duties and/or work excessive unpaid overtime, fearing that her manager will put her on the next downsizing list if she does not do so.

Legitimate Power

Another type of power is based on an individual's right (legitimacy) to influence the behavior or attitudes of another and the other's obligation to comply with requests that are deemed appropriate. When a parent tells a ten-year-old to go to her room for poor behavior, the child will comply (usually) because the child believes that the parent has the legitimate right to tell her what to do. Similarly, when a manager assigns an employee a project that is clearly within the employee's job scope, the employee will most likely comply with the request.

Expert Power

Individuals who are perceived as being highly skilled or knowledgeable in particular areas may be able to use their power to influence the behavior and/or attitudes of others. For example, if Bill Gates came to you and told you how to more efficiently operate a Microsoft computer program, you would probably pay close attention and do what he suggests because you believe that his knowledge is greater than yours in this area.

Referent Power

Sometimes individuals are successful in utilizing power because others admire or identify with them, and this can be called "referent power." Not only does Bill Gates have expert power, he is also greatly admired for his accomplishments. Thus, some individuals might be influenced by him in areas outside of his field of expertise, simply because they want to gain his approval or emulate him.

Although the taxonomy developed by French and Raven is widely used and intuitively appealing, there have been a number of conceptual and measurement problems in the research on all these bases of power. One problem is that the scheme may be overly simplistic. Another complicating fact is that most managers use more than one base of power in trying to get their way with others.

Structural

How much power people have depends to a great extent on the context. Three types of structural vari-

ables play a role in this determination. First, an obvious and important variable is a person's position in an organizational hierarchy. Looking at any organizational chart, it is apparent that the CEO has more power than a line manager and, for that matter, more power than a vice president. Perhaps the only damper on a CEO's power, which derives from the position itself, is the Board of Directors. Another structural variable is the control of resources, particularly those that may be scarce. Resources can, of course, be very broadly defined. One important resource in an organization, for example, may be access to information before others receive it. Information is power in this case. When units within an organization are dependent on an individual or department to provide them with the resources necessary to fulfill their goals, the individual or department possessing the resources is clearly the more powerful.

A third type of structural variable arises from the unique ties or connections that a person may have with others. Such ties might make a person indispensable, and thus, powerful within a particular system. A marketing executive who has been extremely successful in increasing a company's market share because of his close relationships with customers clearly has power in the system. If this manager also happens to play golf with a number of board members and is well liked by other department heads, his or her power may even exceed the CEO's.

SOURCES OF POWER

Theorists have mentioned such an incredible array of sources of power in an organization that it is impossible to cover them all here. However, despite the plethora of power sources, power often simply comes from being in the right place at the right time. In other words, an individual's position in an organization can be a key source of influence. Position may determine how much reward power, coercive power, resource discretion, information accessibility, and even the amount of legitimate power a manager possesses. Thus, one of the key sources of power in organizations derives directly from a person's organizational position.

Another key source of power is an individual's personal characteristics. These include charisma, task expertise, emotional intelligence and the ability to maneuver politically within an organizational system. Such characteristics most likely impact referent power as well as expert power. They also help people to accumulate power by increasing their ability to build strong ties throughout the organization.

One concise way to classify the different types and sources of a person's power is to define it as either primarily personal or primarily organizational. Thus, in the French and Raven framework, a manager's reward power, coercive power, and legitimate power would be more strongly derived from the organization, while expert and referent power would be more personally based. This, of course, does not mean that reward power, coercive power, and legitimate power cannot be derived from personal sources or that expert and referent power cannot have organizational origins in addition to personal ones. For example, a personal source of reward power might involve a manager providing mentoring to a subordinate on their personal time, after the subordinate does some activity at work particularly well. Similarly, an organizational source of expert power might derive from a manager's access to a particular set of information due to his or her position in the organizational hierarchy.

REACTIONS TO POWER

Given that there are different types and sources of power, it is not surprising that people react differently to the use of power. A number of frameworks have been proposed to classify these various reactions. One such framework was suggested in 2002 by Gary A. Yukl of SUNY at Albany (2002), who distinguishes between commitment, compliance, and resistance.

Commitment occurs when a person internally agrees with a request or a decision made by another and tries hard to implement or execute the decision or request. Viewed from the perspective of the person using power, this is the most desirable outcome since the target person enthusiastically does what is asked because he or she wants to do it. The French

and Raven bases of power that are most closely associated with this outcome are referent power and expert power.

Compliance occurs when the target is willing to do what is asked but "is apathetic rather than enthusiastic about it" (Yukl 2002, 143) and exerts less effort than if commitment had occurred. For simple and/or routine activities, compliance may be satisfactory to meet the power user's objectives. However, for more complex tasks or tasks that require some degree of judgment, discretion, or initiative, compliance may not yield the desired results. Reward power and legitimate power commonly evoke compliance.

Resistance describes what happens when a target is opposed to a decision or request and tries (actively or passively) to avoid executing the request. Resistance may involve such responses as making excuses, pretending to comply (but not complying), or asking a higher authority to override the request. Obviously, from the viewpoint of the power holder this is the least favorable response to the use of power, and the base of power most commonly associated with resistance is coercive power.

Another way of looking at reactions to the use of power in organizational settings is to examine the job satisfaction and job performance of those upon whom power is exercised. They largely mirror those reported above for commitment, compliance, and resistance. In general, the strongest and most positive effects are produced by referent power and expert power, with reward power and legitimate power having slightly less positive effects. Coercive power has the most deleterious effect on job satisfaction and performance.

HOW POWER IS ENACTED

Power is what social scientists call a "construct" in that it cannot be directly seen or measured. It is a variable that we construct to explain certain phenomena and we can only infer it from such things as the behavior of the person exercising the power or from the response of the power target. A person (agent) wishing to exert power over another (target) does so by using tactics such as bargaining and pre-

senting logical arguments or data. Thus, power underlies the use of influence tactics but power requires the use of influence tactics to affect behavior. For example, an agent must have either reward power or coercive power in order to barter with a target (“if you do this for me, I’ll do that for you”). Similarly, an agent needs expert power to successfully use logical arguments to sway a target.

Additionally, just as the various types of power are likely to be intertwined or overlap in actual usage, it appears that at least some influence tactics involve more than one type of power. For example, the use of logic would seem to require the use of expert power alone but bargaining can involve reward power and/or coercive power. Such influence tactics as the use of appeals to higher authority may involve not only legitimate power as a base but also have some base in other powers as well (such as coercive power and/or expert power).

HOW TO USE POWER EFFECTIVELY

There are six important ways for leaders to increase their power in an organization. First, they can supplement organizational power with personal power as much as possible; this will provide a broader and stronger basis for influence attempts. Second, they can use personal power more than organizational power; people are advised to use expert power and referent power because they provide a competitive advantage against peers since everyone at the same hierarchical level has about the same amount of organizational power (but different amounts of personal power).

Third, effective leaders should use coercive power only as a last resort; this is the least effective way to get people to act in a desired way and it can sometimes produce negative side effects (such as theft or vandalism). Fourth, leaders should be aware that influence tactics have stronger and weaker forms; for example, to argue a position based on pro forma financial statements is a stronger use of expert power than to simply assert, “Trust me, you know I’m an expert.”

Fifth, effective leaders should also be aware that the sequence in which power and influence tactics

are used matters; for example, the use of coercive power or threats should generally not occur the first time a request is made; one of the other powers should be tried first. Finally, some leaders employ a strategy of “ready, fire, aim” instead of “ready, aim, fire,” but much better results will be obtained in the use of power and influence if a leader develops a good strategy before acting and takes into account the research and suggestions summarized above.

—Linda L. Neider and
Chester A. Schriesheim

See also Autocratic Leadership; Coercion; Obedience

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 **PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP, U.S.**

The presidents of the United States are often labeled as the most powerful individuals in the world because of the impressive military, diplomatic, and economic power they command. Yet the office they hold is also one that is checked and balanced within the American constitutional system to the point that some presidents have complained about the constraints on their capacity to get things done. One president after another has noted how difficult it is to persuade their fellow citizens to take a wise and prudent course of action for the betterment of the nation.

Over the more than two centuries that the presidency has existed, the forty-two men who have held office have developed a variety of leadership styles to master the demands of leading the nation. Some men, such as Franklin Pierce (1853–1857) and James Buchanan (1857–1861), have come down in history as examples of how not to wield the executive power. Their failures to deal with the sectional crisis over slavery in the 1850s helped to bring on the Civil War. Other chief executives—George Washington (1789–1797), Abraham Lincoln (1861–1865), and Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933–1945)—are esteemed for their ability to rise to the occasion and keep the nation as a going concern for future generations.

A clear definition of the criteria for assessing the success or failure of presidents as national leaders has been difficult to find. Winning war is usually seen as a good sign of successful leadership but not always. William McKinley led the United States to victory over Spain in 1898, but his imperial adventure in the Philippines clouded his reputation. George H. W. Bush directed the victorious first Gulf War in 1991, and the voters turned him out of his presidency a year later. For most presidents who fought wars to victory—Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt—these triumphs provided realistic claims to executive greatness.

For the presidents who were not identified with military victory, assessments of their leadership skills have varied, often depending on the political affiliation or partisan leanings of those who write about them. Activists fare better than more passive

chief executives. Democrats, especially during the twentieth century, more often rate higher than do Republican presidents because of the tendency to value innovation over conservatism.

THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY PRESIDENCY

An important distinction in presidential leadership exists between those who held the office in the first one hundred years of the republic and those who served after 1897. The presidency was a small institution that directed a small government for most of the nineteenth century. A single secretary and a few clerks could handle the routine business of being a president. The White House itself was not closely guarded and any citizen with legitimate business could usually get to see the incumbent. Regular public receptions kept the presidency close to the people at a time when Washington was more like a small town than a world capital.

In the age of slower communications before mass media, presidents exercised leadership through written documents and personal influence within the government. Presidential travel was limited, speaking tours to push legislation were not done, and incumbents by tradition did not campaign for reelection. It was still possible under these conditions to be bold in the White House, as Thomas Jefferson demonstrated with the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 and Andrew Jackson did with his “war” against the Second Bank of the United States in the 1830s. Nonetheless, the presidency was a more passive, reactive institution in the first half of the nation’s existence.

A sense of how the presidency might operate in foreign affairs came with the administration of James K. Polk (1845–1849). The president’s personal resolve to subdue Mexico and to settle the Oregon Boundary dispute with Great Britain resulted in both aims being achieved. The acquisition of extensive new territory in the Southwest helped trigger further sectional tensions between North and South during the 1850s, but Polk had shown what a determined chief executive could accomplish. His example faded rapidly as a succession of weak presidents ensued.

THE CIVIL WAR AND AFTER

The Civil War tested the presidency in unexpected ways as Abraham Lincoln pushed the institution to its limits to preserve the Union and in the end abolish slavery. Lincoln's use of the war power to suspend habeas corpus, issue the Emancipation Proclamation, and direct the strategy of the Union armies illustrated what a strong president could do in a time of national crisis. Lincoln accomplished all these feats with a small staff and no large bureaucracy to carry out his directives. His speeches and messages were masterful examples of how a president could articulate the national agenda.

For three decades after Lincoln's murder in April 1865, the presidency shrank in importance. Congress asserted itself during the Reconstruction battles with Lincoln's successor, Andrew Johnson (1865–1869). The supremacy of the legislative branch persisted under the Republican chief executives who followed Johnson. Democrat Grover Cleveland (1885–1889, 1893–1897) wielded presidential power with a strong hand during the economic crisis of the 1890s, but his unpopular policies and reclusive style boomeranged. The presidency seemed a shrunken institution in a ramshackle White House as Cleveland's tenure as president came to an end in March 1897.

ORIGINS OF THE MODERN PRESIDENCY

A revival of the presidency and the emergence of the modern form of leadership in the White House arrived with William McKinley (1897–1901). The new president improved relations with the press and traveled more than his predecessors had. Having served in the House of Representatives, he spent a good deal of time courting the legislative branch. The outbreak of the war with Spain, however, was what set McKinley on the road toward becoming the first modern president. He directed the strategy of the United States from the "War Room" in the White House. Once an armistice with Spain had been reached, he recruited senators to serve on the delegation that negotiated a treaty in Paris in the fall of 1898. Meanwhile, McKinley went out on the stump



The Oval Office, photographed in January 1993, during the presidency of Bill Clinton. The Oval Office and White House in which it is located are perhaps the two best-known symbols of the American presidency.

Source: Wally McNamee/Corbis; used with permission.

to prepare the way for the acquisition of the Philippine Islands as one of the fruits of the conflict.

In the years that followed, McKinley relied on the war power of the presidency to govern its new overseas empire and to conduct a conflict against the nationalists in the Philippines. He also created a civil government to administer the new American possession. The president sent troops into China without congressional authorization during the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. A key participant in these developments was McKinley's secretary, George B. Cortelyou, who put in place the institutional arrangements to enable the president to function effectively. As the United States took on a world role, the size of the White House staff expanded to meet the new respon-

sibilities. By the time McKinley was assassinated in September 1901, the presidency was on its way toward the more bureaucratic, organized, and coherent policymaking instrument of the twentieth century.

McKinley had not been a charismatic president, but his successor, Theodore Roosevelt, fulfilled that role as a chief executive and then some. The youngest man to become the nation's leader, Roosevelt brought energy and excitement to his duties in the White House. Within weeks of taking office, he began stamping his personality on how the president operated in the public sphere. Roosevelt later styled the presidency as "a bully pulpit," and he missed few opportunities to preach lessons of responsibility, world power, and an expanded government to his fellow citizens. From busting trusts to sending the White Fleet around the world as a show of American power, Roosevelt demonstrated what an activist chief executive could do to broaden the scope of government and personalize the office as well.

After his election in 1904, Roosevelt used the credibility he gained from his landslide victory to put the government into the business of regulating an industrial society. The Hepburn Act to oversee the railroads, the Pure Food and Drugs Act, and the Meat Inspection legislation of 1906 attested to his belief that the president should push Congress to make society more equitable and just for all citizens. Roosevelt's push for expanded power produced backlash from conservatives in his own Republican party, and his last years in office were filled with political discord against his program of regulation. His efforts to involve the United States more directly in world affairs also came up against the limits of popular willingness to depart from traditional non-involvement overseas.

Overall, Roosevelt built on McKinley's precedents to establish the modern presidency as the institution to which the American people looked for agenda-setting in national affairs. That the president could campaign for legislation, launch speaking tours to rouse popular support for his programs, and grapple in public with entrenched congressional leaders gave the people a sense of how a strong president could lead. In that sense, Roosevelt provided

an instructive road map for his successors during the remainder of the century.

William Howard Taft, Roosevelt's hand-picked successor, did not share Roosevelt's broad view of presidential authority or his faith in legislation to achieve social justice. As a result, the model of leadership that Taft provided was more constricted than what Roosevelt had advanced. Taft's style in the White House eventually alienated his predecessor and led to their personal struggle over the Republican nomination in 1912. In that election, the voters opted to give the Democrats and Woodrow Wilson a chance to show how they would implement presidential policy.

WOODROW WILSON AND PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP

Though he did little to change the bureaucratic workings of the presidency, Wilson did make significant shifts in how the chief executive operated. He restored the custom, which Thomas Jefferson had abandoned, of addressing Congress in person. That innovation made the president a more visible figure in the nation, especially once the news media were able to cover these occasions with film and later television. Wilson was also more ready than even Roosevelt had been to make speaking trips to seek support for his legislative and foreign policies. Most of all, Wilson infused a moralistic style into the presidency that broadened the nation's role in the world through his unsuccessful quest for a League of Nations between 1919 and 1920. Though Wilson left office at a low ebb of popularity with the American people, his example of presidential leadership would be a large influence on the next Democratic president, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Before Franklin Roosevelt came on the scene, however, more subdued presidents held office in the persons of Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge. After the reform campaigns of Theodore Roosevelt and Wilson, the public wanted a rest from presidential activism, which Harding and Coolidge certainly provided. The decline in the economy that led to the Great Depression of the 1930s found Herbert Hoover in office when the crisis began. He was much more

involved in trying to bring about recovery than previous presidents had been in similar downturns. Unfortunately for Hoover, he was reluctant to embrace activism to the full, and he came across as an insensitive and uncaring chief executive as misery mounted. In 1932, the voters rejected his bid for a second term and looked to Franklin D. Roosevelt for answers.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AND THE NEW DEAL

Roosevelt had promised “bold, persistent experimentation” to address the economic woes of the country. His approach to the presidency was to build on the achievements of his cousin Theodore, and to infuse the White House with a determination to use all the weapons at the command of the chief executive to pursue good times once again. The New Deal that followed depended heavily on Roosevelt’s ability to stir the public through speeches, his radio addresses that became known as “fireside chats,” and his willingness to try diverse approaches to the issues of relief, recovery, and reform. In the process, Roosevelt’s way of handling national issues became a model for all future presidents to accept or reject.

Under Franklin D. Roosevelt, the presidency slowly expanded to meet its enhanced responsibilities. That process began during the second term and accelerated during World War II. The creation of the Executive Office of the President put in place bureaucratic structures that allocated responsibilities on a more rational basis. Roosevelt retained his own loose administrative style amid these innovations, but his successors would expand on what he had done.

Despite his personal disability from infantile paralysis, Roosevelt traveled extensively, and his overseas trips during the war laid the basis for greater presidential travel during the rest of the twentieth century. The ability of the presidents to conduct



U.S. Presidents and Terms of Office

George Washington (1789–1797)	Grover Cleveland (1885–1889)
John Adams (1797–1801)	Benjamin Harrison (1889–1893)
Thomas Jefferson (1801–1809)	Grover Cleveland (1893–1897)
James Madison (1809–1817)	William McKinley (1897–1901)
James Monroe (1817–1825)	Theodore Roosevelt (1901–1909)
John Quincy Adams (1825–1829)	William Howard Taft (1909–1913)
Andrew Jackson (1829–1837)	Woodrow Wilson (1913–1921)
Martin Van Buren (1837–1841)	Warren G. Harding (1921–1923)
William Henry Harrison (1841)	Calvin Coolidge (1923–1929)
John Tyler (1841–1845)	Herbert Hoover (1929–1933)
James K. Polk (1845–1849)	Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933–1945)
Zachary Taylor (1849–1850)	Harry S. Truman (1945–1953)
Millard Fillmore (1850–1853)	Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953–1961)
Franklin Pierce (1853–1857)	Lyndon B. Johnson (1963–1969)
James Buchanan (1857–1861)	Richard Nixon (1969–1974)
Abraham Lincoln (1861–1865)	Gerald Ford (1974–1977)
Andrew Johnson (1865–1869)	Jimmy Carter (1977–1981)
Ulysses S. Grant (1869–1877)	Ronald Reagan (1981–1989)
Rutherford B. Hayes (1877–1881)	George H. W. Bush (1989–1993)
James A. Garfield (1881)	Bill Clinton (1993–2001)
Chester Arthur (1881–1885)	George W. Bush (2001–)

business outside the country meant that chief executives could enhance their popular standing with the trappings of world leadership at conferences with foreign leaders. Public opinion polls showed the positive results for the president from such tours and missions. As the power of the United States grew after World War II, the image of the president as the world leader with vast resources at his command became fixed in the popular mind.

THE COLD WAR PRESIDENCY

The defeat of Germany and Japan in 1945 soon led to the Cold War with the Soviet Union that defined America’s role in the world for the next half-century. Roosevelt’s sudden death in April 1945 brought his vice president, Harry S. Truman, to the Oval Office. Though Truman was not as charismatic as Roosevelt had been, his no-nonsense style of leadership, derived from his years in Missouri politics and the United States Senate, proved effective in establishing the structure for how the United States government would conduct foreign and domestic policy in the

Cold War setting. Truman articulated the policy of containment toward the Soviet Union through the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the various national security agencies such as the Central Intelligence Agency that evolved out of the postwar crises.

Truman's accomplishments in foreign policy and the mistakes of his Republican opponent, Thomas E. Dewey, enabled the incumbent to win a surprise election victory in 1948. After that triumph, however, Truman's administration encountered a host of problems at home and abroad. The victory of the Communists in China, the rise of McCarthyism, and the Korean War emboldened the Republicans and cast doubt on Truman's ability to lead. By the time he decided not to run for another term during the spring of 1952, Truman's standing with the American people had eroded. Only in the retrospect of several decades would Truman come to seem the embodiment of effective executive power in the White House.

The election of Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1952 proved an important step in the evolution of modern presidential leadership. Eisenhower was not an activist in advancing programs or providing new initiatives. What he did that was important was to create the modern chief-of-staff form of presidential organization within the White House, create a system of managing congressional relations, and improve the capacity of the presidency to shape media images of the office. Televised press conferences, though not yet done live, gave the president a significant forum for advancing his administration's agenda. Behind the scenes, Eisenhower operated on what one scholar of his presidency has called "the hidden-hand" principle of pursuing his goals. The approach was not spectacular in its public manifestations but it proved effective for much of Eisenhower's presidency.

By the late 1950s, however, a sense emerged that the nation was adrift amidst the Cold War, and Democrats criticized Eisenhower for not being forceful enough in setting the priorities for the government. John F. Kennedy made getting the nation moving again one of the themes of his bid for the White House. That enabled the Democratic candi-

date to achieve a narrow victory over his Republican rival, Richard M. Nixon. Kennedy's administration brought heavy doses of public relations and stardom to the White House as the new president proved to be a media idol. Press conferences were now televised live in prime time. Kennedy was a master in these settings, and the American people's fascination with him mounted. The substantive record of the administration was less impressive as Kennedy struggled to enact his legislative priorities and to succeed in foreign policy. To a large degree, substance did not matter as much as style. As long as the president could appear to be in charge, leadership became an issue of how the presidency was presented to the public.

THE TROUBLES OF PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP IN THE 1960s AND 1970s

Kennedy's assassination in November 1963 created a presidential martyr and stamped his brand of leadership as a mythic force that would have solved all society's problems had he but lived to serve a second term. The burden of Kennedy's expectations was not a large one for Lyndon B. Johnson in the first year of his own presidency. Johnson used the Kennedy legacy as a guide for enacting a tax cut and a major civil rights bill in 1964. The Texan's mastery of the legislative process, an area where Kennedy had been weak, enabled him to forge a record of accomplishment that took the presidency to new heights of influence.

However, the success of Johnson in this area proved to be short-lived. The escalation of the American involvement in Vietnam in 1965, and the social turmoil that resulted from that decision, started the decline in the president's standing. Protest at home and stalemate abroad led to an erosion of support for the administration. By 1968, Johnson faced challenges to reelection and he withdrew from politics. A president had essentially been driven from office because of the way he had failed to exercise persuasive and effective leadership in foreign policy. In the process, the innate public respect for the presidential office had been compromised.

Johnson's successor, Richard M. Nixon, wanted to

restore presidential prestige by ending the involvement in Vietnam and establishing domestic order at home once again. In the public face of his first term, Nixon succeeded in demoralizing the Democrats and persuading the public that he was winding down the war. Behind the scenes, however, the steps that Nixon took to thwart the Democrats and ensure his own reelection led to the Watergate break-in in June 1972. That scandal did not prevent Nixon from winning a massive reelection victory, but within months of that success the unraveling of Watergate put his presidency on a course toward his resignation in disgrace. Nixon's departure from office in August 1974 further reduced the power of the presidency relative to Congress and hampered the ability of his successors to conduct policy with as much freedom and discretion as had been the case just a decade or so earlier.

The resulting problems constrained the administrations of Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter that followed during the remainder of the 1970s. Ford's pardon of Richard Nixon, which the president believed was necessary to restore his ability to lead, cast a shadow over his days in the White House and was largely responsible for his defeat in the 1976 election. With Congress ascendant, the scope of what the president could do had been circumscribed.

Jimmy Carter learned of the reduced power of the presidency in his single-term administration from 1977 to 1981. Not an adroit politician, Carter found that his capacity to manage Congress, rouse the American people, and conduct foreign policy was restricted and diminished. The hostage crisis in Iran dominated the latter part of Carter's presidency, and his inability either to rescue the imprisoned Americans or to end the problem diplomatically contributed to a sense that he was not an effective leader. Pundits speculated that after a series of failed presidencies the office had been so crippled that future chief executives might be less effective than their predecessors had been in moments of national crisis.

THE IMPACT OF RONALD REAGAN

The election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 began an apparent restoration of presidential leadership. Reagan's team proved adept at passing a large tax cut

If you can't convince them, confuse them.

—Harry S. Truman

and funding a large increase in defense spending in his first term. Once the economy perked up between 1983 and 1984, Reagan easily won a substantial reelection victory in 1984. Reagan's success did not depend on making hard choices about the choices that the nation faced in foreign and domestic policy. Instead, with his background in movies, Reagan was a master of presenting himself in situations where he seemed to be a national leader. Effectiveness in stagecraft, which had been growing among presidents since the start of the twentieth century, now became the essence of the president's ability to set priorities. Achieving the popularity that Reagan enjoyed for most of his two terms emerged as a main goal of subsequent presidents. As a result, pundits proclaimed that confidence in the presidency had been restored.

The two men who followed Reagan might have disagreed. George H. W. Bush found that success in winning the first Gulf War did not translate into an ability to enact his domestic program. In fact, his failure to deal with the recession of 1991 and 1992 helped to ensure his electoral defeat at the hands of Bill Clinton in the 1992 election. At the 1988 Republican Convention, Bush had promised "no new taxes" during his presidency. When such an increase seemed necessary in 1990, the president could not carry his own party with him on the change. Nor could Bush use his postwar popularity to set the national agenda. After rising with Reagan, presidential leadership receded again during the first Bush presidency.

Leadership proved even more problematic for Bill Clinton during his two terms in office. Elected as a minority president over the elder Bush and Ross Perot in 1992, Clinton lacked legitimacy in the eyes of many Republicans. They accorded him only minimal respect as a chief executive. Opposition to Clinton's policies often went beyond partisan limits and became an end in itself for his foes. Despite these obstacles, Clinton achieved some notable results in domestic economic affairs and foreign policy. Of

course, he undercut his own effectiveness with his sexual indiscretions, which contributed to the effort to impeach him between 1998 and 1999. Clinton's experience showed that exercising presidential leadership in the twenty-first century would require mastery of the intensely partisan political environment and the instruments of celebrity to have any chance at enacting a program.

President George W. Bush's presidential leadership is still in the process of formation, and any assessment would have to be a tentative one. The terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 produced a crisis that persuaded Congress and the American people to grant the president wide new powers to lead the country. More than any of its immediate predecessors, the Bush administration has shown itself to be masterful in packaging the president and remaining on its message every day. The result has been impressive short-run success for the president as a national leader. The military victory in Iraq in 2003, for example, attested to Bush's ability to harness the nation's striking power. Whether the American occupation of Iraq, a test of day-to-day presidential leadership, will be as rewarding is not yet known. Tax cutting has become Bush's domestic trademark where his leadership again has worked. When hard choices come about funding Social Security and Medicare for the baby-boom generation at the end of the first decade of the new century, presidential leadership may be tested.

PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP IN PERSPECTIVE

The ways in which presidential power should be exercised and the capacity of various chief executives to use their authority well has thus evolved and shifted as American history has unfolded. The traditional statecraft of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in which presidents functioned much like national leaders in other countries has faded away. Now presidents operate as a combination of world statesmen and media personalities whose every move is scripted for transmission to a waiting audience. Presidential leadership has become an arm of show business whose triviality often overshadows its serious consequences for the United States and the world.

—Lewis L. Gould

See also Bay of Pigs; Civil Rights Act of 1964; Cuban Missile Crisis; Eisenhower, Dwight David; Grant, Ulysses; Hiroshima; Iranian Hostage Crisis; Jefferson, Thomas; Johnson, Lyndon; Kennedy, John F.; Lincoln, Abraham; Manhattan Project; Panama Canal Treaties; Panama Canal, Building of; Pearl Harbor; Reagan, Ronald; Roosevelt, Franklin Delano; Roosevelt, Theodore; Trust Busting; War on Terrorism; Washington, George; Wilson, Woodrow

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PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORY

Through the years there has been considerable debate among industrial and organizational psychologists about whether psychoanalytic theory has a role in understanding the dynamics of the workplace. The Tavistock approach to leadership and institutional thought (so named because it was first developed at the Tavistock Institute in London) seeks to use psychoanalytic theory to identify and resolve issues in organizations. The work of Melanie Klein on child and family psychology forms an important foundation for the Tavistock approach. Indeed, the basis of the approach comes fundamentally from theorists in the Kleinian tradition—Armstrong (1997), Bion (1952, 1959, 1961), Gosling (1978, 1981; Gosling and Turquet 1967), Jaques (1970, 1996), Lawrence (1999, 2000), Menzies Lyth (1988, 1989), Miller (1993), Obholzer and Roberts (1994), Rice (1969), Turquet (1975), and others—who stress that leadership is being in touch with external reality and with unconscious processes. That relationship between external reality and unconscious processes is summed up by Ehrenzweig (1967): “Unconscious vision has proven capable of gathering more information than a conscious scrutiny lasting a hundred times longer . . . the undifferentiated structure of unconscious vision . . . displays scanning powers that are superior to conscious vision.”

Generally, conscious leadership works rationally and linearly with cause-and-effect relationships, focusing on targeted visions and behavior, undeterred by anything unconscious. Cause-and-effect relationships are designed to get rid of their complexities. However, Wilfred Bion (1961), in his work with groups, showed the group mind (the collective mindset in an organization) as working at two levels and having two perspectives at the same time: being consciously aware of what is being talked about and

also listening to what is unconsciously being represented in subtexts.

Listening to and thinking about subtexts define the idea of leadership as container. Put simply, leadership has to contain the task and other people, and in doing so, it also contains the unconscious. Containment implies notions of inside and outside, and leadership is always on the boundary between the two. Organizational leadership has to be aware of the environment on the outside and simultaneously present environment conditions to the people inside. In this way leadership serves to bring disparate parts together in order to deal with challenges of forging relationships between parts.

Leadership means the ability of leaders to “read” their own experiences of feeling, thinking, and imagining within the organization. Those experiences within the role of leadership are a source of information and intelligence about the dynamics of the organization in relation to its task, its structure, and its context, and to use that information is a way of informing decision and action at every level. The Tavistock approach moves from focusing solely on the inner world of the leader to focusing on the inner world of the leader insofar as it reflects, picks up, elaborates, and conveys information about the world of the organization within which the leader is implicated and the external environment of the organization that is influencing all the things that are happening within it in order that the leader may arrive at decisions and identify challenges that need to be managed. It is not good enough to enable leadership to interpret its situations. Leadership also must work through the implications of its interpretations in terms of decisions about vision, strategy, structure, and operations.

One tends to think of unconscious processes as potentially conveying meaning. Good leadership is concerned with organizational meaning by finding ways of working with the unconscious undertones in the organization, those images, blockages, and disconnected stories that are offshoots of some unconscious undertow of meaning. Bringing them to the surface is a function of leadership, that is, making the undertow of unconscious life in organizations available for reflection and thinking.

LEADERSHIP AND THE UNCONSCIOUS

In helping others to manage themselves, leaders are the recipient of both good feelings and bad feelings. Because leadership represents the existence of the unconscious, it cannot be good all the time. Leadership functions by reminding its members of the importance of the unconscious in organizational life. Usually, the unconscious gets watered down and converted into the personal unconscious, seldom the social unconscious. Leadership can more easily deal with the personal unconscious than with the collective unconscious because in the collective unconscious (Hopper, 2003), one really is in the unknown, and one can believe that the personal unconscious is ultimately knowable. Playing in the unconscious gives leaders opportunities to be innovative. Ideas come from several sources—for example, from other people or from experience. Ideas might come from memory or from history, and then be put together in novel ways to produce something new, for good or bad. We claim a link between leadership and the unconscious source of ideas.

Leadership is remaining in touch with the unconscious in order to produce new developments, new ideas, new decisions, new products. Leaders oscillate between reveling in the unconscious and having to force it to fit in with external reality. That oscillation is the hallmark of good leadership. Leadership is making the unconscious valid and valuing what lies below the surface. Baum (1992) asserted that everything we see around us started with an idea, a thought. Thought processes, no matter how small or primitive, germinate and grow. How did people think to plant seeds? It all started with somebody thinking. Organizational leadership and social leadership are helping people and processes along by combining thinking and action. Leadership must produce a result at the end, but the goal, the direction, the processes, and the technology all require thinking.

LEADERSHIP AND ANXIETY

Leadership is the capacity to withstand the onslaught of anxiety, to retain the capacity to think ahead strategically with certainty while one is under pres-

sure either from within oneself or from outside, such as the pressure of domestic (i.e., family) issues. The leadership drive, instead of being consciously directed to tackle a task, may get transmuted into subversion, into defeating the system. Leadership itself may subvert the system rather than work with the difficulties of standing on the boundary between the organization and environment. Leadership may manage itself well in the role it defines for itself, without recourse to organizational and environmental process, and develop the fantasy that its self-defined role and the work of the organization are synonymous. The two elements get separated out so that the work of the organization is suppressed, and the self-defined role becomes the primary task. In one sense, therefore, leadership may manage itself well in its role, but it does not manage itself in its institutional and systemic roles, nor does it help others to manage themselves in their systemic roles.

LEADERSHIP AND THE PARANOID-SCHIZOID AND DEPRESSIVE POSITIONS

Leadership can be explained by relying on concepts such as the depressive position (akin to an infant fearing the loss of a treasured object and trying to hold onto it) and the paranoid-schizoid position (a young child's vacillation between a loving orientation and a hateful orientation) (Klein, 1957). Leadership is striving toward the depressive position, although elements of the paranoid-schizoid position are essential adjuncts to leadership issues. In other words, leadership has to have the capacity to be sufficiently, but not too, paranoid and be sufficiently delinquent to work its way around systems, and it has to be able to summon sufficient fight. A workable theory of leadership allows for sufficient delusion that enables leadership to know what is going on and sufficient containment of anxiety to enable thinking to occur, followed by appropriate intervention. The type of leadership used does not matter, provided it allows for space and uncertainty. We sometimes think of leadership and organizational processes as telling people what to do and then tricking them into followership, which can be effective in the short term, particularly in charismatic leadership,

but in the long term does not work. In general, leaders are selected on the basis of promising to deliver certainty. In promising certainty, leaders are really delivering the people within the organization from being paranoid about the outside. “Don’t worry. If you do this, we will be all right.”

In benign forms of leadership, consideration for others is manifest. Those forms of leadership are called “depressive position leadership,” and they are different from paranoid-schizoid leadership. The striking character of depressive position leadership is the capacity to listen and note others’ points of view. In other words, a leader might look at a situation from a variety of perspectives. Some of these perspectives would emanate from within, and some would come from outside. Depressive position leadership in this regard means the capacity to listen to, and, in fact, to expect and elicit other perspectives and to respect them adequately while not allowing them to necessarily sweep one away from one’s chosen path. In paranoid-schizoid position leadership, one is not prepared to listen to any other perspective. Paranoid-schizoid leadership is forced upon other people. Other people’s perspectives immediately evoke the fight (aggressive) mode. Depressive position leadership conducts surveys, listens to opinions, notes them, and then tactically finds its way through them in order to achieve an objective, taking into account that some of the opinions that come up might, necessarily, modify leadership’s goal or plan of action.

In political life, not much evidence indicates that depressive position leadership does better than paranoid-schizoid position leadership. Life for a paranoid-schizoid leader can be pretty rocky, and it can go up and down and can switch from good to bad in public opinion quickly. However, war leaders, such as former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher during the Falklands War, gain enormously from cultivating a paranoid-schizoid way of leading the nation. When British Prime Minister Tony Blair came to power, he was seen as someone who could stand ambivalence and ambiguity—“tough on crime, tough on the causes of crime.” He was not simplifying facts by saying criminals are bad and the rest of us are good; he could capture some sense

of responsibility and reparation. On the other hand, paranoid-schizoid position leadership tends to do a much better job. It can dramatically capture the immediate attention, interest, and allegiance of facts that the tabloid press lives off, creating and presenting a sensation of good or bad outrage. One would only with difficulty say that depressive position leadership is good and paranoid-schizoid position leadership is bad.

LEADERSHIP AND CONTAINMENT

The idea of containment is an important part of leadership, but it may sound rather passive and maternal. Containment has to be matched by sufficient lack of containment, so that people are encouraged to do a bit of containing themselves. They need to have a bit of ingenuity themselves because otherwise, if the leader solely performs “good containment,” people will keep a low profile. Too much containment can create dependency, which can have advantages, but dependency also can have disadvantages. The container needs to be a semipermeable osmotic membrane where movement in both directions is allowed but where leadership influences the size of the particles that are allowed through the organizational membrane. If too much is allowed in, the organization may get swamped; if too much is allowed out, the organization’s public image may be damaged. Therefore, leadership, boundaries, and containment can be said to form a finely balanced process of osmosis through which projective and introjective processes are managed.

Traditionally the idea of containment has been concerned with the ability of leadership to enable people to contain some of the anxieties that are built into work or into the context of work. Leadership has been thought of as able both to help people contain anxiety and also to help process it. That idea is based on Bion’s (1961) original model of container contained. However, this idea neglects two aspects linked to containment. The first aspect has to do with the paternal function rather than the maternal function, which Bion (1961) sometimes neglects. The paternal function is concerned with setting boundaries, sometimes calling a halt, indicating purpose

and direction, maintaining and standing for certain qualities of discipline and professionalism, and so forth. This paternal function of leadership can often get split off from the maternal function in an unhelpful way. The second aspect is the idea that the function of the mother is not simply to contain the infant's distress; it may also be to offer to the infant a lively, stimulating sense of the presence of the object, basically the presence of the mother. Similarly, leadership involves the capacity to "make present" a kind of lively, stimulating, vital sense of the practice of the organization. Some leaders find that difficult to do, and that difficulty may be worsened by the tendency to appoint to leadership positions people who may have little experience of the primary process that the organization engages in. For example, in the health service field, people who have no real experience of the business of working with patients may be appointed as chief executives, and that appointment presents a real challenge if those people are not able to feel inside themselves the deep sense of the nature of the work that the organization is carrying out. This "making present" is another aspect of containment.

LEADERSHIP AND PROJECTIVE AND INTROJECTIVE PROCESSES

Leadership-followership dynamics must involve some redistribution of identity. Some people identify themselves as leaders, and other people identify themselves as followers. The quality of everyone's personal identity that relies on projective and introjective processes fluctuates. A leader acquires certain types of personality characteristics for his or her identity, and others relinquish theirs. If projective processes that compose the leadership-followership dynamics are rigid and cannot be relinquished, then a bad form of leadership results: a rigid institution and a permanent distortion of identity. One criterion for good leadership is the ability to identify, when necessary, with the qualities that are required and to relinquish them when not absolutely needed. Leadership must be able to allow other people to take leadership roles and to follow those other people because leadership must be able to use the skills of

others that it does not have. We must make a distinction between the flexibility of projective-introjective processes and the rigidity by which personalities are permanently or semi-permanently distorted or damaged.

Leadership does not always mean being a container. The organization needs to be the container. Leadership has to ensure that the organization is able to contain the anxiety of the task. Leaders have some responsibility for ensuring that the levels of anxiety are not so great that they interfere with people's capacity to pursue the task, but leaders must notice the interpersonal and intergroup relations within the organization rather than personally take on the anxiety themselves.

Through projective processes, leadership gains information from which it can discern what is happening within the organization. Leadership must be open to projective processes and able to "read" what is happening and what people are experiencing, not only in terms of what those experiences mean personally to people but also what those experiences mean to the organizational situation that they are involved with. Leaders must be able to distinguish between what they are feeling that is simply information about themselves and what they are aware of in themselves that may represent something that is projected into them from the organization. The ability of leaders to acknowledge and work with projective processes is important. Leaders are always likely to be given fantasies by members of the organization; for example, the head teacher of a school is always seen as larger than life by pupils and staff. The same is true in most organizations. We need to understand projected processes in terms of something that is happening in the organization here and now, not just in terms of endemic features of organizational life. Even if the features are endemic, at some point one becomes acutely aware of them, and they point to something happening within the organization that is triggering uncertainty or anxiety.

Introjection is a different matter. For example, in the relationship between the teacher and the pupil, people talk about the transference relationship, which, through introjective processes, is a critical element in learning. However, the relationship

among the teacher, the subject, and the pupil, not the relationship between the teacher and the pupil as such, is a critical element. If the pupil is simply aware of the teacher as a “person” or “authority figure,” although that awareness may encourage learning, that awareness will not lead to a real love of the subject or to real, sustained learning. Similarly, people, not leadership, must introject leadership’s concept of the organization, and insofar as that concept is lively and vital, it will release both learning and initiative, innovation and authority. The key is the transference process that followers develop to leadership’s relation to the organizational task.

LEADERSHIP AND KNOWLEDGE

Leadership in organizations relies on a number of methods to gain information and find out what is going on. Leaders work with a series of constructs that are helpful to them but that have to become operationalized as they go about their work. Leaders can operationalize constructs with a light touch or with a firm touch, as if to convince themselves that they know what is going on and what they are doing. However, that behavior may be a defense against being and feeling lost, and leaders actually may not know what is going on, but to make themselves feel more comfortable, they may turn concepts into dogma. Leaders need to make allowances for unforeseen issues. This form of leadership does not tell others what to do; rather, it conveys that tasks can be performed, that one can traverse areas of uncertainty, that one can wade through the challenges and keep thinking and not get bogged down too deeply. Role modeling, in this sense, is an integral part of leadership.

LEADERSHIP AND THE EGO IDEAL

Leadership stems from two sources: (1) structural sources; that is, people take on the position, and other people say the people who took on the position are in charge, and (2) charismatic sources; that is, people take leadership for themselves on their internal authority. What about a personality enables or compels somebody to emerge as a leader? The Austrian neurologist Sigmund Freud (1921) said people

cohere into a group because they all adopt the same sort of ego ideal, that is, they all see themselves as in some way aligned or identified with some particular principle, idea, task, or person. A leader is somebody who has in his or her own personality some intuitive and largely unconscious capacity to be able to capture the allegiance of other people toward the ego ideal. People have difficulty determining what enables leaders to capture the ideal in themselves or to capture the allegiance of others toward the ego ideal. The ego ideal has to do with creating a vision for people. Leadership represents the popular vision that begs the question, “What is visionary other than something that captures a lot of people’s imagination?” Leadership is a capacity to form an intuitive understanding of what a vision is. During political rallies Adolf Hitler shouted, and the crowds chanted. Charisma is the process of being between Hitler and the crowds, where each was exciting the other. Thus, leadership must be situational, that is, extremely stage managed, but people’s personal ideals and principles get submerged just by the mere act of people being in a crowd.

Can a leader draw on specific ego qualities, perhaps more so than other people? In psychoanalytic terms it would be the ability to sublimate id (relating to the division of the psyche that is unconscious and is the source of psychic energy) impulses and to capture the allegiances of other people’s egos, to sublimate their ids to achieve a common kind of sublimation. The psychoanalytic model is specific to the individual, but we also need models that explain collective and interpersonal processes. People must have ego functions that are personal, but people must also have a capacity to sublimate passions into what we have called a “vision”: a strong intuitive capacity to be in touch with where other people are as a group, intuitive of a group atmosphere, and able to play on that atmosphere or to mold a group atmosphere. We do not know much about some particular quality of intuition. The capacity to intuitively know the mood of a group is located less in the rational ego and more in the id process, in the deep underlying sweep of emotion in the crowd.

Leadership is also concerned with the capacity to get people to follow with a real sense of internal owner-

ship and conviction. All people have that capacity but are not always able to tap into or release it. Leadership stretches the cognitive competence of others to handle increasingly complex and varied information.

LEADERSHIP AND PERSONALITY

Identifying what gets mobilized in a person within a group is fairly fundamental to the Tavistock understanding of groups. Understanding leadership traits calls for that same type of identification. Something specific is mobilized for a person to become a leader.

Bion's work on leaderless groups for the British War Office Selection Board addressed what gets mobilized in people who emerge as leaders or followers or who take up other roles. His arguments are less concerned with leaders' personalities, their psychopathology, and their early experience with their parents, and more concerned with how groups become groups and get on with their tasks and the emergence of elemental roles that are required to fulfill those tasks.

Leadership, however, must have something to do with individual personality and how a person becomes a good leader or a bad leader, a poor leader, or morally good or morally bad. Is that something personality, or is it behavior? Or identity? What sort of identity a leader feels comfortable adopting is determined by the group being able to mobilize that identity inside the leader. Leaders who listen and understand and do not present much of themselves may have to take a stronger, more determined stance and tackle some issues head on. Leaders have to feel comfortable with what is mobilized in them by the group. All of that is difficult to predict. The best way to appoint the right leaders is to place them in a group and see if they are any good at leading it. Trying to analyze the personality characteristics of an individual to predict outcome is tricky. One can easily be misled by one dimension of an organization when, in fact, the role demands another dimension.

LEADERSHIP AND COMPETENCE

Leadership and competence are linked. If people's competence is acknowledged, their sense of contain-

ment is increased. Good leaders remember the people who work in the organization and have an idea of what is happening with them and are able to say something about it when they bump into people in a corridor. Being able to remember and value people is a remarkable capacity. Good leaders remember people as people as well as remembering people as roles and which job they are doing. That kind of leadership may be part of containment, or it may be a different kind of leadership—the idea that a leader leads for the task and that a leader makes everyone feel good. All people have a narcissistic aspect that needs to be fed—either by a sense that they have done a good job and that they can see the product or by someone who comes along and strokes their narcissistic ego. However, who strokes the ego of the person who is stroking everyone's ego? If leaders are looking for confirmation from their subordinates, an upside-down system results in which burdensome responsibility is redistributed in maladaptive ways.

IMPLICATIONS

One might think that what leaders say or do relates to their personality or pathology or factors that go back to their earlier experience with authority figures, but those elements in their inner world are being elicited by something within the organization, here and now, not just being enacted organizationally. This idea is different from that of Jaques (1970) that people simply enact pathology in an organizational setting as a social defense. Experts now think that defenses emerge because something within the organizational situation triggers early anxiety and then elicits responses from an internal structure that in other circumstances may be less significant, as if the organization rereleases something. That is why we must identify the releasing element in the organization that accounts for what otherwise may appear to be an individual piece of pathology.

Consequently, we should not construe leadership in personal terms, for example, in terms of charisma or personality or style. That approach to leadership is not constructive. Instead, we best define leadership in terms of the relationships between the roles that

leaders play in an organization and the functioning of that organization in context. Good leadership combines cognitive capability (Jaques 1970) and the ability to be psychologically present (Miller 1993), that is, the ability to draw and scan and access the whole variety of one's thoughts, feelings, and imagination, regardless of whether at first sight that variety has anything to do with the organization one is heading. Leaders value their history and experience and passions that lie right outside the immediate organizational context in which they work. Leadership is the ability of people to use every aspect of experience for thinking through or offering new insights into the situations they are in.

—Mannie Sher

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PSYCHOLOGICAL SUBSTRUCTURES

“I wonder how far Moses would have gone if he had taken a poll in Egypt.” This often-quoted phrase is how President Harry S. Truman summed up his view of leadership (McCullough 1995, 52)—a leader serving as a compass. At times, the course of history would in all probability have developed differently were it not for the direction set by the leaders. This was manifestly the case with Nelson Mandela, whose personal decisions and policies saved South Africa from a bloodbath of revenge (Sampson 1999). Such was the case with Ben-Gurion, whose totally personal decision to declare the state was, in the opinion of historians, decisive in the establishment of the State of Israel (Bar-Zohar 1968). It is no easy matter to make decisions such as those that affect human lives, certainly it is not easy to make decisions that are sometimes in conflict with the opinions of the closest supporters, and it is not at all easy to turn such a decision into an act of leadership, that is

to say, to harness large numbers of people to the implementation of these decisions, especially when they are painful.

Leadership, therefore, especially when it serves as a “compass” in the sense portrayed, requires certain specific characteristics in order to reach fruition. These characteristics form what is known as the psychological substructure.

MAJOR PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LEADERS

An analysis of leaders’ influence indicates that the basis of their influence is a leader’s clear conception of his/her mission. This theme appears prominently in the biographies and historical analyses of leaders who “made a difference.” For example, Nelson Mandela visualized the future of South Africa using the metaphor of a rainbow—a society tolerant of the color of others. This belief enabled him to survive twenty-seven years of imprisonment (Sampson 1999). Theodor Herzl was quite obsessive in his belief that a Jewish state was the only solution to anti-Semitism; this belief sustained him throughout years of loneliness, sickness, and loss of all his personal property (Elon 1975). The foundations of Gandhi’s faith, the power of truth (*satyagraha*), and the power of the spirit (*brhamcharia*)—expressed, among other things, in nonviolent resistance—were a constant source of tenacity in conditions of humiliation, incarceration, and loneliness (Chadha 1997).

This quality emerges as a major characteristic of leaders who have influenced people—having a clear message, idea, or vision, and adhering to it. But such a message or vision could characterize its bearers as prophets or philosophers and not necessarily as leaders if they did not possess the basic psychological elements that are necessary in order to turn the vision into acts of leadership. The first of these basic elements, self-confidence, is illustrated in a passage quoted by historian Doris Goodwin regarding President Franklin Roosevelt.

“I’ll tell you,” Franklin Roosevelt once told a friend during the toughest years of his presidency, “at night when I lay my head on my pillow, and I think of the

things that have come before me during the day and the decisions that I have made, I say to myself—well I have done the best I could and turn over and go to sleep.” With this simple story, Roosevelt provides the key to understanding his presidency, for no factor was more important to his leadership than his absolute confidence in himself. (Goodwin 1995, 13)

Psychological research on leadership refers to self-confidence as a major aspect (Bass 1985; Smith and Foti 1998). In the context of leadership, the more important components of self-confidence are internal locus of control and a high level of self-efficacy. Each of these is discussed below.

LOCUS OF CONTROL

The concept *locus of control* was first defined by Rotter (1966), and relates to the way in which people perceive their ability to control events. While those with an internal locus of control believe that they have the ability to control and influence events, those with an external locus of control believe that events are controlled by external factors (e.g., luck, fate).

Studies that examined this concept found it to be a personality variable rather than a situational one (Lefcourt 1966; Phares 1976). Individuals with an external locus of control were found to be characterized by conservatism, passivity, a lower level of personal responsibility, difficulty in coping with the environment, and a tendency to be defensive. Those with an internal locus of control, on the other hand, reveal independence, achievement orientation, diligence, resourcefulness, nonconformity, political awareness and involvement, and a high personal level of commitment and responsibility. In addition, they show more self-confidence in their ability to influence their environment, are better able to cope with stressful situations, tend to adopt more innovative and daring strategies, and in the end achieve higher performance than those with an external locus of control (Anderson 1977; Miller, Kets de Vries, and Toulouse 1982; Miller and Toulouse 1986; Howell and Avolio 1993).

Since leadership is active, resourceful functioning that aims to change the status quo, leaders clearly have to be imbued with unyielding belief

that it is possible to change direction and circumstances. Such belief does not exist without an internal locus of control.

SELF-EFFICACY

The concept of self-efficacy was developed at the end of the 1970s by Bandura, who defined it as the individual's belief in his/her ability to successfully perform the behaviors required in order to achieve an anticipated goal (Bandura 1977, 1995). This self-concept of the individual is formed in the context of behaviors, and develops gradually in an ongoing learning process, during which individuals acquire knowledge concerning their abilities, mainly from previous experiences and feedback from others. Gibbons (1986), for example, analyzed leaders' development from childhood to maturity through a series of personal interviews. It emerges from these studies that one of the significant factors in the development of the individual's leadership ability is his/her self-efficacy, which develops and evolves in the course of his/her lifetime through experiences of success. The importance of self-efficacy among leaders also stands out in a series of studies dealing with self-efficacy, intelligence, and leadership (Kotter 1990, 1996; Chan 1999; Smith & Foti 1998; Chemers 2002; Chemers, Watson, and May 2000; Chan and Drasgow 2001; Murphy 2002). The findings of these studies indicate not only the importance of individuals' belief in their own leadership ability, but also the relation between this belief and their growth as leaders.

It should be noted that although locus of control and self-efficacy may appear to be largely similar, they are associated with different psychological capacities. Locus of control relates to one's general expectations with regard to the source of causes and results in the world, while self-efficacy relates directly to behavior (Peterson and Stunkard 1992). However, both belong to the family of concepts dealing with self-control and self-confidence. Self-confidence in the sense described above is indeed vital for a leader, but it does not follow that people with self-confidence want to be leaders. The ambition to lead, change, and influence people and events

is therefore also a necessary condition for leadership. However, this, too, is not enough; leadership, unlike many other occupations, involves social interaction. Leaders need to have psychological capacities that are manifested in the quality of the relationships that they maintain with followers and colleagues, the trust they inspire, and the belief in the future that they radiate. In this context many characteristics are relevant, but the most important of them, in my opinion, are optimism and care for others. The reasons for the central importance of these characteristics are discussed below.

OPTIMISM

As mentioned, one of the major characteristics of leaders is their ability to present a vision, a future goal, or a new direction, and to inspire others to share the vision (Berson et al. 2001; Mumford and Strange 2002). In order to possess a consistent future orientation and formulate it in terms of a vision that people can pursue with faith and enthusiasm, a person must be optimistic in terms of positive expectations for the self, for others, and for society in general. A large body of research pertains to the association between an optimistic outlook and the capacity to present a vision and be enthusiastic about it (see Gillham 2000; Chang 2001). For example, a comparative study of optimists and pessimists conducted by Scheier and Carver (1985), which examined leaders' approach and behavior in connection with the achievement of desired aims, reported that optimists make much greater efforts to achieve their aims than do pessimists, who tend to display a higher degree of relinquishment and avoidance. In particular, Chemers, Watson, and May (2000) reported a positive association between optimism and leadership potential of cadets as rated by their military instructors.

Thus, optimism which is ingrained in the leaders' personality is not only a source of energy for themselves, but is also projected to the followers through the picture they present (e.g., "I have a dream"—Martin Luther King Jr.) and through the enthusiastic and persistent way in which they present it. However, history shows that the promise of a better future and sweeping optimism were presented not only by moral

leaders such as Gandhi but also by destructive ones such as Hitler. Therefore, this dimension does not discriminate with regard to the direction of leadership. In order to generalize it, we need to relate to another psychological-personality aspect—care for others.

CARE FOR OTHERS

The literature distinguishes between personalized and socialized charismatic leaders (House and Howell 1992). An analysis of the differences between these types of leaders indicates that the two types have different developmental biographies, which create different “life scenarios.” These life scenarios, which developmental psychologists call “internal working models” (see Berne 1972; Bowlby 1988; Popper 2000), affect the leader’s characteristic approach and behavior throughout his/her life. Personalized leaders, of whom an extreme example is Hitler, are characterized by an attitude toward others that springs from narcissism (House and Howell 1992; Popper 2001, 2002), that is to say, they use others as a source of self-aggrandizement. In contrast, socialized leaders, exemplified by Gandhi, are characterized by a developmental approach and moral values (Burns 1978; Bass 1985).

The unique quality of socialized leaders is thus summed up in the variable “care for others,” which is bound up with seeing the best in one’s fellow humans. Nelson Mandela’s forgivingness and acceptance of others (including those who threw him into jail) was part of his worldview. Although he thought that horrendous acts had been committed against blacks, and although he was aware of his supporters’ feelings of anger and desire for revenge, he insisted that they must “remember but forgive” (Sampson 1999, 528). This approach was manifested in terms of leadership in the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, headed by Archbishop Tutu. This step created a psychological mechanism of public confession, of catharsis, which both gave the people a sense of justice being done and helped to contain the desire for revenge, thus freeing them from the past and enabling them to devote their efforts to the future. Acceptance and care for others was also the basis for the conception

of nonviolence shaped by Gandhi in the struggle to free his country. Psychological research indicates that empathy—the ability to enter into the feelings of others—is the foundation of moral and prosocial behaviors (Hoffman 2000). According to much psychological evidence, this capacity is formed when the early affective development includes elements of love, giving, and security. Indeed, this theme appears in the biographies of most of the outstanding socialized leaders in history and is absent from the account of the development of most of the destructive leaders (Popper 2000, 2001, 2002). Leadership literature mostly tends to describe outstanding leaders as a rare mixture of a “visionary” and a superb “doer”—a felicitous combination of “what and how.” However, scrutiny of the functioning of famous leaders shows that their uniqueness is not necessarily in their specific ability to implement ideas. What is unique to leaders, certainly to the most outstanding of them, is their creation of a spirit that binds their message to the daily performance of the many people influenced by it. This is how Sam Rosenman, one of Roosevelt’s aides, described the American leaders coming out of the president’s office after discussions during the troubled times of World War II: “And I always remember their calm, determined faces, and I always felt certain that a great deal of that calm confidence and firm determination were reflections of the spirit of the man whom they had just left” (Goodwin 1995, 16–17).

The spirit radiated by such leaders both points toward a better future and brings out people’s talents and skills to perform at the highest level. The leaders do not always do this consciously, but their presence causes the people to do their best and demonstrate the more optimistic sides of their personality. They make people want not only to do more but in some cases also to be more. This emotional effect cannot be created without certain psychological substructures, of which the major ones (though not the only ones) were discussed in this article.

—Micha Popper

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PSYCHOLOGY

See Achievement Motivation; Attribution Processes; Cognitive Structures; Creativity; Emotion; Freud, Sigmund; Groupthink; Intelligence, Emotional; Intelligence, Social; Intelligence, Verbal; Intelligences, Other; Inter-group Processes; Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) Theory; Methodologies of Leadership Research; Psychological Substructures; Qualitative Methods; Situational and Contingency Approaches to Leadership; Social Dilemmas; Social Identity Theory; Social Psychology; Socio-Emotional Leadership; Sociology

PUBLIC HEALTH

In 1988, the U.S. Institute of Medicine defined public health as what society does collectively to assure the conditions in which people can be healthy. Public health is the science of promoting good physical and mental health and preventing disease, injury, and disability, with the goal being healthy populations living in healthy communities. The system of communities, government agencies, nonprofit organizations, and other bodies that work toward that goal is a complex network of private and public entities with competing priorities, interests, and motivations. It is much broader than a health care system that treats individuals with illness or injuries. Public health systems must protect whole populations from disease and injury and must promote the behaviors

and environmental conditions that make communities most healthy.

Sometime after the Institute of Medicine came up with the core functions of governmental public health, ten “essential public health services” were developed and adopted by Fall 1994 to further delineate the actual activities that are conducted by an effective public health system. An effective public health system:

- Monitors the community’s health status to identify community health problems
- Diagnoses and investigates community health problems and health hazards
- Informs and educates people about health issues, thereby empowering them
- Mobilizes community partnerships that can identify and solve health problems
- Develops policies and plans that support individual and community health efforts
- Enforces laws and regulations that protect health and ensure safety
- Links people to needed health services and assures the provision of health care when it might otherwise be unavailable
- Ensures a competent workforce in both public health and personal health care
- Evaluates the effectiveness, accessibility, and quality of personal and population-based health services
- Searches for new insights and innovative solutions to health problems

The 1988 Institute of Medicine report also noted that public health systems in the United States lacked evidence of planning for public health leadership to meet the demands of the future. The report suggested that the public health leaders of the future would need to possess a wide range of characteristics and skills to meet increasingly complex challenges in public health.

NEW WAYS OF WORKING IN PUBLIC

Ensuring the health of the public is more complex at the beginning of the twenty-first century than it was

at the beginning of the twentieth, when the leading causes of disease and death were infectious agents and when improvements could be brought about by improving sanitation and developing vaccines. In 1900, global travel of humans and, therefore, of the bacteria that make them sick was slower and more limited. In those days, leadership in public health often came in the form of scientists who specialized in microbiology and vaccine development or in containing the spread of disease to a single neighborhood or community.

In the early 2000s, by contrast, the leading causes of death and disease in the United States are not infectious agents but are chronic diseases rooted in poverty, environmental degradation, and unhealthy lifestyles. Promoting healthy communities in the twenty-first century requires the ability to respond to complex challenges that cross the boundaries of science, medicine, religion, community development, politics, and the environment. Consider, for example, the challenge of addressing the problem of obesity in the United States, where it is considered to be at epidemic levels and is of particular concern among children. This is not a health issue that can be addressed with an injection or a regulation. Public health researchers have found obesity to be related to factors of poverty, race and ethnicity, lifestyle, occupation, environment, advertising, and genetics. Reducing obesity, therefore, requires a broad look at what needs to be changed and who needs to participate to ensure the change happens. Participation from among the broad groups of people and agencies that can impact these factors requires collaboration.

To take another example of a current public health problem, asthma is a chronic medical condition that has a strong relationship to housing, air quality, genetics, lifestyle, and access to treatment services. It affects certain population groups more adversely than others. Today incidence of asthma is greatly increasing. As a result, public health leaders and communities choosing to focus their efforts on stopping this increase in disease and reducing its burden on specific populations have to consider the many factors that relate to high rates of asthma. Creating a change requires involvement from a wide variety of people and agencies that understand and

can advocate for conditions that will improve people's health.

It is through the collaboration of a wide variety of people and agencies that true, long-term change can be made that will address the twenty-first century's complex public health problems. Effectively leading collaborations to bring about change is an entirely different kind of leadership than that which solves a problem through the direct application of an individual's expertise.

A DEFINITION OF COLLABORATIVE LEADERSHIP

A collaborative form of leadership is different from more traditional styles of leadership, in which an expert leads and others follow. While there are a variety of types of leadership, in most cases leadership styles describe how one addresses an issue or follows a process for decision making and for achieving change. The most common leadership approaches describe how leaders work with others. Do they approach decision making from a command-and-control perspective, focusing power in a few (or one) individuals and then dictating change? Are they more comfortable with "soft" leadership, which allows different groups to take the lead and initiate change depending on the circumstances? A critical step in understanding leadership, particularly collaborative leadership, is focusing on how individuals or organizations work together for a common goal. A better understanding of collaboration helps to distinguish the elements that must be present in leaders to make a collaborative leadership approach.

Arthur T. Himmelman, a group facilitation and leadership consultant, believes that all individuals and groups interact on a developmental continuum. The first stage of interaction is called networking; at this stage people exchange information for mutual benefit. The information from these meetings may be interesting; however, the interaction does not require specific follow-up action. Individuals and groups may also interact according to the next stage of the continuum, coordinating, which adds to the basic networking definition the notion of altering activities to achieve a common purpose. At this stage an organization may take information gleaned in the net-

working stage and make decisions about their participation or approach to solving a problem. Still, at this stage all decisions about what an individual organization remain internal and are not shared with other groups. If individuals and groups begin to share resources, they have moved on to the cooperating stage. At that point, organizations may choose to pool resources to accomplish a shared goal. The final stage of interaction is collaboration. Very few groups achieve this level of interaction, which is characterized by the exchange of information, alteration of activities, sharing of resources, and enhancement of others for mutual benefit and to achieve a common purpose. When groups are truly collaborating, they share information about internal priorities, they pool resources, and they think first of the common good as opposed to their own interests.

The benefit of collaboration is greater input throughout the decision-making process. The greater the number of people or organizations that have input in decision-making, the greater the number that become committed to the outcome and results. Furthermore, an initial experience in effective collaboration within a community or group theoretically makes future collaborative activities easier.

It takes special skills to shepherd a group through the developmental continuum to collaborative action. Collaborative leadership is apparent in those who inspire commitment and action, lead as peer problem solvers, build broad-based involvement, and sustain hope and participation. Based on the research of leadership experts and the public health practice community, the Turning Point Leadership Development National Excellence Collaborative identified a number of core collaborative leadership capacities in 2001. This National Excellence Collaborative, funded by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation and made up of public health practitioners from around the country, has worked to define, describe, and build the skills of collaborative leadership among those who participate in public health work.

ELEMENTS OF COLLABORATIVE LEADERSHIP

Clearly there are a number of critical skills and capacities collaborative leaders should possess.

Many are not necessarily unique to a collaborative form of leadership and have already been described in the literature and developed into training curricula. The work of the Turning Point Leadership Development National Excellence Collaborative, however, has identified six key elements that are unique to the practice of leading a collaborative process. The key elements were identified through an exhaustive literature review; convening two panels of experts from academia, foundations, as well as federal, state, and local representatives; and a series of key informant interviews with a diverse group of practitioners. The six key elements are the following:

- *Developing clarity.* This is the visioning and mobilizing element; it includes defining shared values and engaging people in positive action.
- *Developing trust and creating safety.* This element includes the creation of safe places for developing shared purpose and action.
- *Sharing power and influence.* This element focuses on developing the synergy of people, organizations, and communities to accomplish more.
- *Assessing the environment for collaboration.* This element requires that one understand the context for change before acting.
- *Engaging in self-reflection and personal continuous quality improvement.* This element entails understanding your own leadership, and engaging others in providing feedback on your leadership style.
- *Developing people.* This is the mentoring and coaching element, which involves committing to the development of people as your key asset.

Each one of these elements is important for the collaborative process; each enhances and supports the others. Together, the elements provide a comprehensive picture of the essential skills of a collaborative leader. Having clarity of values is a quality that characterizes collaborative leaders. Collaborative leaders seem to exhibit clarity of purpose, whether it derives from commitment to a cause that transcends the self, from the recognition of a spiritual reality or imperative, or from ethical and moral standards that provide guidance. “Visioning and mobilizing”

describes the process, or the way of doing things. Often *mobilizing* refers specifically to helping people develop the confidence to take action and sustain their energies through difficult times.

The capacity to promote and sustain trust is often overlooked in the collaborative process. Leaders sometimes believe that once individuals or groups are gathered together, then a plan can naturally be made and commitment obtained. If a collaborative leader fails to engender trust among participants, however, their involvement will wane and the best ideas and innovative approaches will not be shared.

The capacity to share power and influence is an uncommon trait among leaders. U.S. society traditionally rewards individual achievement, but collaboration is often what is required to solve complex problems. In a successful, visible response to a public health problem, it is sometimes just the head of an organization who receives the public accolades, but an effective response will have likely involved a large team of people with a wide range of experience who have shared in the decision making and brought their influence and expertise to bear on the problem.

Collaborative leadership also requires assessing the environment. The capacity to recognize common interests and the capacity to recognize and understand other perspectives are fundamental for collaborative leadership. When people bring different points of views to an issue or problem, a collaborative leader attempts to facilitate connections and encourage group thinking that identifies clear, beneficial change for all participants.

Collaborative leaders must be personally mature. In order to be successful leading a collaborative process, individuals need to engage in self-reflection. At critical junctures in the collaborative process, it is essential for members to consider their behavior, attitudes, and verbal or nonverbal communication. Collaborative leaders need to assess the impact their actions and words have on the group's progress. The ability to recognize one's impact and adjust one's behavior accordingly separates good collaborative leaders from great ones.

A genuine concern for developing people, bringing out the best in others, maximizing the use of other people's talents and resources, building power

through sharing power, and giving up ownership or control are themes that relate to realizing and promoting the potential present in others, which is the final element in collaborative leadership.

WHEN COLLABORATIVE LEADERSHIP IS THE BEST STYLE OF LEADERSHIP

The scholars Ronald Heifetz and Riley Sinder examined and categorized various types of problems that decision makers face. Type I problems are the least complex in terms of the varied systems involved: Both the problem and the solution are clear in Type I problems. Heifetz and Sinder theorize that these sorts of problems can be adequately solved by "expert leaders." In the field of public health, an example of a Type I problem might be responding to a communicable disease outbreak in a community. In this instance, the leader charged with handling the problem will likely be a specialist in infectious diseases. His or her role might be to communicate the necessity for treatment and immunity and to design a process to deliver vaccinations. Type II problems are more complicated: While the problem is clear, the solution is not. Such problems, contend Heifetz and Sinder, benefit when a group or multiple stakeholders work on them; the leader diagnoses the problem and facilitates the group's work. An example of a Type II problem in public health includes a leaking hazardous waste site. It might pose a clear problem, but the potential solutions may involve additional risks or prohibitive costs. With Type III problems, neither the root of the problem nor the solution is clear. Heifetz and Sinder indicate that such problems are best solved by a group or by multiple stakeholders; the leader plays a supportive role. He or she catalyzes the group, manages the pace of the group's work, helps the group maintain focus, builds working relationships and trust, and strives for consensus whenever possible. Typical Type III problems in public health include AIDS, teenage pregnancy, and violence. No one individual, agency, or organizational sector can address these problems on their own, but diverse perspectives working together can identify and implement creative, effective, and acceptable change.

PRACTICING PUBLIC HEALTH COLLABORATIVELY

The 1988 Institute of Medicine report described earlier stressed that public health leadership needed to be actively cultivated and nurtured. As a result of its findings, leadership programs related to public health developed across the United States and are teaching principles of public health leadership. A specific Leadership Competency Framework for public health has also been delineated and described in the literature. This framework, described in *Public Health Leadership: Putting Principles into Practice* (2000), by Louis Rowitz, broadly delineates the competencies an effective public health leader must have, many of which relate to the ability to collaborate. The framework is used as a guide for training new and emerging leaders in public health; it assumes that leadership can be taught and grown.

The qualities of collaborative leadership need not be considered inherent characteristics found only in a rare few. Rather, collaborative leadership can be shared and taught through mentorship and training. The Turning Point Leadership Development National Excellence Collaborative, for example, has developed curricula and training materials designed to nurture collaborative skills in emerging leaders. This group and others like it have taken on the challenge of developing the qualities needed in the new millennium for working together to solve complex problems and create healthier communities.

—Jeffrey Wilson and Betty Bekemeier

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PUEBLO REVOLT

The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 was a successful endeavor by Pueblo Indians, who were organized and led by Popé (c. 1630–c. 1690), in New Mexico to expel the Spaniards from northern New Mexico. The Pueblo Indians not only disposed of the Spaniards, they also rid themselves of Spanish culture and religion. When the Spaniards did retake the colony in 1692 to 1693, the missionaries, government officials, and civil settlers treated the Pueblo Indians less harshly for the remainder of the colonial period.

EARLY SPANISH-PUEBLO CONTACTS

Early Spanish interest in New Mexico was centered upon finding gold and riches in the area. Some of the earliest Spanish encounters with Pueblo Indians in New Mexico occurred in 1539 when the Franciscan missionary Fray Marcos de Niza (?–c. 1558) led an expedition in which Esteban or Estevánico (c. 1503–1539), a black man who had survived a shipwreck and wandered through Texas with Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (c. 1490–1557), moved ahead of the group and sent back messages concerning his findings. Esteban told of wonderful riches in the lands of the Pueblos, but the Zuni people of Hawikuh killed him. Fray Marcos then had to turn back after seeing the Zuni pueblo from a distance. His reports prompted Francisco Vásquez de Coronado (c. 1510–1554) in 1540 to lead an expedition

into New Mexico and other areas north of present-day Mexico. The Coronado expedition took by force the supplies they needed from Pueblo Indians, fostering some resentment that would influence later contacts with the Indians. In 1581, Fray Agustín Rodríguez (?–1582) and Captain Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado (c. 1512–1582) ventured into New Mexico, where some Pueblo Indians fled upon hearing of the approach of the Spaniards. The early Spanish expeditions into Pueblo lands did not yield riches and led to Indian mistrust of the Spaniards.

THE EARLY SPANISH SETTLEMENTS IN NEW MEXICO

In 1598, Juan de Oñate (c. 1552–1626) traveled to New Mexico with settlers to found the colony of New Mexico for Spain. They settled in towns already inhabited by Pueblo Indians. Spaniards referred to the Indians as Pueblo Indians because they lived in sedentary towns or pueblos. These Pueblo Indians were quite diverse, speaking different languages and dialects. The Franciscan missionaries worked to convert the Pueblos to Christianity and to eliminate native religion. They required Indians to attend Catholic mass every morning, and punished those who did not. The missionaries also collected and destroyed native religious articles. They whipped those who continued to practice native religion. Some Indians continued to practice their own religion and were somewhat protected by their outnumbering of the Spaniards in New Mexico during the seventeenth century. Also, communication problems developed as missionaries did not learn the native languages.

Spanish settlers and officials forced the Indians to labor and to pay tribute in both food and clothing as part of the *encomienda* system. The tribute of maize was especially difficult for the Indians who lived in an arid environment where periodic droughts occurred. The Pueblos had developed a system of storing maize to help them to survive these droughts, but the Spanish demands destroyed their surplus. This increased Pueblo reliance on the Spanish for food.

Though some small-scale revolts and individual acts of defiance occurred, the Pueblos lived with the Spanish settlers for almost a century. The Spanish

presence in New Mexico divided the Pueblo Indians over issues such as accepting Spanish religion and culture. Additionally, the Indians knew that rebellion would be met with horrible punishments as in the past. For example, when the people of the Acoma pueblo attacked several Spanish soldiers, Juan de Oñate reacted by attacking the pueblo, killing around eight hundred Indians, and amputating the right foot of every man over twenty-five years of age. Also, the Spanish helped the Pueblo Indians defend against nomadic, raiding Indians such as the Apaches and Navajos. Some Pueblo Indians chose to resist by fleeing to outlying pueblos such as Jémez that were located on the edges of the Spanish colonies or joining nomadic Indian groups such as the Apaches.

The Spaniards were not a united group throughout the seventeenth century as religious and government officials quarreled for power and control over Indian labor. These disputes led members of the Franciscan Catholic religious order to order four governors arrested and three excommunicated during the seventeenth century. In these cases, the missionaries needed the support of the local settlers to successfully oppose the government leaders. This allowed the Pueblo Indians to play one Spanish power off of another and to receive concessions such as being allowed to practice native dances or lessening tribute requirements.

THE PUEBLO REVOLT AND POPÉ

In the late 1600s, the pueblos faced many problems besides the labor and spiritual demands that the Spaniards placed upon the Indians. Decades of drought in the 1660s and 1670s caused crop failure, loss of livestock, and famine. Apache and Navajo Indians, also harmed by the drought, increased their raiding on Pueblos to procure food and resources. Before the arrival of the Spaniards, Apaches and Navajos had traded with the Pueblos, but tribute to the Spanish had reduced the items that Pueblos had available for trade, exacerbating relations between the Pueblos and Apaches and Navajos. Also, the Spanish brought horses and livestock that became targets for raids. By converting to Christianity and living with the Spanish, some Pueblo Indians became hated by



Selection from the Letter of the Governor and Captain-General, Don Antonio de Otermin, from New Mexico Concerning the Pueblo Revolt of 1680

MY VERY REVEREND FATHER, Sir, and friend, most beloved Fray Francisco de Ayeta: The time has come when, with tears in my eyes and deep sorrow in my heart, I commence to give an account of the lamentable tragedy, such as has never before happened in the world, which has occurred in this miserable kingdom and holy custodia, His divine Majesty having thus permitted it because of my grievous sins. Before beginning my narration, I desire, as one obligated and grateful, to give your reverence the thanks due for the demonstrations of affection and kindness which you have given in your solicitude in ascertaining and inquiring for definite notices about both my life and those of the rest in this miserable kingdom, in the midst of persistent reports which had been circulated of the deaths of myself and the others, and for sparing neither any kind of effort nor large expenditures. For this, only Heaven can reward your reverence, though I do not doubt that his Majesty (may God keep him) will do so.

After I sent my last letter to your reverence by the *maese de campo*, Pedro de Leiva, while the necessary things were being made ready alike for the escort and in the way of provisions, for the most expeditious dispatch of the returning wagons and their guards, as your reverence had enjoined me, I received information that a plot for a general uprising of the Christian Indians was being formed and was spreading rapidly. This was wholly contrary to the existing peace and tranquility in this miserable kingdom, not only among the Spaniards and natives, but even on the part of the heathen enemy, for it had been a long time since they

had done us any considerable damage. It was my misfortune that I learned of it on the eve of the day set for the beginning of the said uprising, and though I immediately, at that instant, notified the lieutenant general on the lower river and all the other *alcaldes mayores*—so that they could take every care and precaution against whatever might occur, and so that they could make every effort to guard and protect the religious ministers and the temples—the cunning and cleverness of the rebels were such, and so great, that my efforts were of little avail. To this was added a certain degree of negligence by reason of the report of the uprising not having been given entire credence, as is apparent from the ease with which they captured and killed both those who were escorting some of the religious, as well as some citizens in their houses, and, particularly, in the efforts that they made to prevent my orders to the lieutenant general passing through. This was the place where most of the forces of the kingdom were, and from which I could expect some help, but of three orders which I sent to the said lieutenant general, not one reached his hands. The first messenger was killed and the others did not pass beyond Santo Domingo, because of their having encountered on the road the certain notice of the deaths of the religious who were in that convent, and of the *alcalde mayor*, some other guards, and six more Spaniards whom they captured on that road. Added to this is the situation of this kingdom which, as your reverence is aware, makes it so easy for the said [Indian] rebels to carry out their evil designs, for it is entirely composed of *estancias*, quite distant from one another.

Source: C. W. Hackett, ed. (1937) *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773* (Vol. 3). Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington, pp. 327–335.

the Apaches and Navajos who rejected the Spaniards and their ways. The Pueblos had viewed military protection by the Spanish from Apaches and Navajos as a major reason to work with the Spanish and convert to Christianity, but this reason disappeared, as the Spanish were no longer capable of protecting the Pueblos from the raiding Indians. In 1670, the Spanish could put forth only 170 soldiers to defend New Mexico, and the Indian allies' numbers were weak from disease and famine. Since the arrival of the Spaniards, diseases had decimated the Pueblos,

adding to their problems. By 1675, Indians had abandoned six pueblos. The new governor Juan Francisco Treviño, who was in office from 1675 to 1677, forbade gatherings in *kivas* (Pueblo religious underground rooms) and ordered many of them destroyed. This was probably the worst religious persecution yet seen by the Pueblos. By 1680, many of the Pueblo Indians had given up on Christianity since it had failed to remedy their problems, and returned to their native religion. They were primed for revolt.

A San Juan Pueblo Indian and medicine man

named Popé coordinated most of the Pueblos, who had their own leaders, in the attack. Popé had lived at San Juan pueblo, but moved to Taos pueblo after he had been whipped for practicing his native religion. Stories claiming that Popé talked with several Pueblo gods, who urged him to lead a revolt against the Spaniards, began to reach other pueblos. Popé had excellent organizational skills and was a charismatic leader, and he espoused a form of millenarianism that appealed to the suffering Pueblo Indians at the time. He promised that ousting and killing the Spaniards, and returning to their native Pueblo religion would bring the Indians wonderful crops and end their tribulations. This message mixed some of the teachings of Christianity with native Pueblo religion. Popé met several times with the Indian leaders of the pueblos of Taos, Picuris, San Lorenzo, Santo Domingo, Jémez, and Pecos. Also included were mestizo (people of Spanish-Indian ancestry) leaders from the Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, and Tesuque pueblos. Popé organized this revolt with the utmost secrecy. When Popé met with these leaders, they did so on saints' feast days so that their gatherings would not be noticed.

Popé's plan had runners delivering strings containing several knots to each of the participating Pueblos on 9 August 1680. Each day one knot was to be untied until the final knot was undone on 11 August 1680, which was the planned day of the offensive. Popé chose this day because he wanted to attack the Spanish before their supply caravan arrived, when they would be at their weakest. The revolt actually began on the previous day, 10 August 1680, because several leaders from San Marcos, San Cristóbal, and La Ciénega decided not to participate in the revolt and divulged the plan to the Spaniards, so Popé and the rebels moved up the date of the attack. The revolt was so well organized that beginning the assault early did not cause a major problem for the Indians. In the first stage of the attack, Pueblo Indians stole or destroyed the Spaniards' horses so they could not fight on horseback or communicate quickly with other settlers. Then, the Pueblos cut off the northern settlements from the southern ones. Pueblo Indians were aided in the revolt by some Apaches who fought with them against the Spanish. Popé's organi-

zational skills not only helped to coordinate most of the Pueblos, but also extended to recruiting allies among other Indian groups.

The Indians attacked both settlers and missionaries, but the Pueblos largely directed their anger towards the religious people and objects. The Indians destroyed churches and religious items and killed twenty-one of the thirty-three missionaries in New Mexico. About 400 of 2,500 settlers lost their lives as well. The Indians gave up Spanish clothing, language, and names in a rejection of Spanish ways. Spanish survivors fled to Isleta pueblo, which did not join the revolt, and Santa Fe. On 14 September 1680, the Spaniards and many Indians continued to flee to El Paso, while those in Santa Fe stayed to fight. After a nine-day siege where the Pueblo Indians cut off food and water supplies to the Spanish, the Spaniards made one last attack, which momentarily stunned the Indians and allowed the Spanish to flee Santa Fe for El Paso on 21 September 1680. The Indian rebels had succeeded in ridding their Pueblos of Spaniards and their religion and culture.

LEGACY OF THE REVOLT

The Spanish did not immediately plan a reconquest of New Mexico; in fact, they still felt vulnerable in El Paso where they feared that the Manso, Jano, and Suma Pueblos might revolt as well. In November 1681, the Spanish reentered New Mexico where they were welcomed at Isleta pueblo, but faced opposition elsewhere, leading to the withdrawal of the Spanish force. The residents of the Isleta pueblo returned to El Paso with the Spaniards because they felt vulnerable to attacks by other Indians for having cooperated with the Spanish. Captives related that the Pueblos had rejected Christianity and Spanish ways by not speaking Spanish and giving up Christian spouses. The Pueblos' unity fell apart for various reasons. For one, Popé lost favor as he began to demand heavy tributes and forbade the planting of any seeds brought by the Spanish. By late 1681, Popé had been ousted in a coup. Disease and raiding by Apaches and Navajos continued to cause hardships for the Pueblos as well. The Pueblos maintained control of northern New Mexico for about a decade before

Diego de Vargas (1643–1704) led the reconquest from El Paso in 1692 to 1693. De Vargas realized that Pueblo unity had disintegrated, and he took advantage of the conflicts. De Vargas did face resistance, but by 30 December 1693, the Spanish had retaken Santa Fe. Though there were some small revolts in the following years, the Spaniards remained in New Mexico, but did improve their treatment of the Pueblo Indians. They lessened tribute requirements, and the missionaries allowed the Indians more religious freedom and lessened punishments. The Pueblo Revolt was one of a string of revolts among Native Americans in northern New Spain from Coahuila to Sonora, but it was the largest and most successful, changing the ways that the Spaniards and Indians lived together in the colony of New Mexico throughout the rest of Spain's rule.

—Amy Meschke

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QUALITATIVE METHODS

Leadership scholars seeking to answer questions about culture and meaning have found experimental and quantitative methods to be insufficient to explain the phenomena the scholars wish to study. As a result, qualitative methods have gained momentum as a mode of inquiry. These methods have roots in the development of one of the latest waves of leadership scholarship, the New Leadership school (Conger, 1999; Hunt, 1999), in the recent emergence of an approach to leadership that views leadership as a relational phenomenon (Fletcher, 2002), and in the increased recognition of the strengths of qualitative methods generally.

Educational psychologist Gary Shank defines *qualitative research* as “a form of systematic empirical inquiry into meaning” (Shank 2002, 5). By “systematic,” he means “planned, ordered and public,” following rules agreed upon by members of the qualitative research community. By “empirical” he means that this type of inquiry is grounded in the world of experience. By “inquiry into meaning” he means researchers try to understand how others make sense of their experience. Sociologist Norman Denzin and educational philosopher Yvonna Lincoln, editors of the *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, claim that qualitative research involves an *interpretive and naturalistic* approach: “This means

that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Denzin and Lincoln 2000, 3).

The advantages of using qualitative methods in leadership research include the following (Conger, 1998; Bryman and associates, 1988; Alvesson, 1996):

- Flexibility to follow unexpected ideas during research and to explore processes effectively
- Sensitivity to contextual factors
- Ability to study symbolic dimensions and social meaning
- Increased opportunities (a) to develop empirically supported new ideas and theories; (b) for explorations of leadership phenomena that are in-depth and conducted over time; (c) for more relevance and interest for practitioners

THE CONTRIBUTION OF QUALITATIVE DESIGNS

Scholars studying leaders who produce significant change (transformational leadership scholars) attend to the management of meaning as an important dimension of leadership (Calás and Smircich, 1991; Yukl, 1994, 1999; Meindl and associates, 1986). Contemporary leadership scholars interested in charisma (neocharismatic scholars) view it as a



Empirical Research Practices in Leadership Research

Empirical research practices on leadership studies can be categorized by how researchers combine, at the methods level, qualitative and quantitative data with qualitative and quantitative analysis (Parry, 1998). Practices fall within the following categories:

1. *Quantitative analysis of quantitative data.* This is the traditional practice in leadership research, with surveys and experiments as the most favored methods. Quantitative practices usually reflect a positivist stance to inquiry.
2. *Quantitative analysis of qualitative data.* This is the preferred qualitative practice in leadership research, with content analysis of text as the most favored method. This practice may reflect a positivist or a post-positivist stance to inquiry.
3. *Qualitative analysis of quantitative data.* This practice is not used in the leadership field but has potential (e.g., using ethno-statistics or discourse analysis to deconstruct quantitative leadership studies). This practice would reflect an interpretivist and postmodernist stance to inquiry.
4. *Qualitative analysis of qualitative data.* In this practice qualitative research stands on its own. This “pure” type has taken many different forms in leadership research. This practice may include both a post-positivist stance (grounded theory, traditional ethnography, and case studies) and an interpretivist stance (phenomenological life stories, narrative inquiry, and action research) to inquiry.
5. *Qualitative and quantitative data and analysis.* While not used consistently, some efforts to mix methods have developed in the leadership literature. Because the quantitative component drives the research, this practice reflects a post-positivist stance.

—Sonia Ospina

Source: Parry, Ken. (1998). “Grounded Theory and Social Process: A New Direction for Leadership Research.” *The Leadership Quarterly*, 9(1), 85–105.

social phenomenon that requires in-depth examination of context and actors over time. Leadership expert Jay Conger argues that quantitative methods alone cannot produce a good understanding of leadership, given “the extreme and enduring complexity of the leadership phenomenon itself” (Conger 1998, 108). Leadership involves multiple levels of phenomena, possesses a dynamic character, and has a symbolic component, elements better addressed with qualitative methods, he argues. Likewise, favoring a method to generate theory from the analysis of raw data (grounded theory), management expert Ken Parry (1998) claims that quantitative methods are insufficient to theorize successfully about the nature

of leadership, understood as a social influence process.

The high sensitivity of leadership to context is well established in the literature. Quantitative researchers include in their models variables that explore the impact of context, but these are so abstract (i.e., “task structure” or “position power”) that it is difficult to understand how they operate in the world. Qualitative researchers are well positioned to open this “black box.” Qualitative studies about circumstances associated with organizational types or occupational settings have provided new insights into the dynamics of leadership (Bryman and associates, 1996). Some New Leadership scholars have also used a mixed approach to understand contextual variables such as culture. For example, in their international research program, professor of organizational studies and management Robert J. House and his associates use both methods to study leadership in 170 countries (House and associates, 1999). Others argue for process-focused studies to better understand the *hows* and *whys* of transformational and charismatic leadership (Bass, 1995;

Lowe and Gardner, 2001).

Sociologist Alan Bryman (1986), associate editor for qualitative research in the *Leadership Quarterly*, identifies two forms of qualitative research in the New Leadership literature. One form distills lessons from portraits of successful leaders to illustrate particular ideas. The other form, more “academic,” explores several research designs: case studies using participant observation, semistructured interviewing, and document analysis; multiple case study design, adding comparative analysis; and interview studies asking leaders about their practices and orientations or inviting individuals to discuss other leaders or leadership practices (Bryman and associates, 1996). Other qual-

itative designs found in the literature include ethnography (cultural studies), narrative inquiry (collection and analysis of stories), action research, and grounded theory (Tierney, 1996; Huxham and Vangen, 2000; Parry, 1998).

Contemporary emergent approaches view leadership as a meaning-making process in communities of practice (Drath, 2001) or as a set of functions and relationships distributed rather than concentrated around a single individual (Pearce and Conger, 2002). These new theoretical approaches call for qualitative designs. For example, education scholar Peter Gronn's (1999) study of a famous school in the mountains of Australia explored the relational dynamics between two leaders credited for this school's success. Analyzing correspondence, school council records, alumni files, archival material, and newspapers, he shifted the unit of analysis away from individual leaders to consider collective forms of leadership.

THE NATURE OF QUALITATIVE METHODS

Although quantitative methods and qualitative methods represent two legitimate ways to investigate leadership, researchers using one or the other tackle empirical research differently. Management experts Roger Evered and Meryl Reiss Louis (1981) clarify the assumptions that ground each type by distinguishing two research stances: "inquiry from the outside," often implemented via quantitative studies, and "inquiry from the inside," implemented via qualitative studies.

These stances differ in the degree of the researcher's immersion in terms of experiential engagement, direct contact with the subjects, and physical involvement in the setting. In the "inside" or qualitative approach, the researcher aims for a holistic picture from historically unique situations, where idiosyncrasies are important for meaning. The researcher uses an inductive mode (building theory from observations), letting the data speak. In contrast, traditional "outside" or quantitative researchers aim to isolate the phenomenon, to reduce the level of complexity in the analysis, and to test hypotheses derived previously.

Shank uses two metaphors to differentiate these two ways of "seeing" in research. One metaphor is the "window" to look through to get an accurate view of a subject. Microscopes are windows that help to do inquiry from the outside. The researcher tries to correct for smudges (to avoid bias) or to clarify in what ways the window is flawed (to identify error). This metaphor corresponds to mainstream leadership research and requires simplification and standardization of complex observations. In contrast to the window, the "lantern" metaphor helps "shed light in dark corners" (Shank 2002, 11). This metaphor characterizes qualitative researchers as "discoverers and reconcilers of meaning where no meaning has been clearly understood before" (Shank 2002, 11).

The approaches to inquiry described as the window—inquiry from the outside and, by extension, quantitative research—are best known as "logical positivism" and "postpositivism." The approaches to inquiry described as the lantern—inquiry from the inside and qualitative research—represent an approach known as "interpretivism" (Crotty, 1998; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Historically, the strong hold of quantitative methodologies in leadership studies can be explained by the dominance of the fields of social psychology and organizational behavior, which have been highly influenced by positivism (House and Aditya, 1977, 1996; Parry, 1998; Podsakoff, 1994).

A VARIETY OF INTERPRETIVE COMMUNITIES

All qualitative researchers aspire to illuminate social meaning. However, some use qualitative methods exclusively, others use them to complement or better interpret numerical data, and others use them to generate hypotheses to be tested in future quantitative studies. Choices and practices fall along a continuum, on which some researchers are closer to positivism and others are distanced radically from it. Between the poles is a continuum of qualitative traditions that stands on its own. Different traditions represent different "interpretive communities" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

Close to positivists, postpositivists accept the limits of positivism, talk about probability rather than cer-



Reasons to Use Qualitative Research

1. To explore a phenomenon that has not been studied before (and that may be subsequently developed quantitatively).
2. To add rich detail and nuance that illustrates or documents existing knowledge of a phenomenon, generated quantitatively.
3. To better understand a topic by studying it simultaneously (triangulation) or concurrently with both methods (mixing quantitative and qualitative methods at the same time or in cycles, depending on the problem).
4. To advance a novel perspective of a phenomenon well studied quantitatively but not well understood because of the narrow perspectives used before.
5. To try to “understand” any social phenomenon from the perspective of the actors involved, rather than explaining it (unsuccessfully) from the outside.
6. To understand complex phenomena that are difficult or impossible to approach or to capture quantitatively.
7. To understand any phenomenon in its complexity, or one that has been dismissed by mainstream research because of the difficulties to study it, or that has been discarded as irrelevant, or that has been studied as if only one point of view about it was real.

Scholars inclined toward the postpositivist side of the qualitative continuum favor the first four reasons. They see qualitative research as an inductive approach to develop theories that then must be tested deductively via quantitative models. Scholars inclined toward the postmodernist side favor the last four reasons. They see qualitative research as an approach to inquiry that stands on its own and best allows a researcher to attain, in a manner of speaking, “a glimpse of the world.”

—Sonia Ospina

tainty, and consider the limits of objectivity (Crotty, 1998). For them, qualitative methods become an important complement to quantitative methods when numbers are not sufficient to understand what is being studied. At the opposite pole of the continuum is postmodernism, seeking to replace positivism with inquiry stances that capture multiple voices and per-

spectives in local contexts. Postmodernists assume that theories provide only partial views of their objects and that every representation of the world is filtered through history and language and thus cannot be neutral (Best and Kellner, 1991). In contrast to the realism of postpositivists, postmodernists explore how language, power, and history shape human views of reality, truth, and knowledge, aiming to uncover multiple realities. Postmodernists favor critical methods that are intrinsically qualitative.

New Leadership qualitative scholars tend to embrace postpositivism and use qualitative methods to complement or extend quantitative findings. Scholars from emergent perspectives of leadership, often characterized by postmodernist sensibilities, view qualitative inquiry as the way to frame and address questions that cannot be answered by quantification.

Examples of qualitative studies anchored in postpositivism abound. Conger (1992) studied leadership development programs in the United States by joining training programs as an actual participant, supplementing participant observation with extensive interviewing. He found four instructional frameworks and explored how each influenced participant and program outcomes as well as the implications for training. He argued that had he used a traditional survey, he would have missed differences entirely.

Bryman and his colleagues (1996) studied transformational leadership in the British police service. They conducted semistructured interviews with police officers and chief inspectors (middle managers), exploring the concept of transformational leadership. Highlighting context and the actors’ perspectives in research, they attributed the unexpected finding that charisma was less prominent than instrumental leadership (managing and solving problems) to conditions of public service in the United Kingdom at the time of the study.

A postmodernist approach to leadership research is in its early stages. Rejecting the search for a “grand” theory of leadership, management scholar Mats Alvesson (1996) invites researchers to take seriously the ambiguity of “leadership” itself. Knowledge about leadership cannot emerge through fixed procedures organized to arrive at abstract conclu-

sions, he argues. Researchers must create more open forms of inquiry, focus on local patterns, and acknowledge that meaning is jointly constructed with participants. Likewise, education scholar William G. Tierney (1996) discusses five tenets of postmodernism (culture and difference, language and meaning, individual constraints and possibilities, power and politics, and subjectivity and objectivity) and their implications for research on leadership.

Located in the middle of the qualitative continuum, public management researchers Chris Huxham and Siv Vangen (2000) used an action-research project about community-based partnerships in Scotland to explore the role that leadership plays in collaboration. Drawing from work interventions with practitioners involved in partnerships, they used grounded theory principles and phenomenology (a research method that gives primacy to lived experience) to develop themes about collaboration. They defined leadership as “making things happen” in the collaboration and found that the context of leadership—structures, processes, and participants—is not entirely within the control of participants, highlighting the paradox that collaboration requires resource-intensive individual efforts.

If multiple stances toward inquiry along the continuum produce different forms of qualitative research, sometimes researchers combine assumptions from various approaches. For example, in their design sociologist and public management scholar Sonia Ospina and her colleagues (2003) drew from three interpretive communities: critical theory, constructionism, and participatory inquiry. Considering leadership as meaning making in communities of practice, they invited a selected team of community leaders in the United States to do participatory, action-oriented research. The team used narrative inquiry, cooperative inquiry, and ethnography to explore how leadership happens in communities engaged in social change.

THE STATE OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH ON LEADERSHIP

Mirroring the diversity within interpretive communities, the work of qualitative researchers studying lead-

ership covers the continuum from postpositivism to postmodernism. However, no consensus exists about whether qualitative methods are yet sufficiently valued within the more academic leadership literature. Bernard M. Bass, editor of the *Handbook of Leadership* published every decade, says that more and more “there are efforts to ‘triangulate’ quantitative and qualitative research for increasing confidence in both” (personal communication, 2003). Parry (1998) agrees that there is a growing appreciation of the need for both methods in leadership research. However, he also reports that so far, “pure” qualitative research has received little attention in the field. Conger (1998) and Bryman believe that qualitative research continues to be underutilized in the field.

So far, most work on leadership falls along the more traditional side of the qualitative continuum. Management scholars Kevin B. Lowe and William L. Gardner’s content analysis of the 188 articles published in *The Leadership Quarterly* until 1999 reports what they call a “healthy mix” (Lowe and Gardner 2001, 484) of quantitative methods (71 percent) and qualitative methods (39 percent) and a small subset of mixed studies. In terms of analytical methods, about one-half of the studies used content analysis, a little less than one-half used case studies, and about one-fifth used grounded theory. These methodologies are favored within the postpositivist interpretive community. Nevertheless, interest in other forms of qualitative research to study leadership keeps growing, and they are slowly gaining currency in the field.

—Sonia Ospina

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R



RACE TO THE SOUTH POLE

The contest to become the first human to set foot on the geographic South Pole is an exciting and controversial chapter in the history of leadership under adversity. Set in the most hostile environment on Earth, the race to the South Pole shows how leadership style, personality, strategy, and openness to innovation interact to determine success or failure. This historic quest demonstrates how the best leaders are able to extend their reach by bringing out the best in others. Finally, it illustrates that perceptions of leadership are altered by the changing lenses of culture and popular sentiment.

THE COURSE

It is difficult to understand the nature of the competition to reach the South Pole without some knowledge of the extreme conditions of Antarctica. For most of the year, central Antarctica is enveloped in total darkness or total daylight. Ice—up to 4,500 meters thick—covers more than 99 percent of the continent's land mass. But the most formidable obstacles are neither darkness nor ice. Those who dream of reaching the Pole must contend with bitter cold, relentless wind and snow, and high altitude.

The coldest temperature ever measured on Earth's surface—minus 89.2 degrees C—was recorded in

Antarctica. Even during the warmest months, temperatures in the interior can reach minus 70 degrees C, and the mean annual temperature at the South Pole is minus 49 degrees C.

In addition to the frigid temperatures, there is the wind. Dense cold air rushing down from the polar plateau can achieve speeds of almost 320 kilometers per hour. And then there are the storms. The ferocious Antarctic winds blow snow across the surface, resulting in blizzards that make travel nearly impossible. In these blinding conditions, explorers have died only a few yards from their shelters.

Finally, there is the altitude. The South Pole is located at an elevation of over 2,700 meters above the sea, and the pressure altitude that affects human physiology is even higher. Because of Earth's rotation, the air is denser over the Equator and thinner over the Pole. As a result, the effective altitude of the Pole is almost 4,200 meters. Taken together, the elements of cold, wind, snow, and altitude played a crucial role in the race to the South Pole.

PREPARING FOR THE RACE

In 1820, Fabian von Bellingshausen (1778–1852), a captain in the Russian Imperial Navy, was the first to sight the continent of Antarctica. A year later, sealers from the United States and Britain landed on the Antarctic Peninsula. Other expeditions designed to

explore the unknown continent soon followed. Each effort increased the understanding of Antarctica and helped in the development of strategies for dealing with the harsh polar environment.

In March 1898, a Belgian expedition led by Adrian de Gerlache (1866–1934) became trapped by the pack ice near the Antarctic Peninsula. Imprisoned aboard the *Belgica* for more than a year, the crew members suffered from depression, disease, and disorientation resulting from living in total darkness. But they were the first to winter south of the Antarctic Circle, and a young Norwegian named Roald Amundsen (1872–1928)—one of the ship’s officers—absorbed the lessons of this experience.

The same year, Carsten Borchgrevink (1864–1934) sailed on the *Southern Cross* as a leader of what was called the British Antarctic expedition. The expedition, funded by a wealthy British publisher, was hardly British: Twenty-eight of the thirty-one members were Norwegian, and the *Southern Cross* was a converted Norwegian sealer. Landing at Cape Adare, ten of the explorers erected two wooden huts and set out to prove that humans could survive ashore in the cold, dark, Antarctic winter. The expedition also produced maps of the Ross Sea region, and it expanded the store of knowledge and skills needed to survive in the extreme Antarctic environment.

THE BRITISH CONTESTANTS

At the International Geographical Congress held in London in 1895, the English geographer Clements Markham (1830–1916) called for further scientific and geographical exploration of Antarctica. Markham later helped organize the British National Antarctic Expedition, in 1899 choosing the explorer Robert Falcon Scott (1868–1912) as its leader.

Markham believed in youth over experience. He thought older men lacked not only energy and a capacity to deal with emergencies, but also openness to new ideas. “How can novel forms of effort,” he wrote, “be expected from still old organisms hampered by experience” (Thomson 2002, 10). Scott had no prior experience in polar exploration, but Markham had been impressed by Scott’s intelligence and charm. Markham believed the thirty-one-year-

old naval officer to be the right age and temperament to lead an Antarctic expedition.

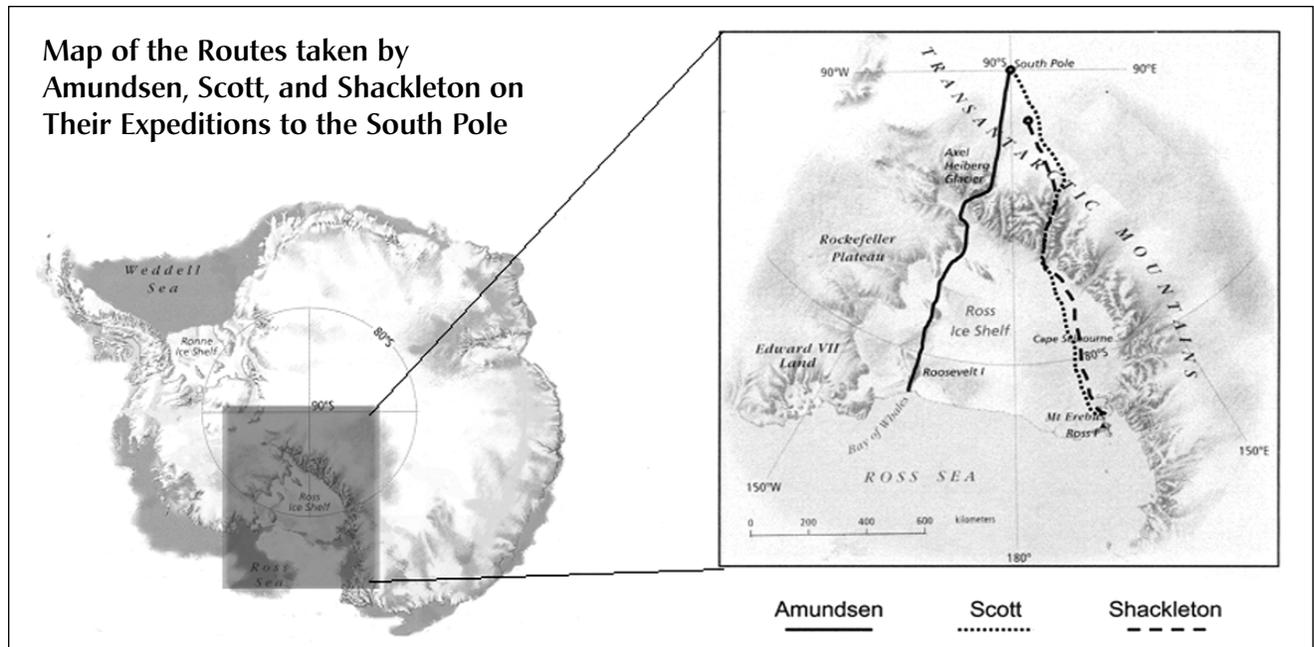
On the recommendation of an expedition benefactor, Markham also selected an officer of the Merchant Navy—Ernest Henry Shackleton (1874–1922)—as one of Scott’s sub-lieutenants. The two officers, both of whom became important figures in the race to the South Pole, had sharply contrasting backgrounds and personalities.

Scott was born to a well-to-do family in Plymouth, England. At the age of thirteen, he entered the Royal Navy as a cadet aboard the training ship *Britannia*. Although Scott could be charming, he could also be detached and temperamental. With his reserved and shy personality, Scott had trouble mixing with others. He was most comfortable in the traditional, regulated, and hierarchical caste system of the Royal Navy. These personal characteristics limited his effectiveness as a leader, but Scott brought strengths as well. He genuinely appreciated science and possessed the physical stamina essential for polar exploration. In addition, his skill at vivid, descriptive writing provided a clear account of his expeditions and his role in the race.

Ernest Shackleton, by contrast, was an Anglo-Irishman born in County Kildare, Ireland. Shackleton’s father, unable to afford the cost of the Royal Navy’s *Britannia*, sent Ernest to sea on a ship of the Merchant Navy. Aboard the *Hoghton Tower* Shackleton “learned the ropes,” and he also learned the value of developing relationships. Although status distinctions in the Mercantile Marine were less rigid than they were in the Royal Navy, sanctions still existed against mixing with social inferiors. But Shackleton’s outgoing personality and lack of pretension enabled him to make friends at all levels—with officers, engineers, and apprentices alike. This ability served him well in his journeys to the Antarctic.

THE FIRST RUN TOWARD THE POLE

In August 1901, Scott and Shackleton sailed for Antarctica aboard the *Discovery*, the first ship designed and built in Britain specifically for polar exploration. By mid-February of 1902, the expedition had established winter quarters ashore. In



Source: Adapted from McGonigal, D. and Woodworth, L. (2001) *The Complete Encyclopedia of Antarctica and the Arctic*. Firefly Books: Willowdale, Ontario, Canada. Used with permission.

November, Scott finally set out to explore the route to the Pole with Shackleton and scientific officer Edward A. Wilson (1872–1912).

Scott and his team were ill prepared for their first southern foray. They were poor skiers and inept at handling dogs. The dogs were underfed and the sleds were overloaded. Suffering from scurvy and lack of food, the party turned back more than 800 kilometers from the South Pole.

On the journey home, the three tied their remaining dogs behind the sleds, which they “man hauled” back to their camp at Hut Point. Strangely, Scott seemed drawn to this grueling practice of man hauling. He wrote that “no journey ever made with dogs can approach the height realized . . . when a party of men go forth to face hardships, dangers, and difficulties with their own unaided efforts” (McGonigal and Woodworth 2001, 428).

The strain of the trip, combined with clashes between Scott and Shackleton, undermined the cohesion of the southern party. At one point, Scott referred to Shackleton as a “bloody fool.” This clash—and the underlying competition between the two men—created a rift that was never closed.

When the party reached Hut Point, all three men were suffering from scurvy. Scott, with medical

advice, declared Shackleton unfit for duty and sent him home on a relief ship. Shackleton reportedly wept as he sailed away.

SHACKLETON'S SECOND ATTEMPT

Although Shackleton had been ordered home from the *Discovery* expedition, he returned to England a hero of the expedition. He began organizing another attempt, and in 1907 sailed for Antarctica aboard the *Nimrod* as the leader of a second British Antarctic expedition.

At the end of October 1908, Shackleton and three companions set out for the South Pole. Shackleton brought no dogs for the final assault, relying instead on Siberian ponies for transport. The ponies were ill suited for the terrain, and once more the British resorted to man hauling. By 9 January 1909, they were 179 kilometers shy of the South Pole and desperately short of rations. In a typical act of generosity, Shackleton gave one of his last biscuits to a companion, Frank Wild, and then made the painful decision to turn around. He later explained to his wife: “I thought you’d prefer a live donkey to a dead lion” (Rubin 2000, 39).

They had failed to reach the South Pole, but the British Antarctic expedition had accomplished other



Robert Scott and his party arrive at the South Pole, only to find the tent left by Norwegian explorer Roald Amundsen, who had arrived at the Pole one month earlier.

Source: Corbis; used by permission.

goals. They had uncovered coal and other fossils. They had discovered a new mountain range and traversed the high polar plateau, and they held the record for penetrating the farthest south. In addition, they pioneered a path up the Beardmore Glacier, the same route that Scott would take on his next expedition.

The expedition also gave Shackleton a chance to demonstrate his exceptional leadership skills. He had faced danger with humor and good cheer, developing a reputation for being cool in a crisis. Although called “the Boss” by his men, Shackleton established the norm of discussing problems openly and valuing the opinions of others, regardless of their position in the formal hierarchy.

THE NORWEGIAN CHALLENGER

Roald Amundsen, born before Norway separated from Sweden, learned to ski as a schoolboy and had a keen interest in adventure. As a teenager, Amundsen read the account of Sir John Franklin (1786–1847), a British explorer who died mysteriously in the Arctic. Enamored of polar exploration, Amundsen honed his skills in long-distance skiing as he prepared for his “great adventure.”

Despite the challenges he encountered as a member of the Belgian Antarctic expedition in 1898, Amundsen continued his polar exploration. He was

the first to navigate the Northwest Passage aboard one vessel, and he spent three winters in the Arctic. He lived with the Eskimos, learning about cold-weather clothing, dog handling, and travel—the foundational skills of polar exploration. Among explorers, he developed a reputation as a meticulous planner who was expert at traveling over snow and ice.

Amundsen had always dreamed of being the first to the North Pole. In 1909, as he was planning his northbound expedition, Amundsen received word that the Americans Frederick A. Cook (1865–1940), a shipmate from *Belgica*, and Robert E. Peary (1856–1920) had both claimed that prize. Amundsen quickly changed his goal from north to south. After his expedition had departed from Norway—ostensibly for the Arctic—Amundsen sent Scott a terse telegram: “Beg leave to inform you . . . proceeding Antarctic” (Rubin 2000, 40).

Meanwhile, Scott, who had sailed aboard the *Terra Nova* on 10 June 1910, had left London with the expectation that the South Pole was his prize to claim. When the *Terra Nova* reached Melbourne in October 1910, the news of Amundsen’s altered goal came as a shock to Scott. The race was on.

THE LAST LAP

Scott reached Ross Island on 4 January 1911 and was soon laying depots south from his base at Cape Evans. Amundsen arrived in Antarctica shortly thereafter and established his camp on the ice shelf at the Bay of Whales.

Amundsen departed for the Pole on 8 September but was forced to retreat in disarray by the bitter cold. On 19 October, Amundsen set out once more for the Pole with four companions and four sleds, each pulled by thirteen dogs. With their exceptional skiing and dog-handling ability, the Norwegians moved across the terrain with relative ease. They traveled only six hours a day, reserving the remainder for sleep and rest. Thanks to their carefully planned diet and well-marked depots, food was never an issue.

Amundsen and his men arrived at the South Pole on 14 December 1911. Because all five had risked their lives on this adventure as a team, Amundsen insisted that they plant the Norwegian flag together.

The men erected a tent with a Norwegian flag on top. Expecting that Scott was still to reach the Pole, they left him a letter and another to deliver to King Haakon in case they failed to return.

By 25 January 1912, Amundsen and his party had returned to base camp with eleven remaining dogs, only ninety-nine days after their departure. They were as well-nourished and fit as when they had left. Because of their meticulous planning and efficient travel, the Norwegians had made it look easy.

While Amundsen basked in the warmth of his victory, Scott and his party still struggled southward, unaware that they had already lost the race. Scott had begun his journey almost 112 kilometers farther from the Pole than Amundsen had, and his decision to use ponies as well as dogs had created a further delay. As a result, they established their last food depot, "One Ton Camp," approximately 66 kilometers short of their goal. This shortfall, along with poor weather and a number of errors and miscalculations, was to prove fatal for Scott and his polar party.

On 3 January 1912, Scott made a late decision. Although plans for the polar assault had been based on a team of four, Scott inexplicably announced that he would take one extra man on the final leg of the journey. The sleds were only equipped with supplies for four men and the tents were designed to accommodate four, so this change complicated their movement. They had also brought only four sets of skis, so the entire polar party was restricted to a walking pace.

Scott and his men arrived at the South Pole on 17 January 1912—thirty-five days after Amundsen. Finding the Norwegian tent, Scott wrote: "Great God! This is an awful place, and terrible enough for us to have labored to it without the reward of priority. . . . Now for the run home and a desperate struggle. I wonder if we can do it" (Neider 2000, 288).

They could not. One member died a month later after sinking into a coma. The next month, a second man—Titus Oates—stepped out into a blizzard never to return. Suffering from severe frostbite, Oates apparently sacrificed his life rather than continue to delay his comrades.

On 19 March a blizzard again enveloped the surviving three members of the polar party. Imprisoned just over 19 kilometers from One Ton Depot, they

had only enough food for two days. Scott's last entry, on 29 March, reads: "We shall stick it out to the end . . . and the end cannot be far. . . . For God's sake look after our people" (Neider 2000, 267).

Eight months later, expedition survivors came upon the tent of the polar party. When Scott and his two companions were eventually found, their sledge had included 14 kilograms of geological specimens. The weight of these specimens, confirming Scott's dedication to science, was not the main cause of his tragic death. But the stones, although of scientific importance, symbolize the inherent contradiction of trying to finish a race while carrying rocks.

Back in Britain, Scott was hailed as a hero who had died for his country, while Shackleton, who had turned back on his attempt at the Pole, was criticized by some as being unpatriotic: His failure to sacrifice his life and the lives of his men enabled a foreigner to win the race.

LEADERSHIP LESSONS FROM THE RACE TO THE POLE

Fascination with the race continues to the present day. For most of the twentieth century, Scott was considered a heroic figure. Toward the end of the century, some historians began to question his leadership. Instead of a hero, Scott was cast as a bungler whose errors in judgment had cost him not only the conquest of the Pole but also the lives of his men. Today, another contrarian view has emerged. His failure was simply bad luck: unusually cold weather was a major contributor to Scott's tragic end. And Amundsen, the winner of the race, has been criticized for his single-minded determination and perceived duplicity in "stealing the prize."

In view of Scott's flawed record as a leader, it is difficult to attribute his failure simply to an unexpected cold snap. But debating Scott's culpability is less important than understanding the broader leadership lessons provided by the race to the South Pole.

Effective Leadership Requires a Clear Strategic Focus

Amundsen's ambition was to stand first at the North Pole. When Cook and Peary claimed that prize,



Excerpts from Robert Falcon Scott's Journal, 1912

Thurs, Jan. 18

We have just arrived at this tent, 2 miles from our camp, therefore about 1½ miles from the Pole. In the tent we find a record of five Norwegians having been here, as follows:

Roald Amundsen
Olav Olavson Bjaaland
Hilmer Hanssen
Sverre H. Hassel
Oscar Wisting.

16. Dec. 1911

Well, we have turned our back now on the goal of our ambition and must face our 800 miles of dragging—and good-bye to most of the day-dreams!

Thurs, March 29

Since the 21st we have had a continuous gale from W.S.W. and S.W. We had fuel to make two cups of tea apiece and bare food for two days on the 20th. Every day we have been ready to start for our depot 11 miles away, but outside the door of the tent it remains a scene of whirling drift. I do not think we can hope for any better things now. We shall stick it out to the end, but we are getting weaker, of course, and the end cannot be far. It seems a pity, but I do not think I can write more.

—R. Scott

Last entry

For God's sake look after our people.

Source: "Doomed Expedition to the Pole, 1912." (1999). EyeWitness to History. Retrieved October 8, 2003, from <http://www.ibiscom.com/scott.htm>

Amundsen immediately shifted his attention to winning the race to the South Pole. This new goal became the sole focus of his expedition. With single-minded determination, Amundsen set his plans and priorities. This uncompromising clarity contributed to his success in reaching the Pole and to his ability to bring his men safely home.

Scott, in contrast, lacked such focus. To support his scientific goals, he assembled the most capable scientists and the best-equipped expedition ever to explore Antarctica. Yet he had also stated that one of the major objects of the expedition was to reach the

South Pole, securing the honor of that achievement for the British empire. Striving for both goals, Scott failed to win the race, and his grueling march to an arbitrary geographic point was inconsistent with the pursuit of scientific research.

Successful Leaders Are Open to New Ideas

A second lesson from the race concerns the leader's critical role in fostering innovation. The process of innovation depends on an openness to new ideas, coupled with the ability to learn from experience. On this dimension of leadership, there were striking differences between Amundsen and both Scott and Shackleton.

The Norwegians owed much of their success to the use of sophisticated technology for polar travel—skis, dogs, clothing, and diet. It is true that skiing was an integral part of their culture, while the British knew relatively little of the art. But Amundsen continued to refine his skills throughout his life. He learned from his earliest experiences on the *Belgica*, he imported ideas from the Eskimos, and he systematically developed an integrated set of competencies for polar life and travel. Consequently, his trip to the pole was remarkably routine, and he was able to avoid the extreme weather that Scott had to endure.

Scott and Shackleton, by contrast, were surprisingly resistant to the use of these superior methods. It is easy to understand their failure to use the best technology on their first journey toward the Pole in 1902—although Scott's admission that none of their equipment had been tested is still surprising. In later expeditions, however, their persistent reliance on unproven or inferior methods is difficult to understand.

Scott believed that he had learned from earlier mistakes, but the evidence suggests otherwise. On later expeditions, both Shackleton and Scott experimented unsuccessfully with motor sledges and ponies, but neither made effective use of dogs and skis. Ultimately, both relied on the slow, exhausting technique of man hauling.

In the end, Scott proved Markham wrong. Though he possessed youth and inexperience, Scott often failed to display either openness to new ideas

or the ability to learn from mistakes. In his final “Message to the Public,” Scott attributes the cause of the tragedy simply to “misfortune.” Scott’s lengthy journey did subject his party to the misfortune of particularly cold weather—conditions that Amundsen escaped through a rapid assault on the Pole.

Leaders Need to Draw on the Collective Wisdom of the Team

As a leader, Scott believed it was his unique responsibility to analyze situations and draw conclusions. His decisions were closely held and sometimes revealed at the last minute—witness his decision to take a fifth man to the Pole. One consequence of Scott’s decision-making style was that he often failed to use the opinions of others to find the best possible course of action. In addition, because they were not involved in the process, members of his expedition had only a limited understanding of the rationale behind his decisions.

In sharp contrast to Scott, both Amundsen and Shackleton made a point of soliciting the ideas of their team members. As a result, their actions were better informed, and the process itself—because it gave people a sense of control—resulted in greater ownership and commitment.

The Best Leaders Forge Strong Team Bonds

The contest to be first at the Pole shows that teams under the best leaders form cohesive bonds that enable everyone to work together in the face of daunting adversity. On this point, Scott again stands apart from Shackleton and Amundsen. Scott did inspire loyalty among some key members of his team, and his doomed polar party stayed together until the very end. But Scott’s detachment, his emphasis on hierarchy, and his unilateral decision-making style created barriers to team cohesion.

Neither Shackleton nor Amundsen led perfectly harmonious expeditions, but both leaders demonstrated the crucial skills needed to maintain a unified team. Although their personalities were different, the leadership practices of the ebullient Shackleton and the understated Amundsen were remarkably

similar. They were both acutely sensitive to the emotions of their men and consciously intervened when morale dropped. They were skilled at managing conflict and winning over potential troublemakers. They placed greater emphasis on individual ability than on rank or social status. And they participated in the most menial camp chores, never isolating themselves from other members of the expedition. These behaviors, both practical and symbolic, reinforced the message of unity.

Reflecting on the abilities of these three leaders, Apsley Cherry-Garrard, a member of Scott’s second expedition, made the following observation: “For a joint scientific and geographical piece of organisation, give me Scott . . . for a dash to the Pole and nothing else, Amundsen; if I am in the devil of a hole and want to get out of it, give me Shackleton every time” (Wheeler 1999, 87).

Looking back over the history of the race, these words ring true. And yet, despite their differences, Amundsen, Scott, and Shackleton did share some important characteristics. All were able to endure extraordinary hardship through exceptional perseverance, determination, and courage. Those qualities are crucial for any leader—no matter what race must be run.

—Dennis N. T. Perkins, Paul R. Kessler,
and Catherine McCarthy

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RACIAL MINORITIES

Racial minority leadership in the United States differs from (white) majority leadership in a number of fundamental ways. First, minority leaders generally operate in a context controlled by others. This relates to a second defining feature of American minority leadership: On virtually every indicator of well-being, minorities fall below the white majority. Third, these disparities typically motivate the agendas of minority leaders, as their concerns tend to center on the least advantaged members of our society. Finally, following from the first three points, while minority leaders do not routinely set the terms of debate or outcome, they often have a way of placing a mirror before us to see more clearly the fault lines in American democracy. While our point of reference in these matters has long been rooted in the white-black dynamic, of late, the nation has undergone—and is undergoing—a demographic transformation of unparalleled scope, fueled by immigration. New immigrants coming from Latin America and Asia have created millions of new minorities (Skrentny 2002).

IMMIGRATION AS A LEADERSHIP ISSUE

The 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act ended patent favoritism toward Europeans in immigration policy. Through the act, “family reunification” sup-

planted “country of origin” as the primary criteria for visa approval. Although regarded as a technicality by legislators in 1965, ultimately, this provision of the act would introduce a new term into the American political lexicon: chain migration. Defying intentions and expectations, the Immigration Act upended the ethnic balance that its sponsors had all intention of preserving (Graham 2002). In turn, immigration rates have climbed steadily over the past few decades. By 2000, the Census Bureau reported that immigrants constituted more than 10 percent of the American population; the highest proportion since 1930. Furthermore, one-half of the foreign-born population in 2000 came from Latin America and one-fourth came from Asia. As a result, the Latino population has increased by more than 50 percent since 1990 and the Asian population increased by at least 48 percent. Anything of this scope is bound to be interdisciplinary. Demographers give us a sense of the range of contemporary immigration; political scientists and sociologists explore the power dynamics involved in this transformation. Economists tend to focus on the ways in which this influx of immigrants affects the American economy. Clearly and deeply, immigration also triggers new leadership questions spanning all of these fields.

As Joel Perlmann and Mary Waters put it, “if one met a nonwhite American before 1970, he or she was very likely to have been black; today the chances are better than ever that the nonwhite American will not be black.” In fact, Perlmann and Waters continue, “the percentage of black among all nonwhites stood at 66 percent in 1970, 48 percent in 1990, and 43 percent in 2000 and can be expected to continue declining in coming decades” (2002, 6). While the overall proportion of American minorities is on the rise—making up approximately 25 percent of the entire U.S. population in 2000 (National Research Council 2001)—clearly, blacks are not fueling this growth. Rather, it is non-black immigrants and their children who account for the increase in the minority population. Furthermore, since most contemporary immigrants tend to settle in urban areas, they “emerge as new actors in political arenas where other minorities, notably African Americans, are already established players” (Jones-

Correa 2001, 9). Thus, the potential for interethnic rivalry is high, and the actions, standpoint, and tone of minority leaders toward navigating and mediating such tension is critical.

COALITIONS AND MINORITY LEADERSHIP

If the shifting demographic landscape is bringing with it a succession of new minority leadership challenges, at the top of the list is the management of relations across minority groups. Under what circumstances are cross-racial coalitions successful? Alternately, what are the factors likely to undermine the formation and maintenance of coalitions across minority groups (Jones-Correa 2001; McClain 1998; Jennings 1994)? The following are four areas of utmost relevance to these questions of growing importance.

THE INSTITUTIONAL DILEMMA

American inner cities—where many minorities live and thus where minority leaders spend a disproportionate amount of political capital—have been profoundly impacted by a series of sweeping structural changes over the past thirty to forty years. The first of these trends is immigration. Second is the impact of white and increasingly middle-class minority flight to the suburbs, the result being a greater concentration of poor people in cities as well as a shrinking tax base from which to provide a variety of municipal services. Third is the relationship between the federal government and cities; the trend of late has been for the federal government to withdraw financial support for urban areas. Finally, the transition from a manufacturing to a service-based economy has left fewer well-paying jobs in cities, and in some cases, sharper competition for even low-wage employment. Combined, the climate is such that competition between minority groups is at least as plausible as is cooperation.

THE PARTICIPATION DILEMMA

Among the most robust findings in the social sciences is that political participation rises with income

and education. Asians represent an exception to the rule: Asian political participation lags far behind what one would otherwise expect. Alongside the widely publicized successes of Asian-Americans stand troubling and often overlooked disparities. Although Asians were more likely than non-Hispanic whites to have earned a college degree in 1999, they were also more likely than non-Hispanic whites to have less than a ninth-grade education. Similarly, while a higher percentage of Asians (33 percent) than non-Hispanic whites (29 percent) in 1998 had incomes of \$75,000 and higher, in that year, 20 percent of all Asians had incomes of less than \$25,000. Citizenship (again, linked to immigration) helps to contextualize these inconsistencies. In 2000, only “2 percent of White non-Hispanics were not citizens, compared with 6 percent of blacks, 41 percent of Asians and Pacific Islanders, and 39 percent of Hispanics” (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2002b). In turn, depressed participation (whether linked to citizenship status, poverty, education, or some combination of these factors) raises urgent questions about the leadership of minority populations.

The alarmingly high proportion of noncitizen minorities, for instance, helps to explain why Latino and Asian constituencies, in particular, are so severely underdeveloped. In turn, lack of participation contributes to a dampened community focus on leaders' actions. Thinking about this in a different way, the political engagement deficit in minority communities that afflicts all minority groups to varying degrees sets in motion many disturbing patterns: for example, this lack of engagement implies little input or involvement on the part of non-elite minorities toward the actions of the people who claim to lead them. This also calls for coalition building across minority groups no less urgent but obviously shaky; such exhortations tend to reflect elite politics and to prioritize electoral outcomes.

THE ELECTORAL/NON-ELECTORAL DILEMMA

Speaking of black political fortunes specifically, Robert C. Smith contends that the tremendous concentration on the part of black leaders to get blacks elected in the post-civil rights era ultimately comes



Leadership in an Ethnic Community in Detroit

In this excerpt from a 1983 study of the Arab-American community in Detroit, it is clear that the problems facing Arab immigrants are those shared by most ethnic groups with a sizable population of immigrants settling into the United States.

Three local organizations have emerged over the past decade in an attempt to merge resources and energies, and meet the needs of the community as a whole. These organizations include: ACCESS (the Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services), ACSSC (the Arab-Chaldean Social Services Council), and ADC (the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee). As their names suggest, both ACCESS and ACSSC are social service organizations dedicated to providing assistance to needy community members and newly arrived immigrants and their families. Both organizations have received community-wide acceptance and make their services available to all sectors of the Arab-American population throughout the metropolitan area. In each case, support and recognition has also been forthcoming from the larger society. Owing to the nature of their missions, these organizations have been able to transcend national, religious, and provincial differences between Arab sub-communities. The ADC has followed a similar pattern of development, although it is dedicated solely to defending the rights of Arab-Americans and combating the negative and often derogatory stereotypes and prejudice directed at Arabs and their cultural heritage. What all three organizations share in common is their concern for all Arab-Americans and the common interests which bind them together. In a real sense, these three organizations can be considered supra-organizations (or pan-community organizations) which tend to give expression to the larger identity and interests of the community as a whole. As these organizations have developed over the years, a complementary development has occurred at the level of community leadership. While each subcommunity has its own leaders (e.g., religious, business, political), there is a growing tendency for these and other leaders to play a wider role in coping with events and problems which affect the larger community. And although no single leader or leadership is readily identifiable, the fact is that a number of leaders are widely recognized as spokesmen for the community and its interests.

Source: Abraham, Sameer Y. (1983). "Detroit's Arab-American Community: A Survey of Diversity and Commonality." In *Arabs in the New World: Studies on Arab-American Communities*, edited by Sameer Y. Abraham and Nabeel Abraham. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University, Center for Urban Studies, p. 102.

at the expense of organization and mobilization in non-electoral arenas (Smith 1996). The lion's share of minority political capital in the post-civil rights era has been directed toward electoral politics, especially toward increasing the number of minority elected officials. This strategy has been widely heralded as one of the most conclusive successes of the civil rights era, given that the number of minority

elected officials—particularly black legislators—has grown exponentially over the past forty years.

However, this shift in priorities has not been without cost (and differential payoffs for different minority groups). Furthermore, as Paula McClain and Steven C. Tauber note, electoral coalitions represent a particularly difficult starting point for cross-racial collaboration.

Socioeconomic outcomes are limitless: success for one group does not necessarily preclude the potential for increased socioeconomic fortunes for other groups. Conversely, however, political outcomes are finite. Each city has only one mayor and from three to fifty council seats; thus winning these positions is a zero-sum game (that is, a victory for one group necessarily comes at the expense of another group). (Jones-Correa 2001, 118–119)

The implication is that cross-racial coalitions, if to succeed, are more likely to do so beyond the narrow, singularly competitive confines of elections.

THE DESCRIPTIVE/ SUBSTANTIVE DILEMMA

Never far from the surface in the measure of a minority leader is his or her relationship to dispossessed

groups. Arguably, the presence of minorities in visible positions of institutional influence—as elected or appointed officials, for example—is substantively meaningful only if these people are inclined to act in the interests of minorities. Obviously, this action involves some controversy itself, as the determination of “objective” group interests rests ultimately on subjective judgment. Nonetheless, unemployment,

poor school quality, language barriers, racial profiling and a variety of other problems disproportionately affect minorities. "Because these difficulties are to some extent objectively measurable, and because there is little doubt that conditions are indeed bad, we can identify objective interest in change in these areas" (Swain 1995, 9).

One finds substantially greater consensus on the relative disadvantage of minorities than on the appropriate remedies for it. Although the connection may not be readily apparent, growing racial diversity (fueled by immigration) also brings an additional twist to the long-standing debate about remedies: Should new Americans be eligible for programs designed to address historic discrimination (Graham 2002)? Even substantive representatives do not always agree on that.

THE CHALLENGE OF LEADING NEW AND OLD MINORITIES

Minority leaders are deeply implicated in whatever happens next, but again, they will not necessarily determine it. Although their numbers are growing, the political weight of minority groups is not running apace. Substantive minority leaders are concerned with filling that gap, and cross-racial coalition building seems a practical strategy through which the discrepancy between numbers and power can be reduced. Yet the distressing extent to which so many minorities are not even eligible to vote points to the urgency of political engagement beyond electoral politics. Seventy percent of all Latinos—now the nation's largest minority group—live in five states: California (20 percent statewide non-citizen voting age population), Florida (13 percent), New York (13 percent), Texas (11 percent), and Illinois (8 percent) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2001b). Such widespread disenfranchisement indicates that the citizenship gap and the racial gap are the coexisting and overlapping civil rights issues of our time.

—Kim M. Williams

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REAGAN, RONALD (b. 1911)

U.S. president

Ronald Reagan left the presidency in January 1989 with a Gallup Poll approval rating of 63 percent, making him the highest-rated departing chief executive since Franklin Roosevelt's death in 1945 during his fourth term. In contrast, his initial post-presidential rankings from commentators and historians were mixed until a decade later, as seen in the view of Roosevelt's biographer, James MacGregor Burns, who concluded that Reagan, along with Roosevelt, would likely be viewed as one of the two most consequential presidents of the twentieth century. Despite Reagan's absence from the public scene, his post-presidential popularity has continued to rise among the general public, exemplified in a subsequent Gallup Poll taken from 9–11 February 2001, which placed him at the top of the nation's "greatest presidents."

The diversity of views of Reagan's significance might be expected given that his life's trajectory was highly unconventional. Following a successful career in radio, motion pictures, and television, Reagan first sought elective office at the age of fifty-five. A strong advocate of traditional family values, Reagan was the first divorced president, breaking a long-standing expectation that many Americans held for their president. The first president who was not only an active union member but also a union leader (President, Screen Actors Guild, 1947–1952, 1959–1960) Reagan altered the course of labor-management relations early in his first year in office, firing air traffic controllers who defied his order to honor their contractual no-strike commitment. A staunch and uncompromising anticommunist throughout his public life, Reagan began his presidency with an unprecedented arms buildup focused on the Soviet Union. He closed his presidency strolling across Red Square with his Russian counterpart, concluding landmark arms reduction treaties.

His administration's economic policies resulted in dramatic economic expansion, simultaneously increasing the federal budget deficit he had long decried. A conservative who represented the "movement" that first found failed national expression in the failed 1969 presidential candidacy of Republican Senator Barry Goldwater, Reagan's first inaugural address urged that "government was the problem, not the solution" at home—yet his administration garnered much increased public confidence in the capacity of the federal government which had declined through the social and political turbulence of the late 1960s and 1970s. Ideologically resolute on matters of policy, Reagan was personally generous in response to individuals' pleas for assistance, including sending checks from the Oval Office to citizens writing for help. Though he evoked nostalgia for the virtues of a simpler, small-town America, his policies (most notably fiscal reforms) accelerated the pace of economic, social, and political change.

BIRTH AND EARLY YEARS

Among the presidents most associated with support for the free enterprise system—and, his critics urge, succor for the privileged—Ronald Reagan was born in a working-class family on 6 February 1911 in Tampico, Illinois. Such a background was an uncommon characteristic for the nation's chief executive. His father, John Edward "Jack" Reagan, is remembered as a salesman and gifted storyteller, who suffered from alcoholism. His mother, Nelle Wilson Reagan, was a powerful influence on young "Dutch," bequeathing to him a powerful religious sensibility.

Reagan was student body president at Dixon High School, and later at Eureka College; he also proudly asserted that he saved seventy-seven lives as a life-guard on the Rock River. Following his graduation from Eureka in 1932, at the height of the Great Depression, Reagan obtained several jobs as an announcer in radio.

CALIFORNIA, HERE I COME

In 1937, while attending spring training with the Chicago Cubs, he obtained a screen test for the

Warner Brothers studio. According to his autobiographical writings, Reagan's entry into Hollywood furthered a longstanding but largely private ambition. Against the wishes of the studio, Reagan departed for home before his test was evaluated: "[T]he horrified feeling came over me that maybe I had blown the whole thing. . . . (Actually I had done, through ignorance, the smartest thing it was possible to do. Hollywood just loves people who don't need Hollywood)" (Reagan 1965, 67–68). Nonetheless he was signed to a contract and moved to a privileged position in the immense Midwestern migration to the Golden State.

Reagan took great pride in his acting career. Though he called himself "the Errol Flynn of the B-Movies," he also played in several "A" films, including *Knute Rockne: All American*, and *King's Row*, his most acclaimed performance. In 1940, he married another famous actor, Jane Wyman, with whom he had a daughter, Maureen, and an adopted son, Michael.

EARLY STIRRINGS IN POLITICS

A reflection of his family background, Reagan entered adulthood as a conventional New Deal Democrat, voting for Franklin D. Roosevelt in each of his four presidential contests. Though blocked from combat duty because of extreme nearsightedness, Reagan was called up from the Army Reserve to make hundreds of training films during World War II. His political views changed in the aftermath of the war, reflecting his personal experience confronting an alleged communist influence in the Screen Actors Guild, along with his frustration with the steep federal income taxes that neared 80 percent for top earners.

At the same time, he faced career challenges from a changing postwar audience mood less inclined to the light fare of the 1930s, as well as the transition to middle age that affects the prospects of performing artists who attained fame in their youth. Further, his marriage to Wyman was becoming unmoored. Their daughter, Christine, was born prematurely, in June 1947, and died within a day of her birth. Adding to their problems, it was widely thought that Reagan's intensifying interest in politics had not been wel-

Entrepreneurs are the forgotten heroes of America.

—Ronald Reagan

comed by Wyman. The divorced in 1948. In 1952, Reagan married fellow actor Nancy Davis, with whom he had a daughter, Patricia, and a son, Ronald.

REAGAN'S CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT

As Reagan's motion picture career slowed, he found a national audience in the new medium of television, hosting the popular General Electric Theatre from 1954 to 1962. He traveled the nation for General Electric, speaking at plants, meeting thousands of employees, refining his increasingly conservative political opinions, and sharpening presentation skills in a context not dissimilar from that of an elective politician.

For years Reagan had campaigned for political candidates—first Democrats (including Harry S. Truman), increasingly Republicans, including Dwight D. Eisenhower)—and his work for the corporate giant General Electric placed him squarely in the conservative camp. In 1962, he registered as a Republican. On 27 October 1964, in a televised presentation his supporters would later call "The Speech," Reagan appealed for support for the flagging Goldwater presidential campaign, which was successfully marginalized as "extremist" by incumbent President Lyndon B. Johnson. Notable amid the electoral disaster visited upon Goldwater, Reagan's speech elicited an unprecedented outpouring of support, unexpectedly thrusting Reagan to the top rank of the public leaders of the emerging conservative movement.

MR. REAGAN GOES TO SACRAMENTO

Initially, the prospect of Reagan as a politician was greeted with skepticism in many quarters, reflected in columnist Jack Warner's widely quoted quip: "Reagan for Governor? No, Jimmy Stewart for Governor, Ronnie Reagan for best friend" (Campaign

Rally for Vice President George Bush, 1988). Nonetheless, the man, the emerging conservative movement, and the moment came together in Reagan's first run for elective office, for governor of California, in 1966.

Overwhelming the two-term Democratic governor Edmund G. "Pat" Brown, Reagan took office in January 1967. His first-term performance was estimable but not extraordinary, in part because of his lack of political experience. Nonetheless, he decisively won a second term over another strong Democratic opponent, Jesse M. Unruh, going on to achieve tax relief and reform, as well as landmark welfare reform legislation intended to restore work incentives and personal accountability.

THE LONG MARCH TO THE WHITE HOUSE

Just over a year after becoming governor, Reagan launched a premature bid for the 1968 Republican presidential nomination. As he left the governorship in 1975, many conservative Republicans encouraged him to try again. Reagan's prospects were uncertain. The Republican Party had sustained historic defeats in midterm elections in November 1974, following the Watergate scandal that culminated in President Richard M. Nixon's resignation three months earlier. Nixon's hand-picked successor, Gerald R. Ford, would be the Republicans' presumptive choice, reflecting both custom and presidential influence over the nomination process.

Reagan nonetheless challenged Ford for the 1976 nomination. Holding on despite a string of defeats in early primaries, Reagan finished strongly, entering the Kansas City convention that summer in the striking range of victory. Though Ford managed to prevail, Reagan displayed widely remarked grace and eloquence in defeat.

Following Democrat Jimmy Carter's victory over Ford in the national election, Reagan maintained his public presence through articles, speeches and, most interestingly, a nationally syndicated radio program in which Reagan presented more than a thousand commentaries on issues of the day, prefiguring the later emergence of "talk radio."

In 1980, President Carter, facing an electorate dis-

enchanted by a deteriorating economy and intensifying provocations from the Soviet Union, Iran, and other countries, attracted a significant intraparty challenge from Senator Edward M. Kennedy as well as a full complement of Republican nomination candidates. Reagan prevailed in his own party and handily defeated Carter in November, simultaneously bringing in the first Republican majority into the U.S. Senate since the Eisenhower years.

REAGAN ENTERS THE "BIG LEAGUES"

As official Washington braced for change, House Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill, Jr., an icon of Democratic liberalism, warned the new president that he was now in the "big leagues."

Reagan's inaugural, on 20 January 1981, consciously set a new tone. The ceremony was held, for the first time, on the West Front of the Capitol, as the most powerful elected official in the world declared "In this present crisis, government is not the solution to our problem." Reagan continued his advocacy of an unmistakably clear program of change, based on cutting federal government taxes and regulations on the private sector; increasing spending on defense against what he viewed as a militarily ascendant but economically debilitated Soviet Union; advancing traditional family values; and balancing the federal budget. The break from the recent past was accentuated moments after the new president's swearing-in at noon, with the announcement of the release of American hostages held for more than a year in revolutionary Iran.

President Reagan was shot by would-be assassin John Hinckley, Jr. on 30 March 1981. Near death, he exhibited courage and sang-froid of such magnitude that his authority with the public and the Congress was tangibly heightened. His subsequent appearance at Notre Dame University's commencement several months later was emblematic of the evolving perception that Reagan's screen performance as the courageous Fighting Irish George Gipp of *Knute Rockne, All American* had fused with his real-life role as U.S. president.

That summer, Reagan followed in the footsteps of one of his declared political heroes, Calvin

Coolidge (U.S. president 1923–1929), firing illegally striking public employees, the federal air traffic controllers. In so doing, he undertook the risk of public outcry should subsequent accidents be blamed on their absence; he also broke one of the few unions whose leadership had publicly endorsed his election. This single action recast American labor-management relations and caused many foreign governments to assess him as decisive, risk taking, and formidable.

Reagan was successful in achieving major income tax reform—cutting rates by a third—but unemployment remained high, accentuated by tight money policies of the Federal Reserve seeking to wring out inflation. A reflection of his anemic poll ratings in the 1982 recession, Reagan was sometimes called the “Teflon President,” as his Sacramento opponents earlier termed him the “Great Deflector,” and his decreasing popularity was a factor in major Republican losses in the November congressional elections.

SECOND WHITE HOUSE TERM

By 1984, however, a buoyant economy propelled a Reagan reelection landslide. Uncannily like his role model Franklin D. Roosevelt, his second term was initially complicated by several conspicuous missteps and setbacks. He acceded to a staff shakeup that lowered the quality of his White House team; his party lost its majority control of the Senate in the 1986 midterm elections; and he initially stumbled in his response to the “Iran-Contra” scandal. The latter resulted from revelations of White House complicity in the illegal diversion of profits from arms-for-hostages deals with Iran (contrary to the administration’s expressed policy of non-negotiation with hostage takers) to U.S.-backed rightist “contra” guerrillas resisting the leftist Sandinista government (such assistance being provided in the face of congressional opposition and proscription). Public opinion turned against Reagan following his speech to the nation of 13 November 1986, in which he unconvincingly sought to reconcile the policy contradictions; his popularity was largely restored following a subsequent address on 4 March 1987, in which he

was contrite and committed to significant management and personnel changes.

Reagan’s public support remained high, and his accomplishments were significant. His administration worked successfully with a bipartisan group of legislators to achieve significant tax reform and simplification in 1986. When Reagan entered the White House in 1981, the top marginal tax rate was seventy percent, with fourteen tax brackets; when he left office the top rate was 28 percent, with three brackets.

Like other second-term presidents in the post–World War II era, Reagan focused increasingly on foreign policy. His administration asserted American power forcefully from the start—using the “bully pulpit” to characterize communism as “evil,” resuming naval maneuvers in the Gulf of Sidra, deploying intermediate range nuclear missiles in Europe, freeing Grenada from a Marxist coup, providing aid “freedom fighters” in Central America and Afghanistan, and bombing the living quarters of Libyan terrorist Muammar Qaddafi.

Most important, the Reagan administration rejected the détente policies of its most recent predecessors, directly confronting the Soviet Union through an arms buildup, direct and indirect economic pressure, public and “quiet” diplomacy. Reagan’s approach of building up nuclear arms in order to negotiate arms reduction was highly controversial. His second term coincided with the emergence of Mikhail S. Gorbachev, with whom he developed a historic relationship. Withstanding tremendous public pressure, Reagan refused significant Soviet arms control concessions conditioned on U.S. abandonment of its Strategic Defense “Star Wars” Initiative. Ultimately Reagan and Gorbachev concluded the first treaties to dismantle nuclear weapons, rather than accepting an apparently endless “balance of terror.”

THE LONG FAREWELL

Leaving office, Reagan acknowledged his reputation as the “Great Communicator,” but asserted that he had rather “communicated great things” (Farewell Address, 1989)—consigning the Soviet Union to the “ash heap of history” (Address to British Parliament,

1982), paying tribute to the “boys of Pointe du Hoc” (Remarks at the U.S. Ranger Monument, 1984) on the anniversary of the 1944 Normandy invasion, exalting the heroes of the doomed space shuttle *Challenger*; and in Berlin challenging “Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!” (Remarks at the Brandenburg Gate, 1987). His influence reverberated in the election of Vice President George Bush as his successor in 1988, as well as in the disintegration of the Soviet Union shortly thereafter.

Though he would eventually become the longest-living of all persons to have served in the presidency, Reagan’s voice was stilled in 1994 by Alzheimer’s disease. Nonetheless, perhaps more than any president since Franklin D. Roosevelt, Reagan’s legacy is durable, nowhere more than in setting the terms of the political debate of his successors in both major political parties. As the distance of time makes his significance increasingly apparent, Reagan’s leadership is acknowledged by many of his political opponents as well as extolled by his supporters.

—James M. Strock

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RECONSTRUCTIVE LEADERSHIP

All leaders aim to change things, but the changes they propose are not all of a piece. Variety is especially pronounced in organized or institutional settings where leaders must, as a first order of business, establish a particular relationship between their efforts to change things and the practices and priorities they receive from the past. For some, the past may be lauded as a clear and reliable guide to future action, in which case change might mean completing the unfinished work left behind by predecessors. For others, the recent work of the past may be accepted as a more or less problematic fait accompli, and change is promised to rehabilitate received priorities or to nudge things wherever possible in a different direction. For still others, received practices may be repudiated forthrightly as failed, bankrupt, or otherwise unacceptable solutions to the problems at hand, and change is undertaken with an eye to establishing entirely new standards of legitimate action. This last,

when it succeeds, is “reconstructive leadership” (Skowronek 1997).

To claim a particular warrant for change is to bid for a certain kind of authority and to set up certain kinds of challenges in sustaining it. But leaders do not choose freely from a list of possible dispositions toward change. If they have any savvy at all, they will present themselves and their ambitions in a way that resonates with the circumstances of their rise to power. Someone carried into a position of leadership as the hand-picked successor or heir apparent to a well-regarded predecessor would be hard-pressed to sustain a course of repudiation and reconstruction; so too would someone carried into a position of leadership from the ranks of the opposition by virtue of the defection of one or another faction of establishment support. Reconstructive leadership is associated with a special set of circumstances. Not only would we expect such a leader to come from the ranks of the opposition to established power, and thus to come unhampered by any affiliation with what exists, but we might also expect the reconstructive leader to arise when a crisis of legitimacy is already deeply felt and broadly perceived.

Though reconstructive leadership is a distinctive, even peculiar, type or style, reconstructive leaders are often considered paragons, exemplars of the very essence of leadership itself. The reason for this is to be found in the anatomy of leadership, for while the same constituent components of action are arrayed in all types, an especially felicitous arrangement of these components is operative in the reconstructive type. First, leadership in organized settings always carries an *order-shattering* component, which stems directly from efforts of all leaders to innovate, to create something new in the presence of a system that is up and running. Even if the innovation is something anticipated or promised by the received course of action, it cannot help but disrupt previously established arrangements. Second, there is always an *order-affirming* component to leadership in organized settings. This stems from the leader’s connection to the organized community or the community values that all its leaders, even those who propose to purge it of present corruptions or degradations, are expected to uphold and elaborate. Finally, there is an

order-creating component to leadership, in which the innovations offered and the values affirmed are joined together in a new amalgam that bids for acceptance as the new working standard of action for the future.

It will be seen that reconstructive leadership arrays these three components in a mutually reinforcing and powerfully transformative fashion. The order-shattering component is supported by the depth of the current crisis of legitimacy. The order-affirming component is supported by an appeal to the values lost or squandered in recent practice, to a community that needs to be redeemed from its current course and reestablished on principles emblematic of its true identity. The order-creating component joins the sweeping innovations ushered in by a sharp break with received practices to the invocation of a restoration of fundamental principles, putting in place something that is both radically new and secure in its authenticity. In contrast, leaders affiliated with the commitments and arrangements of the immediate past are likely to find it difficult to justify the very real changes their actions set in motion; the rationale for the order-shattering effects of their actions is weak, and the more they change things, the more vulnerable their authority is likely to become. Even those unaffiliated with the commitments and arrangements of the immediate past will have a hard time in the absence of a serious crisis of legitimacy, for though they have the advantages of independence, they are limited in their authority to propose a clear and robust alternative. Thus, if the reconstructive type tends to include the outstanding leaders in history, it is not necessarily because they are more talented at doing what all leaders do. What is different is their opportunity to make leadership work for them, to use its essential components to bolster the claims that brought them to leadership in the first place, to secure their own legitimacy in the very process of negotiating thoroughgoing changes.

In principle, reconstructive leadership may be found in any organized setting. Lee Iacocca’s transformation of the Chrysler Corporation in the early 1980s exhibited many of the trappings of the type, though corporate leadership generally is far less dependent on mobilizing followers around shared

community values than other organizational forms. At the other extreme is organized religion; indeed, by combining themes of degradation, redemption, and the promise of a new order, the reconstructive trope draws heavily on religious iconography—Moses at Mount Sinai, Jesus at the Temple, Martin Luther at Whittenberg. Politics, however, is the forum in which reconstructive leadership comes into its own most fully; in political cultures with strong republican traditions, which lend themselves to jeremiads and cyclic themes, it may be especially pronounced. Such is certainly the case in the United States. Abraham Lincoln's rise to power was marked by emblematic reconstructive response to the repeal of the restrictions on the spread of slavery:

Our republican robe is soiled and trailed in the dust. Let us repurify it and wash it white in the spirit, if not the blood of the Revolution. Let us readopt the Declaration of Independence, and with it, the practices and policies which harmonize with it. . . . If we do this, we shall not only have saved the Union; but we shall have so saved it, as to make and keep it, forever worthy of the saving. (Lincoln 1953a, 276)

Franklin Roosevelt's first inaugural message, given in the depths of the Great Depression and in the aftermath of his political rout of long-established Republican majorities, put the reconstructive trope in an explicitly Christlike frame:

Rulers of the exchange of mankind's good have failed through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure, and have abdicated. Practices of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men. . . . The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths. (Roosevelt 1938, 12)

Similarly, in 1980, Ronald Reagan cast his campaign for the presidency as a crusade not against a single administration but against a way of governing that had become entrenched over the decades:

Isn't our choice really not one of left or right, but of up or down? Down through the welfare state to statism, to more and more government largesse accompanied always by more governmental authority, less individual

liberty, ultimately totalitarianism, always advanced as for our own good. The alternative is the dream conceived by our Founding Fathers, up to the ultimate in individual freedom consistent with an orderly society. (Reagan 1984, 834)

As each of these rhetorical flourishes suggests, reconstruction leadership derives much of its authority from its repudiative thrust, or more precisely from its equation of a repudiation of what exists with an affirmation of fundamentals. Though very different in their personal background and professional training, Lincoln, Roosevelt, and Reagan stand out among U.S. presidents as great communicators. It is the clarity of standing apart from and against a long-established state of affairs, while at the same time appealing to emblematic or historic values, that supports independent action on the part of the leader on behalf of a sweeping new vision. But reconstructive leadership is not simply a matter of words reinforcing authority in a particular context. A leader may wield reconstructive authority on a rhetorical plane without creating a new order in practice. In fact, though these leaders are uniquely positioned to recreate order in the course of innovation, their success will be measured in degrees, by the extent to which the residual institutional supports for previous commitments of ideology and interest are actually dislodged and new supports capable of sustaining an alternative organization put in their place.

At a practical level, failure to dislodge and replace previously established arrangements is likely to lead to a resurgence of old priorities and ways of doing things once the reconstructive leader departs the scene: Recall the situation that awaited Moses upon his return to the people from Mount Sinai. The irony of reconstructive leadership is that its most effective and significant actions tend to be negative and explosively controversial. These are actions that deploy the repudiative authority of the reconstructive stance as a battering ram to forcibly destroy, or at least force the acquiescence of, the defenders of the old order, and they characteristically provoke charges of usurpation and one-person rule. In this sense, the emblematic reconstructive achievement of the presidency of Andrew Jackson was the destruction of the national bank; of Lin-

coln's presidency, the destruction of slavery; of FDR's presidency, forcing the capitulation of the Supreme Court to the mores and priorities of New Deal legislation. By comparison, the "Reagan Revolution" was a rather shallow affair, its frontal assaults on the institutional supports for liberal priorities stymied within a year of his inauguration. Notwithstanding Reagan's reputation as a political leader, the slower, less direct chipping away at the legacy of liberalism that ensued after his first year has left the shape of the new political order less certain, its priorities and commitments more inchoate.

The flip side of the problem of dislodging supports for the old order is the problem of building durable supports for the new one, and here the independent appeal of the reconstructive leader is especially critical. Though reconstructive leaders characteristically come from the ranks of the organized opposition, it will not suffice simply to transfer power to the traditional opponents of the established order. In practice the effort to dislodge institutional support for past practice is likely to implicate all those who found their place within the old order and to open the door to a more systematic rearrangement of alliances. Thus, in first announcing his commitment to a "New Deal" for the American people, Franklin Roosevelt warned his fellow partisans that his administration would part company with "nominal Democrats who squint at the future with their faces turned to the past, and who feel no responsibility to the demands of a new time" (Roosevelt 1932, 648). In this same sense, Lincoln cast reconstruction as reorientation of action for the entire nation: "As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country" (Lincoln 1953b 537). In effect, reconstructive leaders will seek to create new parties, largely personal parties, capable of supporting a configuration of interests and commitments unanticipated in previous conceptions of the alternatives. Here, too, results are highly variable: Ronald Reagan built a more ideologically homogeneous and conservative Republican Party; Franklin Roosevelt left a Democratic Party bifurcated between its new northern liberal wing and its old conservative southern wing.

Perhaps the greatest irony is that by establishing new standards of legitimacy and recasting the organizational foundations of action, reconstructive leaders limit the authority of their successors and constrain their leadership. These paragons of independence and creativity leave in their wake a newly circumscribed universe of action. Leadership authority may be claimed on behalf of continuing or redirecting the work of the past, but these warrants are vulnerable to charges of betraying or threatening the new understanding of fundamentals. Reconstructive leadership is an important source of regeneration for any organized system, but it is implicated as well in its subsequent limitations and eventual degradation.

—Stephen Skowronek

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RELATIONAL LEADERSHIP APPROACHES

Does the quality of the relationships leaders have with their followers matter for the leaders' success? Are some types of relationships more beneficial for leadership than others? If I have a bad relationship with my leader, what does that mean for my future as a follower?

These are the kinds of questions asked in relational leadership approaches. Relational approaches study the quality of the relationships that leaders have with their followers and how these relationships influence behavior and effectiveness. According to these approaches, relationships are an integral part of leadership because of their effect on a key aspect of leadership: the ability to influence others to get things done.

RELATIONSHIPS AS A SITUATIONAL FACTOR IN EARLY LEADERSHIP RESEARCH

The study of leadership does not consist merely of examining leader behaviors or studying leaders and followers. Leadership is a complex phenomenon that involves the interaction of leaders, followers, and situational variables.

The earliest work to explore these leadership and situational variables began in the 1950s, with studies conducted at Ohio State and the University of Michigan. This research identified two main categories of behavior: consideration, or relations-oriented behavior, and initiating structure, or task-oriented behavior. The first category addressed leaders' interpersonal role in interacting with followers (for example, their role in managing relational and emotional issues), and the second category recognized the importance of getting things done (accomplishment of tasks and objectives). Relations-oriented behavior included being supportive and helpful, showing trust and confidence in subordinates, being understanding of subordinates' problems, helping to develop subordinates and further their personal objectives, and showing appreciation for subordinates' ideas and accomplishments. Task-oriented behavior included planning, focusing on meeting deadlines, maintain-

ing standards of performance, offering new approaches to solving problems, and coordinating followers' activities.

Subsequent studies of these behaviors found that the success of either approach in increasing leader effectiveness depended on the situation. In general, findings showed that highly relational leaders were more effective in situations in which followers desired leader support and consideration, while highly task-oriented leaders were more effective in situations in which subordinates needed direction and structure.

THE EMERGENCE OF RELATIONAL APPROACHES TO LEADERSHIP

While these early models recognized the importance of relational issues, however, they did not explicitly consider how relationships influenced the leadership process. Instead, the focus was on the leader. This changed with the emergence of new theories from around 1970 onward that brought attention to leadership relationships.

Hollander's Idiosyncrasy Credit Model

One of the first leadership theories focusing specifically on relational issues was the psychologist Edwin Hollander's idiosyncrasy credit model dating from 1958. According to this model, leaders gain influence through their ability to earn psychological credit with followers. Leaders who build credits by earning the approval, respect, esteem, and affection of their followers are given more leeway by followers to deviate from nonessential group norms. One can think of this like a bank account. Leaders can make withdrawals—that is, they can display certain idiosyncrasies—as long as they have enough deposits in their account (credits earned through previous interactions with followers) so that their withdrawals do not exceed their reserves. This model was important because it recognized leadership as an influence process and acknowledged that followers play an active part in granting leaders influence. It also examined leadership in situations other than the workplace and described how leaders can emerge

(and “submerge”) in groups based on the extent to which they have followers’ support.

Vertical Dyad Linkage Model

A second theory focusing on relationships, developed in the 1970s by the organizational psychologist George Graen and his colleagues, was the vertical dyad linkage (VDL) model. This model documented the value of a dyadic approach (an approach that recognized the significance of the relationship between a leader and each follower) to studying managerial leadership. In a series of studies, researchers asked managers and subordinates to describe their work and working relationships. They found that subordinates of the same managers described their relationships with the manager very differently. Some subordinates reported high-quality, or “in-group,” exchanges, and others reported low-quality, or “out-group,” exchanges. Those who reported in-group exchanges appeared to have special privileges with the leader, acting as trusted assistants, while the followers in out-group exchanges were treated more like hired hands who did only what was required in their job descriptions.

The differences in treatment were explained as caused by time and resource constraints that forced managers to solicit help from the subordinates they deemed reliable and trustworthy. These subordinates became trusted assistants whom the leader spent more time developing and who in return assisted in the functioning of the work unit. Since development of trusted assistants required greater investment of personal attention, these relationships had to be limited to a select few. The remainder of the followers were relegated to the out-group.

Leader-Member Exchange Theory

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the VDL model developed into a full-fledged relational approach to leadership. The name of the model was changed to leader-member exchange (LMX) theory to recognize the importance of dyadic exchange relationships between leaders and followers. Researchers began in earnest to explore key questions associated with rela-

tional leadership. They asked: What are the components of good-quality (and poor-quality) leadership relationships? How are these relationships developed? What are the outcomes (or consequences) of having a higher- or lower-quality relationship?

What Are Good Relationships?

Good relationships were identified as those characterized by high levels of mutual trust, respect, and loyalty. Individuals in high-quality exchanges respect one another’s capabilities and competence. They have high levels of trust and can count on one another for support and loyalty when needed. More important, they are willing to communicate openly and honestly with one another. As a result, these relationships generate the mutual influence necessary for effective leadership. Conversely, poor-quality relationships have low levels of these characteristics. In low-quality exchanges, individuals do not trust one another or respect one another’s capabilities. Communication is restricted to formal exchanges. Individuals have little mutual understanding, limited support and commitment for one another, and no loyalty. Therefore, individuals do not share information freely and do not have the mutual influence that allows leadership to develop (superiors in these relationships manage, rather than lead, their subordinates).

How Are Relationships Developed?

The process through which LMX relationships develop is described as “role making” as opposed to “role taking.” In role making, individuals actively negotiate how their roles in the relationship and organization will be defined. In contrast, role taking involves no negotiation, but rather acceptance of formally defined roles as the basis of the relationship (hence, role taking). Successful role making begins when either individual makes an offer to go beyond the formally defined roles (that is, putting forth discretionary effort) and then continues if the offer is accepted and another one is made. This sparks a series of testing processes to determine the capabilities, motivations, and obligations of the other. Based on the outcomes of role making, individuals may decide to remain within formally prescribed organi-

zational roles (accepting no enhanced obligation), or to expand their relational behaviors and roles beyond the formal contractual obligations of the job (extra-role behavior).

The testing processes that build relationships are of two types: active developmental testing, which occurs while the relationship is still developing, and maintenance evaluation, or monitoring for relational violations, after the relationship is already established. In developmental testing, one party does something and then watches to see how the other party responds. If the response is favorable, the second person “earns a point” from the first, and the first will continue the exchange. If the response is unfavorable, the first party will take a point away, and after a number of unfavorable responses will stop exchanging or restrict exchanges to those that are formally required. In maintenance evaluation, individuals stop keeping score and only notice the action of the other if it is in violation of relational norms, or if the relationship becomes overly unbalanced. This is like the children’s game of Chutes and Ladders: The relationship will continue to progress or be maintained unless a violation (such as a betrayal of trust or loyalty, or a display of serious incompetence) occurs that makes the relationship slide back down the ladder (with the length of the slide proportionate to the level of violation).

Why Do Relationships Matter?

Perhaps most important, LMX research shows that the quality of relationships matter because of their effect on outcomes (for the leader, the follower, and the organization). Studies show that high-quality relationships are associated with many benefits, including greater job satisfaction, higher organizational commitment, enhanced career progress, lower turnover, higher perceptions of justice, and in some cases higher performance. Low-quality relationships are negatively associated with the variables just described. Followers in low-quality relationships have less access to information and beneficial career assignments, less access to the leader’s network of relationships, and receive less respect and consideration from the leader. Leaders in low-quality relationships often find that these relationships are very dif-

ficult to manage, with subordinates who are more disgruntled and with whom they have little influence, and thus with whom they need to rely on the use of authority rather more positive forms of influence.

WHAT DOES ALL THIS MEAN FOR LEADERSHIP?

Relational approaches advanced leadership studies by moving away from a sole emphasis on leader (or follower) behavior and examining the interplay between leaders and followers. According to relational approaches, it is the interplay, the relational exchange, that generates the influence that produces beneficial leadership outcomes.

As LMX theory progressed, it moved away from discussions of in-groups and out-groups and the inherent status differences that these separations create. Instead, many LMX theorists now argue that successful leadership lies in building effective relationships throughout the organization. Leadership relationships should not be restricted to a select few subordinates, nor should the relationships be considered only as manager-subordinate dyads. Consistent with social capital perspectives, which argue that organizational value results from the networks of interpersonal relationships generated by organizational members, modern-day relational approaches suggest that leadership be viewed as a process that occurs when individuals develop relationships and generate influence to create change.

THE FUTURE OF RELATIONAL LEADERSHIP APPROACHES

Over the past decade, the importance of relational approaches in leadership and organizational behavior has been increasingly recognized. Prominent leadership theories, including theories of charismatic and transformational leadership, are beginning to explore how relationships affect these types of leadership. Work on social capital is drawing considerable attention to the value of “who you know”—that is, the value that interpersonal relationships embedded in networks of mutual acquaintance and recognition bring to organizations. Similarly, there is a

strong trend in organizational behavior theories in general toward social exchange models, the frameworks of which are at the heart of relational leadership approaches.

Beyond these trends, as relational approaches advance into the future they likely will develop into a more fully articulated relational leadership theory. Such a focus would move away from a limited view grounded in hierarchical leadership to a broader investigation of leadership as an influence process that occurs between any two or more people to create change. The management scholars Jerry Hunt and George Dodge define this broadened relational focus as one that can move “beyond unidirectional or even reciprocal leader/follower relationships to one that recognizes leadership wherever it occurs, is not restricted to a single or even small set of formal or informal leaders, and in its strongest form, functions as a dynamic system embedding leadership, environmental, and organizational aspects” (Hunt and Dodge 2001, 448). In this way, relational perspectives may allow for more inclusive and more dynamic views of leadership than those offered in traditional approaches that have restricted focus primarily to the formal leader and to supervisory behavior.

—Mary Uhl-Bien

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RELIGION

Leadership is claimed, exercised, and contested in religious groups in many of the same ways that it is in other social situations. But religious leadership

also has distinctive features, particularly its appeal to supernatural forces for unsurpassable legitimization. Religious leaders draw legitimacy from diverse resources, including direct interaction with what they identify and others acknowledge as the sacred, possession and interpretation of authoritative collections of traditions in either oral or written form, specific ritual competencies, formation and interpretation of religious law, and communication of moral insight. Religious leaders achieve and maintain their status through a variety of interactions with specific audiences. But individuals or groups, often themselves acting on religious convictions, can challenge religious leadership, diminish the status of individual leaders, limit their effectiveness, and even provoke or effect their overthrow. Insurgent leaders can claim intimacy with the divine, the correct interpretation of tradition, greater ritual efficacy, more accurate legal interpretation, or superior moral vision. Claims to leadership and counterclaims against them are evaluated by audiences who themselves may be well versed in the specific issues of contention because of their personal experiences, familiarity with tradition, or intellectual and moral acuity. Religious leadership, then, is always embedded in an array of social processes that can sustain, augment, or decrease its power, even when it appears to have the support of stable, long-standing institutions. Like other leaders, religious leaders are made, remade, and unmade in their interactions with those whom they recruit and retain as followers.

CHARISMATIC RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP

Perhaps the most striking form of religious leadership is that which is presented as being thrust suddenly upon an unsuspecting individual in a dramatic encounter with the sacred. In his classic and still influential analysis, the sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920) included such leadership under the heading of charismatic authority. Despite misunderstandings of his position, it is clear that Weber viewed charisma not as a static quality of individual personality, but as a product of social interaction, of claims and their rejection or recognition. He emphasized that charisma needs to be authenticated for it to

have significant effects. Weber gave as one of his primary examples Jesus, as depicted in the gospel according to Matthew. In a series of parallel statements in the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus describes several laws of Judaism and then asserts as a modification or to the contrary: “but I say to you” (Matthew 5: 21–45, RSV). Jesus’ authority to transform or overthrow established legal precedents is based not on his superior training or insight, nor on his particular bureaucratic responsibility, but rather on his extraordinary status as descendant of David and son of God. Similar claimants to charismatic authority abound in the history of religions and often play significant roles in the founding of new religious traditions or the transformation of established ones. Examples of both founders and prophets reveal with particular clarity the dynamics of the formation of charismatic religious leadership.

Though he was notable for his industry, sense of fairness, and contemplative nature, little in the first forty years in the life of the prophet Muhammad (c. 570–632) indicated that he would become the founder of Islam. But during a time when he withdrew to the solitude of the mountains near his Meccan home, he was summoned to begin proclaiming God’s will to humans by a stark imperative: “recite, recite in the name of God” (Qur’an 95:1). The call of the Israelite prophet Amos in the eighth century BCE was similarly abrupt; Amos relates simply that “the Lord took me from following the flock, and the Lord said to me, ‘Go, prophesy to my people Israel’” (Amos 7:15, RSV). In the 1820s in upper New York state, a teenaged Joseph Smith (1805–1844) received a series of visions that led him to reveal the Book of Mormon to the world and to found the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the Mormon Church). Similarly, between 1918 and 1921 in what was then the Belgian Congo, Simon Kimbangu (c. 1889–1951) experienced a series of visions that inaugurated his work among the BaKongo people and eventually led to the formation of the largest independent Christian church in Africa. In those cases, the prophet’s claim to leadership is reinforced by the character and content of the message proclaimed. The Qur’an, for example, makes frequent reference to the incomparable superiority of the

lucid and beautiful divine message that Muhammad preached. Virtually devoid of narrative, the biblical book of Amos relies for its rhetorical and religious power on the repeated formula, “Thus says the Lord.” Taken by the Mormons as another testament of Jesus Christ, the Book of Mormon presents itself as the culmination of Christian religious revelation. Identified as the message of the Comforter promised in the gospel according to John, Kimbangu’s revelation brought his people a Christian message unmediated by white missionaries. In each of those cases, the willingness of individuals to accept and act upon the proclaimed message established authoritative leadership. The focus on a specific message also provided a counterbalance to the individual charismatic figure and made possible a continuation of his influence after his death or departure.

Claims to charismatic leadership may also be based on the ability to perform miracles (as in the case of Moses before Pharaoh or in Jesus’ healing ministry), to have a unique religious experience (as with the Buddha’s experience of enlightenment), or to have an unprecedented spiritual insight (such as experienced by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, 1831–1891, who helped found the Theosophical Society in 1875). Reliance on such extraordinary experiences provides only an unstable platform for religious leadership, however; charismatic leadership is always in the process either of evaporating or of being transformed into authority that is more stable, broadly based, and easily maintained. For example, Moses’ charismatic displays were complemented and eventually eclipsed by his status as lawgiver, and the gospels embedded Jesus’ miraculous healings and exorcisms into his teaching career. Similarly, the Buddha’s experience quickly became codified in canonical teachings (such as the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path) and integrated into institutional forms (such as the *sangha*—the Buddhist monastic community). Madame Blavatsky recorded her insights in a series of books that attained canonical status in the Theosophical Society.

Wherever and however charismatic authority is claimed, it faces the task of maintaining its hold on an audience. Although charismatic leaders may identify structure and tradition as inimical to their own author-



Father Divine, founder and leader of the Peace Mission, with his wife at a celebration of their eighth wedding anniversary in Philadelphia on 29 April 1954.

Source: Corbis; used by permission.

ity, they can quickly come to appreciate how the transmutation of charisma into more institutional forms of authority can serve to maintain their precarious positions. Further, an appreciation of institutionalized authority is often pressed upon groups when they confront the death of a charismatic leader. For example, Mother Ann Lee (1736–1784), the founder of the Shakers, made incomplete plans for succession as she neared her death. One of her closest English followers, James Whittaker, assumed the task of systematizing and extending her theological insights, while an early American follower, Joseph Meachem, developed an organizational structure for what had been a very fluid movement. Although they may have altered both the context and the content of Mother Ann’s insights, Whittaker and Meachem created structures in which her message could continue to attract followers. Their activities illustrate both the perils and possibilities of the transformation of charismatically legitimated authority into other forms.

RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP IN ESTABLISHED STRUCTURES

Although charismatic claimants to authority punctuate the history of many religious traditions, other forms of leadership are much more frequently encountered and often exist in tension with leader-



The Religious Communicator as Religious Leader

Throughout history and across cultures in the contemporary world, many people believe that gods, spirits, and other supernatural forces can and do regularly affect the lives of living. People who believe this often select as their religious leaders men and women who are able to communicate with the supernatural world on the behalf of the human world. The following example from the Guarani people of Paraguay indicates just how important this ability can be.

The position of a *tamoí* is neither hereditary nor formally appointed. Consequently, the position exists only to the extent that members affiliate with a particular leader to constitute a cohesive social group.

The power of religious leadership derives from the *tamoí's* ability to mediate between a group and the supernatural. As noted in the previous chapter, all kin elders exhibit *marandú*, knowledge of the supernatural. This gives them a privileged position to understand *tekó marangatú*, the proper mode of being *Chiripá*. *Marandú* is acquired through chanting, and the most powerful *poraéa* often assumes the position of *tamoí*.

A *tamoí* exercises his influence by counsel, example, and religious ritual. He does not retain control over the productive resources of the nuclear families and therefore does not coerce the fealty of members. Leadership is exercised in being *tenonderá*, literally, "to be out in front." The *tamoí* is physically out in front of the community during religious gatherings and, figuratively speaking, presents his behavior as an example for the entire community. Just as an elder

kinsman will obliquely counsel his juniors on the dangers of violence and anger, the *tamoí* is expected to act out the ideals of serenity and composure in front of his congregants.

The process by which power is acquired was evident in *Itanaramí* in 1981, when the *tamoí*, *Avarijú*, was relatively new and sought to assert himself as the community's most influential member. *Avarijú*, a small man of about fifty years, was filled with seemingly boundless energy. His sharp wit, quick laugh, and repertory of stories made him an asset around any hearth. He had been born in *Mboí Jaguá* and had come to *Itanaramí* to join his wife. Before asserting himself as a *tamoí*, he had been known for his fortitude in the face of the larger society. He had once confronted a general during an official visit and could carry himself with dignity past the prostitutes and truck drivers of *Igatimí*. *Avarijú* was not given much respect for his religious powers when he asserted himself as a leader, but he developed his reputation with hard work, asserting kin relations and developing religious knowledge to attain the principal leadership of the *tekoá* of *Itanarami*.

Source: Reed, Richard K. (1995). *Prophets of Agroforestry: Guarani Communities and Commercial Gathering*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

ship based on charisma. In Weber's formulation, leaders can base their claims to authority on traditional or bureaucratic grounds, but specific examples will often present a mixture of claims. Prominent among those often claiming traditionally sanctioned leadership roles are various priestly classes. For example, ancient Israelite priests had to be members of the tribe of Levi, with some tracing their descent to Aaron, the brother of Moses. Other forms of hereditary, traditional leadership include the Brahman class in India, which traces its origins and authority to the Vedas (compiled c. 1500–1200 BCE). The Roman Catholic papacy also depends on claims to traditional authority. In the Catholic view, the institution of the papacy can be traced to Jesus' promise to Peter in Matthew 16:18–19, when Peter is designated the rock on which the church will be built and is given the keys to the kingdom of heaven.

Peter's successors as bishop of Rome trace their authority back to that encounter between Peter and Jesus. In some cases, the reliance on tradition is combined with other forms of legitimation. The Roman Catholic pope, who oversees a large bureaucracy, is selected by the College of Cardinals. In Japanese Shinto, although the priesthood is open to anyone with the proper training, many continue a family tradition of serving as priests.

In many instances kings, who held their positions because of lineage, either exercised significant religious authority or were viewed as divine. In the Japanese imperial cult that developed in the seventh and eighth centuries CE, continued in full form into the thirteenth century, and was revived in the 1868 Meiji restoration, the emperor was viewed as the descendant of the goddess *Amaterasu* and functioned as the chief priest, sacred king, and a living

embodiment of the sacred. One strand of creation stories among the Yoruba of Nigeria recounts that, after creating the world, the god Odudua became the first king and established the institution of the kingship in the city of Ile-Ife; through his sons he established sixteen other kingdoms in Yorubaland. A rich Yoruba iconography links the power of the traditional king with the power of the gods; sacred Yoruba kings did not have substantial ritual responsibilities but they represented moral authority to the people and through the exercise of political power and manipulation of symbols were responsible for maintaining Yoruba civilization.

When formal rituals accompany the assumption of a leadership role and when those rituals are repeated on a regular basis for multiple individuals, leadership is being established at least in part on Weber's bureaucratic or rational-legal grounds. Religious leaders who depend on bureaucratic legitimation for their authority are the products of systematic processes of initiation and training. For example, while Pope Paul VI's 1965 decree *Optatam Totius* (On Priestly Training) uses the familiar Christian language of a vocation or calling to the priesthood, it also devotes extensive and detailed attention to the training or formation of priests. In many other contemporary Christian denominations, as well as in contemporary Judaism, the professionalization of religious leadership has put the emphasis on the education and training of priests, ministers, and rabbis, which has diminished the role of charismatic or traditional claims to religious authority. Where bureaucratic forms of leadership training predominate, insurgent leaders are faced with the dilemma of either seeking a place within, and accepting the constraints of, the formal processes and institutions that produce leaders or forming their own, separate groups with the uncertainties and challenges that attend such ventures. Contemporary controversies over women or gays and lesbians assuming religious leadership in various Christian and Jewish denominations provide cases in point. When groups decide to accept certain kinds of leadership and reject others, they inevitably make very consequential statements about their communal identity, values, and commitments. Acceptance or rejection of a contro-

versial form of religious leadership can lead to schisms within established religious groups, or it can lead to the migration of disgruntled minority members to other forms of religious life outside their parent group. For example, frustration with the male Roman Catholic hierarchy's refusal to admit women into the priesthood has led some women to form dissident groups within the church and others to become religiously disaffected or to embrace elements of the contemporary feminist spirituality movement, including worship of "the goddess."

Even where the professionalization of religious leadership has not made significant inroads, as in most forms of contemporary Islam outside the United States, aspirants to leadership frequently appeal to their superior religious education to support their claims. Specific educational institutions or practices may exert far-reaching authorizing influence over religious leadership. For example, the prestige of al-Azhar University in Cairo, founded in the late tenth century, is widely recognized in the Muslim world, and those who have studied there with acknowledged masters of Islamic scholarship can assert the superiority of their training. Study at Benares has a similar cachet for Brahmins, who can use it to assert their superior authority.

DEMONSTRATING AND MAINTAINING RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP

Having achieved leadership status in a religious group does not guarantee one's ability to exercise leadership effectively or indefinitely. Leaders call upon a distinctive set of resources to demonstrate, maintain, defend, and extend their authority. For example, Mary Baker Eddy (1821–1910) owed her status as the founder of Christian Science to her seminal experience of self-healing through reading the New Testament. But she maintained her leadership by codifying her religious insights into a scriptural text, *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures* (1875), consolidating organizational authority within what she designated the Mother Church in Boston, and establishing herself as the primary arbiter of correct belief and practice within the movement. Repeated demonstration of ritual competency can

also reinforce religious leadership. Within the system of Ifa divination practiced by the Yoruba and also in the Afro-Cuban system of Santeria, diviners match the patterns of thrown palm nuts and cowrie shells with a corpus of mythological stories in order to address a client's query. The more familiar with the traditional stories a diviner is, the more he is able to present his client with a range of options for understanding his situation. The more options, the more likely it is that the client will be satisfied. The more satisfied clients, the greater the authority of the diviner.

Facility with language, whether in sermons, study and interpretation of texts, or other settings, can also demonstrate and maintain religious leadership. The swift rise of Malcolm X (1925–1965) in the black nationalist Nation of Islam was in part a result of his eloquence. His speeches gave form, force, and focus to the deep and turbulent anger and anxiety of his audiences; through his oratorical skills their yearnings were reflected back to them as concrete programs of racial pride and self-betterment. Similarly, the rhetorical abilities of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929–1968) not only communicated his moral vision for civil rights in the twentieth-century United States, they elevated his leadership above that exercised by his peers and galvanized his audiences into action. In all instances, the formation of religious leadership is a dynamic process, whether the primary appeal is to charismatic, traditional, or bureaucratic legitimation. Religious leadership always exists in contexts where it is asserted, evaluated, challenged, and supported or rejected by specific audiences. The difficulty of achieving religious leadership may be matched, and even surpassed, by the difficulty of maintaining it.

CHALLENGES TO RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP

Demonstration and maintenance of religious leadership become more important when its authority is challenged. Individual failings of character or performance, for example, can undermine a leader's status. Revelations of financial or sexual malfeasance have discredited many a religious leader. The Roman Catholic church in the United States was shaken in

the first years of the twenty-first century by revelations of sexual abuse that led to the removal of offending priests from the active ministry, the resignations of important figures within the Church hierarchy, and widespread loss of confidence in Church leadership. An activist group, Voice of the Faithful, was formed in 2002 to advocate from within the Church substantial changes that would make such crimes less likely in the future and establish more effective ways of responding. Depicted by its members as offering concerned support to the ministry of the Church, the group was viewed by opponents as attempting to usurp the rightful powers of the hierarchy and as distorting the role of the Roman Catholic laity. Though it has yet to provoke any substantial changes, the crisis has raised profound questions about leadership within the church, including eligibility for the Roman Catholic priesthood and the practices of the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

The dissonance created by leaders' profession of moral and religious values that they themselves do not put into practice can have profound repercussions for themselves and their religious groups. The furtive womanizing of Elijah Muhammad (1897–1975), the leader of the Nation of Islam, created a rift between him and Malcolm X, his leading disciple. The break led to Malcolm's departure from the Nation of Islam, Malcolm's subsequent assassination, and the eventual fragmentation of the Nation of Islam. Similarly, in the later twentieth century, both mainline churches and television ministries were rocked by financial scandals, often involving millions of dollars. One of the more spectacular examples concerned the Rev. Jim Bakker (b. 1939), the host of the PTL (Praise The Lord) Club television program and founder of the PTL network, who engaged in bribery, embezzlement, and fraud, among other illegal acts. Some individuals involved in moral scandals have managed a measure of rehabilitation (as has Bakker), but it is rare to find tarnished leaders completely erasing the taint of their immoral acts.

Religious leadership can also be challenged by outside forces. Two stories from the Hebrew Bible indicate the possibilities. In I Kings 22, the kings of Judah and Israel are trying to decide whether to go

into battle. Jehoshaphat, the king of Judah, asks for a confirmation of their plans from the Lord. Ahab, the king of Israel, summons his four hundred court prophets and receives a resounding confirmation. But Jehoshaphat hesitates and asks for another opinion. The other king reluctantly summons one Micaiah, who promptly prophesies disaster. The kings ignore him, and Ahab pays with his life. The story clearly decries political attempts to fabricate or unduly influence religious leadership and endorses the leadership of the prophet who answers only to his god. The challenge for Micaiah was to avoid the state's attempt to co-opt religious leadership, while the challenge for the Israelite king was to blunt religiously grounded criticism of his own legitimacy. In the second example, the challenge comes from a different religious system. In I Kings 18, King Ahab has "forsaken the commandments of the Lord and followed the Ba'als" (I Kings 18:18, RSV). To prove the superiority of the Lord, the prophet Elijah challenges the prophets of Ba'al to a contest on Mount Carmel. A bull is prepared on a sacrificial pyre for the 450 prophets of Ba'al and another for Elijah. Despite extraordinary ritual exertions, the prophets of Ba'al are unable to have their deity put fire to the sacrifice. Elijah, by comparison, constructs an altar out of twelve stones and offers a simple prayer: His sacrificial pyre is miraculously lit, revealing the incomparable power of his god and securing his prophetic status.

Challenges to religious leadership do not always come in such dramatic form, but the tasks of assessing the value of cooperating with the state and responding to external challenges frequently occupy religious leaders. When political institutions attempt to centralize power, religious leaders can be inexorably drawn into the orbit of the state; as states seek to regulate the lives of their citizens, they may come into conflict with religious attempts to define the ways in which people should behave. More than a few religious leaders in the United States, the Rev. Billy Graham (b. 1918) prominent among them, have supported U.S. presidents' appeals to the symbols of U.S. "civil religion" as legitimating not just the office of the presidency but also particular political courses of action. On the other hand, religiously motivated

If I am not for myself, who will be for me?

If I am not for others, what am I?

And if not now, when?

—Rabbi Hillel, twelfth century

critics have often challenged the wisdom and legitimacy of political actions and decisions. For example, in 2002 the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops formally questioned the moral legitimacy of President George W. Bush's plans for a unilateral war against Iraq. Religious leaders have always been active in antiwar movements, as well as in other social causes that have brought them into direct conflict with the government. Because religions and governments both attempt to establish an ideal social order and to mobilize individuals in support of it, there are multiple opportunities for both cooperation and conflict between religious and political leaders.

Conflicts between different religious systems also provide opportunities for leadership. The task of apologetics, or defense of the faith, has often occupied intellectuals within a tradition. As the early Christian movement spread through the Mediterranean world in the first centuries of the common era, for example, some of its most capable thinkers, including Tertullian (c. 155–after 220), Origen (c. 185–c. 254), and Augustine (354–430), directed treatises against external opponents of the new religious system. Today, many evangelical Christian leaders work to defend their faith against the challenges posed by "cults" and other alien religions. In the nineteenth century, the Mormon hierarchy struggled to provide a firm footing for a developing religion that was subject to mob actions, including murder, vitriolic popular criticism, and indirect and direct governmental intervention. Successive presidents of the Mormon church strove to preserve the essentials of their religious tradition while mitigating the tension between Mormons and the rest of society. Only with the church's official abandonment of polygamy in 1890 did tensions substantially decrease. More recently, after the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, individual Muslims and prominent religious thinkers within the

Islamic tradition were drawn into a variety of conversations, often very heated, in which they were challenged to defend their religious tradition from blanket assertions that it supported and even advocated terrorism. Although intellectual leadership within a religion is often concentrated in an elite, in times of crisis regular members may be called upon to defend their religious world against external opponents.

THE DYNAMIC NATURE OF RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP

Religious leadership is always constituted within a field of competing influences. When religious authority is challenged, leaders can call upon a full array of sources of legitimacy that support the status quo, even as those who would replace them employ their own resources to justify the changes they advocate. In the process, the strength of institutions as well as the strengths of individuals are tested. Whatever the outcome of specific challenges to religious leadership, situations of conflict reveal with particular clarity the mechanisms by which leadership is claimed, constructed, defended, disputed and reconstituted. Religions, like other human institutions, are dynamic entities. Even the most securely established bureaucracy is not immune to the erosion of its traditional sources of support, the damaging impact of the human frailties of its members, the subversive effects of internal dissent, or the destructive potential of collisions with other religious systems. Institutional religious leadership thus constantly needs to be demonstrated and defended in order for it to be maintained. On the other hand, insurgent religious leadership, justified most frequently on a charismatic basis, faces its own dilemmas. Often concentrated in a single individual who may have few other qualifications for leadership, charisma also needs to be maintained through repeated demonstration, but it may lack the supporting structures that regularize institutional leadership. Moreover, charismatic leadership translates poorly into lasting structures. Charismatically led movements always face a crisis at the departure or demise of their leader. Only when it blends with or

mutates into other forms of authority does charisma become sufficiently stable to promote the development of enduring institutions.

Every form of religious leadership has its benefits and drawbacks. While it can contribute powerfully to the meaningful patterning of life, leadership embedded in institutions risks the ossification and devolution into irrelevancy that comes with the rote repetition of traditional gestures. While charismatic authority has the potential to mobilize fully the energies of those it inspires, it may provide only fragile and temporary structures into which those energies can be channeled. Like religions themselves, religious leadership is a dynamic entity. Even when the processes by which it is made, unmade, and remade are not readily apparent, it is always subject to them.

—Eugene V. Gallagher

See also Akbar; Appendix 4: Primary Sources—Sacred Texts; Buddha; Charisma; Confucianism; Confucius; Eddy, Mary Baker; Ethics; Gandhi, Mohandas K.; Graham, Billy; Gregory I, St.; Handsome Lake; Harris, William Wade; Jesus; John XXIII, Pope; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Lee, Ann; Luther, Martin; Malcolm X; Moses; Mother Teresa; Muhammad; Nichiren; Paul, St.; Pueblo Revolt; Religious Studies; Sacred Texts; Spirituality; Tutu, Desmond; Utopian Leaders; Whitefield, George; Young, Brigham

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RELIGIOUS STUDIES

Understood broadly, religious beliefs and actions have always been a shaping force in every human society. Leaders influence religious beliefs and actions, even as religious beliefs and actions influence leaders and their followers. Leadership of various forms takes place within religious organizations. Conversely, aspects of religion affect leadership processes, not only within religious bodies, but also within corporations, civic organizations, and the political sphere. Yet, much like leadership studies, systemic, sustained religious studies found a place in academic circles long after the subject had pervaded human society.

In the West, Christian beliefs and practices have largely defined not only private and public life, but

also intellectual categories. Throughout the medieval period in Europe and into the modern period, Christian theology was the “queen of the sciences,” the overarching frame of reference for all of the academic disciplines. Non-Christian traditions have been evaluated and understood in terms of Christian categories. The development of the modern discipline of religious studies offered an approach free from explicit theological assumptions.

Studies such as the English orientalist and jurist Sir William Jones’s works on the languages and laws of south Asian societies at the end of the eighteenth century were precursors of more systemic comparative philological and historical studies. Into the nineteenth century, Friedrich Schleiermacher, a leading Christian theologian in Germany, articulated a Romantic vision of religious progress toward a perfect and universal expression of Christian faith and practice. Such Christian hegemony in the study of religion was eclipsed by the development of rigorous comparative examinations of religious traditions around the world in the latter half of the nineteenth century. This early period of the modern study of religion is exemplified by the English orientalist Max Müller’s edited series *The Sacred Books of the East*, with fifty volumes published between 1875 and 1900. This type of systemic scholarly attention to a multitude of textual (and non-textual) religious traditions around the world coincided with the development of critical-textual and social scientific methodologies.

Like the study of leadership, the contemporary study of religion is an interdisciplinary field. The phenomena of religion—including ideas and beliefs, ritual practices, communal structures and organizations, and moral and political systems—are studied via anthropological, historical, sociological, philosophical, theological, literary-critical, and other methodologies. Given that their approaches vary widely within the study of religion, scholars do not agree on what motivates a person to be religious. The field includes psychosocial models (religion as rooted in human needs and insecurities—for example, Freud 1928), human projection models (the divine as a collection of human attributes writ large—Feuerbach 1841; Marx 1844), experiential or existential models

(religion understood through human experiences—James, 1902; Otto, 1958), and sociological models (religion understood within complex social systems—Durkheim, 1912; Weber, 1922; Geertz, 1973).

LEADERSHIP BY RELIGIOUS FIGURES

One archetype of a leader is the founder of a religious tradition. In popular discourse, and often in leadership studies, parallels are drawn among Gautama Buddha as founder of Buddhism, Jesus as founder of Christianity, Muhammad as founder of Islam, and so forth. Scholars of religious studies, however, warn against drawing any simplistic parallels among such figures in terms of their leadership roles, messages, and actions. In addition, emphasizing the founder of a tradition can fall prey to the weaknesses of “great man” theories of leadership: isolating an individual from his or her context, overlooking historical precedents and ties to other cultural and religious strands, and downplaying the role of “followers.”

The saint is another important type of religious leader. In his *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), the U.S. psychologist and philosopher William James poses a famous dichotomy between the saint and the leader, portraying saintliness as “the collective name for the ripe fruits of religion in a character” (James 1902, 220); in his view saints are able to embrace ideals such as harmony, peace, purity, and charity. The leader, in contrast, is “the chief of the tribe . . . [who] is the potential, if not the actual tyrant, the masterful, overpowering man of prey” (James 1902, 293). James challenges any simple rendering of this contrast, though, arguing that even the most saintly figures in history were able to stand up and show “some worldly temper” (James 1902, 296). However, James goes on to suggest that, to the extent that people can draw a legitimate distinction between saints and power-mongering leaders, the former are not only the more true, but also the more valuable—in empirically verifiable ways—for the improvement of human well-being. Thus, although James acknowledges that “strong-men” leaders may sometimes be necessary, he makes the case that more enlightened and less self-serving individuals are, in general terms, superior leaders.

The German sociologist Max Weber’s classic sociological account of religion emphasizes the charismatic elements of religious prophets. He asserts, for example, that “the entire basis of Jesus’ own legitimation . . . was the magical charisma he felt within himself” (Weber 1922, 47). *Charisma*, from the Greek root *charis* (grace or favor), was a Christian theological term for a special gift or talent bestowed by God that set a person (or community) apart from others. Weber sees charismatic religious leaders as having “extraordinary powers” to which their followers respond. Prophets announce a new order and can usher in social, cultural, and religious change. The prophet might be personally pious, but the emphasis of the prophet is on his or her charismatic ability to influence followers for change (despite possible personal flaws). This archetypal charismatic figure has become an important part of leadership studies; Weber himself applied the notion of charisma to leaders in his works on modern political and economic systems. Modern bureaucracy, in Weber’s analysis, embodies a form of authority derived through the “routinization of charisma.”

In tension with understandings that focus on the qualities of individual religious leaders as founders, saints, or prophets are alternative understandings of religious traditions that emphasize their communal and historical dimensions. Some traditions, such as Hinduism or various Native American traditions, have no obvious founder. Other traditions, such as Quakerism, deemphasize the role of the individual leader while emphasizing spirit-led leadership as a communal practice. New Age and personal spirituality movements emphasize neither leaders nor communal practices; rather, they are grounded upon individual religious experience.

The category of religious leaders must encompass ascetic leaders (who practice strict self-denial as a measure of spiritual discipline) such as Theravada Buddhist monks and charismatic Pentecostal Christian preachers and local leaders of folk religions, as well as holders of world-recognized, institutionally defined positions, such as the pope of the Roman Catholic Church. Types such as founder, saint, and prophet are helpful, but contextual and historical fac-

tors, along with relations with various types of followers, are also components of the analysis.

LEADERSHIP AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

Within religious settings, the leadership process as a whole is as diverse as the leadership process is within political or corporate settings. In addition to the variety of individual religious leaders just noted, there are multiple types of religious followers, contexts, and goals. Studies of various religious groups and traditions analyze organizational practices—how a *sangha* (Buddhist community or congregation) is structured, a pilgrimage is organized, or a ritual is completed—but religion scholars seldom explicitly label these processes as “leadership.”

In the U.S. context, few in-depth comparative studies exist of leadership within religious communities. A number of current initiatives—such as the Pulpit and Pew Project: Research on Pastoral Leadership at Duke University; the Academy of Religious Leadership and its affiliated journal, *The Journal of Religious Leadership*; and a project on Jewish religious leadership at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York City—have as their goal to understand the leadership process in contemporary U.S. religious congregations. Within Christian and Jewish theological schools, administrators and scholars debate whether “leadership” should be seen as its own field or merely as a topic of theology, congregational studies, religious administration, religious education, or some other area.

RELIGION AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN THE MODERN WEST

Political, civil society, and military leaders have often invoked religious language and imagery to further their ends—whether personalized or socialized. Some scholars have shown that religious frameworks, such as “exodus” and “messianism,” inform leaders and followers in political and social movements. Leaders in similar historical times and places have employed common religious texts and related traditions to different ends—such as justifying or



A statue of a religious leader outside a cathedral in Athens, Greece.
Source: Karen Christensen; used with permission.

opposing the civil rights movement. These efforts in religious studies are parallel to, and sometimes overlap, important work on narrative in leadership studies (Couto, 1993; Gardner, 1995).

The relationship between religious commitment and political society is a perennial one; in the modern Western tradition, that relationship concerns the balancing of tolerance for different religious perspectives among the population with political order and legitimacy. The English political philosopher John Locke’s *A Letter Concerning Toleration* (1689) provided a classic case for protecting the freedom of conscience of every person to exercise his or her religion (within certain limited constraints) without penalty. His approach for guaranteeing extensive religious liberty, however, fit within a frame that increasingly viewed religion as a private matter. Yet, as the French writer and philosopher Jean-Jacques



Religious Leadership among the Hopi of Arizona

While the ceremonial leaderships or priesthoods nominally belong to certain clans, each really belongs to a certain lineage within the clan. When a man who holds an office dies, the office goes to his next youngest brother. Should he have no brother, the office would be inherited by the son of one of his sisters, who, because of matrilineal descent would belong to the clan of the priest. The position would not go to the priest's son, for that form of succession would carry the office into a different clan. If no near relative were available within the clan, the office would still remain within the clan even if it were to go to a clansman who could not trace blood relationship to the preceding official.

The succession in priesthoods is not inflexible, for some allowance is made for individual desires and for personal fitness. These ceremonial leaders hold positions of great responsibility. No one is forced to take the position if he feels that he should not, or if he does not desire it, although he might be urged to do so. Someone who is stupid, or who is too lazy to perform the arduous tasks, would be passed over in the succession. Similarly, one who is quarrelsome with neighbors or who is having difficulties with his wife, would be disqualified for the succession, for a ceremonial leader must be of untroubled mind.

The ceremonial positions entail duties rather than rewards. They bring no economic returns whatsoever, and while they bring respect, they bring no authority or power.

These positions are the only positions which in any way give a Hopi a social role different from that played by his fellows. Aside from ceremonial office and society membership, there is no differentiation of social roles among the Hopi. At Hotavila there is no election of civil officers. Although a secular village council has been fostered in other villages by the Indian Bureau, Hotavila has thus far refused to introduce a formal mode of self-government. There are no courts, no policemen, no fines and no penalties, except those imposed by the Indian Bureau. There is no native machinery for settling disagreements, whether concerning property rights or personal injury.

The town council is entirely a religious council, which, in order to maintain its purity of mind, should not meddle in quarrels. The native system of government is, in effect, a practical form of anarchy.

Source: Dennis, Wayne. (1940). *The Hopi Child*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, pp. 21–22.

Rousseau highlighted in his *The Social Contract* (1762), political leaders still look to religion as a source of community ritual and commitment by citizens. Rousseau's answer for protecting religious conviction but also guaranteeing citizen loyalty was the cultivation, by the political leadership, of a "civil religion" that all citizens would have to endorse. Some interpreters read Rousseau's formula as a viable way in which religious identity can be employed to undergird morality and the building of

political community. Other interpreters have criticized Rousseau's framework for its intentional prioritizing of political over religious commitments when conflicting loyalties arise for religious adherents.

The degree to which religion has shaped U.S. political leadership was addressed by the French aristocrat Alexis de Tocqueville (1835–1840) during his two visits to the United States in the 1830s. Tocqueville called religion the "first of America's political institutions," arguing that in contrast to the French context, in which religion and democracy were in conflict, in the U.S. context religious communities were a fertile training ground for democracy. Clearly Tocqueville understood religion to encompass the broad umbrella of Christendom. His enthusiasm about the important, indirect role of religion—specifically, Protestantism—in politics would face significant challenges by increasing religious diversity.

Questions of diversity, civil religion, and U.S. democracy continue to preoccupy scholars of religion and society. Robert Bellah's account of U.S. civil religion (1967) sparked a voluminous literature on the religious faith and religiously influenced pronouncements of U.S. presidents. Bellah was much more sanguine than

Rousseau had been that religion can have a prophetic (i.e., critical and visionary) role as well as a priestly (i.e., order-creating and power-consolidating) role in presidential politics and civic life more broadly. Bellah's coauthored book *Habits of the Heart* (1985) explored the prospects of biblical and republican traditions to counter U.S. individualism. Many scholars of religion and society, particularly but not exclusively in conservative circles, continue to grapple with the role of religious and moral traditions in U.S. public life.

RELIGION, SPIRITUALITY, AND BUSINESS LEADERSHIP

Since the 1980s, a number of scholars—in management and leadership more than in religion—have explored themes of religion and spirituality in business. Religious studies have taken more interest in religion within the political sphere than in religion within the business sphere. To be sure, Max Weber's work *The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904–1905) and his accompanying essays on the ethics of world religions are a notable exception that spawned its own critical literature in ethics and the sociology of religion. However, until recently scholars little studied the analysis of other aspects of the interrelationships among religious beliefs, symbols, myths, and rituals on the one hand and the practices of corporate management on the other hand. Many authors, with varying degrees of analytical rigor, have illuminated the importance of faith or spirituality in the beliefs and actions of managers (Conger, 1994; Nash, 1994; Mitroff and Denton, 1999). Many conceptual and practical complexities of interrelating religion and the workplace arise from the significant religious diversity of employees. More analysis can be fruitfully undertaken to understand business leadership as religiously influenced practice.

PLURALISM AND THE PROBLEM OF GLOBALIZATION

The multifaceted phenomenon of globalization has led to questions of interreligious encounter at international, national, and local levels. Diana Eck (2001–2002) argues that the United States is now the most religiously diverse nation in the world, with a significant presence of every major religious tradition (and many “minor” ones). Ever greater ease of travel, coupled with ongoing innovation in technology and communication, makes multireligious interaction a fact of life for persons in many cultures and locales.

In response to recent terrorism, the study of religion in politics has taken on a renewed public prominence. Scholars have emphasized that disparate forms

of religion are a resource for many persons seeking consolation and a sense of community, even as scholars in religious studies, political science, and other fields have analyzed the extent to which religiously shaped worldviews have influenced terrorists to act. Samuel Huntington's 1993 article “The Clash of Civilizations?” set off a firestorm of debate. Although it predates the current U.S. preoccupation with terrorism, his argument that the post-Cold War world will be marked by violent confrontations between cultural blocs—particularly among the “West,” China, and Islam—has been taken up by those who want U.S. citizens to fear non-Western religious and cultural ideologies. Many scholars of religion have rejected Huntington's monolithic account of “culture”—especially but not exclusively his unnuanced portrayal of “bloody” Islam—as simply untrue to the facts. Islam and China are as diverse, culturally and politically, as Christianity and the United States.

Advocates of religious pluralism have explored ways in which leaders and citizens could build common political ground despite religious differences. Religion is as present in the U.S. political process as it has ever been. In a post-September 11 context, scholars debate the degree to which U.S. civil religion can expand to incorporate religious differences of the population that reach far beyond the so-called Judeo-Christian tradition. Consistent with the dilemma noted by Bellah nearly forty years ago, they also debate whether civil religion's prophetic strands are capable of confronting the contemporary international conflicts.

Religious studies have been (and could increasingly become) a source of methodological and substantive insights for the study of leadership—and its myths, symbols, practices, and ethics—in various spheres. In turn, leadership studies can inform analyses of religious phenomena, both within communities that understand themselves as religious and elsewhere.

—Douglas A. Hicks

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RESILIENCY

Resiliency has not been systematically researched or analyzed in the field of leadership. Yet, at the turn of the twenty-first century, with the extremely turbulent geopolitical, social, and economic environment facing leaders, their positive psychological capacity for resiliency becomes critical.

RESILIENCY DEFINED

Resiliency has a long history in child and adolescent psychotherapy and numerous definitions. As part of the positive psychology movement, however, resiliency has been defined as “a class of phenomena characterized by patterns of positive adaptation in the context of significant adversity or risk” (Masten and Reed 2002, 75). Applied to organizational leadership, resiliency can be defined as “the positive psychological capacity to rebound, to bounce back from adversity, uncertainty, conflict, failure or even positive change, progress and increased responsibility” (Luthans 2002, 702).

Although resiliency can be viewed as a fixed trait, as part of “positive organizational behavior” (Luthans 2002) and “authentic leadership” (Luthans and Avolio 2003), the case has been made for leaders’ resiliency as being state-like, and thus open for change and development.

THE ANTECEDENTS OF RESILIENCY

Three recognized antecedents for resiliency emerge from the relevant theoretical and research literature. These are assets, risks, and values. In relation to resiliency, an asset is “a measurable characteristic in

a group of individuals or their situation that predicts positive outcome in the future on a specific outcome criterion,” while risk is an “elevated probability of an undesirable outcome” (Masten and Reed 2002, p. 76). Traditional research emphasizes the necessity for reducing or avoiding risks. However, in the context of leadership, risk should be thought of as inevitable, not necessarily to be avoided, but rather controlled and managed as a part of the process toward attaining resiliency.

The values and beliefs component of resiliency makes a sometimes overwhelmingly difficult current situation more manageable, and these values also make a link to a more fulfilling future. Resilient people develop hardiness in the face of adversity by elevating themselves over their painful present. Their values play a salient role in presenting different approaches for interpreting and shaping events. In other words, the role of values in enhancing resiliency is based on the stability of those values as a source of meaning, and for values to serve a survival function, they must be strong enough to warrant this stable source of meaning even in bad times.

THE ROLE OF THE LEADER'S ASSETS FOR RESILIENCY

Although it is simpler to perceive assets, risks, and values as externally determined by contextual factors, the individual leader's assets, risks, and values are also salient antecedents for developing and maintaining his/her resiliency. Leaders bring into their situations various aspects of themselves, both positive and negative, including their personal characteristics, backgrounds, strengths, vulnerabilities, insights, and perceptual biases. The trait theories of leadership emphasize these individual differences and uphold them as antecedent assets for leadership success and effectiveness. The positive psychology and positive organizational scholarship literature also recognize assets such as dispositional traits and virtues that, if present in one's life, enrich the depth and breadth for success and satisfaction, and, if absent can hold people back from achieving life's full potential. These assets or traits include general efficacy, dispositional

hope, trait optimism, positive/negative affectivity, and many others.

The human capital movement also emphasizes assets the uniqueness and strategic importance of educational background and experience, and the resulting knowledge, skills, and abilities. Moreover, in addition to human capital, the salient role of social capital, that is, relationships and networking that leads to value creation and action facilitation, is a recognized asset. Other important assets such as emotional intelligence are also emerging.

In clinical research, various personal assets that act as antecedents for resiliency have been identified. Those particularly applicable to leadership include cognitive abilities, temperament, positive self-perceptions (self-efficacy), faith, a positive outlook on life, emotional stability and self-regulation, a sense of humor, and general appeal or attractiveness. Identified relationship-based assets for resiliency applicable to leadership include caring support and mentoring, prosocial and rule-abiding peers, and collective efficacy in the group, organization, and community. These clinically derived personal and relationship-based assets combined with recognized individual differences, dispositional positive psychology traits, and human and social capital are important antecedents to effective resilient leaders. Importantly, these assets can be enhanced and thus help in the development of resilient leaders.

THE ROLE OF THE LEADER'S VALUES FOR RESILIENCY

Some assets and risk factors are harder to change than others. On the other hand, research shows that individual values are possible to alter through varying perceptions of contextual factors, such as the magnitude of consequences, interests of group members, and role responsibility. Although positive moral values are not included in most definitions of resiliency, a stable, meaning-providing set of values is recognized to be an important antecedent to resilient leaders. In particular, transformational and authentic leaders both demonstrate values that define the process and decisions necessary for enhancing resiliency. For example, a key component of trans-

formational leadership is the development of leadership abilities within followers. Moreover, in the positive organizational behavior context, Luthans and Avolio's authentic leadership model contains resiliency as a part of its core, and proposes the significance of positive organizational behavior belief states of hope, optimism, and self-efficacy for leader self-awareness. As with assets, these types of values are open to change and thus can help in the development of resilient leaders.

THE SALIENCE OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL CONTEXT

Although the assets, risk factors, and values that leaders possess can strongly influence their resiliency, the role of the context within which leaders' resiliency is created, developed, and maintained should not be overlooked. Assets, risks, and values in the larger context within which leadership takes place can play a significant role in enhancing or thwarting resilient leadership.

Resiliency comprises the structural and processual dynamics that allow a nation, community, or organization to absorb strain and retain coherence and the capacity to bounce back, thus enabling the ongoing engagement of risk. The possession of valuable natural or physical resources (assets), financial and human capital, knowledge management systems, communication channels, social cohesion, and political stability can contribute to the resiliency of a nation, community or organization, as well as to its leaders' resiliency.

Moreover, the absence or appropriate management of risk factors such as economic downturns, political turmoil, health problems and epidemics, divorce, and the like can also enhance the resiliency of a country, community or organization. In addition, based on the model proposed by Luthans and Avolio, in the positive organizational context that is an antecedent for authentic leadership, the cultural values associated with resiliency become normative, replacing negative values such as cynicism and political maneuvering, and thus contribute to a resilient organizational environment and in turn authentic leaders.

THE ROLE OF MEDIATING BUFFERING PROCESSES

Several processes can act as buffering mediators that can enhance the potential impact of assets and values, and lessen the potential harm of risk factors, thus enhancing leaders' resiliency. A buffer acts as a protection or immunization that decreases the probability of a negative or undesirable outcome despite risks. In other words, buffering processes can help shape leaders' perceptions of assets, risks and values, in the same way that "medical immunizations . . . expose individuals to small doses of the disease agent and help them develop the means to fight off illness" (Cowan et al. 1996, 15).

Buffering processes proposed in the theoretical resiliency literature include "strengthening," "replenishing," and "limbering" (Worline et al. 2002). With the systematic application and dynamic combination of these three buffering processes, they act as mediators to the antecedents (assets, risks, and values), resulting in the creation and release of resiliency. The way that strengthening, replenishing, and limbering build resiliency is analogous to how muscle mass is created in the body through various resistance exercises such as weightlifting. As the weight (risk) is gradually and specifically increased in combination with nutrition (strengthening), proper rest (replenishing) and stretching (limbering), more muscle mass (resiliency) is created. In the proper combination, layers of buffering are created, and with development over time, increased strength and balance are gained. Consequently, a nation, community or organization is less likely to stumble or fail, and its leaders are able to recover from setbacks more quickly.

The utilization of assets, risks, and values through the dynamic interaction of the buffering mechanisms is ongoing. The buffers that are created affect leaders in multiple domains, aiming the physical, mental and emotional responses in a positive trajectory toward situations involving change and risk. A new approach to risk taking and change is created where unknown outcomes and lack of precedent are recognized and calculated but engaged in with confidence. In this paradigm,

uncertain and risky situations are embraced with two new perspectives. The first is that the effort will initially be successful, and the second is that any setbacks are simply additional learning steps toward the success of that effort.

Buffering is not a “magic bullet” or singular effort that ricochets around and resolves all resiliency issues at any one given point in time. It is not a layering designed to repel risk or to steer the effort away from risk but rather to incorporate risk as an input toward discovery, innovation, and sustainability. Additionally, buffering will help countries, communities, and organizations avoid the distraction caused by the negative and reactive nature of risk. Moreover, buffering processes are, in a sense, “values in action” that operationalize the synergy between assets, risks and values in a practical, applicable manner. Values can be reduced to ink on paper, unless buffering processes bring them to life, through the resiliency of the leader.

THE FUTURE

There is no doubt that developing resilient leaders is a difficult, but possible, journey that takes a lot of active emphasis and focus on the part of the individual leader, as well as the country, community or organization that he/she leads. The macrolevel of resiliency development is necessary to ensure that contextual assets, risks, and values are managed toward providing the necessary buffering processes, which in turn pave the long road, the context, for the journey in developing resilient leaders. However, without an active developmental role being played by the developing leaders themselves, in terms of drawing from this positive environmental context, as well as proactively operating on their assets, risks, and values, as well as their hope, optimism and self-efficacy, a resilient nation, community or organization may not necessarily have resilient leaders. In other words, although resiliency cascades from top to bottom, blockages may exist at the leader’s level that may prevent his/her resiliency from being effectively developed and effectively carried out. Examples include self-serving biases, perceptual/attributional errors, and self-defeating beliefs, to name a few. For

this reason, both contextual factors and individual-level leader resiliency needs to be proactively developed.

The complexity of the resiliency construct necessitates such a multidimensional approach. For leader resiliency to be appropriately explained, developed, and applied, a multilevel, multivariate approach is necessary. Moreover, in order for such a complex outcome to be fully realized, each of the steps of the journey needs to be researched and tested. One thing is certain, the resiliency input into the understanding and development of effective leadership is becoming increasingly important and should be even more so in the foreseeable future.

—Carolyn M. Youssef and Fred Luthans

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RESISTANCE

Change is almost always challenging. “It’s changes in the level or rate of change that throw us into transition. We talk as if change was not a problem in the past, but of course it was” (Bridges 1991, 72). Because of global competition in slowing world markets, in recent decades the changes brought by mergers, downsizing, and rightsizing have accelerated. This acceleration has had an impact on everyone. While change that is self-initiated has less impact on an individual, imposed change is almost always met with resistance, or a natural opposition to the unknown. In recent years, employees have been faced with challenges they never expected, and the leaders who must guide them through the process of change are learning to view their resistance in sometimes controversial new ways.

THE CHANGE PROCESS

Change is a process that involves ending the status quo, moving through a neutral zone, and then forming a new beginning. The ending is one of the most difficult parts of the change process: This is where people are asked to let go of the past. Why do employees resist change? Resistance is sometimes caused by indignation, but it is frequently caused by fear: fear of the unknown, fear of the loss of responsibilities, or fear of inadequacy. How do people resist

change? Some individuals exhibit disbelief, some display annoyance, and others demonstrate disappointment in their company and its leadership. Some people become despondent, while others perform hostile acts, up to and including sabotage. However, the reactions that leaders look for and embrace are resolve, acceptance, and optimism.

Change and Leadership

“Change is the game today, and organizations that can’t deal with it effectively aren’t around long” (Bridges 1991, ix). The key becomes helping employees distinguish between necessary change and “change for the sake of change.” Effective leadership requires using the four “P’s”: a purpose, a picture, a plan, and a part to play (Bridges 1991, 52). Communicating the purpose, or building a strong case for why the change is necessary, is a primary leadership function when initiating a change process.

Resistance as a Liability

Many managers would like their employees to comply with company changes without question because their resistance can become a liability to successful organizational change. In the best-selling book *Who Moved My Cheese?*, the cheese is used as a metaphor for our perceptions of ourselves, our goals in life, and what we see as our pathways to success. When the cheese is moved, that perception is disrupted, which creates resistance, and those who resist change are called “blockers.” But for the mice in the book, the cheese is just that: cheese. For them, change means revamping their pathway to success as a matter of necessity and not of ego. If humans could apply this same practical view of the movement of cheese as a metaphor for changes in the pathway to success in the workplace, then they would find themselves more confident and less resistant to necessary change.

Resistance as an Asset

On the other hand, some leaders argue that individuals who resist change are merely trying to protect

themselves against the unknown. Resistance is natural; it heightens awareness and protects people from perceived harm. Karp, in his book *The Change Leader*, describes using the Gestalt psychological approach, rather than a traditional organizational approach, to deal with resistance to change. The Gestalt approach views people as individuals who need help to choose a course of action, and not as burdens to the change process. “When individuals resist change they are trying to give a clear message about who they are and what is important to them. The leader has to help identify the issues and help the employee work through them.” Karp adds,

Just as resistance is advantageous to individuals, it is beneficial to organizations. It differentiates talent; it provides new information; it produces energy; and it makes the work environment safe. The tricky part is for the leader to confront the resisting employee and find out what they really want to do. The Gestalt approach to human development says that behind every no there is a yes. (Karp 1996, 112–113)

This positive approach advocates openly discussing resistance and reinforcing an employee’s right to resist. This clears the air and allows for more meaningful communication.

FINDING A BALANCE BETWEEN ASSET AND LIABILITY

Perhaps the best approach is the recognition that resistance to change is both an asset and a liability. Thus, a leader should have a strong hand when a change is inevitable while at the same time seriously considering the ideas of his or her subordinates. David Cooperrider asserts that all organizations breed life and are bubbling with energy. “Appreciative Inquiry,” a process developed by Cooperrider, tries to examine the positive aspects of an organization and build on those positives in the face of change. “To sponsor successful change you need an attitude, one that we don’t see often enough. This attitude can be described in terms of four values: a new level of honesty, a new level of courage, a new respect for diversity, and sensitivity to all stakeholders” (Price Waterhouse 1995, vii). Leaders need to face reality; they

cannot avoid confrontation, and they need to stay open-minded and honest in their dealings with employees. They need to have the courage to establish an atmosphere for turning resistance into innovation and creativity. This can only happen when a leader is open to diverse ideas and to freedom of thought. There needs to be a new sensitivity to all stakeholders, a genuine culture of trust and respect.

Some leaders have a tendency to shy away from the social aspect of change management; however, the truth is that interpersonal skills are necessary to lead change in any organization. “You simply cannot get the results you need without getting into the soft stuff” (Bridges 1991, x). “Relationship power, not position power, creates the appropriate environment for change. Management based on relationship power requires employee involvement rather than blind acceptance. Managers who use relationship power will build a committed work force” (Galpin 1996, 68–69).

PERSONAL CASE STUDIES: DRIVING RESISTANCE UNDERGROUND

The first case looks at a newly appointed leader who believes change is good for organizational vitality. He outlines many initiatives, but those who will need to carry out the changes have little or no input. Some of the changes are discussed at meetings, but subordinates are cautious about offering input because some have already been told that they are perceived as blockers to change. To avoid this perception, employees say little or nothing in the meetings; the supervisor moves on as if no overt resistance means agreement. This style leads to many rumors outside meetings and a general avoidance of the supervisor by the subordinates. Morale goes down, and infighting ensues as individual employees attempt to survive changing demands. In this case it appears that power and influence are driving the leadership decision-making process. There is no clear purpose around the change initiatives, no picture of the future, no defined plan, and no subordinate input: All is dictated or micromanaged. This scenario breeds a lack of trust in, and a lack of respect for, the organization.

PERSONAL CASE STUDIES: SURFACING RESISTANCE

This case looks at a rust belt manufacturing company that needed to make several organizational and strategic changes and hired a new leader for this purpose. The culture was traditionally autocratic, and the employees were heavily unionized. The relationships were adversarial, and change had not occurred in some time. The new leader was faced with poor quality, poor delivery performance, a shaky safety record, and low morale, and thus found it necessary to make changes to move the organization to the next level. The leader recognized that the direction or sponsorship of the change had to come from the bottom up because of the firm's history. He used a form of the Gestalt approach (though this was not realized at the time) to flush out the resistance that had built up after years of oppression and top-down management styles. To create a new environment and culture, the leader employed a form of the four P's: identify a purpose, paint a picture of the future, layout a plan, and give the employees a part to play. The cultural change took shape around a common interest: food. Morning meetings with coffee and doughnuts, in addition to lunches brought in by the leader, led to fun gatherings between the leadership and middle managers. The relaxed atmosphere finally enabled everyone to discuss old issues and frustrations. Once all the old frustrations were resolved, the group got down to serious work-related issues. It appeared that most of the changes being introduced by top management raised the same issues that had troubled the employees for years. As the issues were verbalized in the morning and noon meetings, the work force started suggesting plans for improvement in the areas of quality, delivery, productivity, safety, and morale. There was no need for the leader to sponsor the changes because the targets of the changes were crafting the entire initiative. The workers identified the issues, crafted a plan, and assigned themselves the accountability to accomplish the objectives. The greatest drawbacks to this approach were that the leader sometimes resisted actually letting go and letting his workers take charge. (Perhaps he should

have embraced the last of the four P's.) Another drawback is that surfacing resistance slows down the pace of change.

PERSONAL CASE STUDIES: BALANCE

In this case, that of a college campus, change was commanded from the highest powers and was inevitable. The chief vehicle of change was a massive and very expensive technology project. In this case, the leader chose a moderating system: He established an intermediary faculty committee to field faculty members' concerns and ideas while at the same time tying promotion and tenure directly to training in, and using, the new technology. Faculty members and students were assigned laptop computers, and classrooms were wired. Older faculty members retired and others accepted the new technology, some with a great deal of energy. The results were mixed, though the overall long-term effect was positive in several ways. First, the campus gained nationwide recognition for innovation regarding technology. Second, the sense of camaraderie developed by the "we're all in this together" attitude lasted for years. Third, the campus's most recent hires have been drawn to the school because of its reputation for respecting creativity, and that has continued to improve the quality of the faculty as a whole.

IMPLICATIONS

To accommodate change, organizations as well as individuals need to continually reinvent themselves. This process is not easy for most people, and resistance is common. Resistance has to be understood as part of human nature when faced with the unknown, the part that helps us to confront the potentially harmful and to survive the unknown. Leaders need to understand this human side of change and to remain open to discussing these concerns and fears with their subordinates. Resistance can be an asset and help breathe life and energy into an organization. However, resistance can also be a liability in that it can block change in the workplace, and even surfacing resistance slows down the pace of change in a competitive marketplace. Resistance can be used to

open meaningful dialogue and fine-tune even the best-thought-out change initiative, but surfacing resistance can also lead to negative communication and employee frustration.

—Alexander W. Crispo

See also Coercion; Conflict; Deep Change; Groupthink; Influence Tactics; Obedience; Organizational Climate and Culture

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REVOLUTION LEADERSHIP

See Apartheid in South Africa, Demise of; Ataturk, Mustafa Kemal; Castro, Fidel; Cromwell, Oliver; East Timor, Founding of; Gandhi, Mohandas K.; Guevara, Ernesto Che; Jefferson, Thomas; Kenyatta, Jomo; Lenin, Vladimir; Lumumba, Patrice; Mandela, Nelson; Mao Zedong; Mau Mau Rebellion; Pueblo Revolt; Shaka Zulu; Washington, George



RHETORIC

Toward the end of his illustrious career as a statesman, Daniel Webster (1782–1852) reflected upon his life's professional accomplishments. Webster is purported to have mused, "Were I to lose everything I had, save one, I would hold onto my ability to speak in public for with that I could regain all I had lost." Oratory, eloquence, persuasion, public speaking, public discourse, rhetoric—regardless of which term is used, the ability for individuals to articulately shape and express their ideas through oral communication has been and continues to be a critical tool to

enhance leadership. Social and political change in the United States has been intertwined with oratory: the sermons of Jonathan Edwards, patriotic fervor of Patrick Henry, debates between Stephen Douglas and Abraham Lincoln, bully pulpit of Theodore Roosevelt, equality calls from Susan Anthony and Frederick Douglass, “chats” from Franklin D. Roosevelt, and “dreams” from Martin Luther King Jr. Understanding this tool for leadership requires an examination of, first, the nature and study of rhetoric; second, an audience-centered approach to the practice of rhetoric; third, a view of rhetorical tools that enhance memorability; and, finally, a discussion of implications for the use of this powerful form of influence and inspiration.

THE NATURE AND STUDY OF RHETORIC

Aristotle (384–322 BCE), in his classic text *Rhetoric*, defined rhetoric as the “discovery of the available means of persuasion” (Welldon 1886, 10). While simple enough, these seven words have engaged academics from as early as the fourteenth century when courses in rhetoric were offered at Oxford University, through the opening of Harvard in 1636 (where rhetoric was a required subject) until contemporary times. A particular question for debate: Is the study of rhetoric an art or a science? As the study of rhetoric draws from the areas of philosophy, linguistics, history, and more recently from psychology, political science and sociology, the answer to “art or science” has become both—rhetorical study is truly interdisciplinary. Aristotle provided insight to the vastness of rhetoric in his classical definition through his plural use of the word *means*, thus suggesting that a multiplicity of approaches could be employed. Rhetoric implies *choices* and the individual skilled in rhetoric is well versed in a wide lexicon of options that may be employed in any given situation.

Historically, the study of rhetoric has been viewed as a humanistic/artistic venture where students examined a host of linguistic devices known as schemes and tropes. Roman rhetorical scholar Quintilian (c. 40–95 CE) noted that students would best learn the art of discourse by carefully studying

“good men [*sic*] speaking well” so that they might have models of excellence upon which to improve. Equally important to this pedagogical value in studying “great speeches” was the intentional notion of “good men [*sic*] speaking.” From the earliest of Greek and Roman classical writings, a clear sense of “good” character and an ethical standard were considered critical to the study of discourse, lest it be corrupted. To demonstrate this, Plato’s (c. 427–437 BCE) *Gorgias* pitted the virtuous Socrates against the self-serving sophist Gorgias. Aristotle maintained that of all the means of persuasion, character (*ethos*) was the most effective. To better codify the educational process and inherent understanding of rhetoric, theorists began to generate models to explain the rhetorical act itself.

MODELS OF COMMUNICATION: FROM SPEAKER-CENTERED TO AUDIENCE-CENTERED COMMUNICATION

Early models of communication presented by Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, Augustine, and those who followed until the early 1900s were both linear and speaker centered. In these views, an individual (the speaker) crafted a message and delivered it to an audience. All the power and responsibility rested on the speaker, who was required to use the right organizational pattern, select the appropriate amount of evidence, and execute the most effective delivery to give the message the greatest impact. The audience in this model was passive and simply absorbed the content of what was sent. This understanding, however, spawned a host of outstanding speakers, culminating in the “Golden Age of Oratory” in the United States in the late nineteenth century. In the presidential campaign of 1896, for example, Democratic candidate William Jennings Bryan covered 18,000 miles, delivered between 60,000 and 100,000 words per day—many of which came from the oft-repeated economic policy stump speech “The Cross of Gold”—to an audience of nearly 4.8 million. All Bryan’s work was done without support from mass media or electronic amplification.

In the 1930s, the proliferation of the radio—and

more specifically the tuning dial—forever altered the way the oral communication process was conceptualized. With the turn of a dial, the all-powerful speaker could now simply be tuned out, or (even more devastating to the speaker) turned off. The locus of rhetorical power thus began to shift from the speaker to the audience. To succeed, a speaker needed to attend to the message's organization, support, and delivery, but even more important, to the needs of the audience. The rhetor thus had to work to build a relationship with his or her hearers. Audience-centered communication was born. Communication scholars (Hart and Burks 1972) have focused on how the speaker demonstrates concern for an audience, identified as *rhetorical sensitivity*. Relationships are created and maintained through an awareness of four strategies.

First, speakers recognize that they play multiple roles. The challenge to communication comes when an individual engages another in a manner that is outside the norms of the expected role. If a husband (who is also a father and a son) communicates to his wife in the same way he would to his eight-year-old daughter or his eighty-year-old mother, the likelihood of communication breakdown is increased. The leader who shares experiences drawn from multiple roles with diverse audiences expands the possibility of connecting with them.

Second, speakers strive to avoid stylized behavior. Repeated behavior can lead to a humorous response as it did in the popular 1970s situation comedy *All in the Family*. Central to the Bunker household was Archie's chair, and weekly audiences were entertained with Archie's predictable lines and actions designed to prevent guests from sitting in his chair. Patterned response, the use of the repeated phrase, a worn cliché, or the same "pick-up line" denies the uniqueness of each communication act, and therefore undermines trust.

Third, speakers distinguish between what *can be said* and what *needs to be said*. Audience-centered speakers carefully consider the content of their message before it is spoken and realize that communication cannot be retracted. Once a message is sent it is part of the record, and while audiences forgive they seldom forget.

Finally, speakers are flexible in all aspects of their communication, realizing that unusual contexts may demand a change in role or rhetorical strategy.

The power of rhetorical sensitivity is illustrated in Senator Robert Kennedy's 4 April 1968 speech to citizens of Indianapolis upon the death of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. En route to deliver a campaign speech designed to garner votes for his presidential bid, Kennedy learned of King's assassination just hours before he was to address a predominantly African-American audience that had been waiting in a cold rain. The *Indianapolis Star* reported that the audience was filled with anger and tension. Furthermore, Kennedy was warned by the Indianapolis police not to speak at the event because they could not guarantee his safety. Sensing that the mood of the audience and context for his speech had dramatically shifted, Kennedy opted to address the crowd but dispensed with his previously crafted remarks. Instead, he offered brief words of sympathy, identifying with those present. "I feel in my own heart the same kind of feeling. I had a member of my family killed . . . killed by a white man." He then urged the audience to peacefully disperse and "Say a prayer for our country and for our people." Unlike other midwestern cities, where instances of racial violence occurred in response to King's death, none were reported in Indianapolis after Kennedy's speech.

THE TOOLS OF RHETORIC

Just as the antiquated notion that "leaders are born not made" has been dispelled, so has the supposition that "great speakers are natural." From Demosthenes to Churchill, individuals who were considered inarticulate and ineffective communicators consistently demonstrate that through diligent study and practice, they may become proficient, memorable speakers. The true mark of a speaker's success is to be memorable not merely at the moment but throughout time. Communication research has addressed factors that enable message content to be retained. In addition to audience-centered communication, the successful speaker makes choices that increase the prospect that their messages will be remembered. Three basic

strategies that assist in this regard include organization, support, and delivery.

Organization

A message's structure, or organization, is essential to memory and clarity. An outline provides a logical progression of ideas on paper whether it is an hour-long oration or brief extemporaneous remarks. Outlines include an introduction, thesis, preview, major points to be addressed and relevant transitions between these major points, summary, and conclusion. A thesis is a one-sentence statement of the central point of the message. Research affirms such clarity enhances understanding. Research further indicates that limiting the number of major points in a speech increases the likelihood of memorability. In 1951, Republican presidential candidate Dwight D. Eisenhower delivered an address that provided seventeen reasons why he should be president. The event was considered a major flop, but sitting in the audience was advertising specialist Rosser Reeves. Through detailed audience survey and data analysis Reeves was able to "package the general" by developing a central theme. The slogan "It's Time for a Change" became the central thesis for all future campaign communication. In future speaking events, Eisenhower's message centered around three subsequent audience-driven concerns that had been identified through careful audience analysis: potential war in Korea, high taxes, and graft in Washington. As audience polls demonstrated, these three issues were named repeatedly as the reasons voters said they supported a "Time for a Change" at the ballot box.

Support

Support is the evidence or proof of the claims being forwarded. Aristotle noted that effective speakers use both logical and emotional appeals in which a speaker must present enough details of an issue to prove the stated case to the audience. Psychologist Isabel Briggs Myers (1962) theorized that people make decisions through a series of logical proofs (thinkers) or concrete imagery with which they can

identify (feelers). Recognizing and adapting rhetoric to these diverse approaches for decision making, speakers are enabled with greater opportunities to identify with and thus persuade their listeners. For example, the Eisenhower campaign of 1952 crafted two distinctively different television advertisement campaigns. The first, "Eisenhower Answers America" was a series of fact-driven questions and answers between Eisenhower and ordinary citizens. Eisenhower's direct responses to prerecorded questions portrayed a focused, active, task-driven leader, traits highly resonant with thinkers. Alternatively, the Disney-produced "I Like Ike" commercial depicted a cartoon parade where a host of diverse individuals from across America marched joyfully behind an elephant to the up-beat tune of "I Like Ike, You Like Ike, Everybody Likes Ike for President." Responding to audience concerns that "the general" might be aloof and insensitive, this advertisement portrayed Eisenhower as being likeable and human.

With the advance of the television age, it became more important to include illustrations and visual images into discourse. Charged with misusing funds from his senatorial campaign, vice presidential candidate Richard M. Nixon purchased thirty minutes of airtime on 23 September 1952 to plead his case to the American people on national television. Embedded in an extensive and complex listing of his personal finances was the disclaimer, "One thing I probably should tell you because if I don't they'll probably be saying this about me too. We did get something—a gift—after the election." Nixon went on to describe how a spotted cocker spaniel puppy had come in a wooden crate as a present to his six-year-old daughter Trisha, who had then named the dog "Checkers." The story captured the hearts of listeners and saved Nixon's political career. The master of this technique was President Ronald Reagan (1980–1988), dubbed "the Great Communicator" not because he used memorable phrases like Franklin D. Roosevelt ("We Have Nothing to Fear but Fear Itself") or John Kennedy ("Ask Not What Your Country Can Do for You") but rather because Reagan shared vivid stories of everyday Americans who became points of identification for individual audience members. On 28 January 1986, following

the explosion of the *Challenger* space shuttle, Reagan addressed the nation. With one sentence, he gave the American people and the national news media an image to dispel the horror of the exploding spacecraft when he said, “We will never forget them, nor the last time we saw them, this morning, as they prepared for their journey and waved goodbye.” The common and positive memory of astronauts waving and smiling as they entered their craft gave Americans an image of peace and dignity amid tragedy. Following his address, every major televised news program ended with the image of waving astronauts.

Delivery

Delivery, the physical and vocal presentation of a message, is regularly attributed as a critical element of a speaker’s success or failure. The Greek orator Demosthenes (384–322 BCE) was renowned for his powers of delivery, supposedly mastered by diligent practice in which he placed pebbles in his mouth and spoke over the surf to improve his articulation and projection. Benjamin Franklin reported the spell-binding delivery of British preacher George Whitefield, who was said to be able to bring an audience to tears by simply saying the word *Mesopotamia*. Indeed, Franklin remarked of Whitefield, “I silently resolved he should get nothing from me . . . he finish’d so admirably that I empty’d my pocket wholly into the collector’s dish, gold and all” (Franklin 1909, part 5).

The study of delivery intensified in the academy during the early 1900s through the elocution movement. Championed by Jonathan Barber of Harvard, students were trained to mimic in posture and tone an elaborate array of stylized movements, stances, gestures, and vocal patterns believed to reflect a collection of varied emotions. Professional elocutionists would tour the country’s lecture halls delivering public addresses and presenting public readings. Key organizations such as the Lyceum and Chautauqua movements encouraged such events, which soon became standard practice across America. By 1900, Chautauqua events took place in over 10,000 communities and drew in over 4 million people. Russell Conwell was one of the most notable speakers of this

period, delivering his hallmark speech “Acres of Diamonds” more than 5,000 times between 1861 and 1915. As amplification systems developed that allowed public presenters to be more easily heard, and as radio brought communication from the lecture hall into the living room, a new style of more conversational discourse was required. Franklin Roosevelt was perhaps the first political figure to realize this critical change and he capitalized on its use through his fireside chats.

Today students of public speaking are taught physical and vocal delivery approaches that strengthen the speaker’s relationship with an audience. Physical delivery—the use of the body—has four essential components. First is proxemics, the distance between a speaker and audience. Research supports the general rule that effective speakers position themselves as close as possible to the audience without violating personal space. Rules of proxemics are derived from studies in psychology concerning friendships. We are influenced most by those with whom we share an emotional bond and with those whom we allow close to us physically. General conversation with friends takes place at distances of three to five feet; thus speakers who approximate such distances are likely to enhance persuasibility. Candidate Bill Clinton perfected this skill in the 1992 town meeting debates with President George Bush. Bush remained seated throughout the event and maintained a distance that was substantially greater than five feet from the audience as he responded to their questions. Bush’s formal stance contrasted with Clinton’s more personable style. At one point, Clinton rose from his seat and walked toward a woman who asked a question, giving the impression Clinton was reaching out to her as a friend while Bush, seated in his chair, appeared distant and aloof. Second is stance, the speaker’s posture, position, and body movement. Posture sends a nonverbal message of a speaker’s confidence (or lack thereof) to an audience. Research suggests that effective speakers maintain erect posture and when they move, they do so to illustrate transitions. Such movement then functions as a nonverbal clue to the audience that the speaker is shifting ideas. Third are gestures, the purposeful movements of the arms and



Patrick Henry's "Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death" Speech

Patrick Henry—a Virginia legislator in colonial times, then a member of the Continental Congress, and later governor of the state of Virginia—was a master orator. Below is the speech he delivered on 23 March 1775 to rally his fellow Virginians to arm in self-defense.

No man thinks more highly than I do of the patriotism, as well as abilities, of the very worthy gentlemen who have just addressed the House. But different men often see the same subject in different lights; and, therefore, I hope it will not be thought disrespectful to those gentlemen if, entertaining as I do opinions of a character very opposite to theirs, I shall speak forth my sentiments freely and without reserve. This is no time for ceremony. The question before the House is one of awful moment to this country. For my own part, I consider it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery; and in proportion to the magnitude of the subject ought to be the freedom of the debate. It is only in this way that we can hope to arrive at truth, and fulfill the great responsibility which we hold to God and our country. Should I keep back my opinions at such a time, through fear of giving offense, I should consider myself as guilty of treason towards my country, and of an act of disloyalty toward the Majesty of Heaven, which I revere above all earthly kings.

Mr. President, it is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of that siren till she transforms us into beasts. Is this the part of wise men, engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Are we disposed to be of the number of those who, having eyes, see not, and, having ears, hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation? For my part, whatever anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to know the whole truth; to know the worst, and to provide for it.

I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past. And judging by the past, I wish to know what there has been in the conduct of the British ministry for the last ten years to justify those hopes with which gentlemen have been pleased to solace themselves and the House. Is it that insidious smile with which our petition

has been lately received? Trust it not, sir; it will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with those warlike preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled that force must be called in to win back our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir. These are the implements of war and subjugation; the last arguments to which kings resort. I ask gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motive for it? Has Great Britain any enemy, in this quarter of the world, to call for all this accumulation of navies and armies? No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us: they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British ministry have been so long forging. And what have we to oppose to them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we anything new to offer upon the subject? Nothing. We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has been all in vain. Shall we resort to entreaty and humble supplication? What terms shall we find which have not been already exhausted? Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves. Sir, we have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned; we have remonstrated; we have supplicated; we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and Parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne! In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any

hands. In 1806, Gilbert Austin wrote *Chironomia: Or a Treatise on Rhetorical Delivery*, and for over a century it remained the quintessential text on oral presentation, reinforcing the elocutionary movement. Austin's work, made popular in this country by Harvard's Jonathan Barber, consisted of an elaborate set of instructions for proper gesturing that included details as specific as the angle of the little

finger and the tilt of the wrist. Barber devised a bamboo cage in which he would place students and instruct them to extend their arms through a series of holes to ensure the proper angle for the various positions that they were required to assume. (This ornately stylistic method of presentation was finally dispelled as students, in a move of revolt, ran the bamboo sphere on the top of a flagpole in Harvard

room for hope. If we wish to be free—if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending—if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained—we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of hosts is all that is left us!

They tell us, sir, that we are weak; unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot? Sir, we are not weak if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. The millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable—and let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come.

It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry, Peace, Peace—but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!

Square!) At their best, gestures reinforce images, add emphasis, heighten awareness, and decrease the physical space between speaker and audience, thus increasing the possibility for an atmosphere conducive to relationship development. Fourth is eye contact, the ability of a speaker to directly engage the audience visually. Substantial study has been conducted on the nonverbal power of eye contact to

instill trust, heighten credibility, and focus attention. Speakers who engage their audiences with direct eye contact are much more likely to sustain interest than speakers who scan the room or become tied to a manuscript. Delivering one complete thought to one person and then moving on to another individual approximates the eye contact that exists in one-to-one communication and thus reinforces the relational aspect of exchange.

Beyond physical delivery, effective delivery also depends on a rhetor's vocal quality. A loud voice was almost a prerequisite to effective speaking prior to the advent of electronic amplification systems. Indeed, there have been numerous accounts reporting disappointment by many at hearing the rather high-pitched voice of President Abraham Lincoln during his brief remarks on 19 November 1863 in his Gettysburg Address. Guests attending the Gettysburg Cemetery dedication much preferred the lusty voice of the day's featured speaker, Edward Everett. Yet loud, forceful delivery style does not translate easily to television in an age when most speakers are not heard in open fields or in non-amplified auditoriums, but in the family living room. Rather than "giving a speech," research suggests that effective speakers convey the impression of "having a conversation." Former First Lady Barbara Bush in her 1 June 1990 commencement address at Wellesley College accurately called her remarks a "conversation." Even the decried "wooden" vice presidential candidate Albert Gore achieved acclaim during his acceptance speech at the 1992 democratic convention, when he shifted from his statements of political policy to share his personal commitment to family by recounting a near fatal auto accident involving his son. With soft volume, slow pace, and reflective tone, Gore commanded the attention of the arena filled with previously boisterous conventioners.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE POWER OF RHETORIC

Rhetoric as a tool of leadership will undoubtedly continue to be explored and refined. Current practice emphasizes an audience-centered approach to message construction and delivery and the utilization of

organization, support and physical and vocal delivery to forge a relationship between the speaker and audience and to improve a message's memorability. Two issues merit further investigation. First, while scholars have recognized for some time that meaning is in people not in words, the words that people choose to use can nonetheless uplift or destroy. Research also supports the realization that most cultures have invective language. As forces of globalization draw the world ever closer and leaders utilize phrases such as *evil empire*, *rogue nation*, and *axis of evil*, it will be more critical than ever for successful leaders to extend rhetorical sensitivity to diverse cultures and not just to diverse audiences. Second, while the transactional model of communication places greater emphasis on the role of the audience, scholars still locate influence in the speaker. More focus needs to be given to the mutual role of sender/receiver. Frequently, as individuals listen to others, they are simultaneously engaged in conversations with themselves. Realizing that good leaders are also good listeners, more attention is needed on how to listen with a critical yet open mind to the other.

—Kevin W. Dean

See also Communication

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RISK TAKING

Risk taking is the possibility that the choices one makes may bring suffering, harm, loss, or danger to the risk takers. A course of community action involving taking a chance on uncertain danger, incurring known loss, or endangering others typically involves assessment strategies between leaders and followers. Leaders take risks, and they define for or with their followers the situations they face, the choices available to them, and the risks involved. The leader's

relationship with followers is based on their trust that the leader will do what is best for them. This trust is often developed through the leader's willingness to make personal sacrifices for the people. In taking risks, leaders necessarily rise above their followers, thereby expanding the followers' capacity to envision the greater future that will result from risk taking. Even so, community risk taking requires respect among all parties.

Risk taking is necessary for leaders to rise above followers, thereby expanding the followers' capacity to envision greater things. Leaders excite followers about going where they have not yet gone, and they provide a plan to get there. The plan always requires change. Change is frightening for many people because it may make their lives worse, not better: It involves risk.

UNDERSTANDING RISK TAKING IN SUCCESSFUL LEADERSHIP CASES

The risk-taking personality of leaders is linked to altruism. The willingness to be altruistic requires "a spirit of adventurousness" and "a willingness to try anything once" (Piliavin & Charng 1990, 33). Leaders who are willing to take risks on behalf of others have highly developed personalities and moral capacities that respond with empathy to the needs of others and not to the potential for personal suffering. Whether or not they were leaders before, people who respond to the needs of others know something about the situation or the people involved; for example, gentle rescuers of Jews in World War II tended to be people who knew other Jews.

RISK TAKING AND INNOVATION

The modern West is distinguished from the East not so much by "efficient allocation of available inputs among known production processes . . . but the development of formally untried processes and the production of formally unknown products. . . . Put another way, the west leapt ahead . . . by taking unknown risks on novelty" (Goldstone 1987, 119). The modern West has responded to crises, sociologist Jack Goldstone argues, by making innovation a "folk activity" (Gold-

stone 1987, 120). At the same time, the West has had an agitated elite class whose members have wanted change. Western innovation has required risk, and its cultures have developed a tolerance for frequent failure as product improvement has been assumed. From 1750 to 1830, Great Britain produced two-thirds of Europe's industrial growth. During the same period in the United States, one-half of economists Zorina Khan and Kenneth Sokoloff's sample of inventors had little or no formal education, and only one-quarter of them had attended college; those with little education produced more patents. Higher risk taking and lower education are historically correlated.

GENDER, ETHNICITY, AND CLASS IN ANTISOCIAL AND PROSOCIAL LEADERSHIP

The *Just Every Mother's Angel* research study conducted by Karen Joe and Meda Chesney-Lind in the early 1990s teaches us about indigenous leadership as it brings together gender, ethnicity, and class variables in its examination of Hawaiian youth gangs. Gangs provide gendered leadership for kids on the street, teaching the membership how to take risks with other gangs and law enforcement. Poor males who suffer from status frustration—the inability to succeed by societal standards—find that the solidarity of the gang provides opportunity risk taking that will lead to leadership status, and therein, respect, success, and autonomy. Gangs provide an array of leadership development activities that the young know they need for a successful adult life. The book *Cocaine Kids* (1989) by the sociologist Terry Williams examines the positive morality, although misdirected, in the "hard work" of the gang members' commitment to each other and the work ethic applied to the high-risk gang culture.

However, gender, ethnicity, and class most often combine in positive ways, as African-American studies expert Audrey McCluskey shows in "We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible: Black Women School Founders and Their Mission." Her study of post-slavery educated black women school founders Lucy Craft Laney, Mary McLeod Bethune, Nannie Helen Burroughs, and Charlotte Hawkins Brown attributed

The trouble is, if you don't risk anything, you risk even more.

—Erica Jong

their success to “. . . strong religious convictions, belief in the leadership of black women as a key to racial progress, and maternal love for the schools they founded” (McCluskey 1997, 403). Educational skills and class status supported successful risk taking as these women challenged and protested dominant societal understandings of the black community; raised investment monies for their schools; adopted moral crusades; and started national movements. Perhaps the biggest risk their communities trusted them to take was the shaping of a new identity for young blacks who deserved education, power, and influence. Minority women often found themselves resisting dominant culture and their own community's internal sensibilities as they took the greatest risk of all: simply creating the authority they needed to act on behalf of the community.

Educator Amie Revere finds that, even given a history of stellar leadership, black women school superintendents in 1984–1985 faced uphill battles on the race and gender fronts. Even so, such superintendents attribute their success to “competence, careful diligence, self confidence, tenacious strength, interpersonal skills, and productivity generated out of a willingness to exercise authority and enhance power” (Revere 1987, 518). Contemporary leadership owes its success to nineteenth-century race and twentieth-century civil rights role models who took risks and set a standard for leadership excellence; this was especially true for women:

. . . despite discrimination, a privileged class of blacks, educated and self-assured, inserted itself into the life of the city. The women of this class acknowledged a special calling to “set the standard” for the race in the struggle for equality. They believed that the fate of the race rested upon the shoulders of its “best women.” (McCluskey 1999, 48)

Regardless of class, ethnicity, or gender, a leader is evaluated by his or her ability to provide access to

power. To do that, women and leaders of cultural minorities must themselves have access to power, and by the very nature of being uncommon, they often become high-profile public leaders who must balance risk taking with the excitement of their newly empowered constituencies and the ever present resistive systemic realities.

TRUST AND THE CAPACITY FOR CHANGE

Trust is the belief that others will put self-interest aside and hold what sociologists call a “collectivity orientation” (Rabinowitz 1992, 517). For sociologists there can be no social order without trust. Emotions that react to risk challenge emotions that maintain trust. Risk is reduced where trusting relationships exist, making known what is unknown. Where no trust exists, trust must be established. Israeli sociologist Dan Rabinowitz's study of Arabs and Jews found that, for example, an Arab doctor was successful with Jewish patients and a Arab basketball coach was successful with Jewish team members when the doctor and the coach spoke with professional authority, restricting the interaction to professional exchange and negotiated improvement. As doctor and patients and coach and team members gained knowledge of each other, they gained trust and the ability to take risks with one another that healed patients and won games.

COMMITMENT AND AGENCY

Collective solidarity—the movement from the self-centered “I” to the other-centered “we”—develops only in a trusting relationship of commitment to the “we.” There are times when a collective's members will be wary of one another: women of men, whites of blacks, Jews of Arabs, the rich of the poor. In these times, a commitment to the collective and its goals bridges those moments when trust is challenged by historical memory or current actions. Collective risk taking builds collective agency—the ability of a group of people to assess their lives, make good decisions, and empower themselves to achieve a self-determined and independent livelihood. Sharing risk in order to build a better life

strengthens the whole collective identity. What people are learning about the staying power of democratic collectivities is that in surviving across time such collectivities make an impact on longitudinal change, that is, the capacity for long-term and systematic transformation. Asian studies scholar Scott Kennedy's (1997) study of the Stone Group Corporation, China's premier electronics company before the 1989 Tiananmen Square uprising, examines Stone's decline and recovery as Stone suffered under Communist Party threats to close it for suspected support of the rebellious students. The Stone Group was in fact an economic rebel. Registered as a collective, the Stone Group shocked observers by challenging state-society relations through its outspoken intellectuals who had, in reality, created a private, non-state economic entity that called for pluralization and democratization both inside the company and outside—in Chinese society at large. Stone's economic success widened the desire for a civil society. Stone had successfully created a new identity, a new corporate culture. Stone's market power threatened to collapse China's socialist market economy. Not surprisingly, economists and sociologists attribute Stone's resilience to its "entrepreneurial spirit, corporate culture, technological achievements, and risk taking strategy" (Kennedy 1997, 749).

Risk requires connections. Stone created connections. "Horizontal links within its profession and with society at large point to the emergence of a civil society that is neither directed by nor narrowly serves the interests of the state" (Kennedy 1997, 750). Over time in democratic societies, most people have a high tolerance for risky decisions made by others if issues of fairness, competence, responsibility, and equitable distribution of benefits have been addressed. The internal solidarity of Stone modeled a possible external solidarity of a civil society and threatened the national Communist leadership with its visible political statement by outperforming state-run businesses. Stone's relationships with banks, scientists, and a range of market actors created a broad-based and empowered agency that delighted in Stone's success. A democratic China is a long way off; in the interim, Stone models a potential intermediary meeting ground between the state and the spirit

The guy who takes a chance . . . who walks the line between the known and unknown . . . who is unafraid of failure, will succeed.

—Gordon Parks

of a civil society. The possibility of other alternative leadership groups arising is dependent on yet other functions such as leadership recruitment.

RECRUITMENT AND EVALUATION OF RISK

How are leaders recruited to high-risk ventures when the human inclination is low- or no-risk action? People weigh social and personal costs and most often choose safe levels of action. Recruitment to risky actions with high levels of personal costs requires integration of people into a peer group of like-minded actors, resocialization into this identity, and a "deepening ideological socialization" (McAdam 1986, 69). Interestingly, sociologist Doug McAdam finds that the ability to take high risks in community activism is not connected to one's experience in a particular form of action, but rather to one's social contacts with other risk takers, one's experience in risk taking in general, and one's understanding of how to evaluate the context and its constraints.

The study of risk is new in the social and behavioral sciences; the sociology of risk is producing its first integrated theories. Yet, people know that patterns exist. Successful leaders estimate risk with a clear understanding of the followers whom they are asking to take risk and their capacity for goal achievement. Disturbingly, social psychologist Carol Heimer concludes that "We care more about risks faced by those close to us or similar to us than by people who are unrelated and dissimilar" (Heimer 1988, 500). When assessing the appropriateness of any risk-taking activity, it is important to name the people and institutions who are responsible for assessing and managing the activity. A prime example is the category of youth called "at-risk teenagers." The teenagers and their peer group, unlike parents, police, and public health officials, may not see drug and alcohol consumption as at-risk

behavior. At other times, peer groups are critical to assessing risk. Neighborhood nonprofit organizations often depend on each other to assess risk; they serve those at risk; they are then risk-taking organizations whose successful leaders are role models in risk taking—in seizing the moment for community and member benefit.

SPIRITUALITY AS RESOURCE FOR RISK TAKING

The U.S. civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr., Catholic nun Mother Teresa, Catholic social activist Dorothy Day, South African leader Nelson Mandela, Episcopal Bishop Desmond Tutu, Indian nationalist Mohandas Gandhi, Protestant missionary John Mott, U.S. women's suffrage leader Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and freed slave orator Sojourner Truth are just a few risk takers who built new social infrastructure that could bear the weight of dreams for inclusive community. Risk takers tend to have deep spiritual reservoirs from which they draw the strength they need to stand firm in the social storms generated by change. Their capacity to take responsibility for shaping the direction of thinking and acting, and to stand alone even among a devoted constituency, is an ancient personality trait noted across cultures and found in great leaders such as the Islamic prophet Muhammad and the Buddha. Religious culture provides people with courage, a sense of historical purpose, enduring values, and a community base from which to act ethically and responsibly.

The spirituality of a risk taker helps him or her to take great care to help followers provide a social commentary that moves them forward. Through educational processes (sermons, prayers, meditations, etc.) leaders empower followers to act courageously, and followers pass on their values to the young. The risk-taking leader creates in followers a positive group identification with anchoring values that encourages them to take yet more risks and to reach for still higher levels of oneness and solidarity.

—Victoria Lee Erickson

See also Creativity; Entrepreneurship; Innovative Leadership

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ROBINSON, JACKIE (1919–1972)

African-American baseball player, civil rights advocate, and businessman

The grandson of a slave and the youngest of five children, Jackie Roosevelt Robinson was born to Mallie and Jerry Robinson in Cairo, Georgia, in 1919. On 15 April 1947, he became the first black man in modern times to play white major league baseball. He went on to earn a Most Valuable Player award in 1949, to play on six all-star teams, to compile a lifetime average of .311, and to help the previously all-white Brooklyn Dodgers win six National League pennants and the 1955 World Series. Robinson later worked with the civil rights movement to transform the moral consciousness of the United States. For his pioneering role in sports, Robinson received the Spingarn Medal from the NAACP (National Association for Colored People) in 1956. In 1962 he was elected to National League Baseball's Hall of Fame and to the SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) Hall of Fame. His widow, Rachel Robinson, felt it was important to remind people of his achievements as a civil rights leader:

To the average man in the average American community, Jackie Robinson was just what the sports pages said he was, no more, no less. He was the first Negro to play baseball in the major leagues and in remembering him, I tend to de-emphasize him as a ball player and

emphasize him as an informal civil rights leader. That's the part that drops out, that people forget. (U.S. National Archives, n.d.)

If leaders achieve their effectiveness in the stories they embody, Jackie Robinson's effectiveness arises from the story of his unrelenting adherence to the principles of personal dignity.

Always a superb athlete, Robinson played football, basketball, and baseball and went out for track at Pasadena Junior College and then at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). He became the first four-letter athlete at UCLA, where he met his future wife, Rachel Isum. As soon as he completed his two remaining years of eligibility at UCLA (due to his transfer from Junior College), he left the university, convinced that no amount of education could help a black man get a job and that there was no real future for him to make a good living as a black professional athlete. Following a brief stint as an assistant athletic director at a federal youth work camp, Robinson took a job in construction and joined his first professional team, the Honolulu Bears. He found the team experience unsatisfying and left Hawaii at the end of the first season to return to California, enlisting in the army after the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

In 1942, Robinson was assigned to Fort Riley, Kansas, for basic training, and the following year he completed Officer's Candidate School (OCS). As a second lieutenant in the 761st tank battalion, his sense of humor helped him earn the respect of both his enlisted men and his commanding officer. "Men," he once recalled saying, "I know nothing about tanks, nothing at all. I am asking you to help me out of this unusual situation" (Rampersad 1997, 100). However, Robinson ultimately found his experience in a segregated army frustrating. He was never allowed to reach his full potential as an officer, and he often got into trouble because of his advocacy for equal treatment. At Fort Hood, Texas, he was court-martialed for charges associated with his refusal to sit in the rear of a bus. He was eventually acquitted, and in 1944 he was honorably discharged. Returning to civilian life, Robinson accepted a basketball coaching position at Sam Houston College for Negroes in Austin, Texas. Seeking a better job, when he met a former member



Jackie Robinson shakes hands with Branch Rickey on 12 February 1948, upon signing a contract for the 1948 season.

Source: Corbis; used by permission.

of the Kansas City Monarchs, a Negro league baseball team, he requested a tryout. He joined the Monarchs in the spring of 1945.

BLACK BASEBALL

In spite of the great success enjoyed by the Kansas City Monarchs, Robinson disliked the Negro leagues. He particularly disliked the informality of ownership—he didn't feel that the owners of the Negro League were organized, disciplined, or professional—and the grueling travel schedule. He barely tolerated the segregation and other limits imposed upon the players by segregated society. Professional baseball hadn't always been this way for African-Americans. In 1872, Bud Fowler, a black player, had joined a white professional club, and Moses Fleetwood Walker, the first black player to make it to the majors, joined the Toledo Blue Stockings in 1884. But in 1887 the owners of all major league ball clubs entered into a gentleman's agreement to sign no more black players and by 1899 African-Americans had been completely shut out of organized baseball. However, black baseball players had continued to play. In 1920 Rube Foster, a black pitcher of considerable skill, formed the Negro National League, and five other Negro major leagues and over fifty minor leagues were formed in swift succession. "The Negro leagues were founded with the aim, ultimately, of integrating the

game" (Rogosin 1983, 180). At the time, this meant integrating all-white leagues with intact black teams, and no one even imagined that just a couple of decades later, a black player would join an all-white team. The momentum for change that carried Jackie Robinson across the color line in 1946 was fueled by several factors including the death in 1944 of conservative baseball commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis, the admiration of Negro league talent by the best white ballplayers, a vocal black press, and the economic lure of black fans. It was also fueled by the discontent of returning black veterans.

THE NOBLE EXPERIMENT

The prejudice faced by many African-American veterans like Jackie Robinson stood in stark contrast to the democratic ideals advanced by their political leaders. Disillusioned and diminished by segregation, black Americans began to seek new role models and new leaders, and in Jackie Robinson, they found what they were seeking.

On 29 August 1945, Branch Rickey, owner of the Brooklyn Dodgers, invited Robinson to join the team. But there was a catch—Robinson had to promise not to respond to the racial taunts and slurs he was sure to encounter from baseball fans and players, both teammates and opponents. Robinson and Rickey agreed that a period of three years should be enough to make their point—that a black man could play professional baseball with civility and tolerance and still excel. To reduce the resistance of other major league clubs, Rickey decided to bring Robinson in through the minor league system, and the spring of 1947 saw Jackie Robinson's entrance into modern major league baseball. Robinson's aggressive Negro League style of play led to his selection as Rookie of the Year, and his personality transformed the stereotype of the black athlete from that of brute to multifaceted player. Roger Wilkins, attorney general during the Johnson administration, described the importance of Jackie Robinson to him as a child in 1947: "This man, in a very personal sense, became a permanent part of my spirit of the spirit of a generation of black kids like me because of the way he faced his ordeal" (Rampersad 1997, 179).

LIFE AFTER BASEBALL

Robinson's relationship with the Dodgers became increasingly antagonistic after Rickey was forced out in 1950. Many team members and journalists accused Robinson of being too outspoken, and when the Dodgers traded him to the Giants at the end of the 1956 season, he decided to retire from baseball. He accepted a position as vice president of community affairs for the Chock full o' Nuts restaurant chain and used his new position to continue his fight for civil rights. As national chairman of the NAACP's Freedom Fund Drive, he appealed to President Dwight D. Eisenhower to enforce the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*: "Seventeen million Negroes cannot do as you suggest and wait for the hearts of men to change" (U.S. National Archives, n.d.). This was not the first, nor would it be the last, time he expressed his opinions on civil rights to a president of the United States.

In 1964, he moved directly into politics as a deputy national director for Governor Nelson Rockefeller's campaign for the Republican nomination. Although as a conservative Republican, he differed with many progressive black leaders, he shared their concern about the status of African-Americans. Having shifted from the indirect leadership symbolized by his performance on the baseball field to direct leadership in the arena of civil rights, Robinson quickly became an important spokesperson on such topics as poverty, urban development, and youth concerns.

Robinson believed that the two keys to black advancement were the ballot and the buck. He served as chairman of the Freedom National Bank and vice president for Reverend Jesse L. Jackson's Operation PUSH. Still seeking new ways to change racial attitudes and behaviors in the United States, he formed the Jackie Robinson Construction Company to facilitate community housing and economic opportunity. In another example of his growing activism, Robinson wrote the following warning to President Richard M. Nixon: "We older blacks, unfortunately, were willing to wait. Today's young blacks are ready to explode! We had better take some definitive action or I am afraid the conse-

quences could be nation shattering" (U.S. National Archives, 2003).

On 24 October 1972, a few months after the twenty-fifth anniversary of his entry into baseball and the retirement of his number 42 jersey, Robinson died from the complications of diabetes. He was fifty-three years old. The Reverend Jesse Jackson gave the eulogy at his huge funeral. Reverend Jackson said, "Progress does not roll in on wheels of inevitability. In order for an ideal to become a reality, there must be a person, a personality to translate it" (Tygiel 1997, 277). Jackie Robinson was that person, and his leadership helped to bring the ideal of equality closer to reality. He derived his authority in the civil rights arena from his historic integration of baseball. He forged his legitimacy as a leader through his unflinching commitment to human dignity and by his willingness to listen to new voices.

—Harry Alston Jr.

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ROCKEFELLER, JOHN D. (1839–1937)

U.S. industrialist and philanthropist

One of the most influential leaders in history, John Davison Rockefeller pioneered the corporate organizational form that characterizes modern big business. His Standard Oil Company, unrivaled in economic power, not only fostered American global economic preeminence—and his personal fortune as the wealthiest American ever—but demanded a reassessment in the relationship between American business and elective government. A devoutly religious man, Rockefeller also set an unmatched standard in philanthropy, his peerless generosity balancing a reputation as the quintessential ruthless “robber baron” industrialist, or depending upon one’s view, the exemplary capitalist statesman. This dichotomy creates a cultural icon transcending the man and his time.

THE STANDARD DICHOTOMY

Trying to comprehend John D. Rockefeller is an exercise in polarities. He was born 8 July 1839, the son of an absentee, bigamist father—literally, a “snake oil” salesman—an opportunist interested in making fast cash regardless of legitimacy, who appeared in his son’s life only intermittently but flamboyantly; and a pious Baptist mother devoted to her church and to training her children in biblical principles, by necessity committed to austere living, strict discipline, and frugality. Such polarity profoundly defined Rockefeller, characterizing his leadership. On the one hand, he was a devout, exemplary Baptist, on the other a seeming tyrant lacking in fair play, openness, and honesty. Having a compulsion for secrecy, he was a wizard at keeping his Standard Oil empire hidden from the public and competitors; nevertheless, he became notorious at the hands of muckraker journalists and renowned for his great philanthropy. He avoided the press, yet advanced the

nascent public relations industry in an effort to recreate his unfavorable image. Reflecting the thrift and strictness of his mother, he relentlessly focused on the smallest details of his business, making endless improvements to cut waste, personally overseeing every step of the production process; yet he had the capacity to see the “big picture,” to envision and develop the massive corporate organization that would change business history.

Critics might denounce his Christian piety as hypocrisy and a veil for greed, but a fair appraisal must acknowledge his faith was genuine—he once considered the ministry as his vocation, dissuaded only by his family’s dire financial condition. Still, he devoted much money, time, and energy to his church. Indeed, Rockefeller saw God as an ally and his justification. For him, big business could be reconciled with Christianity; his company could even be seen in missionary terms, for as he put it, the Standard, built on the rocks of “faith and work,” was “the salvation of the oil business,” the “Moses” who set the captives free, the ally of the consumer. His portrayal as a social Darwinist is imprecise; rather, in Rockefeller’s eyes, Standard Oil was the remedy to social Darwinism’s amoral and ruinous competition: “The struggle for the survival of the fittest,” he wrote, would be replaced by Standard’s “doctrines of cooperation” (Chernow 1998, 154).

REFINING LEADERSHIP

Rockefeller’s story is divisible into five periods, each refining his remarkable leadership. In the first (1855–1865), the young and characteristically energetic Rockefeller, armed with a bookkeeping education from a Cleveland business college, went door-to-door until he landed a job with Hewitt & Tuttle, commission merchants and produce shippers, as an assistant bookkeeper on 26 September 1855—a day he would thereafter celebrate as “Job Day.” A scrupulously honest and hard worker, he bought a nickel ledger with his first paycheck, which he called “Ledger A,” in which he dutifully recorded every penny earned, each one spent, each given to charity. He utilized his experience at Hewitt & Tuttle to venture into a partnership in 1859 with Maurice

Clark as agricultural produce wholesalers. Rockefeller traveled extensively, aggressively drumming up business throughout Ohio. His success encouraged romance; in 1864 he married Laura “Cete” Spelman, the daughter of deeply religious abolitionists active in the Underground Railroad.

Rockefeller’s visionary acumen allowed him to see the investment opportunity coinciding with the 1859 Pennsylvania oil boom. Prudent and cautious, he was not attracted to the high-risk oil-drilling business, but the prospect of extracting kerosene from the oil—kerosene being the fuel of promise to replace expensive whale oil for indoor illumination. Rockefeller invested in kerosene extracting as a side business in 1865, marking the second period of his career (1865–1870). By 1867, he abandoned his produce business and concentrated entirely on petroleum refining in a new partnership: Rockefeller, Andrews & Flagler, the largest refinery in Cleveland. Rockefeller honed his demonstrated leadership qualities: hard work, competitiveness, prudence, precision and resolve, which combined effectively with his gifts as a business strategist and visionary. These traits were enhanced by his ability to pick remarkably talented people and work with them effectively. With such men, Rockefeller created the Standard Oil Company in 1870, at the time the largest corporation in America, capitalized at one million dollars. Already a multimillionaire, he controlled 10 percent of petroleum refining in the United States.

THE STANDARD IN LEADERSHIP

The formation of Standard Oil Company marks Rockefeller’s third phase (1870–1882). Despite a devotion to prudence, his visionary ability allowed him to be a colossal gambler, such as his move to acquire oil from Ohio and Indiana fields, “inferior” oil much higher in sulfur content than Pennsylvania crude. Then, hiring chemist Herman Frasch to solve the problem of cleansing the stench and corrosiveness of this oil, Rockefeller pioneered the use of chemistry in the oil refining industry. In such ways, creating Standard Oil depended upon Rockefeller’s gift for delegating authority and for motivating and managing his associates. As he put it, “It is chiefly to



One of the best-known manifestations of the Rockefeller legacy is the complex of buildings known as Rockefeller Center in New York City. Here is the GE Building in the complex in August 2001.

Source: Stephen C. Donaldson; used with permission.

my confidence in men and my ability to inspire their confidence in me that I owe my success in life” (Chernow 1998, 223).

Rockefeller’s vision for Standard Oil was to control the problems that plagued the oil industry: chaos, inefficiency, waste, overproduction, and ruinous competition. Ultimately, his solution pioneered a corporate organization that would characterize American (and global) big business: an oligopolistic market dominated by a few—if not one—vertically integrated firms. In other words, the invention of what would popularly be known as “the trust.” Rockefeller’s initial strategy was creating a super-company

through horizontal combination of nearly all the refineries then existing in the country; that is, buying out or eliminating competitors. Later, Rockefeller's organizational model incorporated vertical integration; that is, fusing together the varied stages of production, from raw materials to final product, even distribution, and thus eliminating "middlemen" while driving down costs.

Nonetheless, even while overseeing this corporate enterprise, Rockefeller devoted himself to every production detail, laboring to increase efficiency—resulting in such legendary actions as his order to reduce from forty to thirty-nine the number of solder drops used to seal a kerosene can. To impel efficiency, Rockefeller utilized the latest refining technologies, manufactured oak barrels for oil storage, owned massive warehouses, holding tanks, and distribution stations, as well as wagons, horses, boats, railroad tank cars, and eventually pipelines and ocean-going tankers for transportation. Aggressive marketing made the distinctive red five-gallon Standard kerosene can nationally familiar. Furthermore, Rockefeller utilized the "waste" products resulting from the kerosene refining process, which in turn became businesses in their own right: lubricating oil, gasoline, Benzene and Naphtha, paraffin, and petroleum jelly ointment.

Because Standard Oil was the largest purchaser of crude, Rockefeller could dictate prices. His leadership in this regard proved especially controversial. He coerced special rebates on railroads that transported his oil in his own fleet of tank cars, lowering his transportation costs below his competitors. He gained control of oil pipelines, lowering shipping costs and reducing railroad dependence. His aggressive price-cutting campaigns were designed to undersell competitors, even forcing bankruptcy if they refused his "doctrines of cooperation." His nationwide distribution system serviced some 80 percent of American towns, allowing him to coerce local stores to sell only Standard kerosene and lubricants. So successful were these methods that by 1880, Rockefeller's Standard Oil controlled 90 percent of refining capacity in the United States—an astounding accomplishment achieved in only a decade! Perhaps as remarkable, the reclusive Rock-

efeller remained relatively unknown, though numbered among the nation's twenty richest men.

Because of its uniqueness, the creation of Standard Oil Trust in 1882 as an organizational device marks a separate phase of Rockefeller's career (1882–1897). Headquartered at 26 Broadway in New York City, the trust united Rockefeller's forty companies devoted to refining, extracting, trading, and retailing into one organization managed by nine men. Though outlawed in 1892 by the Ohio State Supreme Court, the trust device was then utilized under New Jersey incorporation laws as a "holding company." Significantly, this revolutionary corporate model inspired the creation of nearly two hundred trusts in coal, sugar, tobacco, and other industries, resulting in great public concern.

CRITICISM OF THE STANDARD

Questions about Rockefeller's business leadership arose in 1871 over his "South Improvement Company" scheme, through which he had achieved domination of Cleveland's refineries, and increased in 1881 with Henry Demarest Lloyd's criticism in the *Atlantic Monthly*. The scope, power, and impact of Standard Oil Trust brought a New York State Senate investigation in 1888, the passing of the (initially ineffective) Sherman Anti-trust Act by Congress in 1890, and by the turn of the century, criticism by Progressive reformers, culminating in Ida Tarbell's acerbic exposé on the history of the Standard Oil Company, published in *McClure's Magazine* and issued in book form in 1904.

Just why Rockefeller and Standard Oil—which Tarbell, and therefore the public, equated as one—came to be so hated is puzzling. From a cultural point of view, Rockefeller embodies the "rags-to-riches" phenomenon so venerated in America. From a consumer point of view, Rockefeller significantly lowered the price of kerosene from 30 cents per gallon in 1866 to only 5 cents by 1894, as Americans quickly abandoned whale and coal oil illumination. Even as Edison's electric light increasingly competed with kerosene, consumers bought Rockefeller's affordable gasoline to fuel the new American obsession, the automobile. Public outrage is further perplexing in

that, unlike the Vanderbilts and others who lived grossly ostentatious lifestyles, Rockefeller sought to live relatively simply, even biblically, being generous with his money. One could argue he practiced a family life worthy of emulation. Moreover, Rockefeller, who had suffered a partial nervous breakdown from overwork in 1887, decided to retire gradually but secretly, which proved a mistake. By 1897, unbeknownst to the public, he no longer participated in management activity—five years before Tarbell's account was published.

Nonetheless, the public reaction is understandable given Rockefeller's historical tactics, which, though revolutionary and strategic, provoked fear among Americans used to local or regional ways of doing business—especially as other industries adopted the trust model. Moreover, his penchant for secrecy caused alarm to a public historically given to fears of conspiracy and subterfuge. In this sense, Rockefeller's enemy was cultural, not economic or political. In May 1911, the Supreme Court ordered the Standard Oil Trust dismantled. Even this made the "Titan" wealthier than ever as his shares in the thirty-three subsidiaries created by the decision multiplied in value.

A NEW STANDARD IN PHILANTHROPY

The final stage of Rockefeller's remarkable life roughly corresponds to his health problems leading to his decision to retire and devote himself to philanthropy (1891–1937). Rockefeller had been an energetic giver from his youth; his philanthropy paralleled his business life. It was not, as popular myth would have it, a veiled attempt to atone for a lifetime of greed. As he put it, "I have always regarded it as a religious duty to get all I could honorably and to give all I could" (Chernow 1998, 19).



Ida Tarbell on John D. Rockefeller's Character

In addition to her influential book The History of the Standard Oil Company, Ida M. Tarbell also wrote a more personal and unflattering character analysis of Rockefeller, although she had never actually met him. The following extract shows just how personal and critical it was.

When the late Senator Hanna said of John D. Rockefeller, "Money mad, money mad, sane in every other respect but money mad," he gave the true biographic clue to the man's character. No candid study of his career can lead to the conclusion that he is a victim of perhaps the ugliest, the least reasonable of all passions, that for money, money as an end—a victim, for the passion has mastered all other ambitions and cravings—has made itself supreme and is in his eyes worthy of what it has cost him.

It is not a pleasant picture that such a reflection arouses—not the portrait of a gentleman one would like to know—this money-maniac secretly, patiently, eternally plotting how he may add to his wealth. Nor is the man himself pleasanter to look upon. Study the photograph on page 388; the last taken of Mr. Rockefeller, study George Varian's powerful sketch from life made in 1903 and say if it be worth the while to be the richest man in the world at the cost these portraits show. Concentration; craftiness, cruelty, and something indefinably repulsive are in them. The photograph reveals nothing more. Mr. Varian's sketch is vastly more interesting for it suggests, besides, both power and pathos and no one can look long on Mr. Rockefeller without feeling these qualities.

Source: Tarbell, Ida M. (1905, July). "John D. Rockefeller: A Character Study." *McClure's Magazine*, Retrieved October 8, 2003, from <http://tarbell.alleg.edu/archives/jdr.html>

Practicing his talent for attracting gifted associates, in 1891 he hired Frederick T. Gates to manage his fortune and advise his philanthropy, joined by his son, John D. Rockefeller Jr., in 1910. Rockefeller's fortune peaked in 1912 at nearly \$900 million—approximately \$269 billion to equate the same percentage of Gross Domestic Product in 2002—by which time he had already given away hundreds of millions of dollars. Among the causes Rockefeller funded are Baptist education and missionary efforts; the University of Chicago; the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research (now Rockefeller University); Atlanta's Spelman College for black women; the General Education Board promoting education and school funding; the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission eradicating hookworm in the South; and the flagship, the Rockefeller Foundation. His gifts eventually totaled about \$540 million.

A LEADERSHIP LEGACY

For all the emphasis on monopolization, it is often overlooked that Rockefeller was perhaps the nineteenth century's most able competitor. Even the oil industry learned his leadership was the better alternative than the chaos, wastefulness, and destruction that preceded the "Standard." Nevertheless, for all the monopolizing power of Standard Oil, there were those who successfully resisted him. Even the Standard was unable to stop the renewed competitiveness, particularly brought by Texas and Russian oil booms, which characterized the industry at the turn of the twentieth century. Indeed, it was as much this as the government's successful suit in 1911 that ended the dominance of America's first great trust. Ironically, by the 1930s, the government itself stepped in to help the oil industry during the Great Depression, essentially replacing Rockefeller's role. Rockefeller's vision has carried forward to the present, as various moves to "restore competition" (notably in the 1970s oil shortage years) failed to materialize.

All this gives credibility to John D. Rockefeller's visionary leadership, the seeming moral grayness of his actions mitigated by his larger role in history. His innovations changed business forever and his products and philanthropy have helped Americans lead happier and more productive lives. Rockefeller's own summation may be self-serving (quoted here from the PBS documentary *American Experience Online: The Rockefellers*), but it bears the unmistakable voice of his authority and influence: "The Standard Oil Co. has been one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of upbuilders we ever had in this country—or in any country . . . a force that reorganized business, and everything else followed it—all business, even the Government itself, which legislated against it."

—Craig H. Roell

See also Trust Busting

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ROMANCE OF LEADERSHIP

Organized activity comes in many shapes and forms: a neighborhood association, a government agency, a political interest group, a business organization, a sorority, a hospital, a PTA, a terrorist cell, an inner-city gang, an army platoon, a baseball team. Issues of leadership are fundamental to the way we understand these entities and how we communicate that understanding to others. Sooner or later discussions of successes and failures, right and wrong, past, present, and future focus on leaders: their strengths and their shortcomings, what they did or did not do, should or should not have done, who they are, who we need them to be. However, can a president of a country really have control over its economy? Can we reasonably expect that our leaders will protect us from terrorist attacks? Do generals win our wars? Do CEOs cause accounting scandals and the bankruptcies of companies? Can we always blame the coach for our losing seasons?

Meindl, Ehrlich, and Dukerich coined the phrase “romance of leadership,” writing:

It appears that as observers of and participants in organizations, we may have developed highly romanticized, heroic views of leadership—what leaders do, what they are able to accomplish, and the general effects they have on our lives. One of the principal elements in this romanticized conception is the view that leadership is a central organizational process and the premier force in the scheme of organizational events and activities. It amounts to what might be considered a faith in the potential if not actual efficacy of those individuals who occupy elite positions of formal organizational authority. (Meindl, Ehrlich, and Dukerich 1985, 79)

Initially, the romance of leadership notion provided a commentary on a generalized, widespread tendency to understand organized activity in terms of leadership. In the face of many possible ways to make sense of why organizations perform the way they do and why collective activities achieve their aims or not, leadership represents a psychologically attractive, if biased, account of success and failure. Since its introduction in the mid-1980s, the romance of leadership notion has developed into a unique the-

oretical perspective, providing novel insights on well-studied leadership phenomena, and raises new issues for future study.

AN ANTICONVENTIONAL VIEW

The romance of leadership (ROL) theory focuses on the tremendous investments that we as followers and observers, individually and collectively, have in the concept of leadership and explores the implications of those investments. This focus has led to a rather unconventional view of leadership: as an academic discipline, as an area of practice, and importantly, as a cultural phenomenon. Indeed, ROL theory sees the study and practice of leadership as culturally embedded, that is, relying on deeply held assumptions and core values that are broadly shared, although often not articulated. This theory was developed as a counterweight to conventional leadership theories. This anticonventional view is based on a “follower-centric” definition of leadership and is grounded in a social constructionist tradition.

FOLLOWER-CENTRIC APPROACHES

Leadership exists at the intersection of leaders, followers, and contexts. Nevertheless, the history of conventional leadership theory and practice has tended to be “leader-centric,” that is, focusing attention mostly on leaders—their personas and behaviors. In contrast, people can develop more follower-centric approaches by shifting the spotlight away from the figure of the leader, recognizing that the reactions of followers to their contexts will, at the end of the day, determine the success or failure of all leaders. ROL theory is consistent with a follower-centric approach but takes things to a more radical extreme. It suggests that new insights can be gained by focusing attention squarely on processes connected to followers and their contexts, independently of what leaders are actually doing. ROL theory asserts that the romanticized views that followers and observers have of leaders and leadership work to ultimately define what leadership is and where and when it exists.

Can we generate a credible theory of leadership that does not highlight leaders as the most important

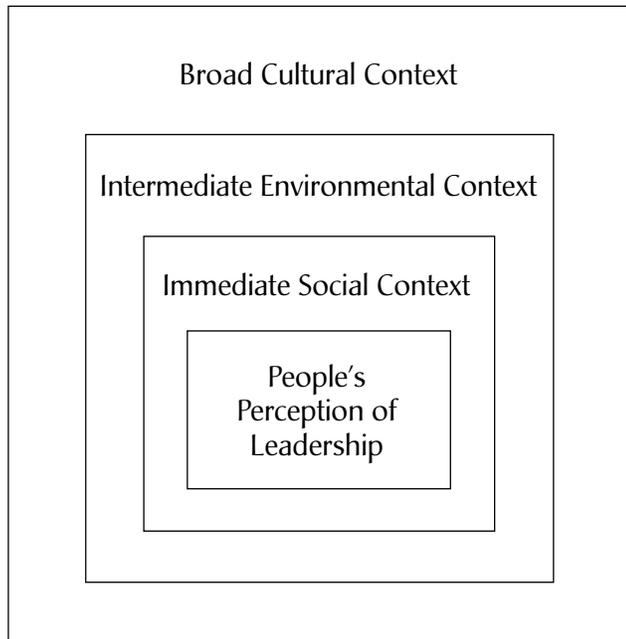


Figure 1. Focus on Perceptions of Leadership Embedded within Three Layers of Contextual Influences

object of study? That is exactly what ROL theory attempts to do. It pursues this radical agenda by concentrating on the interplay of four key elements: perceptions and three layers of contextual influences. At its core, the theory seeks to explore leadership from the vantage point of follower perceptions. Interest in this first element is then embedded within three layers of contextual influences: the immediate social structure, the intermediate context, and the broader cultural environment. (See Figure 1.)

FOCUS ON THE PERCEPTIONS OF FOLLOWERS

ROL theory defines leadership not as something that is practiced by leaders, as in more conventional theories, but rather as something that is construed by followers. In other words, the interpretations, reactions, and attributions of followers and observers, not the behaviors, actions, or activities of a leader, define leadership. This is a cognitive definition of leadership, including (1) the mental representations that followers (not leaders) carry in their

heads about the centrality of leadership to organizational activities, (2) implicit theories about what good leadership is, and (3) views about the characteristics of specific leaders.

A GUIDING METAPHOR

ROL theory suggests that the task of understanding leadership is similar to the famous Rorschach test in psychology—also known as the “inkblot” test. In this test people are asked to tell about what they see in a series of inkblot pictures. The idea behind the test is that presenting people with something as ambiguous as the shape of an inkblot stain on a sheet of paper provides maximum flexibility to “see” whatever a person wants. Obviously, psychologists are not interested in learning about inkblots but rather in learning something about the person who is looking at the inkblots. Metaphorically speaking, ROL theory casts the figure and/or behavior of leaders into the role of the inkblot; followers and observers interpret these leadership inkblots and, in doing so, reveal themselves. Such revelations are treated as the heart and soul of leadership. For example, when a follower is asked to rate a leader’s behavior on some survey questionnaire, more conventional approaches would use that rating as revealing something important about the leader being rated. ROL theory would view that same rating as more revealing about the psychology of the follower who makes that rating. This turns the conventional, leader-centric approaches on their heads!

A SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONIST APPROACH

Although this topsy-turvy view of leadership may at first blush seem a bit wild, it is firmly grounded in a well-established intellectual tradition in the social sciences known as “social constructionism.” This tradition emphasizes that our understanding of the world around us is not given to us by some preconstituted, objective reality but rather is actively constructed, shaped, and conditioned by psychological, sociological, and cultural forces. Drawing on a social constructionist stance, ROL theory emphasizes that we have a lot more subjectivity and uncertainty when

we define leadership and evaluate leaders than are typically assumed and that leadership itself must be created and realized in the minds of followers. Leadership, then, according to ROL theory, is very much an “in-the-eye-of-the-beholder” phenomenon. Whereas more conventional approaches might say about leadership that “you see what you get” (implying that what’s most important is what the leader is actually doing), ROL theory might say instead that “you get what you see” (implying that followers’ interpretations are the most important aspect).

FOCUS ON THE IMMEDIATE SOCIAL CONTEXT

Although ROL theory accounts for leadership by giving preeminence to the idea that followers and observers define its reality and existence (leadership is constructed), it also gives equal prominence to the idea that these leadership realities are not simply created in isolation, but rather are shaped and conditioned by social contexts and processes (leadership is socially constructed). Conventional wisdom is that leadership can be understood as a direct result of what transpires between a leader and follower. However, followers are not just connected to their leaders, they are also connected to other followers. According to ROL theory, what transpires between a leader and a follower is constructed and given meaning via the influence and participation of other followers who are connected to one another in a system of relationships. What we see in a leader—the images of leadership that we hold to be true—are social constructions: a product of intersubjectively (beliefs are not individually constructed, but taken over from others and used by a number of persons) shared sense making among members of a group of people interacting with one another.

A SOCIAL NETWORK DIFFUSION APPROACH

The defining characteristics of a leader—as perceived by followers—reflect the workings of the social system whose output—the image of a leader—comes to have the status of a social fact, a

reality (the leader is good or bad, charismatic or not, etc.). The actual conduits of this construction process are the naturally occurring structures and patterns of social interactions that occur among followers. Views of leadership are tested, established, and revised through the mutual influences that take place within these conduits. ROL theory is interested in understanding how various opinions and attitudes regarding leaders and leadership are transmitted and diffused within a network of followers.

A SOCIAL CONTAGION VIEW OF CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP

This social network approach has been taken to examine charismatic leadership, a form of leadership that is usually studied from a strongly leader-centric perspective. Many studies have examined the effects that charismatic leaders have on the thoughts, feelings, and behavior of followers—the so-called charismatic effects. Whereas these effects on followers are conventionally thought to be the result of the actions and behaviors of the leader, ROL theory proposes that charismatic leadership can be modeled as a social contagion process. In this social contagion view of charismatic leadership, the focus of research changes from the more typically studied charismatic expressions of the leaders to the contagious expressions and displays of followers themselves. Social contagion is a type of influence process whereby contagious emotions and behaviors can be transmitted from one person to the next. ROL theory suggests that people “get charismatic leadership” in a way that is analogous to people catching a cold: by coming into contact with others who have it. For example, people at a large political rally may display evidence of charismatic effects because they come into contact with other followers and are witness to their behaviors (emotional, excited, etc.); for example, “the guy delivering that speech up at the podium must really be charismatic if these people are acting this way.” In general, the contagion of charismatic effects is enabled by, and travels through, the structure of social networks that exist among followers. The end result is that what may start out as relatively unor-

ganized and idiosyncratic views of the charismatic qualities of a leader will gradually converge into patterns that are correlated with the underlying structure of communication and influence relationships that produce them.

FOCUS ON THE INTERMEDIATE CONTEXT

Beyond the immediate network of social relationships, other contextual factors have an impact on the way we define and romanticize leadership (Pillai and Meindl, 1998). One of the most important of these is the presence or absence of a crisis. Conventional leadership theories recognize the importance of crisis to the emergence of special leadership processes. For example, experts often theorize that crisis is a precondition for the emergence of charismatic leadership. After the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, Rudy Giuliani, the mayor of New York City, and President George W. Bush seemed to emerge as more appealing leadership figures. More conventional analyses would tend to focus on the persona and behavior—that is, the charisma—of the leaders who are operating during times of crisis. In contrast, ROL theory focuses more attention on what followers who are exposed to a crisis are thinking and feeling and how the crisis changes what they see and/or want to see from their leaders. Indeed, the romanticized tendency to dwell on the charismatic appeal of leaders during times of crisis is illustrated in an analysis of the public's and the media's responses to President Bush's rhetoric before and after the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001.

THE BROAD CULTURAL MILIEU OF LEADERSHIP

Beyond the immediate and intermediate contextual factors, ROL theory is interested in the broader cultural milieu within which followers develop their relationships with their leaders. Go to the business or management section of your favorite bookstore, and you will find a dizzying array of leadership-oriented books, spanning the spectrum from the mundane to the bizarre. ROL theory views the broader culture as a kind of ecological system sup-

porting a diversity of leadership ideas, constructions, images, and practices.

MASS MEDIA AND LEADERSHIP CONSTRUCTIONS

The mass media are an important part of the broader cultural milieu, shaping views about leadership in general and leaders in particular, although conventional leadership theories have all but ignored the media. Consistent with its social constructionist underpinnings, ROL theory sees a marketplace of buyers and sellers who traffic in various leadership products. It seeks to understand the production and consumption of leadership, exploring the meanings and implications. The mass media, particularly the business-oriented press (newspapers such as the *Wall Street Journal* and magazines such as *Fortune* and *Business Week*), produce hard and soft news reports about companies and their ups and downs. In writing about the performance sagas of companies, the popular press often celebrates leadership and helps to produce celebrity leaders (most often CEOs) with images that have widespread cultural appeal. The mass media function both as a mirror and a shaper of popular leadership constructions within a culture. Media companies are essentially commercial enterprises, subject to organizational and professional routines and norms. The leadership images constructed in the popular press are romanticized in ways that represent the needs and values of these organizations and those of their reading publics.

ROMANCING LEADERSHIP IN THE FUTURE

The romance of leadership theory provides a controversial and deliberately provocative view. The very notion of "romanticized" seems to imply that leadership itself is not as important as we typically think. Moreover, it represents a critique of conventional, leader-centric approaches, and it has itself been criticized for its single-minded pursuit of such a radical, social constructionist, and follower-centric agenda. However, the extremist position it adopts is also its greatest attraction: shedding light on issues that are difficult to see through the lens of more conventional

perspectives and spurring others to feature followers and contexts more prominently in their models.

Whatever its place within the pantheon of all leadership theories, the romance of leadership theory is also an observation on a paradoxical aspect of the human condition as it relates to organized activity. On the one hand, it reminds us that we are perhaps too eager to see and to seek the hand of leadership in our fates. It highlights the possibilities for dependence and powerlessness and needful rescue by savior leaders. On the other hand, the great faith we have in leaders and in the process of leadership itself has more empowering possibilities, perhaps entailing an underlying commitment to what are essentially collective solutions to difficult problems that we face together. It is a celebration of human agency and determination, providing a basis for a more hopeful and motivating vision: that through our organizations and our leaders we do indeed have the potential to control the future and our common destinies in an otherwise dangerous and capricious world.

—James R. Meindl, Juan Carlos Pastor,
and Margarita Mayo

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ROOSEVELT, ELEANOR (1884–1962)

Humanitarian and political leader

Anna Eleanor Roosevelt (she did not use her first name, perhaps to avoid confusion with her mother) was born in New York City, the oldest child of Elliott and Anna Hall Roosevelt. During her twelve years as first lady and seven years as a United States delegate to the United Nations, Eleanor Roosevelt manifested leadership on behalf of the disadvantaged in a variety of public and private ways. Her style of leadership, which embraced the ability to communicate ideas of compassion and caring to a mass audience, was

instrumental in making her the single most admired American woman for decades. The niece of one president of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt, and the wife of another, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Eleanor Roosevelt charted a new activist course for presidential spouses during her White House years from 1933 to 1945. She was also the guiding spirit, in 1948, behind United Nations' adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, one of the world's most important statements of human equality.

Overcoming the constraints that surrounded women's roles in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Roosevelt became the most prominent woman of her day by breaking through the bounds of her patrician social class. As a political wife she played an important role in Democratic politics, becoming known for her advocacy of better treatment for women, African-Americans, youth, and underprivileged segments of society. As the widow of a president, she displayed remarkable diplomatic and political skills. She represented the United States at the United Nations from 1945 to 1952 during a time of Cold War tensions, and she spoke up for civil rights and free expression at home. Through her writings, public speaking, and broadcasting, she stood out as a strong voice for peace and justice; she saw herself as a spokesperson for the liberal ideals of her husband and his New Deal administration.

Understanding Eleanor Roosevelt's influence requires an examination of her life in the context of family influences, personal relationships, and involvement in the events that marked the twentieth century. Her emergence as a leader dramatized the sweeping changes that had taken place in women's roles—from the nineteenth century ideal of Victorian noblesse oblige to the modern concept of women as full participants in society.

EARLY LIFE

Both of Eleanor Roosevelt's parents had inherited wealth and were socially prominent descendants of influential families. Her paternal grandfather, Theodore Roosevelt Sr., known as "Greatheart," helped found the Metropolitan Museum of Art and

the Newsboys' Lodging House for homeless youth. Her maternal grandmother was a Livingston, whose great-great grandfather, Philip Livingston, had signed the Declaration of Independence. Elliott's elder brother, Theodore, was President of the United States from 1901 until 1908.

Eleanor Roosevelt endured a troubled childhood. Her mother, known for her beauty, rejected Eleanor because she considered her plain, but her father, noted for his charming personality, adored her and she, in turn, worshipped him. He introduced her to charitable endeavor by taking her with him to serve Thanksgiving dinner at the newsboys' home. Experience of this sort, however, was rare for young Eleanor because her parents' marriage crumbled. Elliott Roosevelt suffered from mental instability. Depressed and addicted to alcohol and drugs, he was unfaithful to his wife and sent away from the family, leaving his daughter, a shy, solemn child, to grieve his absence.

Before she was ten years old, both her parents had died, resulting in Eleanor and Hall, her younger brother, being reared by their maternal grandmother, Mary Ludlow Hall, a stern widow who lived both in Manhattan and at Tivoli, the family estate in the Hudson River Valley. In the Hall household, Eleanor Roosevelt watched her two aunts and two uncles indulge in the lifestyle of the leisure class. Yet her upbringing did have a moral dimension. Mrs. Hall believed upper-class women had a duty to aid the less fortunate as well as to keep up social appearances. In later years, Eleanor Roosevelt wrote that her grandmother had taught her important lessons of self-discipline and conscientious performance that remained with her, even though she had moved far outside her grandmother's narrow world.

The happiest period of Eleanor's girlhood came at Allenswood, an English boarding school for wealthy girls, where she studied from 1899 to 1902. Her quick mind and concern for others made her a favorite of the headmistress, Maria Souvestre, a liberal Frenchwoman. In 1902 Eleanor returned home to make her formal debut into society. Spurred by Souvestre's ideas of social conscience, she joined the Junior League, a social service organization for debutantes, and volunteered at the Rivington Street



Preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Adopted and Proclaimed by General Assembly Resolution 217 A (III) of 10 December 1948

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to

promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, Therefore THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY proclaims THIS UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Settlement House. She also helped investigate sweatshops for the National Consumers League.

MARRIAGE

In 1903, Eleanor became secretly engaged to her fifth cousin, once removed, the handsome Franklin D. Roosevelt, a Harvard student, who lived on a Hudson River estate at Hyde Park, New York. After overcoming initial objections from his widowed mother, Sara Delano Roosevelt, the young couple was married on 17 March 1905 in New York City. While Franklin pursued a political career, his wife was occupied with motherhood, bearing six children, one of whom died in infancy, between the years 1906 and 1916. Uncertain of herself, she tried to please her mother-in-law, who controlled the family finances. For instance, she gave up working at the settlement house because of family fears that she might bring home germs, and she settled into the restricted life of an upper-class matron. After serving in the New York

legislature, Franklin Roosevelt became Assistant Secretary of the Navy and the Roosevelts moved to Washington, D.C., in 1913, where they remained until 1920.

In the capital, Eleanor Roosevelt began to mature, slowly and painfully, into a self-confident individual. At first, she took part in the activities expected of the wives of political figures, making routine calls on other women and organizing successful social events. The entry of the United States into World War I in 1917 provided scope for more fulfilling pursuits as a volunteer for the American Red Cross and the Navy Relief Society. She improved conditions at St. Elizabeth's Hospital, a federal mental hospital, by persuading a friend, Secretary of the Interior Franklin P. Lane, to set up a Congressional investigating committee that increased funds for the institution.

Eleanor's world shattered in 1918 when she discovered that Franklin had been carrying on a long-term romance with Lucy Mercer, her social secretary. Although the couple decided to stay married for the

You gain strength, courage and confidence by every experience in which you really stop to look fear in the face. You must do the thing you think you cannot do.

—Eleanor Roosevelt

sake of their children and Franklin's political career and they continued to function as political partners, they no longer lived together as man and wife. After the family's return to New York, Eleanor nursed Franklin when he contracted polio in 1921, and she worked under the direction of Louis Howe, Franklin's political mentor, to salvage his political career while he recuperated from the disease.

WOMEN'S NETWORKING

In the 1920s, Eleanor Roosevelt threw off her mother-in-law's domination and widened her circle to include women's organizations. Although she had initially opposed women's suffrage, after they won the right to vote in 1920, she pushed for a greater role for women in politics. She involved herself in the League of Women Voters and the Women's Trade Union League, which brought her in contact with Jewish and immigrant women. She became a leader in the Women's Division of the New York State Democratic Party, edited the *Women's Democratic News*, and began to write on women's issues for national magazines.

In charge of women's activities for the Democratic National Committee in 1928, she was forced to resign for fear of conflict of interest when her husband was elected governor of New York that year. Yet she kept on writing articles such as "Women Must Learn to Play the [Political] Game as Men Do" (*Redbook*, April 1928). She became part owner of Todhunter, an exclusive girls' school in New York City, and also taught there. While she campaigned for Franklin's election as President in 1932, when the country was experiencing the Great Depression, she expressed reservations about becoming first lady to her intimate friend, journalist Lorena Hickok. Eleanor was afraid that the conventional social demands of the position would impede her career interests.

FIRST LADY

Once in the White House, however, Eleanor Roosevelt redefined the traditional role played by the President's wife. Using skills developed in her work with women's organizations, she reached out to the public, unlike her predecessors. She held press conferences for women reporters, providing news of special interest to women. Traveling widely, she went on paid lecture tours and gave sponsored radio broadcasts, giving the proceeds to charity. While she stopped teaching, she continued writing magazine articles and advice columns for women's magazines. In 1935, she started a daily newspaper column, "My Day," a diary-like account of her activities that continued until the year of her death. Although her public communication generally was not billed as political—a sample lecture topic, for example, was "Problems of Youth"—it had political overtones that obviously benefited the Roosevelt administration. In 1937 she published the first volume of her well-received autobiography, *This Is My Story*, one of two dozen books she wrote on subjects related to her travels, life experience, and political views.

Eleanor played a major behind-the-scenes role in a variety of New Deal programs. She backed the establishment of the National Youth Administration to help Depression-stricken young people and championed the resettlement of unemployed coal miners in West Virginia. As war loomed in Europe, she pressed for passage of legislation to admit refugee children but Congress did not act. Unlike her husband, who feared Southern conservatives in Congress, she spoke up for the rights of African-Americans, unsuccessfully urging her husband to support anti-lynching legislation. When Marian Anderson, an African-American singer, was denied the use of a hall owned by the Daughters of the American Revolution because of her race, Eleanor resigned from that organization. Surprisingly, she did not make a public protest about placing Japanese-Americans in concentration camps, although she did disagree with the policy.

Sometimes she endured intense hostility—for her looks, for not staying home, for her friendships with those of different races and ethnic groups. Newspaper criticism forced her to resign as the unpaid assis-

tant director of the Office of Civil Defense in 1942, but she publicized the World War II war effort by visiting service personnel in England, the South Pacific, and Latin America.

THE UNITED NATIONS

Following Franklin Roosevelt's unexpected death in 1945, President Harry S. Truman appointed Eleanor Roosevelt as U. S. representative to the United Nations where she served until Eisenhower became President in 1953. Her unsurpassed devotion to the organization, which she saw as essential to maintaining world peace, and her work as chair of the Human Rights Commission, which drafted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, added to her international reputation.

After she left her official position, she continued to work as a volunteer on behalf of the United Nations. As a leading liberal in the Democratic party, she attacked McCarthyism, pressed for civil liberties, backed the civil rights campaign, and was a strong supporter of the new state of Israel.

Although she did not support the Equal Rights Amendment for most of her political life, on the grounds that it would negate protective legislation for working women, her last public service was to chair President John F. Kennedy's Commission on the Status of Women. Commission activities set the stage for the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

She died in New York City in 1962. Among the outpourings of sympathy were the words of U Thant, acting secretary-general of the United Nations, who called her the "First Lady of the World."

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Eleanor Roosevelt's leadership at the United Nations laid the foundation for contemporary attempts to establish the legal concept of basic human rights. Her career continues to inspire both men and women because she transformed the circumstances of her privileged life into help for humanity. She took Victorian concepts of charity and duty and turned them into modern statements of hope for all people.

—*Maurine H. Beasley*

See also Human Rights

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ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN DELANO (1882–1945)

U.S. president

Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) was president of the United States from 1933 to 1945. In the poll of historians and other academic experts conducted in 1948 by historian Arthur Schlesinger Sr. and in similar polls thereafter, Roosevelt is consistently ranked



Selections from Franklin Delano Roosevelt's First Inaugural Address, 4 March 1933

I am certain that my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the Presidency I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our Nation impels. This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great Nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance. In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory. I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days.

In such a spirit on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunken to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all kinds is faced by serious curtailment of income; the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce; the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone.

More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment.

Yet our distress comes from no failure of substance. We are stricken by no plague of locusts. Compared with

the perils which our forefathers conquered because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for. Nature still offers her bounty and human efforts have multiplied it. Plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply. Primarily this is because the rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed, through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure, and abdicated. Practices of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men.

[. . .]

But it is not enough to achieve these purposes alone. It is not enough to clothe and feed the body of this Nation, and instruct and inform its mind. For there is also the spirit. And of the three, the greatest is the spirit.

Without the body and the mind, as all men know, the Nation could not live.

But if the spirit of America were killed, even though the Nation's body and mind, constricted in an alien world, lived on, the America we know would have perished.

That spirit—that faith—speaks to us in our daily lives in ways often unnoticed, because they seem so obvious. It speaks to us here in the Capital of the Nation. It speaks to us through the processes of governing in the sovereignties of 48 States. It speaks to us in our counties, in our cities, in our towns, and in our villages. It speaks to us from the other nations of the hemisphere, and from those across the seas—the enslaved, as well as the free. Sometimes we fail to hear or heed these voices of freedom because to us the privilege of our freedom is such an old, old story.

Source: Franklin Delano Roosevelt's Inaugural Speeches. Retrieved October 8, 2003, from <http://www.indiana.edu/~libgpd/guides/pres/pres32.html>

with George Washington and Abraham Lincoln among the most highly regarded presidents. Tested in crisis, Roosevelt led the United States through the Great Depression and World War II. Roosevelt also established the modern U.S. presidency and welfare state and brought to power the New Deal voting coalition that shaped national politics to the end of the twentieth century. Students of leadership generally regard Roosevelt as the paragon of democratic statesmanship. Powerful enough to expand government and shape the political agenda during a time of political unrest, Roosevelt battled populist dema-

gogues on the left and right to uphold policies and values consistent with the U.S. Constitution and the U.S. democratic tradition.

THE EARLY ROOSEVELT

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, son of Sara and James Roosevelt, was born to a well-to-do family, a clan of Dutch ancestry who was part of New York's Hudson River gentry in Dutchess County. Franklin's early life, typical of the U.S. upper class, was filled by private tutoring, trips abroad, and the pursuit of hobbies,

including stamp collecting, natural and naval history, and sailing. Although his childhood was idyllic, Roosevelt developed what his biographer Ted Morgan called an “opaque core” and an “inner armor” to defend himself against his mother’s meddling (Morgan 1985, 50). At fourteen FDR entered the elite boys preparatory school, Groton, run by the legendary headmaster, Endicott Peabody, who instilled in his charges a simple, powerful Christian faith as well as a public spiritedness. Later in life, FDR would remark that, next to his parents, Peabody was the most formative influence in his boyhood. The future president performed well academically, finishing at the top of his class at Groton and later at Harvard, where he finished his degree in three years. FDR was a quick study with a flair for languages and had an encyclopedic knowledge of topics he loved. The flaw in Roosevelt’s mind, however, seemed to be rooted in his personality—he had little in the way of an introspective quality, as well as an inability to integrate ideas to think systematically or synthetically. Biographer Kenneth Davis argued that Roosevelt possessed a “collector’s mind” that was good with details but uncomfortable with generalities (Davis 1971, 140).

At Harvard, Roosevelt distinguished himself through his labors at the student newspaper, *The Crimson*. Although not a talented journalist, he became the paper’s chief editor by working hard as well as by employing an affable, accommodating manner that would define his leadership style. Despite his sunny optimism and easygoing manner, one member of the *Crimson* staff said of Roosevelt: “In his geniality there was a kind of frictionless command” (Davis 1971, 163).

ROOSEVELT’S EARLY LEADERSHIP

Roosevelt diffidently practiced law with a Wall Street firm until 1910, when he won a seat in the New York state Senate. In the election of 1912 FDR was an early backer of Woodrow Wilson. That backing got Roosevelt appointed assistant secretary of the navy. Roosevelt developed the reputation as a skilled administrator, although he was inclined to steal the spotlight and at times undercut the authority of the secretary under whom he served, Joseph Daniels.

Even as Roosevelt energetically engaged in the naval work, he kept an eye on New York politics, maintaining allegiances back home in anticipation of his eventual reemergence as an elected official. Roosevelt developed a considerable following. Tammany Hall (the Democratic political machine that dominated New York City politics) leadership, eager to keep him out of New York affairs in 1920, successfully advanced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for vice president on the ticket headed by James Cox. Despite Roosevelt’s best attempts the Cox-Roosevelt ticket lost badly to the Calvin Coolidge ticket.

In the summer of 1921, Roosevelt contracted polio. Despite a strenuous exercise regimen and a two-year period of convalescence, Roosevelt would never regain use of his legs. The disability, in the judgment of his wife, Eleanor, made Roosevelt more compassionate and patient. In 1926, he purchased a resort in Warm Springs, Georgia, that became a rehabilitation center. He mixed with the patients there, who, like him, were stricken with polio, encouraging their recovery.

In the mid-1920s, Roosevelt began his political comeback, becoming active in Democratic Party affairs and winning the New York race for governor in 1928. Roosevelt took easily to his first elected executive position, but the state legislature resisted many of his progressive proposals. In 1933, Roosevelt launched his presidential bid as the choice of the progressive wing of the Democratic Party, the only truly national figure in the field. The general election against President Herbert Hoover was an easier contest. Roosevelt offered a “New Deal” for U.S. citizens. He offered few specifics other than to warn the country against the destructiveness of despair. However, Roosevelt’s victory was assured.

NEW DEAL LEADERSHIP

“There is nothing to fear but fear itself,” President Roosevelt announced in his inaugural address and with those words launched a historic period of legislative innovation and government expansion called the “first 100 days.” During this period Roosevelt’s landslide election, combined with the sense of despair over the Great Depression licensed the president to

exercise virtually unchecked power. During this great honeymoon period between the president and Congress, many of the “alphabet soup” federal agencies of the New Deal were formed. Just as important as the new interventionist thrust was Roosevelt’s leadership aimed at restoring public confidence in the economy and the nation. Although some of the policies enacted were contradictory and failed to help end the economic crisis, for Roosevelt the more important point was that vigorous activity would inspire a bedraggled people to no longer despair.

The New Deal as a leadership project was a series of interlocking commitments and goals that President Roosevelt persistently pursued. Roosevelt’s first and the most abiding goal was to restore confidence in U.S. constitutionalism and traditional democratic values at a time when they were under assault from the left and the right. He viewed the presidency as a preeminent position of moral authority. Roosevelt’s second goal was to bring about an economic revival that would demonstrate the practical value of a reaffirmation of U.S. traditionalism. Through a variety of methods—fiscal spending, market controls, and monetary manipulation—the administration sought to keep the economy on track. The third goal of the New Deal was modernization—to knit the country together through great public works projects in the underdeveloped South and West to create a truly national economy. The final goal was to render humanitarian assistance directly through the granting of welfare expenditures or indirectly through government jobs-creation projects. The common thread in all New Deal policies was to harness the power of an activist government to make the U.S. system work.

ROOSEVELT’S WAR LEADERSHIP

The events leading to U.S. entry into World War II in late 1941 are the most controversial aspect of Roosevelt’s leadership. In the early presidency, Roosevelt largely ignored foreign policy, focusing his attention on reviving the domestic economy, even as militarism took hold in Germany, Italy, and Japan. Yielding to congressional isolationists in 1935, Roosevelt signed the Neutrality Act, which prohibited the ship-

ment of arms to foreign belligerents. Roosevelt feared that a forceful, confrontational approach with the fascist powers would risk losing support for his New Deal policies. While Roosevelt complained, “it is a terrible thing to look over your shoulder when you are trying to lead—and find no one there,” he refused to engage in an extended dialogue with the public about the need for the United States to take an active role in world affairs (Davis 1993, 140). He feared that moving too forcefully would empower congressional isolationists to further constrict his power by strengthening of the prohibitions of the Neutrality Act. Although Roosevelt abhorred the fascist dictatorships, as late as 1941 he hoped to keep the United States out of war. That was a promise he made in the 1940 presidential race. As the German Nazi leader Adolf Hitler invaded European nations, Roosevelt moved to turn the United States into an “arsenal of democracy,” providing war supplies to England, a policy made much easier with the revision of the Neutrality Act in November 1939. The Japanese sneak attack at Pearl Harbor in December 1941, of course, forced U.S. entry into the war.

After the United States was committed to the war, Roosevelt’s primary leadership tasks were to work in concert with the important Allied powers—Britain and the Soviet Union—as well as to keep up morale on the home front. Roosevelt’s overarching goal was to marshal resources for an invasion of Europe across the English Channel. In this plan, he had to overcome the reservations of British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and the British military. (They feared catastrophic consequences if such a direct clash with German forces took place.) The D-Day invasion of 1944 was a military success, proof of the quality of U.S. military planning. Roosevelt also devoted considerable attention to the postwar international order, a matter that was a central topic of discussion at the Yalta Summit in 1945. There Churchill, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, and Roosevelt agreed to create the United Nations and allowed Russia de facto dominance of eastern Europe. Although some have condemned Roosevelt for capitulating too readily to Stalin’s territorial demands, viewing Yalta as Roosevelt’s most glaring error of his long presidency, it is clear that Roosevelt

had little choice. Soviet troops held the territory, and Stalin was not prepared to negotiate away what he viewed as vital to the Soviet's military security.

ROOSEVELT'S LEADERSHIP STYLE

The defining characteristic of Roosevelt's leadership was the tactical use of political manipulation, feint, and misdirection to serve the strategic goal of allowing him maximum flexibility and freedom to act. This approach was rooted in Roosevelt's personality. He liked practical jokes, enjoyed fooling people, and took particular satisfaction in clever decisions that tied adversaries in knots. Roosevelt greatly amused himself when he appointed Joseph P. Kennedy—a slightly disreputable millionaire financier—to run the Securities and Exchange Commission to keep an eye on his former cronies. A few years later, Roosevelt enjoyed tweaking the British establishment with the appointment of the brusque Irish-American as ambassador to England. Roosevelt's staff and cabinet were subjected to the same treatment. Harold Ickes, secretary of the interior and head of the Public Works Administration, and Harry Hopkins, administrator of the Works Progress Administration, had overlapping authority for public works projects, a source of bitter rivalry between the two and a matter that Roosevelt never sought to straighten out. Secretary of State Cordell Hull and his powerful undersecretary, Sumner Wells, vied for the president's attention and held each other in mutual contempt. Roosevelt liked to position his underlings in competitive balance so that ideas flowed into the White House and no aide became too powerful. Many were amazed by how well Roosevelt tracked the gossip that circulated in Washington's rumor mill, information gained from the multiple sources he had around town. When mulling over the possibility of seeking a third term as president, at various junctures Roosevelt let many of his close associates believe they were his anointed candidates to succeed him as president, including Harry Hopkins, Agriculture Secretary Henry Wallace, and Postmaster James Farley. The subtle manipulation of those around him allowed Roosevelt to bide his time to see if the moment would ripen for him to seek a third term.

The famous Roosevelt charm masked—or at least took an edge off—much of the manipulation. Roosevelt was unfailingly familiar with all visitors, typically referring to all by their first name and engaging in amiable chatter. A common technique that Roosevelt employed when he wanted to avoid a confrontation or a difficult decision or topic was to dominate a conversation with irrelevant chatter until the time for a scheduled appointment was up. At times, Roosevelt overestimated his ability to charm adversaries. He clearly underestimated his ability to “handle” Stalin, for example.

All of Roosevelt's political machinations were conveyed with a mischievous humor that many—particularly members of the press—found disarming. Dismissing Republican charges that Roosevelt had ordered the navy to send a destroyer to fetch his Scottish terrier, Fala, Roosevelt said in a famous 1944 “Fala speech” to the Teamsters Union that the dog's “Scotch soul was furious. He has not been the same dog since” (Kennedy 2001, 792). In a speech at the University of North Carolina in 1938, amid charges that he practiced class warfare, Roosevelt noticed that his critics claimed that he “breakfasted every morning on a dish of grilled millionaire” (Roosevelt 1938, 147). Amid laughter at the comic exaggeration, Roosevelt assured the audience that he “was a devotee of scrambled eggs” (Roosevelt 1938, 147).

Most of the public experienced Roosevelt's charismatic personal leadership through a medium the president exploited well: radio. Roosevelt delivered many informal addresses that were dubbed “fireside chats” because of the great warmth and intimacy that Roosevelt projected. His first as president was his most memorable and came during the banking crisis of 1933. The president explained bank operations in clear, commonsense language during his first radio “Fireside Chat” (12 March 1933), noting, “I can assure you that it is safer to keep your money in a reopened bank than under the mattress” (Kennedy 2001, 136).

ROOSEVELT'S VISION AND LEGACY

The twelve years of Roosevelt's governance transformed the U.S. political system. The creation of the

New Deal voting coalition is Roosevelt's most enduring legacy. New loyalties among working-class and middle-class voters formed to make the Democratic Party the majority party from 1933 until the early 1990s. Roosevelt also transformed the commitments of the Democratic Party from a states' rights agenda to a liberal party supportive of big government activism. Programmatically, Roosevelt steered to passage legislation that created institutions that are still important today, including the Social Security Administration, the Securities and Exchange Commission, and many great public works projects initiated by the Public Works Administration, among others. Roosevelt changed the system of U.S. federalism, too, putting citizens in direct contact with the federal government and encouraging a system of intergovernmental cooperation to solve pressing problems. Politically, Roosevelt "personalized" the presidency through the use of radio, making direct appeals to the public to bring pressure to bear on Congress. The presidency under Roosevelt became the first among nominally equal branches, responsible for setting the nation's legislative agenda. Roosevelt also reengineered the organization of the executive branch, fortifying the power of the presidency with the creation of the Executive Office of the President, marking the start of the creation of an extensive staffing system to serve an advisory role to aid presidential decision making. In the historian William Leuchtenburg's term, subsequent presidents have labored in the "shadow" of FDR, forced to use his leadership as the yardstick for their own but never quite measuring up. Perhaps even more important than the revolutionary changes of the Roosevelt years were the aspects of U.S. life that Roosevelt preserved. In an era when Europe fell under the sway of dictatorships of the left and right, Roosevelt sought to preserve U.S. constitutionalism by expanding the power of the federal government to preserve fundamental commitments to civil liberties, democratic elections, and the separation of powers. Perhaps Schlesinger's classic formulation is the best summation of the Roosevelt's leadership: Roosevelt used Hamiltonian (relating to the U.S. politician Alexander Hamilton) means of vigorous federal

power to preserve the Jeffersonian (relating to the U.S. president Thomas Jefferson) ends of liberty and democracy.

—Richard M. Flanagan

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ROOSEVELT, THEODORE (1858–1919)

U.S. president

Theodore Roosevelt was instrumental in transforming the United States into a world power, matching a U.S. military authority with a rising economic position. At home, he elevated the federal government to a then-unprecedented preeminence vis-à-vis private corporations and state governments—and with Hamiltonian "energy in the executive" (*The Feder-*

alist [No. 70] 1788)—he made the presidency the mainspring of the federal government. His accomplishments ranged from the construction of the Panama Canal (completed in 1914) to the establishment of the modern administrative state through dramatic expansion of federal regulatory authority. His environmental legacy—protecting more than 230 millions acres from development, including landmarks such as the Grand Canyon—now accepted was once controversial.

BIRTH AND EARLY YEARS

Roosevelt was born on 28 October 1858, in New York City. His father, Theodore Roosevelt Sr., used his family's established social and economic standing to become a noted philanthropist and leader in public affairs. Following a practice then customary among the most privileged, Roosevelt Sr. purchased the services of a second rather than fighting in the Civil War, but toiled as a noncombatant to assist the Union cause. Theodore Roosevelt's mother, Martha Bulloch Roosevelt, came from an established family in Georgia, bringing unaccustomed southern values of romance and militarism into the generally stolid Roosevelt line.

When young, Theodore was by all accounts very weak physically, tormented especially by asthma that was debilitating (he was often unable to summon sufficient breath to extinguish a bedside candle) that made him a center of his family's concerned attention. At the urging of his father, "Teedie" began remaking his body through laborious exertions in a household gymnasium. According to Roosevelt's *Autobiography* (1913, chap. 2), a fateful moment occurred when he was thirteen years of age. Humiliated by roughhousing boys who bullied him without apparent exertion or remorse during a summer retreat, he methodically undertook what became a defining, lifelong project of self-creation. The result was Roosevelt's "strenuous life . . . philosophy—of bodily vigor as a method for getting that vigor of soul without which vigor of the body counts for nothing."

Entering Harvard College after home schooling, Roosevelt asserted various aspects of his multifaceted personality, prefiguring his lifelong quest to

combine the life of action and the life of the mind. Successfully moving on from his grief at the death of his father during his junior year, Roosevelt participated in sports and literary activities, graduating with Phi Beta Kappa honors. He also became engaged to his first love, Alice Hathaway Lee, whom he married five months after graduation, on his birthday in 1880.

A "DUDE" ENTERS POLITICS

Roosevelt returned to New York City, where he entered the Columbia Law School, simultaneously writing what would become a standard reference, *The Naval War of 1812*. Uncommon for a person of high privilege at the time, Roosevelt soon left his law studies for politics. Beginning in 1881, he was elected to three terms in the state assembly, where he recalled he "rose like a rocket" (Morison 1951, 634).

Roosevelt's hitherto cosseted life turned difficult on 14 February 1884, when, in a hideous coincidence, his mother and wife both died, from separate and unexpected illnesses, in the family home where Roosevelt was born. Stricken with grief, he left his newborn daughter, Alice, in the care of his elder sister, and headed to the Dakota Territory. His experience there over the next two years completed his physical transformation into the masterly, robustly assertive individual that he later personified; he also transcended his former geographic and class-based snobbery. Roosevelt later said that his experiences in the West made possible his ultimate emergence as president.

Returning to New York in 1886, Roosevelt ran for mayor on the Republican ticket, placing third in a three-way contest. The next two years were marked by his remarriage (to Edith Kermit Carow, a family friend), the completion of his Long Island home, Sagamore Hill, the birth of his second child (four more would follow), and his writing of several books on history, politics and wilderness life.

Roosevelt's public career resumed in 1889, when he became a U.S. Civil Service Commissioner. He contemplated another run for New York City mayor in 1894 but, bowing to the wishes of his wife, declined. When his party's eventual nominee was elected, Roosevelt was given an unenviable consola-

tion prize, an appointment to the New York City Police Board. Becoming its president, he served until the spring of 1897. Although these positions afforded Roosevelt opportunities for recognition as a reformer, he and other politicians did not think public office in New York City would assist his climb to the higher appointive or elective office.

ROOSEVELT'S "CROWDED HOURS" BEGIN

In April 1897, President William McKinley (1843–1901) appointed Roosevelt to the position of assistant secretary of the navy. Though this was the number two position in the Navy Department, Roosevelt did not hesitate to move ahead of the president and the secretary in publicly advocating a world-class fleet and America's entry into the "great game" of imperialism. He verged on insubordination when he assumed responsibility for the department in the course of his superior's absence for an afternoon, ordering the navy to prepare for war against Spain in the Philippines.

When war with Spain finally arrived, he obtained a commission to serve in Cuba. Roosevelt's character was illuminated by his battlefield heroics, which bonded him for life with the "Rough Riders" under his command. His simultaneous readiness to publicly challenge his superiors furthered endeared him to his recruits, but was likely a factor in his being denied, until 2001, the Congressional Medal of Honor he coveted.

FROM ROUGH RIDER TO THE PRESIDENCY

Roosevelt's performance was habitually reported in the increasingly influential mass media, establishing him as an early celebrity in the modern sense. On the strength of the public acclaim he garnered, Roosevelt's independence was overlooked by party bosses seeking a plausible Republican gubernatorial candidate New York in 1898. Elected by a narrow margin, as Governor Roosevelt he established a creditable record, instituting corporate regulation (especially relating to taxation and public disclosure), civil service reform, and conservation policies that prefigured his presidency.

A year later, in 1899, McKinley's vice president unexpectedly died. Under the law at the time, the post would remain vacant through the election in November 1900. Against the president's initial inclinations, Roosevelt was placed on the McKinley ticket at the 1900 Republican convention. He was the choice of an unlikely coalition of supporters (seeking to move him toward the presidency) and detractors (who thought the vice presidency would signal the end of his political career). As McKinley's running mate, Roosevelt served as the primary traveling spokesman for the ticket that achieved a landslide victory in November.

Following McKinley's assassination just six months after their inaugural, on 14 September 1901, Roosevelt assumed the presidency. He remains the youngest individual to serve in the nation's highest office.

ROOSEVELT WIELDS THE BIG STICK AT HOME AND ABROAD

Though Roosevelt declared fidelity to the "stand pat" McKinley program, he inevitably left his own indelible mark on the presidency and the nation. He officially gave the executive mansion the name that the public had long used: The White House.

In February 1902, Roosevelt asserted the federal government's primacy over the private financial power that had dominated the post-Civil War period of breakneck industrialization. Without the then customary advance notice to the prospective corporate defendants, the new president ordered the attorney general to bring an antitrust suit against the Northern Securities trust. In one stroke, Roosevelt had openly defied the imperious J. P. Morgan (whose private power was comparable to today's secretary of the treasury and federal reserve chairman, combined), had put himself on the side of individual citizens against the often reviled railroads, and thrust the presidency—and himself—into the center of American life. Later that year, Roosevelt demonstrated that could indeed "speak softly" as well as "carry a big stick," successfully mediating a potentially ruinous anthracite coal strike that divided labor and management in the fall and winter of 1902.

With the strategic goal of increasing American commerce and military power by constructing a path between the Atlantic and Pacific, Roosevelt took on the Panama Canal. Beginning in 1903, Roosevelt combined ruthless *realpolitik* in obtaining rights from the new nation of Panama with a deft hand in managing one of the great public works projects of history.

THE "SQUARE DEAL" EMERGES

Elected in his own right by a record majority in 1904, Roosevelt could no longer be dismissed by critics as "His Accident." He had new power to advance his policies, which he said would provide a "Square Deal" for ordinary Americans seeking to lead lives reflecting what he called "the higher life of citizenship." Roosevelt believed that a democracy's well-being ultimately rested on the character of the people on whose consent government was based. The definition he offered varied, and was somewhat imprecise—yet it resonated with many Americans in the early twentieth century. For example, in California in 1903, the young president declared:

Character has two sides. It is composed of two sets of traits; in the first place the set of traits which we group together under such names as clean living, decency, morality, virtue, and the desire and power to deal fairly each by his neighbor, each by his friends, each toward the State. . . . In addition to decency, morality, virtue, clean living, you must have hardihood, resolution, courage, the power to do, the power to dare, the power to endure, and when you have that combination, then you get the proper type of American citizenship. (Roosevelt 1903, 22–23; 38)

After he established an agency to regulate corporations in 1903, in 1906 he succeeded in obtaining congressional approval of new railroad rate regulation (via the Hepburn Act), as well as the Pure Food and Drug Act, and federal meat inspection.

Roosevelt's oft-quoted "speak softly and carry big stick" is often associated with the jingoism of the Spanish-American War and his Rough Rider's apparent zest for a fight. This characterization, however, belies Roosevelt's true political acumen. Holding power, Roosevelt exhibited subtlety and skill in for-



Rough Rider Reenactment Groups

Although not as numerous as Civil War ones, there are several Rough Rider reenactment groups active in the United States. Their activities range from reenacting battles to marching in parades to giving historical talks and demonstrations. Some are listed below and additional information can be obtained from <http://home.sprynet.com/~frfrog/rough.htm#Reenactment>

1st United States Volunteer Cavalry, A Troop, Prescott Rough Riders (Prescott, AZ): Bill Dickey, sgt. Maj., 1201 Overstreet, Prescott, Arizona 86303; www.sightpicture.com

1st United States Volunteer Cavalry, K Troop (Leon, TX): John Cobb, Captain; K Troop, 1st United States Volunteer Cavalry, 8068 PR 1440, Centerville, Texas 75833; E-mail: cobbfarm@icountry.net

1st United States Volunteer Cavalry, A Troop (Syosset, NY): C.W. Uhlinger, Troop Commander, Nassau-Suffolk Horsemen's Association, Inc., P.O. Box 270, Syosset, New York 11791-0270; www.nshaonline.org

Florida Spanish-American War Re-enactors (Tampa, FL): Ron G. Hickox, 4819 College Court, #7-B, Tampa, FL 33617; E-mail: rhickox@ix.netcom.com

eign affairs. He became the first American to win the Nobel Peace Prize for his successful mediation of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. He established the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine (asserting American rights to intervene in Latin America to enforce the historic U.S. policy against European intervention) with support for international legal institutions to render its application less likely.

He marked his presidency by the vigorous application of federal authority for environmental protection and thoughtful resource use. Employing every legal tool at his disposal, Roosevelt took this fight to every venue. Though successful in obtaining congressional approval for new initiatives in reclamation and preservation, he also made unprecedented use of executive authority to bring land within federal protection—at times in brazen defiance of powerful interests and their congressional allies. As his effectiveness with Congress waned, he developed new mechanisms such as national study commission including and a convocation of the governors that

The best executive is the one who has sense enough to pick good men to do what he wants done, and self-restraint enough to keep from meddling with them while they do it.

—Theodore Roosevelt

would become the National Governors' Association.

Roosevelt's presidency closed with the return of the Great White Fleet that between 1907 and 1909 circumnavigated the world as a symbol of America's newfound naval power. Its guns demonstrated power; its color communicated the desire for peace; its leaving the American shores relatively undefended conveyed confidence.

"THE GREATEST EX-PRESIDENT"

Though his public support remained high, Roosevelt honored an impulsive 1904 commitment not to seek another term (then allowed by the Constitution). He left office on a positive note, one of the few American presidents to succeed in turning over the White House to his chosen successor. Handing the reins to his friend William Howard Taft (1857–1930), Roosevelt embarked on a long-planned African safari, followed by a well-received European tour marked by several major speeches. Though Roosevelt's continuing effect on national life would lead one historian of the period—John Milton Cooper Jr.—to label him "the greatest ex-president," his remaining years were marked by challenge and disappointment.

Roosevelt returned in 1910 to an unsettled political situation. Taft, through his support for the conservative "Old Guard," as well as general political ineptitude, exacerbated a growing breach with the progressive Republican faction associated with Roosevelt.

A Taft-Roosevelt estrangement ultimately resulted in Roosevelt's February 1912 announcement that he would challenge the president for the Republican nomination. A bitter fight ensued. Though Roosevelt swept the direct primaries, the president's control of the largely unelected delegates proved impervious to Taft's bungling and Roosevelt's assault. Following an acrimonious national convention, Roosevelt and his

followers, charging theft, bolted, forming the National Progressive ("Bull Moose") Party.

The Democrats' subsequent nomination of New Jersey governor Woodrow Wilson, also identified as a progressive, made Roosevelt's defeat—and Wilson's triumph over the divided Republicans—all but certain. Nonetheless, Roosevelt managed to place second—the highest third-party total in American history—and the victorious Wilson was elected a plurality president, garnering fewer votes than his party's 1908 nominee achieved in defeat.

Roosevelt was politically marooned. He watched with mixed feelings as Wilson's New Freedom increasingly grasped the progressive mantle, though he was gratified that many of the 1912 Bull Moose proposals—from endorsement of woman's suffrage, to calls for a "living wage," and a stronger national government—were taken up by the Democrats. As a practical politician, Roosevelt returned to the Republican fold in 1916, assisting Charles Evans Hughes's narrowly unsuccessful campaign against Wilson.

As World War I engulfed Europe in 1914 and 1915, Roosevelt became an increasingly strong voice for "preparedness," unsympathetically contrasting the "milk and water" diplomacy of Wilson with the "blood and iron" of Wilhelmine Germany. When America entered the conflict in April 1917, Theodore Roosevelt unsuccessfully sought Wilson's approval for yet another return to military service. At the same time, he returned to public favor.

Roosevelt soldiered on at the home front, speaking and writing with customary robustness. His four sons saw combat and his daughter Ethel served as a nurse. In July 1918, his youngest child, Quentin, was killed in air combat in France. Observing an inconsolable Theodore Roosevelt, one friend said, "the boy in him finally died." Visibly in decline, increasingly in the hospital or confined to sedentary activities at his home, Sagamore Hill on Long Island, Theodore Roosevelt died in the early morning hours of January 6, 1919.

ROOSEVELT'S CONTINUING INFLUENCE

From the distance of a generation, the distinguished American journalist Walter Lippmann was not alone

in considering Roosevelt “the image of a great leader and the prototype of Presidents” (Lippmann 1935). Reflecting aspects of his original, multifaceted personality, liberals and conservatives alike acknowledge parts of Roosevelt’s wide-ranging political legacy. For example, liberals can point to his key role in the establishment of the modern regulatory state, based on strong national regulatory authority emanating from an empowered presidency. Conservatives similarly find inspiration in his muscular foreign policy, combining idealism with hard-headed realpolitik. In the early twenty-first century, otherwise contending interests pay obeisance to and find inspiration in his indispensable role in granting environmental protection and resource use a central place in American life.

Roosevelt’s ebullient, joyful embrace of power—underscored by his youth during his presidency, and his robust evocation of American national character and destiny—impart a timelessness and approachability being rediscovered in the early twenty-first century. In addition to his enduring accomplishments, Roosevelt is remembered for his animating faith in that the American nation is strong because of what he saw as the public and private “character” of its people. As he declared in 1915: “If I have anything at all resembling genius, it is in the gift for leadership. . . . To tell the truth, I like to believe that, by what I have accomplished *without* great gifts, I may be a source of encouragement to American[s]” (Street 1915, 53).

—James M. Strock

See also Panama Canal, Building of; Panama Canal Treaties; Trust Busting

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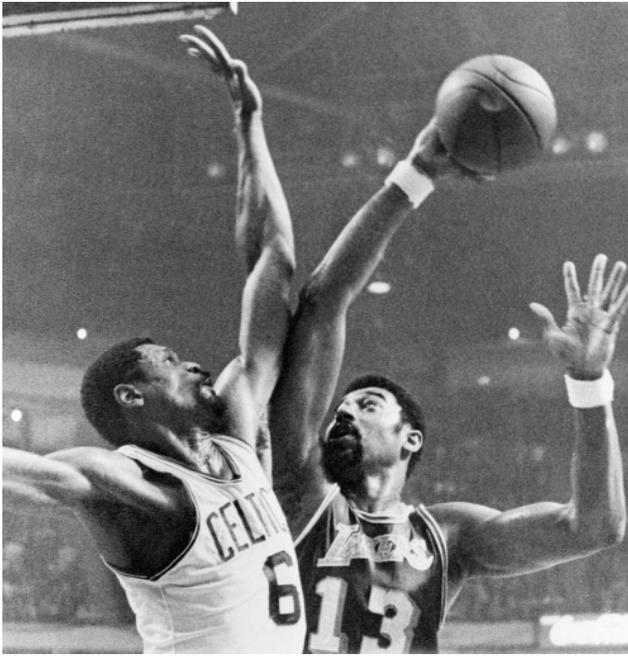
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RUSSELL, BILL (b. 1934)

Professional basketball player

Bill Russell is considered by many to be the greatest team athlete of the twentieth century. In thirteen seasons with the legendary Boston Celtics, he led the team to eleven championships, including one stretch of eight straight. Russell was the spiritual and physical leader of the Celtic’s dynasty. As an individual, Russell redefined the center position and dominated games by playing intense defense and rebounding. Rather than selfishly worrying about personal statistics, he fit his own amazing skills into the team concept. He ultimately made those around him better,



In one of the most intense sports rivalries of all time, Bill Russell of the Celtics defends against Wilt Chamberlain of the Lakers in a championship series game on 27 April 1969 at the Boston Garden.

Source: Corbis; used by permission.

forcing his teammates to match his level of intensity and will to win.

Born in Monroe, Louisiana, in 1934, Russell grew up during the Depression and experienced the stifling segregation of West Monroe. His father, Charles, who had also been raised in the state, had known former slaves as a boy. Russell's mother, Katie, instilled in him the competitive fire that would make him such an outstanding athlete. When Russell was nine years old, a boy in a gang slapped him as he walked home. His mother's response was to make him fight each boy, one after the other. That incident taught Russell that—win or lose—he had to fight back.

Katie expected Bill and his older brother, Charlie Jr., not only to graduate from high school, but also to go to college. Unfortunately, Katie would never see either. She died of kidney failure in 1946, when she was only thirty-two years old. Her dying words to Charles were to make sure the boys went to college.

The family relocated to Oakland, California, after Charles was denied a raise at the mill in Louisiana because he was black. The Russell brothers flourished in their new home. Charlie Jr. eventually grad-

uated from college and became a playwright and social worker. Bill excelled in the classroom, but was a late bloomer on the basketball court. The turning point for the gangly boy was when the University of San Francisco offered him a scholarship. Coach Phil Woolpert was skeptical, but agreed to take him on.

Woolpert endured harsh criticism for starting three black players, but the USF team won its first NCAA title in 1955. Almost immediately, Russell changed the way the game was played. He blocked shots in an era when defensive players were taught not to jump. The next year, the team once again won the championship. Russell and Hall of Fame teammate K.C. Jones led the team to fifty-five straight wins. After winning the second championship, Russell led the 1956 Olympic basketball team to the gold medal. He dictated the pace of play while on defense, both altering and blocking shots.

A passionate and ferocious competitor, Russell gave his all out on the court. He worked himself into a competitive frenzy, often throwing up before big games. After the grueling NBA playoffs, Russell needed several weeks to recover from the ache in his bones. In Russell's professional career, he was named MVP of the league five times (1958, 1961–1963, 1965). In addition, he was a twelve-time All-Star and won many other accolades. In 1996, he was named one of the fifty greatest players of all time as the NBA celebrated its fiftieth anniversary. Over his career, Russell averaged an astounding 22.5 rebounds per game and 15.1 points per game.

Today's fans remember Russell for the great duels he had with offensive superstar Wilt Chamberlain. The debate over who was the greatest player ever (prior to Michael Jordan) focused on the two big men with contrasting styles. While Chamberlain set scoring records, Russell showed that a center could dominate games on the defensive end and the Celtics won championships.

In 1966, Russell became the first African-American to coach in a major professional sport when Celtic Coach Red Auerbach personally chose the heart and soul of the Celtic dynasty to take over the reins. The team won championships in two of the three years Russell served as player/coach.

After his playing career ended, Russell returned

to the NBA as coach and general manager of the Seattle SuperSonics from 1973 to 1977. The team he built there went on to win an NBA championship two years after he left. His brief tenure with the Sacramento Kings in the 1987–1988 season ended badly. He was fired and returned to Seattle, where he has lived ever since.

Despite the racial climate in the United States in the 1960s and an innate shyness, Russell always spoke openly about the issues that troubled him. Unlike many of today's athletes, who are mainly concerned about product endorsements, Russell willingly confronted societal ills, regardless of the criticisms he received from the primarily white media establishment. He called himself "black" when the term was an insult and played a significant role in the civil rights movement.

An intensely spiritual man and a person of great integrity, Russell remained true to his belief system. For example, the pinnacle of athletic accomplishment is induction into the hall of fame. But convinced that the basketball hall was a racist institution, Russell refused to attend his own induction, even though he was the first African-American to be inducted.

A loner by nature, Russell continues to enjoy long trips by himself, often driving alone and taking time for meditation. In the 1970s he took motorcycle trips

around the West, and he has more recently made several cross-country treks with his wife, Marilyn.

At various times since leaving basketball, Russell has served as a basketball commentator, though he has never been completely comfortable in that role. He has also dabbled in acting. Russell experienced the most post-basketball success as a writer and speaker. He has written three best-selling books: *Go Up for Glory* (1966), *Second Wind* (1979), and *Russell Rules* (2001). The first two were memoirs, and the third outlined his ideas on leadership. He now delivers motivational talks to various organizations around the nation. "For me," Russell (2001, 40) explains, "winning as a team is not a coincidence, it is a choice. In the end, you are judged by winning."

—Bob Batchelor

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- Russell, Bill
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- Sanger, Margaret
- Sarnoff, David
- Schemata, Scripts, and Mental Models
- Science and Technology
- Sears, Roebuck & Co. Catalogue
- Self-Interest
- Self-Management
- September 11th
- Shaka Zulu
- Shared Leadership
- Shibusawa Eiichi
- Singapore, Founding of
- Situational and Contingency Approaches to Leadership
- Sloan, Alfred
- Small Business
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- Social Identity Theory
- Social Psychology
- Sociobiology of Leadership
- Socio-Emotional Leadership
- Sociology
- Spirituality
- Sports
- Stalin, Josef
- Stonewall Rebellion
- Strategic Leadership
- Substitutes for Leadership
- Suez Crisis of 1956
- Süleyman the Magnificent
- Systems Theory
- Tacit Knowledge
- Task Leadership
- Team Leadership
- Teamwork
- Theories X, Y, and Z
- Tiananmen Square
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- Traditional Societies
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- Transformational and Transactional Leadership
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- Transformistic Theory
- Trust
- Trust Busting
- Truth and Reconciliation Commissions
- Tutu, Desmond
- Tyrannical Leadership
- United States Constitution
- Upward Influence
- Utopian Leaders
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- Visionary Leadership Theory
- War on Terrorism
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- Whitefield, George
- Wilson, Woodrow
- Winfrey, Oprah
- Women and Business Leadership
- Women and Men as Leaders
- Women and Political Leadership
- Women and Social Change Leadership
- Women's Movement
- Women's Olympics
- Women's Suffrage
- Women's Value Orientation
- Xian Incident
- Young, Brigham
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Appendix 1, Bibliography of Significant Books on Leadership, and Appendix 2, Directory of Leadership Programs, appear at the end of this volume as well as in Volume 4.

Reader's Guide



This list is provided to assist readers in locating entries on related topics. It classifies entries into nineteen general categories: Arts and Intellectual Leadership, Biographies, Business, Case Studies, Cross-Cultural and International Topics, Domains, Followership, Military, Personal Characteristics of Leaders, Politics/Government, Power, Religion, Science and Technology, Situational Factors, Social Movements and Change, Study of Leadership, Theories, and Women and Gender. Some entry titles appear in more than one category.

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Beethoven, Ludwig van
Carson, Rachel
Du Bois, W. E. B.
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Freud, Sigmund
Graham, Martha
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Jefferson, Thomas
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Music
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Alinsky, Saul
Anthony, Susan B.
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Ataturk, Mustafa Kemal
Beethoven, Ludwig van
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Carnegie, Andrew
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Eddy, Mary Baker
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Graham, Billy
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S



SACRED TEXTS

The earliest reflections on leadership occur in the sacred texts of the world's religious traditions. In them, we may find accounts of the exploits and character of heroes, people in power, and those entrusted with divine or social missions. These reflections often are passed from generation to generation in oral tradition before entering into written texts. Unlike later reflections in political or economic traditions, sacred texts focused on the moral values of leadership, in particular the relationship of humans to the divine and their relationship to one another in light of the divine.

HINDUISM

The sacred texts of Hindu have no author or clear origins. Indeed, they, like other sacred texts, were not so much written as they were seen or revealed. They began in oral traditions at least 2,000 years before the birth of Christ, and by the time they were written down, they had been highly polished by centuries of practice and revision. The *Vedas*, the first of the Hindu sacred texts, are among the world's oldest literature and contain poetic hymns for rituals. In the hands of the priestly class of Brahmins, they became an instrument of power and status. Another tradition developed that relied less on ritual, and thus priestly

intervention, and more on searching for truth and meaning within oneself. The *Upanishads* and *Bhagavad-Gita* express this latter tradition and today are still held in high regard for their insights into human consciousness and development.

Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948) derived his fundamental belief in satyagraha from the *Vedas* and is said to have meditated daily on the closing eighteen lines of the second chapter of the *Bhagavad-Gita*. They begin with the lines:

They live in wisdom,
Who see themselves in all and all in them . . .

The lines continue to describe the highest development of human consciousness and in them, Gandhi found “in a nutshell the secret of the art of living” (Easwaran 1997, 121). It is a premise of most of the sacred texts that leadership is secondary to developing oneself as a human being and that one who has not sought this development is not qualified to lead. Plato will also use these premises in his model of a philosopher king.

In a period of about two hundred years (500–300 BCE), Hinduism, at least 1,000 years old by this time, turned to applied matters of individual development and social relations. Dharma, or righteousness, is one of the aims of life in the Hindu tradition. *The Laws of Manu* is a dharma-sastra, a code for righteousness and social stability. Book VII

deals with the responsibilities of the king; Book X explains social classes and codes of conduct; and Book XII offers the path to eternal bliss. The honored but restricted and subordinated place of women may be found in Book III, verses 55–60 and Book V, verses 147–168.

Kautilya's (flourished 300 BCE) *Artha-sastra* provides a code for other aims of life: wealth and power. It is the advice of the chief counselor to Chandragupta (died c. 297 BCE), who brought the first unified government to the Indian subcontinent and was a contemporary of Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE). Book VII outlines advice for a king that Machiavelli would repeat 2,000 years later. Chapters 1 to 3 of Book VII deal with traits and styles that are harbingers of leadership advice common in our own times.

BUDDHISM

Siddhartha Gautama (c. 563–c. 483 BCE), known as the Buddha, provides another set of instructions for enlightenment and some practical advice for various categories of people. Buddha took familiar norms and stories from Hindu scripture and applied them to his own time, the sixth century BCE, in a new fashion. He offered theories about the stages of development that preceded by 2,500 years some of the psychological theories that provide the basis of leadership theories today. In addition, the model for Robert Greenleaf's servant leadership, Leo, comes from *Journey to the East*, a novel by Herman Hesse, who adopted Buddhism as his beliefs. Hesse also wrote *Siddhartha*, a fictional account of the Buddha's life.

Two centuries after Christ, Nagarjuna (c. 150–250 CE) revised Buddhism in China. He developed a metaphysical theory of relativity in the *Madhyamika-sastra*, 1,800 years before Einstein developed his theory; therefore this work is one of the early important statements of the linkage of post-Newtonian physics and sacred texts. Some of the current emphasis in leadership theories on values, systems thinking, interconnectedness, and embodied narratives comes from this new science (Wheatley 1992) but often with less awareness than physi-

cists (Capra 1984) of the relevance of the sacred texts for this emphasis.

JUDAISM

The Torah or first five books of the Hebrew Scriptures neatly illustrate the manner in which sacred texts offer models for others to follow (Abraham and his submission to Yahweh); heroic figures carrying out the will of Yahweh (Moses); and the distillation of humans' relation to the divine into rituals and commandments. Exodus and Deuteronomy offer us an archetypical leader—Moses, who literally has charismatic authority—and an archetypical act of leadership, liberation of the Israelites from Egyptian oppression. Moses offers a renewed narrative about the dignity of God's chosen people and enters into conflicts with others—Egyptians—over their oppression. This narrative of selection and deliverance imparts a new sense of identity to the group. Moses also creates conflicts within the group to hold them to a new set of values. When some of their practices (the golden calf) violate the values they have received from God, he is outraged and destroys the calf.

Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy offer an implicit treatment of leadership, by describing the actions of Moses. The books of Samuel deal with David and Solomon, some six hundred years after Moses. In contrast with these implicit treatments, the wisdom literature (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes) offers explicit guidance including the proverbs attributed to a wise ruler, Solomon; insights into the acquisition and character of wisdom; and the purpose and value of human life.

Sacred texts accumulate over centuries, as the interval between Moses and David suggests, with punctuation points of renewal. Isaiah, for example, provided prophetic leadership in the eighth century before Christ. Other prophets punctuated the evolving history of Israel in good times and bad. They interpreted events of their life times in light of the covenant the Israelites had with Yahweh. They spoke truth to powerful kings of Israel, as Nathan spoke to David; and they even enlightened Israel's captors, as Daniel did to the king of Babylon. Hebrew Scriptures

offer us depictions of heroes, rulers, and prophets, all of which bear on the common human experience of leadership extending back more than 3,500 years.

THE GODS MUST BE CRAZY

The Iliad and *The Odyssey*, like sacred texts, bridge the oral and written traditions of Greece, but they tell a very different story about human relations with the divine. The gods of these epic poems are made in the image of humans. The gods decide human events, often for trivial and all-too-human reasons, despite the best efforts of humans to have them do otherwise. Neither Achilles nor Odysseus offers much analytical insight into leadership. They are heroes, however, and as such display heroic traits that leaders may need. Battle brings out endurance, courage, and self-sacrifice in Achilles. The journey home requires the endurance and restraint of Odysseus. Plato and Aristotle will include these traits in the prescriptive work on leaders' traits. Homer tells us that Odysseus used deception and disguise, traits that Machiavelli will extol in some circumstances.

As much as *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* differ from other sacred texts in the all-too-human nature of the gods, they provide for some a more human explanation of the heroes of other sacred texts. Sigmund Freud, for example, the founder of psychoanalysis, compares the story of Moses' birth and upbringing with common elements of other heroes—Gilgamesh, Perseus, Cyrus, and Romulus—as part of his very radical interpretation of Moses and monotheism.

TAOISM AND CONFUCIANISM

As Buddha developed his theories, around 500 BCE, Lao-tzu (sixth century BCE) put into writing centuries of Chinese thought and philosophy at the same time that Confucius (K'ung Ch'iu, 551–479 BCE), his contemporary, developed principles for the orderly administration of China. In a remarkable burst of spiritual energy, the late Jewish prophets—Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel—were active at the time Lao-tzu and Confucius were living and teaching in China, Buddha in India, and Zoroaster (Zarathushtra, c. 628–c. 551 BCE) in Persia. These roughly contemporary

paradigmatic figures preceded the golden age of philosophy in Greece by only a century.

Lao-tzu makes very specific references to leaders. Perhaps his most familiar aphorism explains:

As for the best leaders, the people do not notice their existence. The next best, the people honor and praise. The next, the people fear; and the next, the people hate. If you have no faith people will have no faith in you, and you must resort to oaths. When the best leader's work is done the people say: "We did it ourselves!" (Lao-tzu 1962, 17)

Confucius, at the same time, applied the way of Tao, which is at once the first principle of matters outside of ourselves and our internal pursuit and mastery of it, to very specific social and political roles, and he provided an outline for personal development of leaders and traits and styles of leadership. Confucius was interested in finding historical models for the good ruler and to provide training for major and minor political leaders. He provided protocols and rituals for all social relationships. Thus, Confucius and Lao-tzu present two different branches of ancient Chinese beliefs and parallel the differences of the *Vedas* and the more mystical *Upanishads* in Hinduism.

They also hold much in common, however. The origins of Tao, whether human or divine, are uncertain. It is certain, however, for both Confucius and Lao-tzu that humans extend Tao by excellence in an area of their choosing and practice rather than being chosen by an external authority or deity. Both understand the social nature of human identity so that distinctions among people, such as rich and poor, male and female, and even slave and master, involve a mutual bond of relationship with each required to play a role; each in part is defined by its opposite. Although Confucius plays more emphasis on ritual than Lao-tzu, both men prefer a society so orderly that people do not need the restraint of external laws and conduct rituals only from a reverence of Tao. According to Lao-tzu, "When *Tao* is lost 'compassion' becomes doctrine; when compassion is lost 'justice' becomes doctrine; when justice is lost ritual becomes doctrine; ritual is the slow loss of loyalty, the beginning of unprincipled confusion" (MacHovec 1962, 38).



Selection from *The Laws of Manu*, Chapter VII

1. I will declare the duties of kings, (and) show how a king should conduct himself, how he was created, and how (he can obtain) highest success.
2. A Kshatriya, who has received according to the rule the sacrament prescribed by the Veda, must duly protect this whole (world).
3. For, when these creatures, being without a king, through fear dispersed in all directions, the Lord created a king for the protection of this whole (creation),
4. Taking (for that purpose) eternal particles of Indra, of the Wind, of Yama, of the Sun, of Fire, of Varuna, of the Moon, and of the Lord of wealth (Kubera).
5. Because a king has been formed of particles of those lords of the gods, he therefore surpasses all created beings in lustre;
6. And, like the sun, he burns eyes and hearts; nor can anybody on earth even gaze on him.
7. Through his (supernatural) power he is Fire and Wind, he Sun and Moon, he the Lord of justice (Yama), he Kubera, he Varuna, he great Indra.
8. Even an infant king must not be despised, (from an idea) that he is a (mere) mortal; for he is a great deity in human form.
9. Fire burns one man only, if he carelessly approaches it, the fire of a king's (anger) consumes the (whole) family, together with its cattle and its hoard of property.
10. Having fully considered the purpose, (his) power, and the place and the time, he assumes by turns many (different) shapes for the complete attainment of justice.
11. He, in whose favour resides Padma, the goddess of fortune, in whose valour dwells victory, in whose anger abides death, is formed of the lustre of all (gods).
12. The (man), who in his exceeding folly hates him, will doubtlessly perish; for the king quickly makes up his mind to destroy such (a man).
13. Let no (man), therefore, transgress that law which favourites, nor (his orders) which inflict pain on those in disfavour.
14. For the (king's) sake the Lord formerly created his own son, Punishment, the protector of all creatures, (an incarnation of) the law, formed of Brahman's glory.
15. Through fear of him all created beings, both the immovable and the movable, allow themselves to be enjoyed and swerve not from their duties.
16. Having fully considered the time and the place (of the offence), the strength and the knowledge (of the offender), let him justly inflict that (punishment) on men who act unjustly.
17. Punishment is (in reality) the king (and) the male, that the manager of affairs, that the ruler, and that is called the surety for the four orders' obedience to the law.
18. Punishment alone governs all created beings, punishment alone protects them, punishment watches over them while they sleep; the wise declare punishment (to be identical with) the law.
19. If (punishment) is properly inflicted after (due) consideration, it makes all people happy; but inflicted without consideration, it destroys everything.
20. If the king did not, without tiring, inflict punishment on those worthy to be punished, the stronger would roast the weaker, like fish on a spit;
21. The crow would eat the sacrificial cake and the dog would lick the sacrificial viands, and ownership would not remain with any one, the lower ones would (usurp the place of) the higher ones.
22. The whole world is kept in order by punishment, for a guiltless man is hard to find; through fear of punishment the whole world yields the enjoyments (which it owes).
23. The gods, the Danavas, the Gandharvas, the Rakshasas, the bird and snake deities even give the enjoyments (due from them) only, if they are tormented by (the fear of) punishment.
24. All castes (varna) would be corrupted (by intermixture), all barriers would be broken through, and all men would rage (against each other) in consequence of mistakes with respect to punishment.
25. But where Punishment with a black hue and red eyes stalks about, destroying sinners, there the subjects are not disturbed, provided that he who inflicts it discerns well.
26. They declare that king to be a just inflicter of punishment, who is truthful, who acts after due consideration, who is wise, and who knows (the respective value of) virtue, pleasure, and wealth.
27. A king who properly inflicts (punishment), prospers with respect to (those) three (means of happiness); but he who is voluptuous, partial, and deceitful will be destroyed, even through the (unjust) punishment (which he inflicts).

CHRISTIANITY

Christ tells a visionary narrative of transcendental ties of the divine and the human that takes little account of ritual. There is also little explicit attention to leadership but a great deal of attention to personal development and an inclusive interdependence of caring. The paradox of higher stages of development and increased forms of meekness and commitment to justice are apparent in the Sermon on the Mount. That sermon echoes the reflections on the highest stages of human development common to other sacred texts, and presages a radical version of servant leadership articulated earlier in the book of Isaiah and of course in Buddhism, as we have seen.

The task of systematically explaining how Christian sacred texts apply to social relations, including leadership, fell to Saint Augustine (354–430 CE) about four hundred years after the death of Christ. The Roman Empire had fallen after five hundred years of power, and Augustine offered an outline for Christian reconstruction of authority and society. Augustine described levels of relationships—the household, the city, the nation, the world, the realm of angels, and the city of God—the goal of each is to find the peace that is ordered justice. The secret to peace is similar at every level.

Peace between man and man is well-ordered concord. Domestic peace is the well-ordered concord between those of the family who rule and those who obey. Civil peace is a similar concord among citizens. The peace of the celestial city is the perfectly ordered and harmonious enjoyment of God, and of one another in God. The peace of all things is the tranquility of order. Order is the distribution which allots things equal and unequal, each to its own place. (Augustine 1994/410, XIX, 13).

ISLAM

Several centuries after *The City of God* appeared, Muhammad (c. 570–632 CE) repeated Augustine's emphasis that "Peace between man and God is the well-ordered obedience of faith to eternal law." His revelations from Allah integrated the Judaic and Christian traditions into the Qur'an in the seventh century CE. The theocentric Qur'an offers the central

message of Islam: submission to the will of Allah, which Jesus, Moses, and the other prophets before Muhammad exemplified. The implications and means of this submission were later codified in the Sunnah and Hadith. *The Sealed Nectar* provides additional direction for Muslims, recounting the life and times of the prophet.

COMMON THEMES

There are differences among the texts according to the history and politics of their contexts. Confucius, for example, was more specific about leaders because he trained public administrators. Lao-tzu, on the other hand, was much more abstract and focused on the highest development of human beings. The evolution of sacred texts at some times emphasizes doctrine and ritual and thus promotes the importance of priests, while at other times it promotes the search for the divine or some transcendental element within individual humans and their relations with others and the earth. The kingdom of God is within us, according to Jesus.

We find instances of heroes and authorities common to all the sacred texts but with an understanding that leadership is authority made legitimate by submission to a divine will or to the principles of highest human development. The Qur'an advises that as others may submit to leaders, so too should leaders submit to a higher power. This makes leaders into servants, teachers, and caretakers. Leadership shares with all other people the task of caretaking but it uniquely provides a shield for the people, according to the Qur'an.

The servant role of leaders touches upon the strikingly paradoxical nature of leadership according to the sacred texts. Far from the power over others and perks commonly associated with leadership and authority, Jesus calls those blessed who hunger and thirst and explains that the first shall be last and the last shall be first. Lao-tzu explains that people do not notice the existence of the very best leaders and counsels a unique avenue to leadership:

To be elevated by the people, speak like their inferior.
To lead the people, walk behind them. Thus the truly

wise are above, but people do not feel their weight. They walk in front, but people do not feel blocked. The whole world respects and never grows tired of such leadership. (MacHovec 1962, 66)

The texts also emphasize the goals of peace and justice as the goal of human beings and the intention of the divine. Surveying the differences among human beings, Augustine still professed that we all tend to one and the same end of earthly peace (Augustine [c. 410 CE] 1994, XIX, 17, 21). The external peace and justice begins within individuals who seek to conform to the divine or transcendent order of nature. The best leadership produces peace and justice without laws and sanctions but by social order in which everyone shares a common belief of injuring no one and doing good to others as they would have others do to them. In this, the texts often suggest an interrelated system of parts—household, city, state, world, heaven—that observe the same principles of conduct.

Finally, the sacred texts offer traits of effective leaders who are also highly developed human beings. Wisdom, justice, forbearance, benevolence, and goodness are virtues of all humans seeking Allah. The *Bhagavad-Gita* adds peacefulness, self-control, austerity, purity, tolerance, and honesty. Jesus touches on several of these traits in explaining the nature of blessedness in his Sermon on the Mount. The sacred texts seem to suggest that leaders should be in pursuit of blessedness. And, in one last paradox, the sacred texts seem in agreement that the state of blessedness lacks a self-consciousness and hence the desire for power and authority. Ever the genius of paradox, Lao-tzu suggests that “Who has *Teh* [the highest human attainment] never boasts of it and so truly possesses it. Whoever has *Teh* and boasts of it no longer possesses it. Possessing *Teh* is to be serene; with little effort much is done and motives diminish” (Lao-tzu 1962/c. 500 BCE, 38).

By listing the virtues or traits of leaders, the sacred texts anticipate the way scholars analyze leadership. While some of the commentaries deal with the arts and skills of leadership, in the main the sacred texts deal with the purpose of leadership—order, justice, and peace—within individuals,

households, and society. Similarly, the emphasis, especially in the Oriental sacred texts, on the networks of interdependence of humans with each other and the natural world and the interrelatedness of the realms of our lives suggests some of the current emphasis on systems thinking and the insights of physics and biology into leadership and other social relationships.

—Richard A. Couto

See also Appendix 4: Primary Sources—Sacred Texts; Buddha; Communication; Confucius; Confucianism; Eddy, Mary Baker; Gandhi, Mohandas K.; Lee, Ann; Handsome Lake; Jesus; Moses; Nietzsche, Friedrich; Paul, St.; Religion; Rhetoric; Spirituality; Whitefield, George

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SALADIN (1137–1193)

Kurdish sultan

Leaders derive their support from traditional, charismatic, or national authority. Saladin (the name is a European version of Salah ad-Din Yusuf ibn Ayyub, which means “Righteous of the Faith, Joseph, son of Job”) derived his authority from all three sources. Born into an aristocratic Kurdish family, he had qualities of head and heart, which attracted a following and served him in good stead when he became ruler.

Saladin possessed the ideal Islamic virtues: piety, generosity, commitment, and courage. Saladin preferred to spend time with scholars and the learned rather than with the rich and the powerful in court. He patronized colleges and mosques. Not many rulers in history can boast of friends who are moved to say at their death, as did a well-known contemporary of Saladin: “For I know that had our sacrifice been accepted, I and others would have given our lives for him” (Lyons and Jackson 1982, 374.)

SALADIN'S LIFE

Saladin was born in Tikrit, Mesopotamia (present-day Iraq), into a prominent Kurdish family. Saladin's father, Najm ad-Din Ayyub, moved to Aleppo to enter the service of 'Imad ad-din Zangi, the powerful Turkish governor of Syria. As a young man, Saladin joined the army of Nureddin, the son and successor of Zangi. In spite of the complex and changing political situation, Saladin emerged in 1169 at the age of thirty-one as commander of the Syrian troops in Egypt and vizier of the weak and unpopular Shi'ite Muslim Fatimid dynasty there. Soon he was known as the sultan, and his position was consolidated when in 1171 he set aside the Fatimid dynasty and announced a return to Sunni Islam in Egypt, which Saladin now ruled. Saladin remained nominally under the rule of Nureddin until the latter's death in 1174. For all his growing power, Saladin remained the target of the fanatic's blade, almost murdered in 1175 by a Nizari agent (the Nizaris, like the Fatimids, were Shi'ites).

As sultan, Saladin vigorously pursued his dream of uniting the Muslim territories of Syria, Mesopotamia,



Richard and Saladin

It is tempting and, at the same time, maybe not completely wrong to define the situation in this way: of the two, Richard and Saladin, only the latter fought a “crusade,” whereas Richard intended to conduct a completely normal war. This view is supported, amongst other things, by the way they focused on their objectives. Saladin’s priority was to rescue the “Holy City” of Jerusalem, even though individual emirs were of the opinion that, if necessary, Islam could exist perfectly well without it. He was realistic enough to recognize the key position of Ascalon—and yet he destroyed it (albeit with a bleeding heart) since he was convinced that it would be impossible for him to defend both cities, Ascalon and Jerusalem. Jerusalem took priority, despite the fact that—unlike Ascalon—it was of little strategic and even less economic importance. For Richard, too, the coastal fortress was of central significance, and he gave it priority over Jerusalem. After Jaffa, his next goal was Ascalon—and there he ultimately went, not to Jerusalem; he built it up, he haggled particularly persistently over Ascalon, not Jerusalem. This is where the difference lies between a warfare motivated primarily by strategic considerations and one motivated primarily by religion.

Source: Lowenherz, Richard I. (1995). *Richard Lionheart*. Vienna: Verlag Styria, p. 185.

Palestine, and Egypt. He accomplished this through his growing reputation as a ruler of integrity, wisdom, and military skills. The stage was set for Saladin’s greatest victory: the recapture of Jerusalem, then in the hands of the Crusaders.

In 1187, within three months, a united Muslim front under Saladin recaptured one after the other the key cities of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, including Acre, Nazareth, Nablus, and Jaffa. On 2 October 1187, Saladin succeeded in taking Jerusalem itself, ending eighty-eight years of Crusader rule. In dramatic contrast to the Crusaders’ treatment of the city’s inhabitants upon their victory in 1099, when widespread slaughter had been seen and recorded, Saladin’s forces were a model of civilized behavior.

The Brethren, written by Rider Haggard (1856–1925) at the high noon of the British empire, paid tribute to Saladin by describing the capture of Jerusalem:

Then Saladin showed his mercy, for he freed all the aged without charge, and from his own treasure paid the ransom of hundreds of ladies whose husbands and fathers had fallen in battle, or lay in prison in other cities. . . .

At length it was over, and Saladin took possession of the city. . . . Thus did the Crescent triumph over the Cross in Jerusalem, not in a sea of blood, as ninety years before the Cross had triumphed over the Crescent within its walls, but with what in those days passed for gentleness, peace, and mercy. For it was left to the Saracens to teach something of their own doctrines to the followers of Christ. (Haggard 1904: 337)

The spectacular nature of Saladin’s victory has overshadowed his other success: facing and containing Europe’s reaction to the fall of Jerusalem, which came in the form of the third Crusade. Exhausted and often unwilling Muslim levies followed Saladin in that engagement because of his lustrous name and indomitable will, and had fought off the greatest champions of Christendom, including Richard I (“the Lionheart”) of England. When King Richard left the Middle East in October 1192, the might and fury of the Crusades was over. Saladin withdrew to Damascus, his capital, where he died the following year. His hard life, the endless campaigns, and the effort of uniting a divided people had taken their toll.

A mythology grew up around Saladin almost instantly. It was said that the most powerful ruler in the Muslim world had generously given away all he owned and had left behind only a copy of the Qur’an, a sword, and a saddle. There was not enough money, it was said, to pay for the grave.

SALADIN’S SIGNIFICANCE

Saladin is perhaps unique in the long historical interaction between the West and Islam in capturing the imagination of both worlds with affection. The thirteenth-century Italian poet Dante, while condemning Muslims to the depths of hell in *The Divine Comedy*, was pointedly soft on Saladin, and the British novelists Walter Scott (1771–1832) and Rider Haggard both depicted Saladin favorably in their historical novels. Hollywood has paid him tribute on numerous occasions, including a spirited if

unintentionally comic depiction by Rex Harrison with layers of boot polish on his face and a singsong “oriental” accent in *King Richard and the Crusaders*. The government of Egypt recently financed a lavish production of a film on the life of Saladin.

In the Arab world, Saladin’s successes and noble character have special poignancy because not long after Saladin retook Jerusalem, the power of the Arabs began to decline. In 1258, the Mongols captured and destroyed Baghdad. After dominating what is now the Middle East and most of North Africa for half a millennium, Arab rule gave way to rule by non-Arab dynasties. By the sixteenth century, there were three great Muslim empires and none of them was Arab. The Arab heartland was ruled by two non-Arab powers: first the Ottomans (who ruled the region from the late fifteenth century to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century) and then the Europeans. It is therefore not surprising that there is nostalgia and yearning for another Saladin. The reason Saladin remains popular in the Arab world in spite of the fact that he was a Kurd is that his rule, based in Egypt, is identified with Arab culture and history. Saladin himself identified with the larger Muslim culture that he came to represent. Nor is this yearning restricted to the Arab world. Even among Muslims in South Asia, boys are named Saladin in honor of the great ruler.

The memory of the Crusades has not faded; indeed the word is used commonly to describe the ongoing cultural, political, and, at times, military confrontation between the West and the Muslim world. Given this reality, the name and memory of Saladin will no doubt continue to be evoked by Muslims worldwide.

—Akbar Salahuddin Ahmed

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A woodcut of Saladin.

Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

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🌐 **SANGER, MARGARET (1879–1966)**

Founder and leader of the
U.S. birth control movement

Margaret Louise (Higgins) Sanger led the successful campaign to make birth control legal, safe, and accessible. Sanger’s law-defying tactics and shrewd

public relations maneuvers broke down long-standing anti-obscenity laws that prohibited the circulation of contraceptive information. Her activism educated and enlightened a repressive society and initiated a dramatic change in sexual mores. In a career spanning five decades, Sanger inspired a contentious alliance of radicals, society women, philanthropists, and medical professionals to open a network of birth control clinics, refine and develop contraceptives, and establish one of the most familiar and far-reaching women's health organizations in the world.

EARLY LIFE

Margaret Louise Higgins was the sixth of eleven children born to a freethinking Irish stonemason and his devout Catholic wife in Corning, New York. Margaret's mother weakened with each successive pregnancy, dying of tuberculosis at age fifty in 1899, a death Margaret blamed on excessive childbearing. Caring for her dying mother confirmed Margaret's interest in medicine, and she entered a nursing program the following year. She suspended her nursing career in 1902 to marry William Sanger, an artist and draftsman, and begin a family. From 1903 to 1910, Margaret gave birth to three children and lived a quiet suburban life, just outside New York City. Unsatisfied with the routines of family life, both Margaret and William sought to become more involved with socialist politics and to be nearer to the artistic and political radicalism of Greenwich Village. They moved to the city in 1911, joined the Socialist Party, and immersed themselves in the burgeoning bohemian culture that was attracting creative dissenters and reformers from all over the country.

RADICAL WORK

Sanger accepted a paid position as a lecturer for the Socialist Party and then moved on to an organizing role with the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). While participating in IWW-led strikes in 1912–1913, Sanger closely observed the leadership styles of other organizers, including William (“Big Bill”) Haywood (1869–1928) and Elizabeth Gurley

Flynn (1890–1964), a highly effective orator who offered Sanger a model for an outspoken woman agitator. Sanger also admired the anarchist icon Emma Goldman (1869–1940), who had delineated the link between women's empowerment and voluntary motherhood more than a decade before Sanger came on the scene.

Sanger returned to nursing on a part-time basis in New York, accompanying obstetricians into the immigrant neighborhoods of Manhattan's Lower East Side, where she witnessed the devastating effects of indiscriminate child-bearing such as infant and maternal mortality, overcrowding, and dire poverty. She learned that the 1873 Comstock Act and associated laws that banned obscenity prohibited doctors from giving contraceptive information to patients, even when a woman's health was at risk. Sanger felt powerless to help; the only birth control methods she knew of at the time were condoms and withdrawal, which left the man solely in charge. “I resolved that women should have the knowledge of contraception. They have every right to know about their own bodies” (Sanger 1931, 56). Her nursing experience gave direction to her radicalism and later became her key credential when discussing the plight of poor women incapable of controlling their fertility.

FREE SPEECH AND BIRTH CONTROL

In her informal lectures to women for the Socialist Party and before IWW groups, Sanger increasingly discussed sexual hygiene and health. The lectures led to a series of articles in the radical daily *The New York Call*, under the title “What Every Girl Should Know.” In February 1913, the U.S. Post Office banned publication of an article that discussed venereal disease. This act of official suppression made Sanger more militant in her speech. In 1914, she published an extremist monthly newspaper, the *Woman Rebel*. The paper amounted to a big dare: a challenge to its readers to oppose conformity and convention; an announcement to authority that women would defy the laws that banned the circulation of contraceptive information. Each woman, Sanger insisted, must be the “absolute mistress of her own body” (quoted in Baskin 1976, 25), and

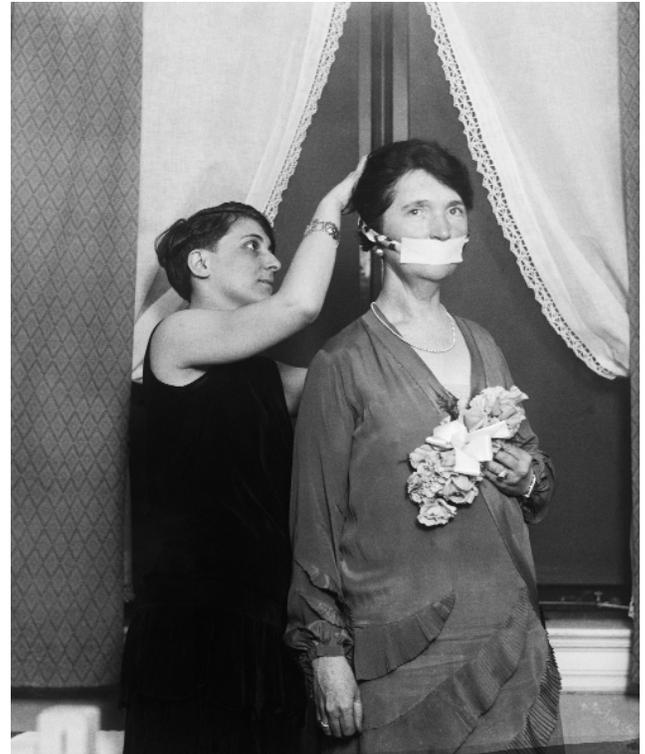
only through birth control—the term was first used in the *Woman Rebel*—could women ever achieve economic or political equality. The U. S. Post Office confiscated six issues of the *Woman Rebel*, and federal agents indicted Sanger for violating the Comstock Act.

In the midst of her free-speech battle, Sanger prepared *Family Limitation*, a how-to manual that outlined and illustrated various forms of birth control, including condoms, diaphragms, douches, sponges, and withdrawal. She instructed friends to release the pamphlet after she fled the country in October 1914 to escape the *Woman Rebel* charges and a potential prison sentence. *Family Limitation* marked Sanger's emergence as the leading proponent of birth control in America.

Her self-imposed yearlong exile in Europe in 1914–1915 gave Sanger an opportunity to develop the intellectual framework she needed to broaden interest in a birth control campaign. She formed a lasting friendship with the great pioneer of sexual modernism, Havelock Ellis (1859–1939), who became her chief mentor, and with leading Malthusians (those who believed, following the writings of the nineteenth-century economist Thomas Malthus, that unchecked population growth would lead eventually to worldwide famine) in England. Ellis helped Sanger to soften her antiestablishment arguments, celebrate birth control as a precondition to women's sexual pleasure, and more clearly articulate eugenics-based arguments for smaller families.

BUILDING A MOVEMENT

Sanger returned to the United States in the fall of 1915 to face trial on her *Woman Rebel* charges and take advantage of increased public interest in birth control following the arrest and imprisonment of her now estranged husband for distributing *Family Limitation*. On the eve of Sanger's trial in November 1915, her five-year-old daughter Peggy died of pneumonia. This personal tragedy intensified support for Sanger and prompted federal prosecutors to dismiss her case. In the spring and summer of 1916, Sanger crossed the country on a city-to-city speaking tour. Though still in mourning and unaccustomed to pub-



Margaret Sanger has her mouth covered in protest at not being allowed to speak about birth control in Boston, Massachusetts on 17 April 1929.

Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

lic speaking, she exhibited a disarming frankness and sexual charisma. Pretty, feminine, even vulnerable looking, she spoke in a clear, musical voice that provided an effective contrast to her blunt statements about biological ignorance and the revolutionary power of birth control to free women, reform the capitalist labor system, control poverty and disease, and end war.

Upon her return to New York, Sanger directly challenged the Comstock laws by opening the nation's first contraceptive clinic in Brooklyn in October of 1916. The Brownsville clinic served more than four hundred women in a period of two weeks before Sanger, her sister Ethel Byrne, and an assistant were arrested. The ensuing trials and thirty-day prison sentences served by Sanger and Byrne catapulted the cause of birth control onto the front pages of the nation's newspapers and brought a number of prominent society women on board. Though Sanger lost an appeal of her Brownsville

conviction two years later, the courts recognized the health benefits of birth control and rendered a more liberal interpretation of the antiobscenity laws, paving the way for legal, doctor-run clinics.

Sanger skillfully orchestrated these dramatic events to put her name and the issue of birth control into the newspapers and before the public. She even used the new medium of film, writing and starring in the silent "Birth Control" in 1917, to enhance her charismatic hold over a growing number of young women activists. She retold and revised accounts of her early activism throughout her life to justify her leadership and attract new followers.

CLINICS AND A NEW COALITION

Immediately following World War I, Sanger distanced herself from her antiestablishment roots and pulled the birth control movement into the mainstream, partly by choice and partly out of necessity. The war left the U.S. radical movement in shambles, and Sanger recognized the need for a broader constituency to win over middle-class support needed to sustain the cause and change the laws. She sought alliances with doctors, advocates of population control, and eugenicists, and worked to transform the birth control movement from a free-speech campaign into a medically sanctioned public health program. It was no easy task, however, as her confrontational style alienated many in the medical and social science communities. She relied heavily on leveraging the publicity generated by continuing government interference—the suppression of speech, the seizure of medical records, the confiscation of contraceptives and literature by Post Office and Customs agents—to compel prominent medical men to stand behind her. Methodically, but not without many setbacks, Sanger built an impressive coalition out of groups that largely distrusted each other and at times agreed on little more than that birth control was vital to human progress.

In 1921, Sanger organized a birth control conference in New York to attract greater academic and medical support and to launch the American Birth Control League (ABCL), the organizational and financial centerpiece of the movement. Her two

books from this period, *Woman and the New Race* (1920) and *Pivot of Civilization* (1922), also attempted to redefine birth control along scientific lines and to draw the support of eugenicists, who enjoyed tremendous political influence in the 1920s. Sanger advocated a program of "negative eugenics" which sought to contain—largely through the voluntary use of birth control—those deemed "unfit" to procreate because of disease, mental deficiency, or delinquency. At no time did she define unfitness or inferiority in racial terms as did many leading eugenicists. Sanger opened the Clinical Research Bureau in New York in 1923, the first legal contraceptive clinic in the United States, and the model for physician-directed birth control clinics that opened across the country in the interwar years. She endorsed the diaphragm paired with a contraceptive jelly as the safest and most effective female birth control method. The diaphragm required medical fitting and instruction, further pushing the movement under medical supervision.

LEADING THE MOVEMENT TO THE MAINSTREAM

Sanger further insulated her leadership position by becoming a woman of wealth and social stature in the 1920s. After divorcing her first husband in 1921, she married millionaire businessman J. Noah Slee in 1922, a decision that paid off handsomely for a movement always short on funds. Her new wealth allowed Sanger to travel the world in style and gain notoriety in Asia and Europe, strengthening her sway over the movement at home. No other birth control leader could draw the media and create publicity as effectively as Sanger, whom the newspapers were now referring to as world renowned.

Sanger did not tolerate rivals and quickly defused attempts to undermine her authority as the movement's principal leader. She attacked and diminished the personalities and accomplishments of other birth control reformers, primarily the more deliberate, less provocative Mary Ware Dennett (1872–1947), who quickly faded from the movement. With few exceptions Sanger surrounded herself with passive followers who worked to satisfy her goals but exhibited lim-

ited personal ambition. When a factional dispute did develop within the ABCL in the late 1920s, primarily over Sanger's leadership approach, Sanger decided to resign as president (in 1928) and reassert her leadership outside of an inhibiting organizational structure.

A year later she established a new organization, the National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control (NCFLBC), and instituted a much looser organizational framework than the ABCL. The NCFLBC lobbied Congress from 1930 to 1937 to pass legislation lifting the bans on birth control. It failed to push a bill through, but once again Sanger managed to create sustained publicity, this time through dramatic congressional testimony. The Committee disbanded soon after a significant court victory in 1936 in *United States v. One Package*, a case originated by Sanger in 1931, that opened the way for the legal distribution of contraception. By the end of the 1930s, a large majority of Americans—more than 70 percent—supported the legalization of birth control.

Having achieved many of her goals, including an American Medical Association endorsement of birth control in 1937, Sanger both stepped back from the movement and was pushed aside by an influx of younger public relations professionals and medical bureaucrats. She facilitated a merger between the two branches of the movement, the ABCL and her Clinical Research Bureau, to form the Birth Control Federation of America in 1939 (it changed its name to the Planned Parenthood Federation of America in 1942), then retreated to her Arizona home, serving little more than an honorific role in the new federation.

INTERNATIONAL BIRTH CONTROL AND THE PILL

After the war, in her late sixties, Sanger emerged from semiretirement to lead a new international coalition. Sanger had championed birth control abroad since the early 1920s. World tours in 1922 and 1935, along with her organization of several conferences fundamental to contraceptive research and population planning—including the 1927 World Population Conference in Geneva—had solidified her international leadership position. Challenged by

European birth control reformers to help rebuild a viable movement, and responsive to fears of population explosion in the developing world, Sanger played a pivotal role in organizing the International Committee on Planned Parenthood in 1948. This led to the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF), which formed in 1952 with Sanger as its first president. She was unyielding, even imperious in steering the divisive organization through its first decade of existence, keeping it focused on contraceptive distribution through clinics and public health programs. A new generation of birth control activists complained about Sanger's peremptory manner and increasingly erratic leadership—she was in and out of hospitals with a heart condition and suffered from other infirmities. But none of them had a sufficient international following that would have enabled them to directly challenge her position. Sanger stepped down as president in 1959.

Both in the United States and abroad, Sanger had instigated and encouraged contraceptive research in hopes of discovering cheaper, more effective, and less intrusive methods. In 1951, she convinced the philanthropist Katharine Dexter McCormick (1875–1967) to support the research of the biologist Gregory Pincus (1903–1967) on a hormonal method of inhibiting human ovulation. Sanger had envisioned an oral contraceptive pill as early as 1930, though few scientists had any confidence in the idea. It was largely Sanger's initiative and fund-raising skill that enabled and accelerated the research and testing that brought the birth control pill to market in 1960. The pill brought to fruition Sanger's controversial crusade to provide women with the opportunity for greater autonomy in both their private and public lives. Six years later, Sanger died at age 87.

IMPACT AND LEGACY

The virtual elimination of religious, legal, and moral opposition to birth control during her career demonstrated Sanger's effectiveness as a leader. While she has been criticized for leading the movement away from a goal of woman-controlled healthcare that many feminists envisioned, the movement generated more momentous social change—as manifested in

the changed role of women and the dynamic of the family—than any other twentieth-century social movement. A historical reevaluation of Sanger is underway today, primarily because of her ties to the eugenics movement. Her leadership qualities and character should also be reexamined and compared with those of other U.S. social reform leaders, such as the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison (1805–1879), who shared with Sanger an uncommon, lifelong allegiance to a single cause.

—Peter C. Engelman

See also Birth Control

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🌐 SARNOFF, DAVID (1891–1971)

Radio and television magnate

David Sarnoff was a man of great vision and creativity. As the founder of NBC and an early champion of radio and television, Sarnoff was largely responsible for bringing these modern media to the masses. According to Kotter, “vision helps align individuals, thus coordinating the actions of motivated people in a remarkably efficient way” (Kotter 1996, 70). Although Sarnoff was not knowledgeable about the technical aspects in the creation of radio and television, he was instrumental in aligning individuals and helping them see a vision that would change humankind forever.

HUMBLE BEGINNINGS

Born in 1891 in Uzilan, Russia (now Belarus), Sarnoff originally studied to be a rabbi under the tutelage of his granduncle. In 1900, he arrived in New York City with his mother and two brothers, and soon began his first job: selling penny newspapers before and after school.

In 1906, with an eighth-grade education, Sarnoff began working for Commercial Cable Telegraph Company and quickly switched to work as an office boy for Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company of America. He spent the next six years working through a series of promotions, eventually ending up as Marconi's youngest-ever manager when he was appointed station manager in Sea Gate, New York, at age nineteen. It was during this time that Sarnoff made his first major contribution to mass information. On the evening of 14 April 1912, Sarnoff began reporting on the *Titanic* disaster after receiving faint reports over his wireless telegraph. He would later claim to be the only wireless operator to remain on the air after President William Howard Taft ordered all operators to be silent. This was Sarnoff's first taste of what it meant to bring media to the masses.

A VISIONARY IN THE MAKING

By 1915, Sarnoff created a proposal for what he called a “radio music box.” He submitted his idea to Marconi, convinced that someday each American

household would own a radio. The idea was laughed off, but Sarnoff did not lose sight of the concept and waited for another opportunity to present it.

According to Kouzes and Posner, “The pioneers in any endeavor have no maps to study, no guidebooks to read, no pictures to view. They can only imagine the possibilities” (Kouzes and Posner 2002, 96). This was certainly the case with Sarnoff.

In 1919, Sarnoff was presented with an opportunity to make his vision a reality when Marconi was absorbed by RCA (part of General Electric) after World War I. Sarnoff maintained his post as commercial manager and began brainstorming types of programming to be played on his radio music box. By 1921, he arranged for the broadcast of the Jack Dempsey–Georges Carpenter prizefight, which was instrumental in more than \$83 million in radio sales. The information age was under way.

CREATIVE LEADERSHIP

Sarnoff did not stop after bringing the radio to the masses; his vision and creativity continued. With Owen D. Young, RCA chairman, as his mentor, Sarnoff soon became general manager of RCA and, in 1926, formed the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). Sarnoff saw the potential for creating national broadcasts and NBC became the first communication network.

Sarnoff was elected to RCA’s board in 1927 and negotiated contracts to create a motion picture company, introduce radios into automobiles, and consolidate all radio production under RCA. In 1930, Sarnoff became RCA’s president at the age of thirty-nine.

In many ways, Sarnoff and his associates at RCA were the architects of the information age. They were breaking new ground and establishing an industry. As Heifetz states, this can be difficult work—a razor’s edge—“because one has to oversee a sustained period of social disequilibrium during which people confront the contradictions in their lives and communities and adjust their values behavior to accommodate new realities” (Heifetz 1994, 127). New realities were becoming a norm and vision combined with creativity helped Sarnoff and his associates at RCA navigate the uncharted territory.

Whatever course you have chosen for yourself, it will not be a chore but an adventure if you bring to it a sense of the glory of striving, if your sights are set far above the merely secure and mediocre.

—David Sarnoff

James MacGregor Burns states,

the ultimate test of creative leadership lies not only in having a new idea but in bringing it to life, accomplishing the real-world changes it promises. To do so, the would-be leader must reach out to others for help. But would-be followers will respond only if the new frame articulated by creative leadership speaks directly to them, to their underlying wants, discontents and hopes. (Burns 2003, 168)

There are followers at all levels of society. Some followed Sarnoff’s lead by way of competing with him; others followed his lead by simply purchasing a radio for their home. Regardless, Sarnoff was responsible for creatively tackling myriad issues that came with trailblazing an industry.

VISION AND CREATIVITY COMBINED

In 1936, Sarnoff initiated a cross-licensing agreement that allowed RCA to create the first television. Sarnoff quickly worked to establish standards for the new broadcasting system, and the Federal Communication Commission (FCC) eventually set the standards. Amid disagreements between different television manufacturers, Sarnoff persisted and introduced television service at the New York World’s Fair in 1939.

As America entered World War II, Sarnoff used his visionary abilities to help develop radio and sonar equipment to help in the war effort. He was made a brigadier general and served as a communication consultant to General Dwight Eisenhower.

The war slowed television’s progress, but “the General” was eager to make a push for TV once again post–World War II, and its popularity soared. RCA introduced a monochrome television and CBS became RCA’s chief competitor, each racing to produce color programming.

Appointed chairman of the board of RCA in 1947, Sarnoff held the post until his death in 1971. His extensive *New York Times* eulogy (13 December 1971) referred to him as “a man of outstanding vision who was able to see with remarkable clarity the possibilities of harnessing an electron.”

A LASTING LEGACY

Kouzes and Posner state that “a vision is a mental picture of what tomorrow will look like” (Kouzes and Posner 2002, 111). David Sarnoff’s vision literally could be seen and heard by the masses. Radio and television fundamentally changed how the world and ultimately brought the world into the home.

—*Scott J. Allen and Jessica Leary Allen*

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SCHEMATA, SCRIPTS, AND MENTAL MODELS

In psychology, human mental representations are characterized in many ways. Three of the most com-

mon ways are schemata, scripts, and mental models. These three ways, however, take different approaches to explaining human cognition and, hence, have different implications for leadership literature.

SCHEMATA

Today, *schema* (plural *schemata*) is the most popular term used to describe the representation of mental concepts. In 1932, the English psychologist Sir Frederic Bartlett introduced the concept of a schema as “an active organization of past reactions, or of past experiences, which must always be supposed to be operating in any well-adapted organic response” (Bartlett 1932, 201). In other words, Bartlett suggested that a novel stimulus activates a schema and that the past knowledge and experience contained in the schema affect how the stimulus information is encoded and what it means. From this initial theory, researchers have concluded that schemata are beneficial to human information processors because they provide a set of potential inductive inferences, a means to compute similarity to the prototypes that define cognitive categories, and a means to combine simple concepts into composite concepts.

In its most basic form, current theory suggests that schemata organize memories that contain both general and specific information about concepts and objects as well as causal relationships. The result is unconscious expectations regarding what things look like and the order in which they occur. There are many types of schemata, two of which are of particular importance: script schemata and person schemata. Script schemata are in the form of a sequence of events directed at a particular goal. Person schemata, on the other hand, include trait attributes, ideas, and feelings associated with a particular type of individual (such as a leader). Person schemata are theorized to include both exemplar (specific people) information and prototype (an abstract set of representative characteristics) information about each type of individual. Interestingly, the leadership literature suggests that children use exemplar information encoded in leader schemata to make leadership judgments, whereas adults use prototype information to make leadership judgments.

Schemata in general, and leader schemata in particular, seem to be ordered hierarchically in a cognitive structure containing three levels. The most abstract categories (e.g., leader or non-leader) of schemata constitute the highest level of the hierarchy. The middle level is made up of a list of possible values a leader can assume, taking the context into account (i.e., military leader, business leader, religious, or sports leader). Finally, the lowest level further differentiates leaders within the context (e.g., a female leader or a rank of military leaders).

Leadership categorization theory was the first integrated attempt in leadership literature to suggest how leader schemata are used to process information by stressing that followers utilize a leader schema (called an “implicit leadership theory”) to process information regarding leaders. Leadership categorization theory suggests that leadership is the process of being perceived by others as a leader, which involves comparison of a pattern of stimulus characteristics to one’s leader schema. That is, leader schemata include a leader prototype; potential leaders are compared to the prototype, and if they “match” (are similar enough), others will classify them as a leader. The more consistent a person’s behavior is with the prototype, the more likely that person will be seen as a leader. Research has identified eight characteristics that underlie leader schemata: sensitivity, dedication, tyranny, charisma, attractiveness, masculinity, intelligence, and strength.

Recent advances in understanding the cognitive mechanisms that produce schemata have allowed researchers to develop a more sophisticated understanding of leader schemata. Industrial/organizational psychologist Robert Lord, for example, argues that one’s leader schema is activated by both contextual constraints and behavioral inputs from the stimulus person (Lord, Brown, & Harvey, 2001). Following this logic, individuals continually re-create behavioral schemata sensitive to contextual constraints rather than retrieving past schemata from memory. Lord et al. argue that both follower perceptions and leader behavior are guided by such flexible schemata. Hence, a leader’s behavioral schema will lead to different behaviors depending on the situation, and a follower will interpret the behaviors dif-

ferently depending on the context in which the follower’s schema is activated.

Another important notion of schemata relevant to leadership is a self-schema. A self-schema is an integrated set of memories, beliefs, and generalizations about one’s behavior, capabilities, or characteristics in a given domain. Similar to schemata in general, a self-schema influences the processing of information about the self and others. Individuals who are schematic in leadership, for example, would be more likely to analyze themselves and others in reference to a leadership category. Research in support of this notion suggests that schematic individuals, relative to non-schematic individuals, quickly generalize from leader categories to judgments when assessing leadership behaviors. Schematic individuals are also more stringent in their evaluations of leaders, seem to follow a different process in making leadership judgments across time, and may be more willing to assume leadership roles.

SCRIPTS

The notion of script-based cognitive processing, although related to the notion of schemata, has developed through a largely separate stream of research. Scripts are mental representations that describe the appropriate sequence of a typical event or behavior and are considered the behavioral repertoire part of a schema. Scripts are held in memory like a prototype; hence, generic scripts are appropriate for many situations. Further, scripts fulfill two functions in that they may act as guides for producing or for understanding behavior. Additionally, scripts can specify how to respond to emotional events.

Theory regarding scripts has identified several distinguishing features. Scripts are related to the goals of the individual; they include multiple paths to these goals; and the goals are arranged in a hierarchical means-end structure. Scripts also have clear temporal structures in terms of the necessity of completing lower-level goals prior to higher-level goals. Scripts are easily elaborated to include new experiences. Robert Lord and Mary Kernan (1987) suggest that common scripts for leaders may include con-

ducting meetings, dictating letters, interacting with employees, and performing other work tasks.

Business professors Dennis Gioia and Peter Poole (1984) agree that scripts facilitate understanding of the world and provide a guide to behavior in organizations as well as other settings. In fact, Gioia and Poole argue that script-based processing probably occurs readily in organizations because organizational situations tend to be predictable and repetitive (e.g., procedures, rituals, customs, etc.). The authors suggest that people have the basic scripts for most organizational situations; hence, people know what to expect from others and what is expected from them in situations such as meetings, performance appraisals, and selection interviews. Additionally, socialization can be viewed as the learning of appropriate scripts for organizational processes. Interestingly, research suggests that leaders act according to script-based processing and may have different scripts for interacting with and assessing low- and high-performing employees.

Leader behaviors are limited by the nature of the leader's underlying scripts and schemata (Wofford & Goodwin, 1994). Transformational leaders (those that inspire followers with a vision, high expectations, and personal attention), for example, store information in a higher-level manner and have more abstract, long-term schemata. Research suggests that transactional leaders (leaders that take a more hands-off, task-oriented leadership approach), on the other hand, store information as more concrete patterns of behavior. Accordingly, research suggests that transactional leaders do not have the appropriate schemata needed to act in a transformational way. Further, leader behavior (as determined by the cognitive representations available to the leader) is thought to activate certain scripts or schemata in followers that determine leader perceptions and judgments (Wofford & Goodwin, 1994). Thus, over time, leadership processes reflect the dynamic interaction of leader scripts and followers' perceptual schemata.

In an empirical test of these hypotheses, it was found that leader cognitions did indeed predict leader behaviors (Wofford, Goodwin, & Whittington, 1998). Specifically, leader cognitions were

assessed to determine if they held transformational or transactional scripts and schemata. The researchers found that (1) transformational cognitions were significantly predicted by script-based processing, but not by transformational self-schemata, whereas only transactional self-schemata loaded significantly on transactional cognitions, and (2) transformational cognitions significantly predicted transformational behavior, and transactional cognitions significantly predicted transactional behavior. Related research has found that leaders select different script traits in response to subordinate performance, becoming more directive when performance problems occur (Wofford, Joplin, & Cornforth, 1996).

Perceptions of leaders are also affected by the use of script-based processing. One study, for example, found that individuals with the goal to remember leader behavior exactly recalled more script-based behaviors, whereas individuals told to form an impression of the leader recalled more trait-based information (Foti & Lord, 1987). Additional research has found that bogus performance information affected leadership perceptions only when it was processed using person-based, rather than script-based, encoding (Murphy & Jones, 1993). Again, this research suggests that individual goals may determine the cognitive approach that a person uses to process information, which subsequently affects leader perceptions.

MENTAL MODELS

The concept of mental models, introduced by psychologist Kenneth Craik in 1943, suggests that external events are translated into internal models and that people use internal models to rationally evaluate external events. A mental model is an underlying cognitive framework that represents a body of knowledge in a structural way. Related theory suggests that people perceive a mental representation of the world and not the external world directly (although it may seem as if people perceive the external world directly). Hence, one's mental models constrain and limit how one sees the world.

Psychologist Philip N. Johnson-Laird suggested

that mental models, constructed out of basic processes and primitive symbols, translate external events into internal models consisting of symbolic representations. The concept of a mental model, then, includes what is evolutionarily wired and what is learned through experience. Importantly, mental models (1) correspond to the external world, (2) consist of things that people perceive (an image of perceptible entities) or abstract concepts, and (3) contain production rules (e.g., if A then B) rather than variables.

Mental models, as applied to organizational functioning, are often studied as mechanisms affecting team performance. That is, theorists generally suggest that team members with similar mental models will perform better as a team than will team members who do not share similar mental models. In this case, a mental model is defined as “the organization and understanding of relevant knowledge structures.” According to some of the literature, team mental models may include many types of knowledge to assist in the description, prediction, and explanation of organizational phenomena. Theorists think that team mental models explain the implicit coordination achieved by some teams, even in complex and ambiguous environments. For example, the analogy of a collective mind to suggest how teams on the flight deck of aircraft carriers dynamically interact in the takeoff and landing of airplanes (Weick & Roberts, 1993). Shared mental models connect one team member with another through interactions within a dynamic, overarching system created by their common task.

OUTLOOK IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Theories of mental representations including concepts such as schemata, scripts, and mental models played a large role in psychological literature for the latter part of the twentieth century. Investigation into these theories likely will continue as psychology advances. One potential for developing an integrated understanding of mental representations lies in developing a common theory pertaining to their development and use. In this respect, collective minds in organizations could be modeled by connec-

tionist architectures (a concept that explains in detail how cognitive processing occurs using the analogy of nodes in a network) (Weick & Roberts, 1993), and an experimental methodology and modeling program (Pathfinder) has been developed for representing mental models in this manner (Schvaneveldt, 1990). Similarly, Robert Lord and colleagues maintain that leadership scripts and person schemata can be represented by connectionist architectures (Lord, Brown, & Harvey, 2001). Because they allow for the processing of multiple stimuli simultaneously, such cognitive models also may help explain how schemata are adjusted to context and how they dynamically change over time as task circumstances evolve.

—Barbara A. Ritter and Robert G. Lord

See also Cognitive Structures; Mental Models

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SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

It is impossible to underestimate the importance of science and technology (S&T) in modern life, yet there is much room to doubt the influence of particular S&T leaders. If one scientist does not discover a particular truth, many others can do so, and many engineers are ready to invent any particular innovation that is feasible at a particular point in general technical progress. In 1999, according to the National Science Foundation, the workforce included approximately 11 million scientists and engineers in the United States, and 26,000 people received S&T doctorates. Europe surpassed the United States with 54,000 S&T doctorates that year; Asia was not far behind with 21,000, and more than 2.6 million students earned S&T bachelor's degrees worldwide. In 2000, approximately 265 billion dollars were invested in research and development in

the United States, about as much as in the other six most advanced industrial nations combined: Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United Kingdom. All aspects of the economy exploit the results of science and technology, so S&T leadership is a question of fundamental significance.

TECHNOLOGICAL, CULTURAL, AND SOCIAL DETERMINISM

Three distinct schools of social scientific thought argue that individual leaders are unimportant in science and technology and progress is really the result of impersonal forces:

Technological determinism holds that technology is the engine of its own development, and individual scientists and engineers play only subsidiary roles. William F. Ogburn (1886–1959) offered a four-step model:

1. *Invention*: New technology naturally evolves from the existing technical base, and a given innovation tends to occur simultaneously with several inventors as soon as it is technically feasible.
2. *Accumulation*: Inventions tend to accumulate over time, in an accelerating process, because the more inventions that already exist, the more opportunities there are to combine them in novel ways.
3. *Diffusion*: Inventions tend to spread beyond the geographic and technical area in which they arose.
4. *Adjustment*: New technology transforms social conditions, causing cultural lag as the institutions of society fail to change until social movements bring about needed adaptations.

Cultural determinism holds that the values of the wider society channel research investments into particular fields, and individuals merely innovate in those fields given highest priority by the surrounding culture. Robert K. Merton (1910–2003) charted the changing cultural emphasis across different scientific fields in England in the period just before the Industrial Revolution. Liah Greenfeld suggests that the specific value galvanizing rapid scientific progress in England was nationalism, as the English sought ways to compete the larger continental powers, France and Spain.

Social determinism views organizations as networks of communication, and innovation as a process in which the information necessary to develop a new idea happens to collect at one location. Kathleen Carley conceptualizes organizations as information systems, and Mark Granovetter stresses the importance of extended communication networks. Some individuals appear to innovate creatively, but that is an illusion caused by the fact that these individuals happen to hold particular positions in the social network. Innovative individuals are often marginal to two fields, thus receiving diverse information from different sources and in a good position to bring ideas together.

However, each of these theories leaves some scope for individual leaders. Someone has to organize the social movements that help society adopt new inventions. S&T culture does not simply happen by itself, but is shaped by intellectual leaders. Individuals act as information gatekeepers at narrow points in the social network. The example of space rocketry shows how leaders of different kinds play varying roles in the emergence of a radical new science-based technology.

THE SPACEFLIGHT MOVEMENT

Thomas Kuhn (1922–1996) argued that major advances occur in periods of scientific revolution. Kuhn distinguishes *normal science* from *revolutionary science*. Normal science is incremental progress following a well-established paradigm that defines a given field. Because this paradigm involves a widespread consensus about the phenomena to be studied and the proper methodology of research, scientists are like interchangeable parts in a well-oiled machine. During times of scientific revolution, however, an old paradigm is vanquished by a new one, and the form of the new paradigm can be shaped to a great extent by the personalities of the leaders who create it.

Spaceflight is a science-based technology that was revolutionary in both a technical and a political sense. Technically, spaceflight set entirely new goals (travel into outer space) and new means to achieve them (employing multistage rockets as vehicles). The key factor was a radical social movement that



The Vision for Jules Verne's "Moon Gun" in *From the Earth to the Moon*

Impey Barbicane was a man of forty years of age, calm, cold, austere; of a singularly serious and self-contained demeanor, punctual as a chronometer, of imperturbable temper and immovable character; by no means chivalrous, yet adventurous withal, and always bringing practical ideas to bear upon the very rashest enterprises; an essentially New Englander, a Northern colonist, a descendant of the old anti-Stuart Roundheads, and the implacable enemy of the gentlemen of the South, those ancient cavaliers of the mother country. In a word, he was a Yankee to the backbone.

Barbicane had made a large fortune as a timber merchant. Being nominated director of artillery during the war, he proved himself fertile in invention. Bold in his conceptions, he contributed powerfully to the progress of that arm and gave an immense impetus to experimental researches.

He was personage of the middle height, having, by a rare exception in the Gun Club, all his limbs complete. His strongly marked features seemed drawn by square and rule; and if it be true that, in order to judge a man's character one must look at his profile, Barbicane, so examined, exhibited the most certain indications of energy, audacity, and "sang-froid."

At this moment he was sitting in his armchair, silent, absorbed, lost in reflection, sheltered under his high-crowned hat—a kind of black cylinder which always seems firmly screwed upon the head of an American.

Just when the deep-toned clock in the great hall struck eight, Barbicane, as if he had been set in motion by a spring, raised himself up. A profound silence ensued, and the speaker, in a somewhat emphatic tone of voice, commenced as follows:

"My brave, colleagues, too long already a paralyzing peace has plunged the members of the Gun Club in deplorable inactivity. After a period of years full of incidents we have been compelled to abandon our labors, and to stop short on the road of progress. I do not hesitate to state,

baldly, that any war which would recall us to arms would be welcome!" (Tremendous applause!) "But war, gentlemen, is impossible under existing circumstances; and, however we may desire it, many years may elapse before our cannon shall again thunder in the field of battle. We must make up our minds, then, to seek in another train of ideas some field for the activity which we all pine for."

The meeting felt that the president was now approaching the critical point, and redoubled their attention accordingly.

"For some months past, my brave colleagues," continued Barbicane, "I have been asking myself whether, while confining ourselves to our own particular objects, we could not enter upon some grand experiment worthy of the nineteenth century; and whether the progress of artillery science would not enable us to carry it out to a successful issue. I have been considering, working, calculating; and the result of my studies is the conviction that we are safe to succeed in an enterprise which to any other country would appear wholly impracticable. This project, the result of long elaboration, is the object of my present communication. It is worthy of yourselves, worthy of the antecedents of the Gun Club; and it cannot fail to make some noise in the world."

A thrill of excitement ran through the meeting.

Barbicane, having by a rapid movement firmly fixed his hat upon his head, calmly continued his harangue:

"There is no one among you, my brave colleagues, who has not seen the Moon, or, at least, heard speak of it. Don't be surprised if I am about to discourse to you regarding the Queen of the Night. It is perhaps reserved for us to become the Columbuses of this unknown world. Only enter into my plans, and second me with all your power, and I will lead you to its conquest, and its name shall be added to those of the thirty-six states which compose this Great Union."

"Three cheers for the Moon!" roared the Gun Club, with one voice.

was created by a small number of people in several of the advanced industrial nations. They can usefully be categorized in terms of four generations of leaders, generations *0*, *1*, *2*, and *N*:

Generation *0* were would-be intellectual leaders who worked on the problem of spaceflight before technology had advanced to the point at which a feasible approach could be identified. The French writer Jules Verne (1828–1905) imagined that humans could be shot to the moon from a huge gun, whereas English writer H. G. Wells (1866–1946) postulated

that a substance could block the force of gravity. The Russian Nikolai Kibalchich (1854–1881) and the German Hermann Ganswindt (1856–1934) turned Verne's idea around, and imagined riding a gun up into space on the recoil of shooting downward.

Generation *1* were scientists who correctly discovered that a feasible means of space travel was with rockets employing high-energy liquid fuels (such as alcohol burned with liquid oxygen) and multiple stages that discarded most of the vehicle during the flight. It is hard to realize now, decades

"The moon, gentlemen, has been carefully studied," continued Barbicane; "her mass, density, and weight; her constitution, motions, distance, as well as her place in the solar system, have all been exactly determined. Selenographic charts have been constructed with a perfection which equals, if it does not even surpass, that of our terrestrial maps. Photography has given us proofs of the incomparable beauty of our satellite; all is known regarding the moon which mathematical science, astronomy, geology, and optics can learn about her. But up to the present moment no direct communication has been established with her."

A violent movement of interest and surprise here greeted this remark of the speaker.

"I have now enumerated," said Barbicane, "the experiments which I call purely paper ones, and wholly insufficient to establish serious relations with the Queen of the Night. Nevertheless, I am bound to add that some practical geniuses have attempted to establish actual communication with her. Thus, a few days ago, a German geometrician proposed to send a scientific expedition to the steppes of Siberia. There, on those vast plains, they were to describe enormous geometric figures, drawn in characters of reflecting luminosity, among which was the proposition regarding the 'square of the hypotenuse,' commonly called the 'Ass's Bridge' by the French. 'Every intelligent being,' said the geometrician, 'must understand the scientific meaning of that figure. The Selenites, do they exist, will respond by a similar figure; and, a communication being thus once established, it will be easy to form an alphabet which shall enable us to converse with the inhabitants of the moon.' So spoke the German geometrician; but his project was never put into practice, and up to the present day there is no bond in existence between the Earth and her satellite. It is reserved for the practical genius of Americans to establish a communica-

tion with the sidereal world. The means of arriving thither are simple, easy, certain, infallible—and that is the purpose of my present proposal."

A storm of acclamations greeted these words. There was not a single person in the whole audience who was not overcome, carried away, lifted out of himself by the speaker's words!

Long-continued applause resounded from all sides.

As soon as the excitement had partially subsided, Barbicane resumed his speech in a somewhat graver voice.

"You know," said he, "what progress artillery science has made during the last few years, and what a degree of perfection firearms of every kind have reached. Moreover, you are well aware that, in general terms, the resisting power of cannon and the expansive force of gunpowder are practically unlimited. Well! starting from this principle, I ask myself whether, supposing sufficient apparatus could be obtained constructed upon the conditions of ascertained resistance, it might not be possible to project a shot up to the moon?"

At these words a murmur of amazement escaped from a thousand panting chests; then succeeded a moment of perfect silence, resembling that profound stillness which precedes the bursting of a thunderstorm. In point of fact, a thunderstorm did peal forth, but it was the thunder of applause, or cries, and of uproar which made the very hall tremble. The president attempted to speak, but could not. It was fully ten minutes before he could make himself heard.

"Suffer me to finish," he calmly continued. "I have looked at the question in all its bearings, I have resolutely attacked it, and by incontrovertible calculations I find that a projectile endowed with an initial velocity of 12,000 yards per second, and aimed at the moon, must necessarily reach it. I have the honor, my brave colleagues, to propose a trial of this little experiment."

Source: Verne, Jules (1865). *From the Earth to the Moon* (ch. 2).

after this method was used to reach the Moon in 1969, how unorthodox these ideas originally were when developed by the Russian Konstantin Tsiolkovsky (1857–1935), the American Robert Goddard (1882–1945), and the Rumanian-German Hermann Oberth (1894–1989). On the basis of their ideas, amateur spaceflight organizations were established in several countries, leading to a small but highly visible pro-spaceflight movement that successfully built liquid-fuel test rockets.

Generation 2 consisted of effective entrepreneur-

engineers who created major government programs to develop the technology, notably Wernher von Braun (1912–1977) in Germany and Sergei Korolyov (1907–1966) in Russia. These men wanted to travel into space, but to achieve this practically they had to take a military detour, developing their vehicles for war. The crucial point was the successful use of von Braun's V-2 rocket in World War II, which led a decade later to the marriage of rockets with nuclear weapons to form the intercontinental ballistic missile. Korolyov and von Braun had been mem-

If I have seen further, it is by standing on the shoulders of giants.

—Isaac Newton

bers of their countries' amateur rocket clubs at the beginning of the 1930s, and at the end of the 1950s they launched the first Earth satellites for Russia and the United States.

Generation *N* spaceflight leaders are all the generations of innovative scientists, engineers, and bureaucrats who promoted development in government agencies and corporations after the new spaceflight paradigm had been established.

Generation *0* was pre-revolutionary; generations *1* and *2* were revolutionary, and *N* continues normal science and technology. The different kinds of leader operate in very different social contexts:

Parallel behavior: Individual researchers or inventors act alone, without coordination or leadership.

Collective behavior: Individuals not only do their own private research, but also communicate with like-minded people, leading through the quality of their ideas and their ability to express shared values.

Social movement: Voluntary organization emerges, requiring leaders to have the entrepreneurial ability to attract financial investments and the messianic capacity to recruit new converts to their crusade.

Societal institution: Leaders hold bureaucratic positions in established organizations, such as corporations or government agencies.

These categories can be applied roughly to all S&T fields. In modern societies, societal institutions are constantly challenged by social movements, and social movements are co-opted or excluded by societal institutions. Thus, a fundamental tension exists between normal and revolutionary forms of leadership, between bureaucracies and lone inventors.

GENIUSES AND BUREAUCRACIES

Biographer Evan Schwartz argued that Philo T. Farnsworth (1906–1971), who almost single-handedly developed both the television camera and televi-

sion set, was the “last lone inventor.” Independent inventors like Alexander Graham Bell (1847–1922) and Thomas Alva Edison (1847–1931) could have become rich and influential through the products of their genius. But, then, large industrial corporations arose, established research and development laboratories, hiring scientists and engineers for modest salaries and garnering all the patents and profits for the company. With money from a friend and from local banks, Farnsworth established a tiny laboratory where he succeeded in developing fully electronic television. But broadcast technology was dominated by the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), a monopoly that held the radio patents. According to Schwartz, RCA intentionally delayed television because it wanted to own Farnsworth's patents, and commercial television began only as the patents were expiring.

Once a particular S&T field has been solidly established, the easiest discoveries or inventions may already have been made, and the vast resources of corporations or governments may be required to achieve further progress. Individuals who command significant resources can still be important, as can lone geniuses who open up new fields. Multimillionaire financier, Alfred Lee Loomis (1887–1975), established a physics laboratory in his mansion at Tuxedo Park, New York, and contributed both organizational leadership and solid scientific expertise to the radar and atom bomb projects of World War II. Lone inventors were important in the 1970s in the development of personal computers and software. Importantly, individual innovators can still play leadership roles within large bureaucracies such as government science agencies.

Among the most influential leaders was Vannevar Bush (1890–1974). After earning a doctorate in engineering jointly from Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Bush taught at MIT for twenty years and then became head of the Carnegie Institution in Washington, D.C. In 1930, he built the differential analyzer, a mechanical, analog computer useful for calculating the artillery ballistic trajectories. In 1940, Bush personally convinced President Roosevelt to establish the National Defense Research Committee to advise the government on technical matters, with himself as chairman.

The spectacular successes of the radar and atomic bomb projects made government extremely receptive to future science-based engineering projects, and in 1945 Bush submitted a report to President Truman, *Science the Endless Frontier*, advocating a new government agency to support fundamental scientific research. The result, after five years of political debate, was the National Science Foundation (NSF).

The first of the great U.S. government research organizations founded after World War II was not NSF, however, but the Office of Naval Research (ONR), and its formation illustrates the irony that often attends leadership in S&T. The postwar success of the navy depended on continued technical innovation, and in 1943, a group of reserve officers developed a proposal for what later became the ONR. However, the key individual was Vice Admiral Harold G. Bowen (1883–1965) who wanted command over the development of nuclear-powered warships. Earlier, he had lost an influential position in naval research when he clashed with Bush over Bowen's reluctance to give civilian scientists much autonomy in working on military projects.

After a humiliating year on the sidelines, Bowen developed a friendship with James Forrestal (1892–1949), undersecretary of the navy. Death of the secretary led to Forrestal's promotion, and in 1945 he established the ONR with Bowen as first director. Bowen hoped he could now forge ahead with nuclear warships, but their rival, the U.S. Army, had control of the atom bomb project and rebuffed the navy's attempts to become involved. In response, Bowen switched his position on civilian scientists and now recruited them to build expertise in the ONR. As a final irony, the nuclear warship program was given not to ONR but to the Bureau of Ships. Thus, Bowen became the first director of an organization that was not at all what he would have designed, with purposes quite different from those he intended. Nonetheless, ONR became a sterling research organization and was a model for many that followed, including NSF.

The National Science Foundation is a preeminent example of a government agency that funds research in fundamental science, mathematics, and engineering through a system that combines several kinds of

leadership. The central concept is *peer review*, that the scientific merit of research proposals should be judged by scientists who are experts in the field. Most of the foundation's five billion dollar annual budget is invested in proposals submitted by researchers in response to very general competition announcements. The awards are grants, giving the researchers scope to modify the work creatively as it progresses, rather than contracts specifying particular deliverables. When NSF program directors receive these investigator-initiated proposals, they recruit experts to serve as volunteer reviewers. The program directors, who are scientists in the relevant field themselves, are either permanent government employees or "rotators," who come in temporarily from universities for a period of from one to three years. Many of the higher-level management positions are also filled by rotators, and the various divisions of the Foundation are deeply embedded in the communities of scientists they serve.

The director is a presidential appointee who serves for as long as six years and is the top bureaucratic leader in the foundation, holding a formal position in the command structure. Major policy decisions are made in consultation with a committee of presidential appointees, called The National Science Board. A common form of advisory board in universities and some government science agencies is the "committee of visitors" that comes in from other institutions every few years to monitor how well a particular department has been managed and to offer advice for improvements. Many organizations have similar sets of advisory councils, but their leadership function is highly variable. For example, in the 1960s and 1970s, the board of trustees of the Argonne Universities Association had little success in influencing operation of the Argonne National Laboratory. A key leader within large S&T organizations is the intellectual leader who coordinates the activities of scientists and engineers not by giving orders or policy advice, but by offering specific technical or theoretical ideas that reshape a field.

VISIONARY LEADERS

The potential importance of middle-level leadership in science agencies is illustrated by Joseph Licklider

(1915–1997), who was director of the behavioral science and computing programs at the Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA), today called DARPA with a *D* to emphasize that it is part of the Defense Department. According to biographer Mitchell Waldrop, Licklider was the most influential single individual in the development of the Internet and the entire modern conception of personal computing. ARPA was a direct response to the launch of the first earth satellites by Sergei Korolyov's team in Russia in 1957, and thus was a continuation of the international scientific competition between nations that had arisen in World War II. Licklider held a doctorate in psychology, gained practical experience working in a wartime Harvard psycho-acoustic laboratory, and helped develop computers at MIT and at the BBN Corporation, before joining ARPA in 1962.

At the time, batch processing was the chief manner in which humans interacted with computers. The user would prepare IBM cards, submit the run to the computer, then wait several hours for a paper print-out. Licklider was one of a small number of visionaries who believed that human interaction with computers should be much more rapid, fluid, and personal. At ARPA, he exercised his unusual discretion as a program director, and his powers of persuasion, to create several university-based projects developing time-sharing techniques that allowed several people to interact simultaneously in real time with a large computer. The next step in Licklider's vision, Arpanet, was launched in 1969 by his successors at ARPA, for the first time linking together computers in remote locations using modern methods. During the 1970s, the Internet grew directly out of Arpanet.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the role of a visionary leader is well illustrated by the success of NSF's Mihail C. Roco in creating first the National Nanotechnology Initiative and then the Converging Technologies movement. An inventor, university professor, and prolific author, Roco initiated an NSF program on synthesis and processing of nanoparticles in 1991. He had the vision to see farther than others did, and the social skills to help other creative scientists and engineers see how their own work

could contribute to the larger success. As a program director in NSF's Directorate for Engineering, Roco organized workshops, conferences, and other forms of communication—first to raise the consciousness of scientists and engineers about nanoscience and nanotechnology, then to help them see how nanoscale S&T could form the basis of convergence between other fields, potentially across all of science.

Nanotechnology is an interdisciplinary field that controls matter on the nanometer-length scale, to create new materials, devices, and systems. A nanometer is one billionth of a meter, or roughly one millionth of the thickness of an American dime. This is the size scale at which complex molecules exist, larger than individual atoms but much smaller than the cells of a human body. Only in the 1990s did a range of techniques exist to study and manipulate matter at the nanoscale, and the term *nanotechnology* was coined, but shared consciousness and communication systems were lacking that could bridge across the separate fields, notably complex molecule chemistry and materials science. Between 1996 and 1998, Roco worked with a panel that conducted a worldwide study of nanostructure science and technology, augmented in 1999 by a workshop on nanotechnology research directions and in 2000 by one on societal implications of nanoscience and nanotechnology. All three were published both online and as books, and Roco became founding editor of the *Journal of Nanoparticle Research* in 1999.

Nanotechnology is itself a convergence of physics, chemistry, and engineering, with connections to genomics and proteomics in biology. Beginning in 2001, Roco initiated a series of workshops, special sessions at larger conferences, and publications exploring the possibility that convergence of nanotechnology, biotechnology, information technology, and cognitive science could greatly improve human performance over the next ten to twenty years. Convergence would be based on the material unity of nature at the nanoscale, technology integration from the nanoscale, key transforming nanotechnology tools, and the concept of reality as closely coupled hierarchical complex systems. Clearly, Roco's success in mobilizing some of the world's best scientists and engineers around such concepts is

evidence that technically competent but visionary leadership continues to be important in S&T.

—William Sims Bainbridge

See also Dot-Com Meltdown; Edison, Thomas; Manhattan Project; Panama Canal, Building of; Watson, Thomas, Jr.

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SEARS, ROEBUCK & CO. CATALOGUE

The most successful and endearing icon of U.S. consumerism from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century was the Sears, Roebuck & Co. catalogue. Known affectionately as “the Wishbook,” “Mr. Sears’s Catalogue,” and “the Farmer’s Bible,” the catalogue offered shoppers, especially in rural areas, a delightful and unprecedented cornucopia of consumer goods and a source of wonderment. This remarkable marketing tool revolutionized shopping and merchandising and in the process homogenized and democratized the market, making Sears the world’s largest merchandising corporation. Indeed, every company today—including those on the Internet, the latest incarnation of catalogue shopping—that uses mail-order catalogue sales (which reached \$110.2 billion in the United States in 2000) benefits from the model and trust established by Sears. At its core, the Sears catalogue helped people obtain the “good life”—making life easier, more pleasant, even fun—and acquire consumer goods at a good price.

THE INNOVATION OF CATALOGUE SHOPPING

Soon after the Civil War, residents of large U.S. cities could shop at new department stores, which allowed pleasurable access to more product choices and better products at affordable prices than ever before. The parallel innovation of catalogue marketing through mail order developed, ironically, from urban-based industry seeking to supply the needs of the nation’s predominately rural population. In 1890, 65 percent of U.S. residents still lived in rural areas, historically characterized by few shopping options

besides traveling salesmen and the general store, where product choices were few and prices high. Mail order revolutionized this environment. Railroad networks provided national mass distribution of goods, while rural free delivery (RFD) and parcel post guaranteed even isolated rural people home deliveries without the necessity of “going into town” to pick up their mail. Aaron Montgomery Ward, who had worked for Marshall Field’s department store in Chicago, seized the opportunity to supply products at discounted prices to rural people through catalogue sales with a satisfaction guarantee. His pioneering 1872 endeavor, headquartered in Chicago, inspired imitation, none more successful than that by a once-obscure Minnesota watch seller, Richard Warren Sears.

MR. SEARS, MR. ROEBUCK . . . AND MR. ROSENWALD?

The man whose name became synonymous with trust and value in catalogue sales, Richard Warren Sears (1863–1914), ventured off the farm at age sixteen into employment as a railroad station agent in North Redwood, Minnesota, where he utilized his natural gifts as an entrepreneur and salesman, first by selling lumber and coal on the side and then, fortuitously, watches. A shipment of gold-plated pocket watches from a Chicago manufacturer went unclaimed, so Sears contacted the manufacturer to purchase and sell the watches himself; he soon ordered more watches. Within six months, Sears netted five thousand dollars.

In 1886, at age twenty-three, he established the R. W. Sears Watch Company in Minneapolis, increasing sales by employing direct-mail campaigns; Sears had an exceptional talent for writing ad copy with a personal touch that was enticing and yet created trust. His watch business thriving, he relocated to Chicago in 1887 and hired his own watch repairman, Alvah Curtis Roebuck (1864–1948), launching his first catalogue, featuring only watches and jewelry, the following year. Sears “retired” in 1889, selling his watch company, only to repartner with Roebuck to create Sears, Roebuck & Co. in September 1893, devoted to selling a wide array of merchandise—and

issuing the catalogue that so dramatically captured the public’s imagination.

Whereas Sears was a risk taker who thrived on the bustle of business, Roebuck was not. Coping with illness, he sold out to Sears in 1895 for \$25,000, although the company would still bear his name. A pants manufacturer supplying Sears, Julius Rosenwald (1862–1932), was astonished at the catalogue’s volume of business. He entered into partnership with Sears in 1895, contributing new capital and a gift for business organization, which the company badly needed. Although Richard Sears was a promotional genius, his business operated in near chaos. In the early days, there were times when the orders generated by the catalogue were so voluminous that they were burned, unable to be filled. Rosenwald brought order out of this chaos. He expanded the catalogue and created the powerhouse organization that became the modern Sears company.

WORLD’S LEADING MERCHANDISING CORPORATION

Julius Rosenwald’s organization coupled with Sears’s promotions resulted in record sales; the company permanently passed frontrunner Montgomery Ward in 1900, generating \$10.6 million versus \$8.7 million in sales, respectively. Not surprisingly, differences between these two strong personalities created tensions. Rosenwald steered the company toward a tighter business ethic and away from hucksterism. He vertically integrated the company, acquiring ownership or controlling interest in at least sixteen enormous manufacturing plants in eleven states, thus guaranteeing dependable and constant access to goods. In 1906, he organized the creation of the colossal 40-acre Sears plant in North Lawndale on Chicago’s West Side, then the largest business building in the world (now the site of Homan Square Community Center Campus). A marvel of modern business processing, the plant had nine thousand employees who processed 100,000 orders per day, while a scheduling system allowed the company to ship merchandise within forty-eight hours of receiving even mixed orders for merchandise from various departments. The merchandise-assembly room col-

Ever Made,” “The Greatest Value Ever Offered,” and “The Most Reliable.” A famous story has Richard Sears personally replacing a watch that a streetcar conductor had dropped, asserting, “We guarantee our watches not to fall out of people’s pockets and break” (Emmet and Jeuck 1950, 84). A glance at any early catalogue demonstrates Richard Sears’s characteristic formula: Whatever the product category, Sears offered the best price, the best choice, the best quality, the best guarantee. Reading his descriptions is enticing even today.

“THE CHEAPEST SUPPLY HOUSE ON EARTH”

By 1897, as company profits exceeded \$1.3 million, the catalogue—subtitled in Sears’s signature style as “The Cheapest Supply House on Earth”—had grown to 786 pages, offering almost anything available for sale. “Don’t Say It Isn’t in the Catalogue,” Sears proclaimed boldly. “If you don’t find it in the index, look very carefully through the entire catalogue. Nearly everything in merchandise can be found in this book.” Moreover, the catalogue was meant as a source of dreams: “Refer to it constantly. . . . You will prize this catalogue as an actual necessity of life, and one that you will never be without” (Israel 1997, 775, 786).

The 1902 behemoth was more than twelve hundred pages, more than 100,000 illustrations and quotations, weighing nearly 2 kilograms. By 1903, the company had its own gigantic printing plant running 700,000 kilometers of paper through the presses to create the 6 million copies of the catalogue mailed each year. The 1908 issue featured more than six thousand items, from abdominal reducing corsets, baseball equipment, and cameras to face powder, guns, musical instruments, and paint, to rugs, tombstones, vehicles, wallpaper—and always, watches. For thirty-five cents, consumers could order fifty stereoscopic slides showing the colossal Chicago plant operating and the catalogue being made. The catalogue offered not only the kitchen sink, but also entire kit houses, complete with numbered parts, paint, nails, and instruction booklets, shipped by rail to nearly anywhere in the country.

Sears also published twenty-four specialty catalogues, allowing for target marketing of product lines.

Moreover, Sears advertised in magazines and newspapers circulating in the rural market in order to popularize the Sears name and increase demand for the catalogue. Indeed, Sears became the largest mail-order advertiser in the nation. This was not always easy. Local newspapers, under pressure of local merchants—who doggedly sought means to destroy catalogues, which they rightly saw as a threat—often refused advertising space to the so-called “Mail-Order Trust.” Sears countered by urging shoppers to use his catalogue—subtitled “The Great Price Maker” and “The Consumers Guide”—as their ally to see how much local retailers were overcharging them.

Ever the entrepreneur, Sears pioneered ways to get his catalogue into the hands of new people. In 1905, for example, he created a novel marketing campaign in Iowa, in which existing customers were offered premiums (a bicycle, furniture, sewing machine, or stove) for persuading others to order from the catalogue. The “Iowaization” plan was then utilized throughout the country. From 318,000 Sears catalogues in circulation in 1897 (the first year figures are available), the numbers soared to more than 1.5 million in 1902, to more than 6.5 million in 1908 (including both spring and autumn editions). By 1927, circulation totaled 75 million mailings—including 15 million “Big Books,” 10 million circular letters, and 23 million sales and specialty catalogues.

SEARS’S LEADERSHIP LEGACY

By specializing as a mail-order house rather than a retail store, Sears was not constrained by geographical space; indeed, the “market” was anywhere a catalogue could be—an innovation that even today remains strategic. Sears’s strategy was attracting otherwise reluctant customers by offering liberal guarantees, enticing product descriptions and illustrations, and sensationally low prices, which he was able to do by eliminating the middleperson and contriving exceptional deals with manufacturers based on mass sales—a strategy not lost on modern discounters such as Wal-Mart. However, the catalogue generated the huge volume of sales. Although today catalogue layouts are less crowded, and the appeals

are (perhaps) more sophisticated, the basic Sears formula remains effective. In this sense, Sears laid the foundation for modern advertising and billboard, catalogue, even television and Internet selling. Likewise, Rosenwald's organizational system became the model for the behind-the-scenes success of modern catalogue operations.

Beyond business leadership, the Sears catalogue profoundly influenced culture. In rural schoolhouses, it served as an encyclopedia of knowledge. Children practiced reading and spelling using the catalogue, studied arithmetic by adding up orders, honed artistic skills by copying catalogue pictures, and studied geography with the postal-zone maps. Mothers pacified children by using the catalogue as a storybook, girls made paper dolls by cutting out illustrations, boys decorated their walls with its pages. Most significantly, Sears united the country in a central cultural experience as folks all over the nation sent money to a trusted man in Chicago, whose catalogue increasingly homogenized, nationalized, and modernized the market and, in a real sense, democratized prosperity.

FROM CATALOGUE TO RETAIL STORE—AND BACK AGAIN

The company began shifting to retail stores to meet the demands of an increasingly urban and mobilized society. Rural shoppers who had so generously utilized the catalogue were becoming less isolated and more prosperous in the new century, able to afford cars to drive to towns to shop. Although Sears still did as much as 95 percent of its business by mail as late as 1925, the company's mail-order volume dropped to 54 percent by 1930 as its stores increasingly absorbed sales under the guidance of Julius Rosenwald's hand-picked successor, Robert E. Wood (1879–1969). Wood opened the first "experimental" store in 1925, ironically in the Chicago mail-order plant; by 1929 there were 319 stores. Exceeding catalogue sales for the first time in 1931, Sears stores accounted for almost 54 percent of business. Despite the Depression, the number of stores grew to six hundred by 1941.

Nevertheless, under Robert Wood's leadership,

Sears also transformed the catalogue to meet the needs of urban customers. Catalogue sales desks were installed in the retail stores, and catalogue sales offices were opened in towns too small to support a store. Moreover, post-World War II prosperity propelled the catalogue to legendary prominence again as the beloved Christmas "Wishbook" (first issued in 1933) was eagerly awaited by Baby Boomer children throughout the 1950s and 1960s yearning for Santa to bring Lionel trains, Marx playsets, Roy Rogers and Davy Crockett toys, Erector sets, G.I. Joe, Barbie and Ken, Chatty Cathy, Tiny Tears, the Easy Bake Oven, Marx dollhouses and kitchen sets, costumes, and games.

As Sears stores increasingly anchored newly developing shopping malls, Sears moved into its new headquarters in Chicago in 1973, the 110-story Sears Tower, then the tallest building in the world. In the wake of major corporate restructuring in the 1980s, Sears's merchandise division, amid \$3.3 billion in sales, abandoned the century-old "Big Book" catalogue in January 1993, even though 14 million consumers had received one. The catalogue shutdown caused public outcry, eliminated 3,400 full-time jobs, and left J. C. Penney the largest catalogue retailer in the United States.

Even so, Sears continued to issue specialty catalogues, notably for Craftsman brand tools, toys, and gifts (revived in 1995), and watches and jewelry. Sears Canada, which is partially owned by the U.S. company, still produces a "Big Book" catalogue. Electronic catalogue shopping is the latest avenue of growth. In 1997, Sears made Craftsman tools available online, then launched the websites Wishbook.com in 1998 and Sears.com in 1999. In 2002, in a bold move to reassert catalogue dominance, Sears acquired for \$1.9 billion Lands' End, the nation's largest specialty clothing catalogue company, with LandsEnd.com the nation's biggest Internet seller of clothing. Today Sears is increasingly focusing on Internet catalogue sales. Sears.com offers extensive goods and services and is the nation's largest online appliance source. The company's strategy, to become "the definitive online source for the home" while enabling consumers "to capture the American Dream," was launched in its

1999 marketing campaign: “The Good Life at a Great Price. Guaranteed”—which would surely bring a smile to the founder.

—Craig H. Roell

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SELF-INTEREST

The philosophy of leadership presented in this entry dictates that leaders be selfish, that is, egoistic. Most people assume that egoism means amorality and the ruthless manipulation of others. In fact, however, egoism means acting in one’s own interest. But what does it mean to act in one’s own interest, and how does one go about doing so?

MORALITY

Before turning to those questions, let us first examine the nature of morality. The novelist-philosopher Ayn Rand (1905–1982) argued that the reason people need a moral code is that they cannot survive on the basis of instincts or spur-of-the-moment impulses. They need a code of values to guide their choices and actions. In Ayn Rand’s philosophy, life is the objective standard of morality. As Rand states, “It is only the concept of ‘Life’ that makes the concept of ‘Value’ possible” (Rand 1964, 15–16). As mortal beings, our existence is conditional on taking courses of action that will fulfill our needs. This means that a rational moral code

must be egoistic; that is, people must benefit from their choices and actions.

Observe that egoism is the polar opposite of altruism. Although often popularly understood to mean benevolence or good will towards others, or a willingness to help those in need, in actuality altruism means “other”-ism (etymologically the word ultimately derives from the Latin *alter*, “other”). The code of altruism asserts that moral virtue consists of sacrificing oneself for others. Insofar as a rational moral code must be egoistic, as argued above, altruism flies in the face of rational morality; indeed, Rand characterized altruism as an anti-life moral code.

The basic moral choice, however, is not between sacrificing oneself for the sake of others or sacrificing others for the sake of oneself. Criminality and amorality are not the proper alternatives to self-immolation—or vice versa. The proper alternative to altruism is rational egoism, which means dealing with others through voluntary trade.

But to know that it is good to act in one’s own self-interest does not tell one how to do it. Egoism points to the proper beneficiary of one’s actions—oneself—but that identification does not provide a specific code of virtues that will make possible pro-self, pro-life choices.

VIRTUE

If life is the ultimate standard of reality, then the question becomes, what specific virtues are pro-life? What virtues will enhance one’s long-term survival and happiness?

Ayn Rand answers that since one’s survival depends mainly on the use of one’s rational faculty, rationality is the primary virtue. Reason is the faculty that integrates and identifies the material provided by the senses. It is through reason that people are able to know the world and make the discoveries and decisions that enhance their lives and well-being. One should not act on the spur of the moment, based on emotion, but deliberately, after thought. Using reason means considering the consequences of one’s actions, both short and long term. It means integrating perceptual information into concepts and integrating conceptual knowledge into principles (gen-

eral truths), rather than viewing every concrete fact and situation as unrelated to every other. Using reason means having an active mind, a mind eager to grasp reality and to guide one’s choices and actions accordingly.

Ayn Rand identified six other virtues that are implicit in the virtue of rationality: honesty, integrity, independence, justice, productiveness, and pride. Honesty is the refusal to fake reality, to pretend that the unreal is real, that the untrue is true. Dishonesty separates one’s mind from reality and cripples one’s rational faculty.

Observe here that in the face of adversity dishonest leaders abandon reason; they look to fool others, as if faking reality would make reality into what they want it to be. In contrast, honest leaders use reason to look at the facts and ask: What are the causes of this problem? Are there any actions we can take to fix them? What are they? How can we take them? It is obvious which of the two types of leaders described above are acting in their own self-interest and dooming themselves to ruination.

Integrity is loyalty to one’s rational convictions in action. Note that integrity is not loyalty to whatever feelings one happens to have, but to what one has concluded, through a process of thought, to be right. The failure to have integrity divorces one’s judgment from what one does and thereby, like dishonesty, negates reason.

Independence is taking responsibility for doing one’s own thinking and not accepting the assertions of others out of conformity, passivity, or fear. It means looking at reality firsthand, examining the evidence (including any relevant information provided by others), and reaching conclusions based on one’s own best judgment. It also means taking responsibility for one’s own life. The refusal to act and think independently puts one entirely at the mercy of what other people say or do and destroys one’s control over the course of one’s life.

Justice means rationality applied to other people. It means making judgments of other people based on the facts and acting toward them in accordance with those facts. It means judging them by a rational standard and acting on that knowledge. It means rewarding the good and not compromising with evil,

rewarding the competent but not the incompetent. The consequence of failing to be just is that the good will be undermined and the bad will flourish and even destroy the good.

Productivity means taking the responsibility to produce those necessities required for life. People are not disembodied spirits; they are a unity of mind and body and need to survive as physical entities guided by the judgment of their rational faculty. The failure to produce in any form leads ultimately to death (unless other producers provide for one).

Pride means moral ambitiousness and is the consequence of living a fully and consistently moral life guided by the consistent use of one's rational faculty.

LEADERSHIP

Let us now apply the above principles to the sphere of leadership. Edwin Locke et al. (1991, 2) define leadership as "the process of inducing others to take action toward a common goal." There are many different types of leadership. For example, there is leadership in politics, in business, in the military, on sports teams, within nonprofit institutions, and within other contexts. Although all these contexts share certain elements, this discussion will be confined to the leadership of for-profit companies.

The purpose of a business is to make a profit over the long term, or, more specifically, an honest, long-term profit; widespread dishonesty leads eventually to disaster (as the case of companies such as Enron and WorldCom, which collapsed amid scandal in 2002, illustrates). If the goal is to make the business profitable, then it is clearly in the self-interest of business leaders to take actions that will make long-term profits possible. The following are some of the steps that self-interest dictates a business leader should take.

Formulate a Business Vision

An effective leader has to identify the potential of a market, technology, or service and then identify a business strategy that will make the business competitive in the marketplace. In formulating a vision, leaders have to be scrupulously honest, because if

they try to fake reality in any way—for example, by denying relevant facts, misrepresenting the capability of competitors, incorrectly estimating the value of their own products or services, or ignoring relevant financial information—they will risk, and in the end guarantee, failure. Viable business visions are not to be confused with wishes; they are not simply what leaders want to happen. They are what the leaders' best rational judgment tells them will enable the company to be profitable. A chief executive officer (CEO) can properly get input from others, especially from able executives and members of the board of directors, when formulating a vision, but, in the end, a company has to be guided by a single vision, else the result will be anarchy and chaos. Having multiple top leaders would be like having a boat with ten rowers moving in the direction of their choice; the boat would never go anywhere.

Establish Core Values for the Organization

The purpose of a business is to make a profit, but profitability cannot be the core value, because this would imply that it did not matter how the money was obtained. There has to be a set of values that guide the methods and procedures by which a profit is generated. Two types of values are relevant here. The first are the moral values that will guide the company; these should reflect the essence of the list of virtues discussed above. Organizations consist of and are run by people; thus they share the same need as individuals for moral principles to guide choices and actions.

Moral Values

There are two ways that leaders can default on the issue of core moral values. One is by engaging personally and deliberately in dishonest practices and pressuring other executives to do the same as a condition of continued employment. Some CEOs are dishonest to start with; others begin honestly but resort to dishonest practices when their businesses do badly (for example, when projected earnings do not materialize) and they do not want to acknowledge it. Often they end up in a downward spiral in which an initial dishonesty has to be covered by fur-

ther dishonesties until the whole scheme collapses. In the face of adversity, dishonest leaders abandon reason; they try to fool others, as if misrepresenting reality would make reality into what they want it to be. In contrast, honest leaders use reason to look at the facts and attempt to identify the causes of any problems they encounter.

A second pattern of value default is the tacit acceptance of dishonesty in others, which can come about if CEOs do not keep track of what is going on below them. When CEOs are getting good results, they may prefer not to look too closely at how they got those results. They delegate everything to those below, including core values. CEOs are not necessarily fully passive in these situations. They often actively do not want to know what is going on and take deliberate steps to isolate themselves from everyday events. This means that they are implicitly endorsing whatever their subordinates are doing without actually saying anything. By doing so, they can take credit as long as the company does well and claim ignorance if wrongdoing is exposed.

Core moral values cannot be delegated. They have to be promulgated from the top and enforced relentlessly. For example, dishonest employees should not be promoted or given raises, even if they get good results. And if it is clear that they will not reform (or if the dishonesty is flagrant), they should be fired. CEOs must make it clear that they *want* to know if anyone hears about any dishonest practices, and they must follow up on any information they are given. If the CEO remains morally passive, the entire organizational culture can become dishonest by default. Maintaining core moral values requires an active, hands-on approach.

Company Values

The other type of values that organizations need can be called company-specific values. These might include what the company views as its core business (for example, high technology) or its core strategic strengths (for example, customer service, low cost, speed, innovation, or quality). Unlike moral values, which should never change, company values can properly change with changing business conditions. Having low cost as a company value might not make

sense at one time (for example, at the beginning of the personal computer industry), but it might come to make sense later as price competition heats up. Core company values must evolve to match changing business conditions. But still these values—and value changes—need to be driven from the top.

Company values by themselves do not necessarily give a company any competitive advantage. Similar sets of values may be endorsed by many companies. What will set a company apart will be how well it executes those values—that is, applies the values in the realm of everyday action. For example, having quality as a company value will not work unless the products or services are, in reality, high quality, and unless that quality is perceived and valued by customers.

All business organizations that are to be led by a single vision, and a single set of core values must be hierarchically structured. A hierarchical structure is also necessary because people differ in their ambition, knowledge, and ability. The purpose of structuring is to tie the parts of the organization together. The type of leader who is often mistakenly called selfish will structure the organization in order to consolidate his power, but the truly selfish leader—the one acting in accordance with the principle of self-interest—will look at the facts and try to ascertain the best way to separate the parts, in line with the principle of specialization of labor, while still ensuring that the parts all work together as a whole. This requires, then, both differentiation and integration, or centralization and decentralization. There are no final rules about how best to structure organizations, and most of them are continually restructuring to respond to new business realities.

Select Able Employees

Successful organizations need able employees. Insecure leaders fear being shown up by talented employees, but real self-interest dictates that business leaders hire as many smart and capable people as they can, because the success of leaders depends on the quality of the people who work for them. In fact, a subordinate often should be smarter and more knowledgeable than the CEO in the subordinate's area of expert-

ise. Unless the organization is tiny, no one person can do all the work required to make it run.

After hiring able employees, the CEO must delegate enough responsibility to them to enable them to make full use of their talents. Although it is the CEO's job to choose the vision and establish the core values, subordinates should be given the authority to make business decisions in their areas of expertise. Not using the brains of one's subordinates is a sure route to organizational failure. In addition to losing the full benefits of the subordinates' talents, overcontrolling CEOs risk losing their best people to other companies because capable employees are always in high demand and will not usually stay long with a company that does not value their abilities.

In addition to requiring the freedom to achieve, able subordinates need to be given credit for their achievements, not only in words, but also in the form of promotions and raises. Insecure CEOs try to take credit for subordinates' successes and blame them when things go wrong. Such CEOs are routinely called selfish, but according to the philosophy of self-interest they are actually anti-self, because they are sabotaging their own long-range success by undermining the people who help make it possible. They usually end up with a cadre of cowed, mediocre executives who do what they are told but contribute little of value to the organization.

Motivate Subordinates

Although in the end motivation comes from within, leaders can influence this process. What leaders do after hiring can have profound effects on their subordinates' motivation, for better or for worse. Leaders motivate subordinates in part through the use of the power that goes with their position as the boss; the employment contract implies that they have the right to tell people what to do. But what is the best way to use this power?

Leaders who are conventionally called selfish are usually people who use their authority to motivate by fear. They use their power as a club; they threaten subordinates, they demand that orders be obeyed mindlessly, they publicly humiliate those who do not do what they want, they fire people arbitrarily, and

they rarely give credit for any positive achievements. Needless to say, such practices do not produce very motivated subordinates and thus work against the CEO's true self-interest.

Healthy motivation of subordinates starts with communication. The first thing to communicate is the organization's vision and core values. Leaders also have to build subordinate confidence. Partly this is achieved by ensuring that everyone has the training and experience they need, and partly it is achieved by expressing confidence when it is merited. Employees demoralized by failure can be helped by encouragement, training, and mentoring.

Empowerment was noted earlier. Empowerment, or delegation of responsibility, is a very successful way to motivate to people who have skill, ambition, and confidence. Empowerment is not, however, the panacea it is often made out to be. It must be tied to what the person can actually do and it cannot, as noted, include vision or core values.

Leaders also motivate subordinates through the use of performance goals. CEOs properly play a major role in setting goals for the organization, though goals at lower levels can be delegated. Goals that are clear but difficult to achieve lead to better performance than goals that are ambiguous and/or easy to achieve. For goals to work there must be feedback, so that the employees can track their progress; there must also be commitment to the goals, and there must be a viable plan for reaching the goals successfully. Commitment is highest when the individual considers the goal to be important and has confidence that it can be reached or approached. A common practice of good leaders is to assign goals but to empower subordinates to decide on the best methods or plans for attaining the goals.

Leaders must beware of employees' tendency to use shortcuts and dishonesty to make it look as if goals have been achieved when in fact things are not going well. Leaders must enforce core moral values so that this does not happen. Leaders who lead by fear are most likely to encourage dishonest behavior in subordinates, especially if the leaders do not care how success is achieved. Sometimes, as mentioned earlier, CEOs themselves instigate the dishonesty.

Leaders also motivate subordinates by offering

rewards. Leaders who are selfish in the conventional sense of the word take as much money as they can for themselves and dole out what is left to others, often based on arbitrary criteria. Rationally selfish leaders operate on the principle of justice. They first gather all the information they can, with the help of others, about what each subordinate has accomplished and how. They consider the business conditions the employees were faced with and the full range of actions taken. Then they reward on merit, with the best performers at each level getting the largest raises. Such a policy is objectively selfish because it means that the best performers will be the most motivated to work hard in the future and to stay with the company.

Incentive systems do not have to reward only successful achievement of goals. If goals are very challenging, they may elicit high performance and still not be fully reached. What should be rewarded is performance, with the goals being motivators.

Build Teams

Great business leaders such as Jack Welch, the former CEO of General Electric, develop outstanding top management teams. They do not want flunkies and yes-men but people of outstanding ability, including people who will disagree with them, argue with them, and challenge them. They want people who possess skills they themselves do not possess. The CEO is still the boss, but great CEOs want people who will stimulate their thinking before final decisions are made. The better the team, the better the CEO's own chances of success at the helm.

Promote Change

The conventionally selfish CEO, frightened by the dynamism of free-market capitalism, will often ask for government subsidies or protection from competitors (for example, in the form of import quotas or price supports). Such leaders do not think in terms of principles; they want special deals for their own companies but not for others, so, for example, they want to hinder the entrance of competitive foreign goods to their own country, but they want the export

of their own products to be unhindered by recipient countries. Their pursuit of self-interest comes at other people's expense. But such an unprincipled policy is not in their actual, long-range self-interest. Any special favor they get can be turned against them whenever some other CEO has more clout with the government. Further, once the principle of government controls is accepted, thousands upon thousands of additional controls will be heaped upon business, which, according to the principles of free-market capitalism, end up undermining all businesses and the economy at large.

The rational, principled response to the dynamism of capitalism is to stand for the principle of dealing with others only by voluntary trade, without government intervention, except to prevent fraud or coercion. When competitors appear, truly selfish business leaders look at the facts, decide if the competition can be dealt with, and then respond accordingly. If the threat can be met, they take steps to meet it; if not, they get out of the business they are in and choose one in which they can compete effectively.

OVERVIEW OF THE RATIONALLY EGOISTIC LEADER

As in the case of the business heroes in Ayn Rand's 1957 epic novel *Atlas Shrugged*, a true egoist puts reality first and relies on reason to understand it. A rational egoist thinks in terms of principles and acts on them. Objectively, egoistic business leaders succeed by thinking. They take the steps needed to make their businesses make a profit in the long run. They formulate a vision for the business based on facts. They operate by firm moral principles in all their dealings and enforce these throughout the organization. They select outstanding people to work for them. They structure the organization to ensure both differentiation and integration. They motivate subordinates through positive means. They build top management teams composed of people who offer new and challenging ideas. They cope with changes in the market by changing their business rather than through begging for government favors.

Great leaders are not people without ego. It sometimes appears this way because great leaders have

genuine inner confidence; they are not boastful, nor are they obsessed with getting attention. Their focus is on the business: how to make it work, how to make it prosper. Their motive power is their selfish love of the work and also their love of the rewards, such as money, that they earn from the work. Their work is their passion—passion guided by reason. They are not altruists and could not function as such—that is, by doing something they had no personal, selfish interest in doing out of duty to others. Their motive is to do what they love doing, and to do it well. Herb Kelleher, the founder of Southwest Airlines, identifies the essence of the great business leader's motivation when he says of his work, "I love it, I love it—I sure as heck do" (quoted in Locke 2000, 113).

—Edwin A. Locke

See also Altruism; Collective Action

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SELF-MANAGEMENT

People who raise difficult issues, move their communities out of familiar comfort zones, and seek

change that some will experience as loss generate resistance that will feel personal. The form of the resistance can vary all the way from frontal personal attacks to the more subtle ploys of diversion, marginalization, and seduction. But whatever the form, the objective is clear: namely, to get the person exercising leadership to back off.

Success and survival in the practice of leadership depend significantly on dealing with resistance. And that requires considerable skill at managing not just the community—those who are pushing back—but managing your own response, managing the self as well. Understandably, this critical element of leadership is often ignored. Worrying about the self may feel self-indulgent, a diversion from the central task. It is easy to get so caught up in the cause that you become unmindful of what is going on inside yourself.

Self-management when exercising leadership has at least three central aspects: holding steady, managing your hungers, and anchoring yourself.

HOLD STEADY

Holding steady under the pressures of resistance is an essential skill if you are to stay alive and keep people focused on working the tough issues at hand. If you waver prematurely, they will surely lose their focus. Not wavering is difficult. The pressure on you may be almost unbearable. And you may harbor understandable doubts both about your own capabilities and about the direction in which you are pushing. However, leadership usually demands taking the heat and letting issues ripen.

Taking the Heat

Learning to take the heat and receive people's anger in a way that does not undermine your initiative is central to both survival and success. You are asking difficult questions, raising difficult issues, behaving in a way that may well frustrate and disappoint your closest friends and supporters. People become concerned, and their anxiety raises the tension level. They put pressure on you to back away, to drop the issue, and you feel the heat, uncomfortably.

Holding steady while exercising leadership

requires considerable tolerance for being the lightning rod of people's disappointment. Human beings vary in their ability to deal with the intensity of the environment. Some of us are comfortable taking more heat than others. The more heat you can take, the more likely you will be to hang in there, to keep your issue alive and yourself still in the game.

Taking heat from your friends and allies is toughest. Relatively speaking, most of us more easily tolerate heat from the opposition. After all, when bad guys say terrible things about you, it reinforces your sense of self-righteousness. You know you are doing something good if the "forces of evil" go after you and call you names. Or at least you can easily convince yourself you are in the right.

But the challenge of exercising leadership often involves taking enormous heat from people whose support you value and need. To do that well requires additional perspective, courage, strength, and grace. As your own people experience various forms of distress from the difficult issues you raise, they often express anger. They accuse you of disloyalty, and they may threaten to ostracize you informally, if not formally. Yet receiving their anger without becoming personally defensive generates increasing trust. If you can hold steady long enough, remaining respectful of their pain, defending your perspective without becoming personally defensive, you may find that in the ensuing calm, relationships become stronger and more resilient. Instead of blowing the relationships apart, divisive issues can then be contained and worked out.

Letting the Issues Ripen

People sometimes get taken out of action or pushed aside when trying to lead because the organization in general is not ready even to begin to address the issue they raise. In one sense, those who exercise leadership usually find themselves ahead of the community. But being too far ahead gives the organization an opportunity to push the issue, and you, aside. The issue needs to be ripe, or to be ripened, before it can be worked on by the larger community. That means exercising self-restraint and resisting the temptation to put the issue out there just because you see it and

care about it. Your self-discipline makes it possible for the issue to ripen and keeps you from provoking people too early—when you might lose any chance of progress.

Most organizations and communities have more than just one or two issues to worry about. Usually, they have a whole spectrum of challenges. But no group can do everything at once. Most organizations' list of problems that they *should* tackle is longer than the list of problems that they *are ready* to tackle. Just because an issue seems incredibly important to you does not mean that it seems important to others in your organization. It may, however, become more important to them in time.

How does an issue become ripe? How does an issue begin to take on generalized urgency, such that not just one faction but many factions within the community feel the need to address it? In a sense, this question lies close to the heart of leadership practice, particularly in politics and in social movements, and the answers lie beyond our scope here. But the answers begin with the self-discipline to distinguish between one's own passions and the passions among diverse constituents.

The first tasks then are diagnostic: identifying the relevant community of interests—the stakeholders—discovering what's on their minds and how much is on their minds. It is also important to assess what the stakeholders would need to internalize if they were to change their priorities—their interests, losses, and changes in competence and loyalty. One would also need to find out what the people in authority are saying and doing. While the rhetoric or even the commitment of people in authority often is not enough by itself to ripen an issue, it surely helps. People expect those in authority to set agendas. That expectation gives authority figures license and leverage to identify the issues for people's attention.

If you are the person in authority, you are expected to select for attention those issues that the stake-holding public already senses are ripe. You will risk your authority if you raise an unripe issue unless you expand your authority to include it, exceed your authority by raising the issue and managing the process very carefully, or protect voices of leadership below. Ripening an unripe issue may require protect-

ing voices of deviance, those people who are willing to ripen the issue and who have the latitude to be deviant from the current norms because they have little authority in the system.

For people leading without authority, ripening an issue is more difficult. To gain public attention without authority, you must take more dramatic and therefore riskier steps. You have to draw attention to the cause without having the attention stick to you, because if the attention sticks to you, you yourself become the issue and a source of distraction from the cause itself. The partnership between Lyndon Johnson and the organizers of the civil rights movement in the 1960s is the kind of partnership between people leading with and without authority that may be key to ripening an issue and therefore to generalizing a sense of urgency in the community to tackle it.

MANAGE YOUR HUNGERS

The cleanest way for an organization to bring you down when you are creating disequilibrium is by having you bring yourself down. Then no one else feels the need to bear responsibility. All too often, people self-destruct or give others the ammunition necessary to shoot them down.

You can bring yourself down by forgetting to pay attention to yourself. You get caught up in the cause and forget that exercising leadership is a very personal activity, challenging emotionally, intellectually, and even physically. With the adrenaline pumping because you are right in the middle of the dance floor with the most noble of purposes, it is easy to begin to believe you are physically and emotionally indestructible.

We all have normal hungers, which are expressions of our normal human needs. Every human being needs some degree of power and control, affirmation and importance, as well as intimacy and delight. Yet each of these normal human needs can get you into trouble if you lose the personal wisdom and discipline required to manage them and fulfill them productively and appropriately. Sometimes those needs become distorted because being in the center of the action is so heady. And sometimes people try to satisfy those needs in the public

sphere because they are not being met in their personal lives.

You are tuned like the strings of a harp. Your tuning is unique, flowing out of both your particular upbringing and your genetic heritage. Each person resonates a bit differently to the same stimulation. The tuning of your harp is never perfect. Each of us is sensitive to particular social dynamics and issues, and these sensitivities are a source of both strength and weakness. People who are particularly sensitive to certain forms of discrimination are likely both to see it before anyone else does and to see it where it does not exist. Although we may hear things that others cannot hear, and therefore may be ready for action early on, we also might launch ourselves into action in the wrong way or at the wrong time. We might pull people's attention away from more important or immediate issues. Moreover, our sensitivity to one theme of music may keep us from hearing other themes.

In leadership, as you tune in to other people's needs, to the way they are tuned, you cannot help but connect with them. As you resonate with their hopes and frustrations, you become the storehouse of their yearnings. This makes you vulnerable, because fulfilling their needs can feed into your own normal hungers. This is especially true if your needs are not already being met. But even if they are being met, being in the center of the dance floor with everyone's attention focused on you, where you are generating energy and receiving it, is likely to test your neediness beyond its normal boundaries. Too frequently, people in this situation lose their wisdom and self-discipline, slip out of control, and behave so as to collude in their own demise.

Just because you exercise leadership does not mean you have to repress your normal human passions. But you do have to get on the balcony, repeatedly, to get perspective on what is going on, to see how your passions are being stoked, and to begin to interpret events systemically. You have to be concerned about the issues and sentiments with which you particularly resonate; the ones you therefore carry in the organization, and how that burden affects you.

Thus, when exercising leadership you stimulate

and plug into collective emotions, which then generate a host of temptations: invitations to accrue power over others, appeals to your sense of grandiosity, and opportunities for intimacy and sexual satisfaction. Connecting to those emotions is different from giving in to them. Giving in to them destroys your capacity to lead. Power becomes an end in itself that gets in the way of your goals. Disproportionate self-aggrandizement breeds self-delusion and dysfunctional dependencies. Inappropriate sexual relationships damage trust, create confusion, and provide a diversionary justification for getting rid of you, and thereby your issue.

Acknowledging, honoring, and then fulfilling your own human needs in appropriate ways is a critical element for exercising leadership and surviving because doing so eliminates a significant personal vulnerability. Otherwise, your opponents and the communities with which you are trying to work will use your unfulfilled hungers as a way of taking your eye off the ball and bringing you down.

ANCHOR YOURSELF

Human beings were not designed to conduct the emotional currents produced by living in the midst of huge social networks. For most of our evolution, we have lived in small bands of fewer than twenty-five members. It is therefore entirely natural that people feel overwhelmed by modern life. Indeed, no matter how perfect your upbringing and the “software” your parents, culture, and community may have given you, you still need ongoing practices to compensate for your vulnerabilities. You need anchors. Three important ways to anchor yourself are by distinguishing yourself from your role, keeping confidants, and finding a sanctuary.

Distinguishing Self from Role

It is easy to confuse yourself with the role you play in an organization, community, or in regard to the issues. The world colludes in creating the confusion by reinforcing your professional persona. Colleagues, subordinates, and bosses treat you as if the role you are playing is the essential you.

One exercises leadership from a role in a group. The group may be as small as a family or as large as a country. When you exercise leadership, you perform a function for the group, at least for a period of time, just as the person who takes attendance, calls the meeting to order, or brings the cookies performs a function. If you are to be authentic and effective, the role you play has to reflect the particular way your heartstrings are tuned. You have to put yourself in the role, not only so that it brings satisfaction to you, but also so that the power of your passions flow into it.

Yet even though you may put all of yourself into your role, people will always be reacting to you not as a person, but as a role you play in their lives. Even when their responses to you seem very personal, they need to be read primarily as reactions to how well you are meeting their expectations of your role. In fact, it is vital to your stability and peace of mind that you understand this and then interpret and decipher people’s criticism in the light of that fact before internalizing it.

You have control over whether your self-worth is at stake. If you take what is said personally, that will make your self-esteem an issue. “You are a jerk” is not a personal attack, even though it is framed that way. It means that the speaker doesn’t like the way you are performing your role. Perhaps you have not been tactful enough in making your challenge. You may have raised the temperature too high too quickly for some to respond. The primary source of dissatisfaction with someone’s performance in the exercise of leadership is usually the challenge he or she presents, not the way in which it has been presented. In the guise of attacking you personally, the group is really attacking your point of view. When you take “personal” attacks personally, you collude with your attackers in replacing the issue you represent with you as a person. The real issue is pushed off the table; you become the issue.

Reacting literally and defensively to personal attacks perpetuates a diversion. This work avoidance mechanism almost always succeeds simply because it’s so natural to take a “personal” attack personally. We are normally inclined to confuse who we are with the roles we play in other people’s lives.

You should distinguish yourself from your role

not only to protect yourself from the damage of criticism but also to protect yourself from the damage of praise. If you begin to believe all the good things people are saying about you, you may lose yourself in your role. You may lose control of your own identity and self-image. People can control you because you need to maintain their approval.

When you take people's praise personally, you lose sight of the issues you represent to people. Just as people don't hate you, they don't love you either. Mostly they don't even know you. To draw people's attention back to the issues you represent in your role, you have to keep people from obsessing about you.

There is also a long-term value in distinguishing role from self. Roles end. If you become too caught up in your role, such that you think you are your role, then when your role ends, what will happen to you?

Keep Confidants

Perhaps no one can be sufficiently anchored within to sustain him- or herself in the practice of leadership without two kinds of partners: allies—those who are with you on the issue—and confidants. When you are trying to help groups and communities deal with difficult issues, it is just as important to have confidants, even just one or two, who care about you more than they care about your issue, as it is to have allies on the issue.

The best confidants are people who don't care about your issue at all, one way or the other. What they are concerned about is your welfare, not your issue's welfare. Their work is to help you come through the process whole and to tend to your wounds along the way. Even, and maybe particularly, when things are going well, you need someone who will tell you that you are too puffed up, and who will point out danger signals when you are too self-congratulatory to notice them. An old friend who lives in another city might do. A spouse might be able to be a confidant, except of course about the spousal relationship or family dynamics. Confidants are people who will tell you what you don't want to hear and can't hear from anyone else. They are people you can confide in without having your revelations spill back onto the job. These are people to

whom you can let out your emotions without affecting your reputation or undermining your work.

Sometimes a confidant can be explicitly engaged. "I'm about to start a difficult process here at work. Do you mind if I call you from time to time and just pour my guts out so you can tell me what you hear?"

Sometimes it is more spontaneous. When you are discouraged and feeling low, think about an old friend, a roommate you haven't seen in a decade or more, or an old employer or teacher who helped trained you and is invested in your success and survival rather than in any purpose you might be pursuing at the moment. Give them a call.

What you should not do, but might be tempted to do in a tough moment, is turn to a trusted ally, a partner on the issue, and try to make that person into a confidant as well. In your loneliness or insecurity at work, flushed with feelings from day-to-day politics, you can easily mistake allies for confidants and talk too openly to people in the wrong role. When you try to turn allies into confidants, you put them in a position where they may have to choose between their commitment to their own priorities and people and their commitment to you. And because by definition they came to the role of ally through a previous commitment to the issue, it's likely that their prior loyalty will prevail. When you try to turn allies into confidants, especially when the ally is in your own organization, you may lose on both counts. You won't get them as a confidant and you'll see them begin to slip away even as a reliable ally.

Find a Sanctuary

Like confidants, sanctuaries provide an indispensable anchor. To imagine that one can exercise leadership without a confidant and sanctuary is to imagine that you can survive a Chicago winter without a coat. No one would move to Chicago without a winter coat, yet countless people go into the practice of leadership without a place where they can be restored to themselves.

A sanctuary is a place where you can get away from the dance floor, from the blare of the music, where you can think and identify your own deeper truth, meaning, and purpose. You feel safe in a sanc-

tuary, both physically and psychologically. The rules as well as the stresses of everyday life are suspended temporarily. It is not a place to hide. It is a place to do the work of putting yourself back together, a haven in which to capture lessons from the painful moments. Too often, when we are under stress, a sanctuary is the first place that we give up. We consider it a luxury. Just when you need it the most, you cut out going to the gym or taking your daily walk, just to grab a few more minutes at the office. Clearly, when we are doing our most difficult work, we most need to maintain the structures in our lives that help us get away from it all, that remind us of our essential and inviolable identity and what we're trying to do.

THE IMPORTANCE OF SELF-MANAGEMENT

Self-management is essential in the exercise of leadership, but it is easy to bypass when one is caught up in the nobility of the cause and the excitement of the moment. But failing at self-management only exacerbates the already considerable risks of taking on a leadership challenge. Holding steady, managing your own hungers, and anchoring yourself are critical to both success and survival. Managing the self is just as important as managing the community, and no one is going to attend to it if you don't.

—Ronald A. Heifetz and Marty Linsky

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SEPTEMBER 11TH

At 5:14 pm on the evening of September 11 2001, CNN issued a statement:

In an apparently coordinated terrorist attack against the United States, four commercial passenger jets crashed on Tuesday, three of them into significant landmarks. . . . U.S intelligence officials tell CNN, "there are good indications that persons linked to Osama bin Laden may be responsible for these attacks." Bin Laden is the Saudi millionaire who has been blamed for terror attacks against U.S. interests and is believed to be in Afghanistan. (Terror Attack Hits U.S. 2001)

In the aftermath of the attack, many paid particular attention to the leadership demonstrated by Rudolph W. Giuliani, then the mayor of New York City, which suffered the greatest losses in the attack in the collapse of the twin towers of the World Trade Center. In Giuliani's book *Leadership*, published more than a year after the attack, he wrote that leadership varies from imposing a structure suitable to an organization's purpose to forming a team of people who bring out the best in one another. He suggested that personal attributes of leaders include strong beliefs and the ability to articulate them, and willingness to be accountable for the consequences of those beliefs. Giuliani displayed those characteristics during the immediate crisis.

GIULIANI IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE ATTACK

In the morning of September 11, when Giuliani first heard that a plane, at that time described as no more than a Cessna, had crashed into one of the towers of the World Trade Center, he left a political breakfast he was attending and headed downtown, whereupon he learned that a second plane had crashed into the other tower. As the original headquarters for New York City disasters were, ironically, located in the World Trade Center, Giuliani had to improvise. He set up two command posts. He wanted the police and fire departments to function separately, the police to protect the rest of the city, and the fire department to command the attack site. The new address for disaster headquarters was 75 Barclay Street. On September 12, at a news conference, Giuliani showed a personal, fatherly side, that led one columnist to describe him as "unstintingly there . . . calm, frank, patient, tender, egoless, and competent" (Hertzberg



Fireman leave the rescue area near the ruins of the World Trade Center on 13 September 2003.

Source: Corbis; used with permission.

2001). Both Giuliani and reporters were more worried about the dead and possible survivors than any other issue. Giuliani confirmed that three hundred firefighters were gone, and that some of his friends had been killed, but couldn't go much beyond that. His transparency was both honest and reassuring. If he didn't know something, he said so, going so far as to correct a colleague who had given out unsupported information. He let the public know that about two thousand emergency workers were on the site, twenty-four hours a day.

Two days later, at another news conference, Giuliani focused on reporters who were misinforming the public or just getting their facts wrong. He corrected false information about survivors, alleged arrests, and rumors about box cutters and knives found. He urged reporters to verify what they heard with the FBI or the police. He announced that schools were open north of Canal Street and that the Staten Island Ferry was running. He warned people about a telemarketing outfit that was calling people up and asking for donations, telling them that no one should be soliciting at that point.

On October 1, the mayor gave the opening remarks at a U.N. General Assembly special session on terrorism. Here, the mayor made unequivocal state-

ments about the nature of the terrorist attack and how to address it:

On one side is democracy, the rule of law, and respect for human rights; on the other is tyranny, arbitrary executions, and mass murder. . . . We're right, they're wrong, it's as simple as that. And by that I mean that America and its allies are right about democracy, about religious, political, and economic freedom. The terrorists are wrong and, in fact, evil, in their mass destruction of human life in the name of addressing alleged injustices.

(U.S. Mayor Articles 2001)

Comparing the population of New York City, a city of immigrants, with the United Nations, Giuliani tried to persuade the Assembly that to fail to condemn the terrorists was to undermine the very principles upon which the United Nations was built.

By October 15, Giuliani was addressing the financial impact of the attack on New York City. In a news conference held that day, he called upon the New York state government and the U.S. federal government to change their tax laws, stating that New Yorkers paid \$9 billion more to those governments than they got back. He also announced a hiring freeze and a budget cut of \$1 billion to help the reeling city.

COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP

If Giuliani has been praised for his leadership in the face of the September 11 attack, the people of New York have been honored for their collective group leadership. The city's population as a whole behaved collectively the way Giuliani behaved as an individual. Houses of worship of all religions and denominations organized themselves and reached out to one another spontaneously. In less than twenty-four hours after the twin towers fell, for instance, Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, the Park Avenue Synagogue, and the Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Divine had collected funds for firefighters and their families. The New York City Crimes Board set itself up at Pier 54 and started writing out checks to people in need. Within a day, the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), the Red Cross, and Church

World Services (CWS) had established cooperative action plans. FEMA had set up a hotline, sending volunteers out to every section in the city to find out what was needed and where. Morgues were inundated with chaplains. Volunteers from other parts of the United States and soon from other countries began arriving. St. Paul's Chapel, located within a block of Ground Zero (as the site of the attack came to be called) and unscathed, became a volunteer respite center for site workers that became a symbol of national and international solidarity. To Kathleen J. Tierney, director of the Disaster Research Center and professor of criminal justice at the University of Delaware, New York City after the attack modeled how communities react successfully to crises:

This meshing of prior learning, planning and improvisation and this diverse panoply of organized and collective action enabled the City of New York to manage the Trade Center disaster. Effective responses to community crises often look messy from the outside, but that is part of what makes them effective. Critical observers may express exasperation because "no one is in charge." . . . All such criticisms fail to appreciate the strengths of situationally-driven, problem-focused, locally-based, and improvisational response strategies like those observed in New York on September 11 and in the days that followed. (Tierney n.d.).

OSAMA BIN LADEN: SHADOW LEADER OF THE SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACK

Osama bin Laden (b. 1957) is another leader in the story of the September 11 attack. He is the youngest of twenty sons and thirty daughters born to a Yemeni family living in Saudi Arabia; he himself was born in Saudi Arabia. His father made a fortune in the construction business. Of his father's four wives, three were Saudi, but Osama's mother was Syrian and had only one son, Osama. According to Mary Anne Weaver, who published "The Real bin Laden" in the January 24, 2000 issue of *New Yorker* magazine, bin Laden might have felt like a double outsider, both as the child of a Yemeni family in Saudi Arabia and as the child of a Syrian mother in the bin Laden family.

When bin Laden was thirteen, his father died in a plane crash, leaving his youngest son \$80 million. He attended a university in Saudi Arabia and earned a degree in civil engineering. It was only in 1979 that bin Laden began his political life, drawn into politics by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. From the mid 1980s, the world began hearing of a "Saudi prince" who comforted the wounded Afghan resistance fighters, sent checks to their families—and helped build tunnels and storage depots.

In 1991, the Gulf War and the billeting of U.S. troops on Saudi soil turned bin Laden's attention to the United States. In bin Laden's eyes, the presence of U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia was equivalent to the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan: It represented an infidel military occupation of an Islamic country. He saw the Saudi government as complicit in this occupation. After being expelled from Saudi Arabia in 1991 for antigovernment activities, he entered Sudan. He was held accountable for the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center and, in 1996, for the killing of nineteen American soldiers in Saudi Arabia. Driven out of Sudan in that year, bin Laden returned to Afghanistan and joined with the Taliban, Afghanistan's fundamentalist Islamic government. In 1998, bin Laden was held responsible for U.S. embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania.

The brilliance of his leadership of al-Qaeda, his terrorist group, is that it "is not a terrorist organization in the traditional sense. It's more a clearing house from which other groups elicit funds, training, and logistical support. It's a chameleon, an amoeba, which constantly changes shape according to the whims of its leadership, and that leadership is Osama bin Laden" (Weaver 2000). The combination of the al-Qaeda network's training and bin Laden's funding and rhetoric resulted, on September 11, in the most dramatic terrorist attack in U.S. history.

ANALYSIS

Giuliani and bin Laden, leaders on opposite sides of the September 11 attack, show certain similarities. Each appealed to an audience in terms the audience could understand. Rudolph Giuliani brought New

Yorkers and the rest of the nation together to grieve, endure, heal, and live in hope. Osama bin Laden brought people together to triumph, fight selflessly for a cause, and die. Both spoke in terms of moral absolutes, and both characterized the enemy as evil. Both appealed to faith in God. Giuliani's God brought comfort. bin Laden's God brought glory. Both were public figures and targets. Giuliani appeared in the flesh before the masses, bin Laden appeared on tape, and operated in the shadows.

There is something morally neutral about leadership per se. Hitler, Stalin, Eisenhower, and Roosevelt were all effective leaders. But were they good men? What happened in New York City, Washington, D.C., and in a Pennsylvania field on September 11, 2001 brought to the surface a particular brand of leadership that prescribed perseverance, transparency, vulnerability, and conditions of trust among the people of the United States, at least for a time. Giuliani rose to the occasion and led both city and nation toward peace and reconciliation. For a while, he was both a good man and a good leader. As for Osama bin Laden, the world is divided in its opinion of him. Suffice it to say that spokespeople of all major religions, including Islam, decry the killing of innocent people, regardless of the cause.

—*Jill Schaeffer*

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SHAKA ZULU (1787–1828)

Founder of the Zulu kingdom

Shaka ka Senzangakhona, known as Shaka Zulu, has often been portrayed as a despotic and highly innovative leader. This assessment has been based on research on the development of the southern African Zulu state under Shaka—research that has concentrated largely on military, political, economic, and demographic developments. More recent work, however, has argued that he can be seen as a traditionalist whose power and leadership were reinforced by ideology and religion—invisible factors.

SHAKA'S LIFE

Shaka was the eldest son of Senganakhona, leader of a relatively small Zulu chiefdom. Shaka is often described as illegitimate, rejected by and separated from his father for many years; he grew up among his mother Nandi's Langeni people. Later, he joined the Mthethwa led by Dingiswayo where he became one of his warriors. Shaka's residence with his mother's people, however, was a common practice throughout the region. When Senzangakhona died, Shaka was installed as chief—possibly aided by Dingiswayo. It is important to note that the concept of a Zulu "nation" was in its infancy during the Shakan period. Variations existed in terms of political organization and ethnic identity.

The main political struggle by the early nineteenth century pitted the emerging Mthethwa state against the Ndwandwe. By 1816, Chief Zwide's Ndwandwe had attacked the Mthethwa, defeated the army and killed Dingiswayo. Following Dingiswayo's death, the Mthethwa were incorporated into the Zulu by Shaka. He mounted a successful campaign against the Ndwandwe in the early 1820s and the Zulu then moved to incorporate groups formerly tributary to Zwide. Shaka established dominance over much of the south "in a belt of territory on its south-western and southern borders which extended from the lower Mzinyathi south-eastward between the Thukela and Mvoti Rivers to the coast, and thence south to the lower Mngeni-Mlazi area" (Wright 1995, 172). Those groups that had been

jostling for dominance in the lower Thukela area (Qwabe, the Mbo, Ngcobo) were subjugated and the Hlubi of the upper Mzinyathi fragmented. It has often been argued that the emergence of the Zulu set in motion the period of turbulence, displacement and depopulation in the region referred to as the *mfecane*. However, in the early 1980s Julian Cobbing challenged the concept of the *mfecane* arguing that it was a settler myth sparking much debate among academic historians (see Hamilton 1995).

GREAT MAN THEORIES OF LEADERSHIP

From about the 1830s to the 1930s, Western scholarship interpreted the emergence of the Zulu kingdom as the ultimate in “primitive” and “savage” might. Internal cohesion was viewed as the product of repressive measures instituted by Shaka and subsequent leaders. Shaka initiated military innovations, commanded obedience, and was ruthless and cruel. Henry Francis Fynn (1803–1861) and Nathaniel Isaacs (1808–1872), who were among the first travelers to write about the Zulu, argued that the Zulu revolution began when Shaka’s ambitions led him to assassinate his protector, Dingiswayo. This allowed Shaka to unite groups under his authority, which he did with great ferocity. The state rested on Shaka’s personality, fights of succession, and ambition. According to this view, he was a horrible, detestable savage unparalleled in history and driven by his victories and a desire to expand his nation. In the words of one commentator, “this African Mars ultimately depopulated the whole line of coast from the Amaputa River to the Tugela” (Bird [1888] 1965, 1:168). Other early travelers, such as Adulphe Delegorgue (1814–1850), described Shaka as the “black Napoleon.” The only factor thought to account for internal social cohesion, or the legitimacy of the king, was force.

The Methodist missionary William Holden (1814–1897) also saw Shaka as motivated by blood lust and ambition; he described him as a modern Attila, one who seized leadership “by treachery and violence” (Holden 1963, 56). Amateur historian George McCall Theal (1837–1919) described Shaka as one of the world’s most ruthless conquerors. Theal argued that Shaka’s mentor Dingiswayo learned

about the European military system during his wanderings, which took him as far as the border of the Cape Colony. (Theal did admit the possibility that Dingiswayo may have been reintroducing an earlier African regimental system as well as a crescent battle formation known two centuries earlier, whose practice had declined under feeble chiefs). Shaka refined the regimental system and embarked on cruel, aggressive campaigns. According to Theal, Shaka was “utterly merciless [and] he set himself the task of not merely conquering but of exterminating the tribes as far as he could reach” (Theal 1917/1894, 163).

The work of Catholic clergyman (later faculty of the then Bantu Studies department of the University of the Witwatersrand) A. T. Bryant (1865–1953), like the work of Theal, was considered highly authoritative on precolonial history. Bryant’s work has often been accepted uncritically and merely reproduced. In this period of historical writing, the success of the Zulu state was attributed largely to Shaka.

THE IMPACT OF INTERNAL FORCES ON SHAKA’S LEADERSHIP AND DOMINANCE

In the 1960s, historians of southern Africa rejected great man theory and began to offer more complex views of the Zulu kingdom as Shaka’s response to regional change. His astute leadership skills were emphasized, and the previous negative assumptions of destruction and massive depopulation were challenged. As scholars came to challenge the notion that African societies were static and unchanging, some began to shift their attention to the study of dynamic internal forces. John Omer-Cooper reinterpreted the events that Eric Walker called the *mfecane* as positive, since they resulted in the formation of new states. Historical research began to look at the relationship between political structures and economic factors. In 1969, E. V. Walter argued that Shaka instituted a system of terror and violence as a mechanism for social control. According to Walter, Shaka directed his terror both inward and outward to counter resistance. Inwardly, he set one group (tribe) against another for the purpose of social control. Rather than Shaka being “motivated by blood lust

and ambition; a modern Attila,” Shaka effectively used a system of terror to govern.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the focus moved away from Shaka and his abilities to other explanations for the rise of the Zulu state. Scholars Alan Smith, David Hedges, and Henry Slater published influential studies that analyzed the relationship between trade, economics, and politics in southern Africa. Smith argued that the competition for control of European trade was instrumental in the consolidation of the Zulu kingdom. He argued that if “these were wars fought over matters of trade, then the increased militarism and consolidation which resulted could be viewed as a logical response to the necessities of the prosecution of trade” (Smith 1969, 183). Hedges greatly expanded this line of analysis, attempting to show how chiefs used control of trade and dispersal of imported goods to form allegiances and to consolidate power. Henry Slater also described changes in the Zulu political structure and power relationships as a result of transformation from a feudal mode to the emergence of a system with a power holder at the top where “no longer was it an office of ‘paramount’ chief amongst many chiefs, but of something approaching divine kingship” (Slater 1976, 317).

Historian Jeff Guy vastly extended the scope of environmental and ecological investigation in a series of important papers. He noted that successful cattle grazing in Zululand depended on two types of grass—sweetveld and sourveld—and access to both was of fundamental importance. Under favorable conditions, human population increased, making grasslands vulnerable to unbalanced stocking and erosion, which in turn, led to a crisis. Guy argues that by the end of the eighteenth century environmental equilibrium gave way to disequilibrium between grazing conditions and the human population. It was this imbalance, he argued, that underlay the sociopolitical changes that occurred. Guy argues that there was “increasing violence in an area as they struggled for access to diminishing resources . . . [and] that such a struggle was an important factor in the conflict which occurred in the region at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, out of which Shaka and the Zulu kingdom

emerged” (Guy 1994, 9). For these historians, it was ecological and economic and demographic pressures that caused changes in the region which subsequently gave rise to the emergence of class and states such as the Zulu. The emphasis on Shaka the great man as sole cause was significantly reduced.

INVISIBLE FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH ZULU LEADERSHIP

During the competition for political dominance that was occurring in southeast Africa in the early nineteenth century, opportunities to seize and enhance power were more than military. Shaka would have found it difficult to extend his power over people outside his immediate following without reference to religious beliefs and practices. However, Shaka was not considered a god or the reincarnation of a previous god-king, nor was he deified or worshipped. The prosperity and continuation of the Zulu “nation” did not depend upon him; the state continued after his death. The consolidation of the Zulu kingdom required accumulation of ideological, ritual, and religious power—invisible factors. Shaka did not reinvent the culture of his subjects; rather, he drew on a rich, deeply entrenched body of custom and tradition. Shaka’s aspiration for dominance in ritual and religion was not a Shakan leadership innovation, but rather a common aspect of chiefship that predated his leadership. It involved a number of ritual roles and religious practices. These were well established features of chieftainship among large and small groups in southeast Africa.

Chiefs used medicines and rituals for both offense (to overcome an enemy), and defense (to protect the community) to overcome rivals and aimed to incorporate groups who were recognized as ritually powerful. Shaka used such rituals, and strong medicines were seen to assist Shaka in gaining ascendancy over his rivals (such as Zwide) and other groups jostling for power. Traditions recall that Shaka’s forces were initially unable to overcome Zwide; only when Shaka’s *intelezi* medicine began to take effect were the Zulu successful. A great many recorded wars were marked by struggles for control of ritual power, special medicines, and important practitioners of the

rites of rainmaking and divination. Part of the process of political consolidation involved the acquisition of these powers. Thus Zulu conquest involved not only the conquest of land and political institutions and the establishment of economic power, but also the capture of invisible spiritual power. Through conquest, Shaka was increasing his ritual power by controlling chiefs, diviners, rainmakers, and medicines. No leader could risk opponents using powerful medicines against him. Once incorporated, Shaka had to hold the state together, maintain guard against his chiefs' assuming either too much political power or too much religious power. Enhancing his own ritual status and controlling ritual power, knowledge, activities, and alliances were an integral part of establishing supremacy. A leader such as Shaka would need to sort spiritual allies from enemies just as he differentiated between political allies and enemies. The Zulu king's position, policies, and practices were justified through old chiefly prerogatives (present before Shaka) and reinforced through ritual and ceremony. In this way, the ideology, values, and ideas of the Zulu rulers were passed onto the other members of the society. Shaka was dominating ritual and religious functions by

- taking control of and centralizing the *umkhosi* (first fruits ceremony);
- centralizing rainmaking ritual;
- taking control of and centralizing rites of passage such as marriage;
- extending the medicines of chiefship to medicine of stateship; and
- exerting greater control over possession and practice.

As the hierarchy of the state increased under Shaka, the figure of Shaka became more central in ritual and the ceremonies surrounding him were enhanced. Centralizing major rituals connected with fertility and well-being facilitated this process. Establishing the spiritual domination of incorporated groups helped to negate the need for overtly coercive measures. Nonetheless, it is likely that some conflict persisted.

As the state grew and became more complex, Shaka attempted to concentrate further the spiritual

power of the Zulu state. The legitimacy of Shaka's kingship and his authority rested on the dominance of the Zulu ancestors over those of incorporated groups. He drew attention to his communication with ancestors through dreams in which he received instructions from previous Zulu chiefs, and he emphasized the symbols of kingship such as the *inkatha* (grass coil symbolizing the binding together of the "nation"). It is highly likely that without this religious foundation, the Zulu kings (Shaka and his successor Dingane) would not have been able to hold their office. Similarly, Shaka could not have ruled without incorporating and accommodating the traditional power of key women. Zulu women held leadership positions at least as far back as the days of Jama (1727–1781), and they exerted more influence than has been previously recognized. Mnkabayi (died around 1835; Senzangakhona's sister), assumed a leadership role at three significant points in Zulu history—following the deaths of Jama, Senzangakhona, and Shaka. She retained a position of influence (as did other women) in the *amakhanda* (military "kraals") of the successive Zulu kings Shaka (1816–1828), Dingane (1828–1840), and Mpande (1840–1872) and survived the so-called ruthless despotism of both Shaka and Dingane. The consensus on "royal" female powerlessness in Zulu social and political life is very much a twentieth century phenomenon. It becomes possible to discard the widely accepted view of Shaka as the black Napoleon, the revolutionary, and the innovator said to have rejected many past practices and beliefs. Rather, he can be seen in many respects as a firm traditionalist, albeit one whose times and circumstances required new interpretations of old beliefs concerning the relationship between individuals, ancestors, diviners, and chieftainship.

—Jennifer Weir

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SHARED LEADERSHIP

Shared leadership is a dynamic, interactive influence process among individuals in teams in which the objective is to lead one another to the achievement of team goals. Shared leadership often involves peer-based, or lateral, influence although at certain times it involves upward or downward hierarchically based influence. The fundamental distinction between shared leadership and traditional, top-down models of leadership is that influence does not merely move downward from leaders to subordinates or followers. On the contrary, with shared leadership, influence is broadly distributed among the members of the team.

Historically, theories of leadership have focused on a single individual and the relationship of that individual to his or her subordinates or followers. In recent years, however, that conceptualization of leadership has been challenged. Now, some scholars say that leadership involves behaviors, roles, and activities that can be shared or distributed among members of a team. According to this alternative conceptualization of leadership, individuals who are not formally designated leaders can rise to the occasion to exhibit leadership and then step back at other times to allow others to lead.

WHY THE INCREASED INTEREST IN SHARED LEADERSHIP?

Globalization of markets, hypercompetition, and shortened product life cycles are but a few of the forces driving organizations toward new modes of organizing. At present, the fastest-growing type of organizational unit is the team, specifically the temporary cross-functional team, which is valued for its flexibility and its ability to generate solutions to problems faster than traditional organizational units—flexibility and speed being of the essence in a hypercompetitive globalized market. What distinguishes a team of this type from traditional organizational units is the absence of formal hierarchical authority. While a cross-functional team may have an appointed team leader, this individual is quite commonly a peer, and is treated as such. Outside of the team, the team leader often does not possess

hierarchical authority over other members of the team. Moreover, because cross-functional teams bring people with diverse backgrounds and types of expertise together for a common purpose, the leader is often at a knowledge disadvantage—that is, his or her expertise normally represents only one of the numerous functional specialties brought to the task at hand. Thus, the team leader is highly dependent upon the expertise of the other team members. Leadership in these types of settings is therefore determined by an individual's capacity to influence peers and by the needs of the team in any given situation. Because the team members bring unique perspectives, knowledge, and capabilities to the team, at various crossroads in the team's life, there are moments when each may be called upon to provide leadership.

Shared leadership is also common in virtual teams, another sort of team that is popular at present. Virtual teams consist of individuals collaborating and working from geographically dispersed locations. Members may occasionally meet in person, but normally they rely on modern communication technology (e-mail, conferences in chat rooms, and so forth) for interaction. Importantly, research has shown that technology-mediated communication differs from face-to-face communication: Communication becomes depersonalized and more task-focused in technology-mediated team environments. When communication is more focused on the task and less preoccupied with authority relationships, leadership can be shared by several team members, with each providing leadership for different components of the team's tasks.

There are four fundamental types of leadership that team members might share—directive, transactional, transformational, and empowering. For example, shared directive leadership might be expressed as peers test one another with a directive “give-and-take” about how to resolve conflicting points of view, approach specific tasks, or assign accountability. Similarly, shared transactional leadership might be expressed through collegial recognition of efforts and contributions or through awarding valued rewards based on key performance metrics. Additionally, teams might engage in shared transformational leadership through peer exhortation or by

*To lead people, walk beside them . . .
As for the best leaders, the people do not notice
their existence.
The next best, the people honor and praise.
The next, the people fear;
and the next, the people hate . . .
When the best leader's work is done the people
say, "We did it ourselves!"*

—Lao-Tzu

appealing to desires to create break-through products or services. Finally, shared empowering leadership might be expressed in a team through peer-based encouragement and support of self-goal-setting, self-evaluation, self-reward, and self-development.

Ironically, while the need and appreciation for shared leadership has been steadily growing, scientific examination of shared leadership lags seriously behind. In large part, this is due to widely held romantic notions about leadership: Many people—journalists, reporters, historians, the public at large, and even leadership scholars—focus on the individual “heroic” leader, disregarding shared forms of leadership.

EVIDENCE OF SHARED LEADERSHIP

To date, there have been very few studies of shared leadership. Nonetheless, the initial evidence suggests that shared leadership can have a powerful effect on team behavior, attitudes, cognition, and performance, as outlined below.

Shared Leadership and Team Behavior

Three studies have examined the relationship between shared leadership and team behavior. The first study, reported in 1996 (Avolio et al.), examined U.S. undergraduate project teams and found shared leadership to be significantly related to team members' willingness to put in extra effort on the project. Similarly, a study of change management teams in the auto industry in the mid-Atlantic United States (Pearce 1997), found shared leadership to be positively related to citizenship

behavior—engaging in behavior that is above and beyond the call of duty—within the teams and increased networking behavior by team members. Finally, in a study of virtual teams of social workers in the United States reported in 2003 (Pearce, Yoo, and Alavi), it was found that teams characterized by shared leadership were more likely to be socially integrated than teams characterized by vertical leadership. Thus, the initial evidence seems to suggest that shared leadership is an important predictor of team behavior.

Shared Leadership and Team Attitudes

Two studies have examined the relationship between shared leadership and team attitudes. In the study of undergraduate students mentioned above, shared leadership was found to be significantly related to satisfaction on the part of team members. The second study, reported in 2003 (Shamir and Lapidot), examined officer training in the Israeli military. It found that shared leadership was positively correlated to trust in and satisfaction with the vertical leader. Thus, shared leadership also appears to be an important predictor of positive team attitudes.

Shared Leadership and Cognition

Four studies have examined the relationship between shared leadership and team cognition. The study of undergraduate teams revealed a significant relationship between shared leadership and collective efficacy and potency. The study of change management teams found shared leadership to be significantly related to potency. The study of virtual teams found shared leadership to be a better predictor of potency than measures of vertical leadership. Finally, researchers in a 2003 study of research and development labs (Hooker and Csikszentmihalyi), reported a reciprocal relationship between creativity and shared leadership. Thus, the initial evidence suggests that shared leadership enhances teams' cognitive abilities.

Shared Leadership and Team Effectiveness

The study of undergraduate teams found shared leadership to be significantly related to self-ratings

of effectiveness. The study of change management teams found shared leadership to be a better predictor of manager, customer, and team self-ratings of effectiveness than vertical leadership. The study of virtual teams found that members of those teams were more likely than people in vertically organized units to rate their own problem-solving ability and task effectiveness highly. Finally, a study, reported in 2000 (Ensley and Pearce), of entrepreneurial top management teams across a wide variety of industries in the United States found shared leadership to be more likely than vertical leadership to lead to increased revenue and improved venture growth rates. Thus, shared leadership appears to be an important predictor of a team's overall effectiveness.

MEASURING SHARED LEADERSHIP

To date, five alternate methods have been identified for examining shared leadership. Three of these are quantitative and questionnaire-based, and two are qualitative observation-based. Three quantitative, questionnaire-based approaches to the study of shared leadership have involved the study of the team as a (a) whole, (b) sum of its parts, and (c) social network. In terms of qualitative approaches, the two approaches to date include (a) leadership sociograms and (b) ethnographic methods. Each of these methods has its own strengths and weaknesses. While five methodological approaches have been identified for the study of shared leadership, this is not an exhaustive list of potential methodologies that might be employed in the future study of shared leadership.

THE FUTURE OF LEADERSHIP IN ORGANIZATIONS

As many leaders are well aware, true teamwork poses many challenges. In many cases it is difficult—even painful—to implement shared leadership. Ultimately, however, suboptimal teams and overburdened leaders result in even more pain.

Clearly, shared leadership is not a panacea for all organizational woes: It is only appropriate for certain team-based tasks. Moreover, if team members, par-

ticularly the team leader, are resistant to the notion of shared leadership, it will not be carried out effectively. Resistance to shared leadership is likely a cultural phenomenon, and cultural norms can be observed at the national, industrial, or even organizational level. As an example, the cultural attribute of power distance represents the degree to which members of a culture accept and expect that power will be distributed unequally. Clearly, people in cultures high in power distance are less likely to embrace the concept of shared leadership. Similarly, shared leadership will not work if the team members lack the requisite knowledge, skills, and abilities for their task. Another potential complicating factor is that a team may successfully employ shared leadership, yet work at odds with the overarching organizational mission. These are but a few of the potential limitations of shared leadership, but they make clear that shared leadership is not a simple plug-and-play technology.

There continues to be a role for vertical leadership. For example, the ultimate responsibility for the making of meaning and the articulation of purpose continues to rest with vertical, hierarchical leaders. Nonetheless, it would be foolish to ignore the potential contribution of shared leadership. By examining how both vertical and shared leadership can be utilized more fully, organizations could move toward a more optimal model of leadership in the age of teamwork.

—Craig L. Pearce

See also Group Decision Rules; Group Norms; Group Process; Groupthink; Leaderless Groups; Networks and Networked Organizations; Team Leadership; Teamwork

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 **SHIBUSAWA EIICHI (1841–1931)**
Japanese industrialist

A widely known pioneer of Japanese industrialization, Shibusawa Eiichi organized, supported, and/or promoted an astonishing five hundred enterprises during the Meiji period (1868–1912) of Japan.

Born in the farming village of Chiaraijima, northwest of present-day Tokyo, to a comparatively wealthy farming family who were involved in the production and distribution of indigo, silkworm cultivation, and other products, Shibusawa was better educated than average farm youths. With his father's support, he was educated in the Confucian classics, fencing, and calligraphy, much like the samurai class.

Appointed to accompany a Japanese delegation to the Universal Exposition in Paris, Shibusawa gained an early view of Western industrial and scientific progress between 1867 and 1868. Although he departed Japan with anti-foreign views, his experiences during those two years abroad convinced him that modern technology and commerce were essential for any modern nation, including Japan.

As William D. Hoover (2002) points out, Shibusawa observed the favorable social status and respect enjoyed by European businesspeople as an ideal alternative to the negative image attached to Japanese merchants. He further concluded that joint stock organizations could accomplish far greater goals than traditional individual capitalization, and that the conduit for Japanese commerce should be through stock exchanges and banks. Finally, he admired the

philanthropy of European businessmen and determined that business activities should serve the public good. Shibusawa saw himself not as a hands-on businessman, but as a supporter of businesses operated by specially selected and cultivated managers who were progressive and capable—but who would not have their own finances to start a business. To this end, he taught that education—not just possession of financial resources—was the key and that to overcome the traditional image of self-serving merchants, it was important to establish a reputation for honesty so that one could operate a business with self-respect. Shibusawa strongly believed that the pursuit of one's own advantage should be balanced by a keen sense of responsibility for the welfare of society and the importance of providing opportunities to others.

When he returned, he was appointed to the Finance Ministry, where he worked in modernizing Japan's tax and monetary systems. He believed, however, that businessmen would actually build the new Japanese economy, so in 1873 at the age of 34 he resigned from the Finance Ministry and began his business career. Significantly he also turned down tempting offers to take top positions within the Mitsui and Mitsubishi combines (complexes of enterprises and their subsidiaries sharing a common share ownership base) in order to remain free to promote modern industry in general.

Almost immediately, he became involved in two high-priority enterprises. In 1872 Shibusawa helped found the First National Bank of Japan, which he headed from 1873 to 1916. Under Shibusawa's leadership, Japan's cotton spinning mills were transformed from traditional enterprises producing relatively small amounts of poor quality cloth into large-capacity steam-powered factories with modern spindles. He accomplished this by collecting the necessary capital from private sources through the sale of stock and then secured the best management available to operate the plant. Shibusawa, a few top entrepreneurs, and a number of nobles founded the Osaka Cotton Spinning Mill in 1883. Within five years, the Osaka Spinning Mill employed over one thousand employees and Japanese textiles were approaching international competitiveness. With

four to ten times the ordinary mill capital, an expert technician as a manager, steam power, and a newly introduced night shift, after its first year of operations the mill was already yielding dividends of 18 percent. This success story proved that the methods Shibusawa promoted were quite effective and could be applied to other industries as well.

Other enterprises he helped found were Oji Paper Company (1872), Tokyo Marine Insurance (1879), Tokyo Gas (1885), Tokyo Electric Light (1886), Ishikawajima Shipyard (1893), and Osaka Cotton Spinning Company (1883). He was also instrumental in establishing the Tokyo Stock Exchange (1878) and the Tokyo Chamber of Commerce (1878).

Rather than being a hands-on manager, Shibusawa lent his name to firms to help them gain capital subscribers. The stock company allowed capable and progressive men, whether or not they had capital, to establish and operate large-scale ventures. When economic conditions turned down, he would counsel dividend-eager stockholders on the need for patience and social responsibility in business. Knowing that he himself was not simply in business to make himself rich—indeed in some cases he could expect little or no gain at all—stockholders were more easily convinced that they should hold stocks long term.

Through his own private community of young businessmen whom he taught informally, he propagated a new code of ethics based on honesty, independence, cooperation, and social responsibilities, most of which were adapted from the ethical principles of the samurai class. By training more capable entrepreneurs, he intended in turn to attract the brighter minds of the new generation into business activities. This determination put him in strong competition with the single leader theory of business organization, as practiced by such entrepreneurial rivals as Iwasaki Yataro of the Mitsubishi Shipping Company. Shibusawa saw such entrepreneurial rivals as virtual dictators seeking to carve out monopolies as virtual economic empires.

Partially as a result of his Confucian training, Shibusawa stressed the need for a new attitude in Japan toward economic activity, by businessmen's taking on of social responsibilities, promotion of

morality in business dealings, and contributions to national welfare.

—James M. Vardaman Jr.

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SINGAPORE, FOUNDING OF

To many, the name Raffles is synonymous with Singapore. A statue of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles stands at the Singapore River, where he is thought to have first landed in Singapore on 29 January 1819. Another stands in front of Singapore's Victoria Memorial Hall, a venue for arts and music performances. Among Singapore's landmarks—and nationally preserved monuments—is the Raffles Hotel. The Raffles Hotel group owns two other hotels—the Stamford and Raffles the Plaza, situated across the street. Singapore's second institute of higher learning, providing studies in the arts and sciences, was named Raffles College. One primary school, two secondary schools, a junior college, and some private schools have been named after Raffles. Streets and places with the Raffles name include Raffles Avenue, Raffles Place, Raffles Boulevard, Raffles Link, Raffles Quay, and Raffles Institution Lane.

Such social esteem is attached to Raffles's name that commercial organizations large and small have capitalized on it. Singapore Airlines' business class is named Raffles Class. Also named after Raffles are Raffles City (a shopping and office complex), Raffles Hospital and Raffles Medical Group, Raffles Marina, and Raffles Town Club. A search of Singapore's business directory reveals eighty businesses and organizations ranging from a dry cleaner and a dental clinic to a florist and photographers, all named Raffles.

Most Singaporeans acknowledge Sir Thomas

Stamford Raffles (1781–1826) as the founder of Singapore. What did Raffles do to earn the title of founder, and are there others who may be considered founders of Singapore as well? According to Professor Ernest Chew, one of Singapore's foremost local historians, there are at least two other contenders for the title: Major William Farquhar (1774–1836), who accompanied Raffles on his first visit to Singapore and was appointed Singapore's first Resident; and Dr. John Crawfurd (1783–1868), who succeeded Farquhar as Resident of Singapore. We shall now survey the events leading to the founding of Singapore, and examine the respective roles of Raffles, Farquhar, and Crawfurd.

THE FOUNDING

On 21 September 1818, the British officially transferred Melaka (Malacca) and its dependencies to the Dutch, an agreement established between the countries after the European War. Lord Hastings, the governor-general of India, gave orders for Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, then lieutenant governor of Bencoolen, to make an expedition to the Strait of Melaka. Raffles was concerned about the growing influence of Dutch in the archipelago. His motive was to locate a port south of Melaka to replace Melaka as a station for British trade and counter the Dutch influence in the region.

Raffles was clear about his objectives, as shown in his correspondence with the governor of Penang and the chief secretary of the government in Bengal, according to Blagden (1991). On 12 December 1818, he wrote to a friend that his attention had turned to Johor and that his next letter might come from Singapore: On 19 January 1819, Raffles led a small fleet of six ships toward the south of Melaka. He was accompanied by Major William Farquhar, the previous Resident of Penang. On 29 January, Raffles arrived in Singapore, an island just off the tip of the Malayan Peninsula between Dutch-held Melaka to the north and Java to the south. Raffles recognized the advantages of Singapore's location and quickly moved to establish British control.

Raffles used local politics to his advantage. Historically, Singapore Island, Pahang, Johor, and the

Riau Archipelago were part of the empire of Johor. This empire had its heritage from a greater empire controlled by the Melaka sultanate. However, the sultanate had somewhat lost its influence over its territories to powerful Bugis chiefs from Sulawesi, who settled in the Riau Archipelago in the eighteenth century. Although the Melaka sultan lived on the island of Lingga, the Bugis Viceroy of Riau was the real power behind the throne. The two principal Malay officials, the Bandahara and the Temenggong, had also become territorial chiefs and *de facto* rulers in Pahang and Johor respectively.

At the time when Raffles was seeking to establish a British trading station in Singapore, there was a succession dispute in the Melaka sultanate. Since 1812, two royal brothers in Riau had been competing for the sultan's throne. The Bugis Viceroy, who was on friendly terms with the Dutch, recognized the younger brother as sultan. The Dutch did likewise. However, some of the leading Malay high officials did not give recognition to the younger brother as sultan. One of those officials was Temenggong Abdul Rahman, who controlled the island of Singapore and the surrounding peninsular Johor.

The older brother, Hussein, had the support of Temenggong Abdul Rahman, who was open to Raffles's proposal to set up a British trading station in Singapore. Aware of the local political situation, Raffles proceeded to use it to his advantage. He sent Farquhar to Riau on a mission to the viceroy and invited Tengku Hussein to Singapore. On 30 January 1819, Farquhar left for Riau while Raffles made a preliminary agreement with the Temenggong to establish a British post in Singapore. The agreement gave the British East India Company the right to establish a trading post in Singapore or any other place under the government of Singapore and Johor. In return, the British provided protection for the island and made an annual payment of \$3,000 to the Temenggong. The Temenggong agreed not to establish treaties with other nations or allow foreigners into his country.

Farquhar returned on 3 February. He had failed to get the support of the Bugis Viceroy, but he had gained his passive acquiescence. When Tengku Hussein arrived, Raffles proclaimed him Sultan Hussein

Muhammad Shah. On 6 February 1819, a formal treaty was made between Sultan Hussein and the British East India Company, on terms similar to those established between the Temenggong and the company on 30 January 1819. Sultan Hussein would get \$5,000 annually. By his actions, Raffles had side-stepped Hussein's brother, who had been acknowledged as the sultan of Johor by the Dutch.

Hereafter, Raffles made a public proclamation to the governor of India that he had founded a British settlement at Singapore. Farquhar was appointed the first Resident and commandant of Singapore. This residency was under Raffles's own supervision.

From his instructions to Farquhar, and his expressed concerns to Farquhar to deal carefully with the Dutch and their Malay protectorates, Raffles showed foresight in his recognition of Singapore as having the potential economic and strategic significance. Raffles saw the establishment of a British station in Singapore as his achievement.

I shall say nothing of the importance which I attach to the permanence of the position I have taken up at Singapore; it is a child of my own. . . . Our object is not territory, but trade; a great commercial emporium, and a *fulcrum*, whence we may extend our influence politically as circumstances may hereafter require. By taking immediate possession, we put a *negative* to the Dutch claim of exclusion. (T. S. Raffles, as quoted in Barley 1991, 213)

On 7 February 1819, Raffles departed from Singapore, leaving the new settlement in Farquhar's hands.

WILLIAM FARQUHAR

The sultan and Temenggong had allowed the British to administer their rights over an agreed area "along the coast and inland as far as the point blank range of a cannon shot all round the factory" (Lee 1991, 4). They did not cede or transfer sovereignty or landed property to the British. There were, however, demonstrations of power sharing with the British. The sultan, the Temenggong, and Farquhar made joint decisions on customs and revenue farms. Granted judicial and quasi-legislative powers, the three of them also tried cases in a courthouse.

As Resident and police magistrate from 1819 to



A statue of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles stands in Empress Place, where he first set foot in Singapore in 1819.

Source: Sarah Jackson, Edifice/Corbis; used with permission.

1823, William Farquhar was "a man of good parts, slow at fault finding, treating rich and poor alike and very patient in listening to the complaints of any person who went to him" (Nunn 1991, 78). In general, he was well-liked by the local population.

Chew notes that "while Raffles described the new settlement as his Child and his Colony, in paternal and proprietary fashion, it was really Farquhar who had to play the role of mother and nurse to the infant in its first four years. He also had to combine the political, diplomatic and administrative roles of resident with the military functions of Commandant, protecting and defending the settlement against Dutch retaliation" (2002, April–June, 7). Farquhar had also, by his own account, improved Singapore's

political and trading relations in the region and advanced the prosperity of the settlement.

RAFFLES STRENGTHENS CONTROL

From October 1822 to June 1823, Raffles spent eight months in Singapore, strengthening British control over the settlement. During this period, however, Raffles and Farquhar had several points of disagreement on slavery, gambling, and Raffles's ideas for a new land-reserve system. Raffles judged Farquhar to be incapable of managing the new settlement and wrote to the British governor-general in Calcutta, expressing his views.

Raffles proceeded to redefine his treaty with the Malay rulers, planning to dominate the land of Singapore. He implemented a new land-reserve system, relocating the Malay rulers and their followers. Then, Raffles made a new agreement with the Malay rulers, known as the Convention of 7 June 1823. The convention stated that, with the exception of the lands given to the Malay rulers, all other parts of Singapore would be under the control of the British. Other measures to curb the sovereignty of the Malay rulers included giving them a fixed level of proceeds from the revenue farms, whose proceeds were growing. Previously, the Malay rulers had received half the proceeds from the farms. All these measures curtailed the influence and means of the Malay rulers.

Raffles strengthened the administration of justice by appointing magistrates, setting up Resident's courts, and instituting trial by jury. He founded an educational institution, known as the Raffles Institution today, and abolished slavery in Singapore and Melaka. He passed on the outlines of a constitution for the settlement for the new Resident, Dr. John Crawfurd. He handed court work to a bench of magistrates and the Malay rulers were robbed of their administrative power over the law.

DR. JOHN CRAWFURD

The growth of British influence over Singapore has been attributed to Dr. John Crawfurd. Formerly of the Bengal Medical Service, he had earlier served in Penang and Java. Crawfurd was Resident from

1823 to 1826. Building upon instructions from Raffles, he formed the outlines of a constitution for the settlement. Cautious and frugal, he managed the affairs of the settlement with energy and ability, but he was not popular.

To produce revenue, Crawfurd attempted to legalize gambling. He also established separate systems for executive and judicial authorities. Crawfurd's most important historical achievements during his term of office were the two treaties of 1824. The first treaty with the Johor authorities, the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, saw the complete cessation of Singapore to the British. Singapore and the adjacent islands and waters within ten geographical miles were ceded to the British in "full sovereignty and property" (Lee 1991, 5). Crawfurd had forced the Malay rulers to accede to the British proposal by withholding their allowances from them.

Another treaty was made between Britain and Holland. The British gave up their possessions in Sumatra and consented that no future settlements be established on Dutch territories. In return, the Dutch gave up Melaka and agreed not to intervene in the governing of Malay Peninsula. The Dutch also ceased their protests against the British occupation of Singapore.

RAFFLES AS FOUNDER

A founding leader of an organization is one who starts it and lays a foundation for it in terms of organizational vision, goals, and values. The founder either provides resources for the organization or raises the resources for it. He or she garners support for the organization from stakeholders, investors, contributors, and others.

When referring to the founding of Singapore, one must note that Singapore existed before Raffles. According to Chew, Singapore already had a "historic existence and cartographic expression" (1991, 38). Moreover, it was Lord Hastings, the governor-general of India, who gave orders for Raffles to make the expedition to the Strait of Malacca. The search was expedited with some promptings and expressed concerns from Raffles about the growing influence of Dutch in the archipelago. However, Raf-

fles can be credited for starting a process that would fundamentally transform Singapore into a flourishing trading port and set Singapore on the path to modernization.

Vision and Goals

In the assessment of historians such as Chew (2002), Raffles was a man of vision. He recognized Singapore's strategic importance and its potential for helping the British to counter the Dutch influence in Southeast Asia. Raffles's strongest claim to being a founder comes from his vision of Singapore as "the most important station in the East, and as far as naval superiority and commercial interests are concerned, of much higher value than whole continents of territory" (Nunn 1991, 76). History proved that Raffles was right in his assessment of the strategic importance of Singapore for the British Empire. As Sir Frank Swettenham noted,

To him we owe Singapore, the gate of the Farther East, a naval base of the highest importance, a great commercial center and the most prosperous of British Crown Colonies. Indirectly, the foresight which secured Singapore for the British Empire led also to the extension of British influence through the States of the Malay Peninsula. . . . In this no British party and no British Government can claim to have taken any part. . . . The man to whom the credit belongs gave his talents and his life to achieve an end which he believed to be necessary to the prestige, the power and the trade of England in the Far East. (Nunn 1991, 76–77)

Values

By his actions, Raffles showed that he valued education and knowledge. As mentioned earlier, he founded an educational institution. Raffles also placed as much importance on natural history as he did on politics. He had a track record of hiring botanists to work with him and of working with British specialists in different areas of sciences. For him, "this was no mere distraction or consolation, the creation of knowledge was what he considered the ultimate justification of the European presence" (Barley 1991, 211). Soon after he established a



Important Dates in the Life of Stamford Raffles

1781	Born
1795	Enters East India Company as a clerk
1805	Assistant secretary to governor of Penang; marries Olivia
1807–1808	Visits Melaka
1810	To Calcutta
1811	Invasion of Java; Raffles appointed lieutenant-governor
1812	Land reform in Java
1813	Death of Olivia
1815	Dismissed
1816	Returns to England
1817	Writes <i>History of Java</i> ; knighted; marries Sophia
1818	Bengkulu
1819	Founds Singapore
1820	Death of son
1822	Deaths of two other children
1823	Death of infant daughter
1824	Fire on <i>Fame</i>
1826	Dies in England

Source: Barley, N. (1991). *The Duke of Puddle Dock: Travels in the Footsteps of Stamford Raffles* (p. 271). London: Viking.

British station in Singapore, he started work on the natural history of Singapore.

It has also been said that Raffles showed that he valued human dignity by his strong advocacy for the abolition of slavery. However, his political actions, while shrewd, have also been viewed as those of a schemer.

Defending the Settlement against Opposition

Besides having the foresight to recognize the prospects of Singapore as an entrepôt, Raffles also ensured support and resources for the settlement by defending it against various sources of opposition. According to Barley (1991), Raffles's home government was not pleased with his expedition because a British settlement on Singapore was likely to raise oppositions from the Dutch government. Raffles had "risked international controversy (between the Dutch

and the British), the censure of his official superiors, to the detriment of his own career, even though he got no personal reward” (Blagden 1991, 12). As soon as he had landed in Singapore, Raffles was shrewd enough to garner support for his idea of a settlement from the Temenggong, the de facto ruler, and from Hussein, whom he proclaimed sultan and de jure ruler.

Raffles had to defend the founding of Singapore against claims from the Dutch over Singapore. He also faced discouragements and opposition from his own countrymen. According to Sir Frank Swettenham, “Had it not been for Raffles, his insistence, his arguments, his labours to secure supporters for his scheme, it is certain that Singapore would have been abandoned by the British, and equally certain that it would now be a Dutch possession” (Nunn 1991, 75).

The evidence documented above shows that Raffles had vision and foresight, upheld certain values, and stood firm despite opposition. In laying the foundation for Singapore, he acted quickly to forge the alliances with the local Malay chiefs and drew plans to establish a government in Singapore’s early years. He also oversaw the settlement through the first two Residents, whom he appointed.

The two Residents may be thought of as “maintenance leaders,” who preserved and expanded upon Raffles’s vision. They helped to see Raffles’s plans through by building Singapore’s relations with commercial and political entities in the region, defending the settlement against Dutch claims, setting policies for the new settlement, and attending to the details of administration.

Although Raffles visited Singapore only three times, spending a total of less than ten months on the island, 6 February 1819 has been considered the official birthday of Singapore as a British settlement. In agreement with historians, later generations of Singaporeans have credited the founding of Singapore to Raffles.

—Audrey Chia

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SITUATIONAL AND CONTINGENCY APPROACHES TO LEADERSHIP

“Leadership is one of the most observed and least understood phenomena on earth” (Burns 1978, 19). Leadership has both fascinated and perplexed scholars and practitioners, creating an extraordinary amount of research and theories to conceptualize and explain the leadership phenomenon (Ayman, 2000). This body of knowledge is reflected in volumes of editorial and author reviews (e.g., Bass, 1990; Zaccaro and Klimoski, 2001). Among the approaches to examining leadership are the situational and contingency approaches.

Beginning in the 1960s, researchers developed models that conceptualize and explain the relationship between a situation and a leader. These models are referred to as “contingency approaches” to leadership. Of these models, some, such as the contingency model of leadership effectiveness and the cognitive resource theory (Fiedler, 1978; Fiedler and Garcia, 1987), focus on the leader’s internal state and traits, whereas others, such as the normative decision-making model (Vroom and Yetton, 1973; Vroom and Jago, 1978), the path-goal theory (Geogopoulos, Mahoney, and Jones, 1957; House and Mitchell, 1974), and the situational leadership theory (Hersey and Blanchard, 1969), focus on the leader’s perceived behaviors.

TRAIT CONTINGENCY MODELS OF LEADERSHIP

Fiedler (1963) was the first scholar to respond to Stogdill’s (1948) call to formulate trait contingency models. The contingency model of leadership effectiveness is considered to be a trait contingency model because the leader’s traits interact with the situation to predict the leader’s effectiveness. More specifically, the least preferred coworker (LPC) score interacts with the leader’s situational control to predict success. The LPC scale is a bipolar adjective (e.g., “good-bad,” “large-small”), quasi-projective test (Ayman and Romano, 1998). Quasi-projective tests usually have low face validity, and the respondent is

unaware of what is being measured. The assumption is that the respondents reflect their inner needs and values and frustration at the time onto the subordinate who caused them the frustration.

Contingency Model of Leadership Effectiveness

The contingency model of leadership effectiveness categorizes leaders into one of two groups: those who are more task oriented and those who are more relationship oriented. Additionally, the model determines which type of situation the leader will perform more effectively in (high-, medium-, or low-control situation). More specifically, the model predicts that those leaders who are more relationship oriented are more effective in medium situational control and that those who are more task oriented are more effective in high- and low-control situations. On the basis of the leader’s orientation and the situational control, a leader is considered either in match (predicted to perform effectively) or out of match (predicted to perform less effectively). Although recommendations for further developments of this model have been proposed (Peters, Hartke, and Pohlman, 1985; Schriesheim, Tepper, and Tetrault, 1994; Strube and Garcia, 1981), the predictions of this model have been tested and supported by thirty years of research.

The leader’s orientation is assessed by the LPC scale. It measures the leader’s internal state, not his or her behavior. Low scores on the LPC scale (63 and below) are indicative of a person being more intrinsically motivated, with a primary orientation and focus on the task. People with high scores on the LPC scale (73 and above) are more extrinsically motivated, with primary focus on relationships (Chemers and Ayman, 1985; Rice, Marwick, Chemers, and Bentley, 1982). Several construct validation studies (evaluating whether the items on an inventory sufficiently represent the construct) have been conducted using the LPC scale; however, the results have shown that LPC does not correlate with other self-report trait measures (e.g., Kennedy, Houston, Korsgaard, and Gallo, 1987; Rice 1978), and that it does not directly relate to leader behavior or effectiveness.

Fiedler (1978) defined the leader's situational control based on three aspects of the situation (a team's climate, the leader's task structure, and his or her position power). A team's climate, better known as "leader-member relationship," is reflected by the cohesion of team members and their support of the leader. The task structure includes three aspects of the leader's task: the dimensions of task structure, the leader's experience, and the leader's training. The final level of task structure is determined by adjusting the task's structure with the level of the leader's experience and training. The position power reflects the leader's legitimacy, as well as the authority of punishing and rewarding team members (Ayman, 2002).

The order of importance of the aspects of the situation was based on the aspects' significant contribution to the leader's sense of control and prediction in a situation. Therefore, Fiedler (1978) determined that leader-member relationship was twice as important as task structure and that task structure was twice as important as position power (Ayman, 2002; Ayman, Chemers, and Fielder, 1998). Although the levels of importance of the aspects of the situation were determined by empirical means, they resemble French and Raven's (1959) sources of power model. Independently of Fiedler's determination of the situational aspects' relative importance, Podsakoff and Shrieschier (1985) found that referent power (which comes from *who* a person knows) and expert power (based on *what* a person knows) are the most effective sources of power, therefore lending more credence to Fiedler's assigned order of importance to the situational aspects.

Finally, the effectiveness of the leader in the contingency model of leadership effectiveness has been primarily defined as group performance (Fiedler, 1978). In response to criticisms regarding the model's lack of inclusion of other indices of effectiveness, Rice (1981) found that the model could also predict team satisfaction. This finding was subsequently supported empirically in a field study (Ayman and Chemers, 1991). In addition, Chemers, Hays, Rhodewalt, and Wysocki (1985) included stress of the leader as another measure of leadership outcome. In their study they found that out-of-match

leaders, compared with in-match leaders, reported significantly more stress.

Overall the model is expanding and evolving as new studies are conducted. It has been used for leadership training (Fiedler and Chemers, 1984), and a meta-analysis (a statistical procedure that allows for a quantified summarization of the relationship between variables across studies) provided strong support for the leader-match training manual that is based on the contingency model of leadership effectiveness (Burke and Day, 1986). Research on this model has also expanded to examine the influence of subordinates' trait compositions on the model's prediction (Chemers, Goza, and Plumer, 1978; Tobey-Garcia, Ayman, and Chemers, 2000). In addition, researchers have examined the level of analysis in which the model operates (Ayman, Chemers, and Fielder, 1997), demonstrating that although the model is valid for group level prediction, it has potential for multi-level predictions. Overall, the model has the flexibility to assess a leader, subordinates' trait composition, and the effect/interaction of these factors on the situation and a team's effectiveness.

Cognitive Resource Theory

Cognitive resource theory (CRT) is a second contingency approach that examines the traits of a leader. In this theory, Fiedler examines two traits (intelligence and experience) as predictors of leadership effectiveness (Fiedler and Garcia, 1987). Intelligence has been one of the most frequently and inconsistently studied traits of leaders (Stogdill, 1948); and although Lord, DeVader, and Alliger (1986) found support for intelligence as a predictor, the support was only for a prediction of leadership emergence. Cognitive resource theory proposes that the situation affects whether a leader should rely on his or her intelligence or experience to be effective.

In this theory, the leader's level of stress defines the situation—more specifically, the level of stress that a leader encounters in a situation, which is usually measured by stress with the leader's boss (Fiedler, 1993). Using stress as the situational factor and intelligence and experience as the leader traits, the theory predicts that in low-stress situations lead-

ers who rely on their intelligence will be more effective and that in high-stress situations, leaders who rely on their experience will be more effective.

Fiedler (1993, 1995) summarized the findings of several studies, both in the laboratory (e.g., Murphy, Blyth, and Fiedler, 1992) and in the field (Potter and Fiedler, 1981). He found that under stress, leaders' performance was positively related to their experience and negatively related to their intelligence. In low-stress situations, leaders' intelligence was positively related to performance, and experience had less effect. He concluded that "people can be experienced and bright or experienced and stupid, but the performance of a particular job requires the leader to give priority either to experience or to analytical or creative analysis in solving the particular problem" (Fiedler 2002, 102). Despite these supportive findings, this theory is still under investigation, and more examination of its hypothesis is warranted.

The CRT model shows that those universal traits that were studied by early leadership researchers are important; however, the level of importance of those traits is dependent on the situation. Cognitive resource theory, in combination with the contingency model of leadership effectiveness, has provided a solid foundation for trait contingency models.

BEHAVIORAL CONTINGENCY MODELS

Normative Decision-Making Model

Vroom and Yetton (1973) presented the first version of a contingency model of leadership decision making that is considered to be a behavioral contingency model. Their normative decision-making model is more focused on the situation and on how leaders respond than on leaders' traits and how leaders interact with the situation (Sternberg and Vroom, 2002). Overall, the model focuses on the interaction between leaders' choices of decision-making strategies and the decision situation, which determine the quality of decisions and the subordinate commitment and support for decisions. This leadership model is narrower in focus than other leadership contingency approaches (Vroom and Jago, 1998) and is a prescriptive model of leaders' decision-making process.

Vroom and Jago (1998) identified five leadership strategies for decision making on a continuum from autocratic (autocratic I and II) to consultative (consultative I and II) to full group participation (GII). Respectively, the strategies represent solo decision making by the leader, the inclusion of subordinates at some level, and full involvement of subordinates in decision-making. Using this model, called the normative decision making model, a leader uses "decision heuristics" (aids in learning) to assess the situation. Using eleven heuristics, a leader is able to determine what the situation is and which type of decision-making strategy will be most effective.

In conjunction with the heuristics used to assess the situation, the leadership strategy is determined by a leader's desired outcome: improving the quality of the decision, improving subordinates' involvement, reducing the time spent, and developing subordinates (Vroom and Jago, 1998). These factors are also the basis for measuring the effectiveness of a decision. A leader is presented with a decision-making tree in which he or she answers yes/no questions (which reflect the heuristics). If decision quality is critical, the leader has to assess if he or she has the necessary information, the problem structure, and subordinates' agreeableness and knowledge about the issue. The less the leader knows and the more the subordinates are knowledgeable, the more group involvement is advised.

If time is of concern, the involvement of the group becomes less feasible. Research on group versus individual decision making has demonstrated that the quality and accuracy of a decision increase with group involvement. The more individuals who are involved, the more time it takes them to make a decision. However, a balance exists among the number of people involved, the traits of the individuals, the quality of the group process, and the final result. Therefore, in time-pressured situations most leaders avoid excessive group involvement, move toward more autocratic decision-making strategies, and may sacrifice quality for expediency.

If the acceptance and commitment of employees are critical for the decision to be implemented, then more employee involvement improves the final product. Therefore, a leader needs to consider the role of

the group, not only so that quality decisions are reached, but also so that the group treats the decisions as its own. Therefore, in these situations, a leader may have to sacrifice the cost of time, and perhaps the quality of decisions, to ensure group support and cohesion. Achieving a balance among quality, time spent, and maintenance of group support is a goal that leaders may need to attain rather than high-quality decisions and high acceptance by group members.

The normative decision-making model can assess a leader's decision-making style by having the leader choose the appropriate behavior over thirty situational conditions. On the other hand, the model is mostly prescriptive in that it helps a leader determine how to respond to a given situation. However, in descriptive studies, the model shows that the situation is three times stronger than the leader's style in affecting the way the leader responds (Vroom and Jago, 1998). Therefore, the model demonstrates that a leader needs to base the level of participative decision making on the situation and outcomes that are important to the leader (e.g., time, accuracy, commitment, etc.).

Path-Goal Theory

Researchers developed the path-goal theory out of Ohio State University leader behavior studies (Stogdill and Coons, 1957) and the expectancy theory of motivation (Vroom, 1964). The premise of the path-goal theory is to determine leader behaviors that increase subordinates' motivation by clearing the path to a goal. In other words, a leader's behavior is a major contributor to subordinates' satisfaction and motivation. However, the extent to which a leader's behavior is effective is determined by the extent to which the leader complements the environment in which subordinates work. In the original theory, House (1996), who was inspired by the work of Evans (1970), identified four leadership behaviors that can affect subordinate satisfaction: directive, achievement oriented, supportive, and participative behaviors. Furthermore, the extent to which these behaviors are effective is dependent on three groups of contingencies: the task, characteristics of the subordinates, and the nature of the subordinates' group.

Two meta-analyses (Indvik, 1986; Wofford and Liska, 1993) validated the path-goal theory by examining the moderators that are proposed to determine the effectiveness of leader behavior on subordinate motivation. These moderators can be considered contingencies that impact the relationship between the leader's behavior and the subordinate's motivation. After examining several of the proposed moderators, "the analyses indicated that much of the research testing path-goal theories has been flawed" (Wofford and Liska 1993, 857). This flaw may be due to the fact that of the sixteen possible moderator tests, only seven met the criteria as moderators, and one moderator was in the opposite direction than was hypothesized.

The most studied work-environment moderator in this paradigm (framework) has been subordinates' task structure (Evans, 1996). However, Wofford and Liska (1993) did not find support for the moderating effect of subordinates' task structure on the relationship between a leader's initiation of structure behavior (the extent to which a leader is likely to define and structure his or her role and those of subordinates in the search for goal attainment) and subordinates' satisfaction, performance, or role clarity. However, subordinates' task structure was found to have a positive effect on the relationship between considerate leader behavior and performance. When the task was unstructured, considerate leader behavior led to higher levels of performance.

Fewer studies have examined the personal characteristics of subordinates as moderators (e.g., ability, locus of control). Schriesheim and Schriesheim (1980) demonstrated that subordinates' need for affiliation, subordinates' authoritarianism, and subordinates' ability and experience moderated leader behavior and outcome relationship. Other studies have shown that subordinates with an external locus of control (believing that their lives are controlled by outside forces) were more satisfied and productive with participative and directive leaders, whereas subordinates with an internal locus of control were more productive and happier with task-oriented leaders. Finally, the results of a recent meta-analysis (Wofford and Liska, 1993) found that ability was the only subordinate characteristic that moderated the relationship between leader behavior and outcomes.

Researchers have highlighted several limitations of the path-goal theory. These limitations include problems with the instrumentation of the leader behavior measure (Schriesheim and von Glinow, 1977; Fisher and Edwards, 1988) as well as Yukl's (1989) concern relating to the broad conceptualization of the leader behaviors in the measure. Other problems stem from the lack of research that has examined moderators besides task and subordinate characteristics. Finally, Wofford and Liska (1993) expressed concern with the fact that the majority of the studies performed with the theory suffered from source bias. Source bias refers to overreliance on a single source for data, particularly when the information about the independent variable (i.e., leader behavior) and dependent variable (i.e., subordinate satisfaction) are both obtained from the subordinate.

On a positive note, path-goal theory encouraged evolution of important conceptualizations of leadership. House acknowledged that it was the basis of the development of charismatic leadership and substitutes for leadership theory (House, 1996) and potentially an impetus for the development of vertical dyad theory.

Situational Leadership Theory

Hersey and Blanchard (1969) based their situational leadership theory on previous studies of leader behavior. They identified four leadership behaviors: telling, selling, participating, and delegating, which are measured by the LEAD (leadership effectiveness and adaptability description) instrument. The theory predicts that the extent to which these behaviors are effective depends upon subordinates' task maturity and subordinates' psychological maturity. Subordinates' task maturity is measured using such factors as ability, education, and experience, whereas subordinates' psychological maturity is measured using such factors as willingness, self-esteem, and motivation.

The theory predicts that when subordinates are able and willing, a leader should delegate. When subordinates are willing and unable, a leader should sell (that is, decide on a course of action and "sell" it to the subordinate). When subordinates are unwilling

but able, the leader should engage in participative decision making. When subordinates are unwilling and unable, the leader should tell them what to do. Although the situational leadership theory is popular, it has received limited empirical examination, and the results have been mixed at best (Bass, 1990; Vecchio, 1997).

All leadership contingency models and theories acknowledge the role of the situation. However, two key factors make them different. First, some use the leader's traits, whereas others use the leader's perceived behavior as reported by direct reports. Second, some have shown validity for predicting employee satisfaction and job stress, and others have shown validity for predicting team effectiveness and morale. In addition, some have more face validity, whereas others have more empirical validity.

More specifically, among the behavioral contingency theories, the path-goal theory and situational leadership theory are different from the normative decision-making model on the basis of the scope of a leader's behavior. In the normative model, the leader's decision strategy is the focus, whereas in the path-goal and situational leadership theories, the leader's supervisory behaviors are the focus.

The difference between the contingency model of leadership effectiveness and the path-goal theory lies in how the leader is assessed and how the situation is approached, among other factors. In the path-goal theory, the perceived leader behavior is the focus, whereas in the contingency model of leadership effectiveness, the leader's trait or internal state is the focus. In path-goal theory, the situation is assessed through the eyes of subordinates; in the contingency model of leadership effectiveness, the situation is assessed through the eyes of the leader.

Most of the theories and models in the contingency approaches consider the situation as the contingent factor that interacts with the leader's characteristics (e.g., traits or behaviors). However, another set of theories attempts to determine the set of characteristics on which the situation varies (Sternberg and Vroom, 2002). Thus far, only two approaches attempt to conceptualize the characteristics of the situation, one being Fiedler's contingency model and the other the substitutes for leadership theory. Fiedler

defined the situation by the leader-member relationship, the leader's task structure, and his or her position power. However, the substitutes for leadership theory (Kerr and Jermier, 1978), which emerged from the path-goal theory, proposes a taxonomy (system of classification) of the situational contingencies by presenting fourteen situational factors that interact with a leader to determine leadership effectiveness. To clarify these concepts, Schriesheim (1997) described these types of situational factors as they relate to leadership and four classes of outcome variables.

These four classes of outcome variables are (1) substitutes, which are factors that are directly related to a subordinate's outcome and that block the effect of leader behavior; (2) neutralizers, which are factors that inhibit a leader's behavioral influence on the outcome; (3) enhancers, which are factors that augment the relationship of a leader's behaviors with the outcome; and (4) supplement factors, which are factors that are related to outcome variables but that neither augment nor cancel the effects of a leader's behaviors (Bass, 1990). Therefore, the substitutes for leadership theory focuses on how subordinates' needs, abilities, and perceptions interact with the situation. In contrast, the contingency model of leadership effectiveness focuses more on the power source of the leader and how that power source interacts with the situation. Although the theory and the model focus on two separate factors, both are important to examining situational contingencies.

In summary, leader traits, perceived behaviors, and situational contingencies influence leadership effectiveness. Therefore, the answer to the question, "Is there a universal leadership characteristic?" must be, based on situational and contingency approaches, "It depends." Contingency factors can manifest in various ways through particular traits, skills, or behaviors, depending on the person, the method of assessment, and the leadership situation. Therefore, if we want to really understand the leadership phenomenon, contingencies must not be ignored.

—Roya Ayman and Erica L. Hartman

See also Contingency Theories; Organizational Climate and Culture; Organizational Dynamics

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 **SLOAN, ALFRED (1875–1966)**
American business executive

Alfred Pritchard Sloan Jr. played a leading role in shaping the modern corporation. From the 1920s to the 1940s, Sloan built General Motors Corporation (GM) from a haphazard collection of automotive companies into the world's largest and most profitable commercial enterprise. Sloan's success helped GM become a mainspring of the American economy, and provided an influential leadership model for generations of American business executives.

Sloan was born in New Haven, Connecticut, and grew up in Brooklyn, the son of a successful coffee and tea merchant. He preferred reading books about engineering and the mechanical sciences to playing or working with his hands (unlike the first generation of automotive pioneers, Sloan was no tinkerer). An assiduous student—"a grind," in his words—he earned an electrical engineering degree from MIT in just three years, graduating in 1895 as the youngest member of his class. At age twenty-four, with his father's help, he became general manager of Hyatt Roller Bearings, a small, failing company. Sloan turned the company around and made it a successful supplier to the rapidly growing automobile industry. In 1916, Hyatt merged with other parts suppliers to form United Motors Company, and the forty-one-year-old Sloan became its president. Two years later, GM bought United Motors Company, and Sloan became a GM vice president.

GM was led by the brilliant but erratic William Durant, who had built the company through a series of bold and highly leveraged acquisitions. Durant had fashioned an empire of plants and factories that spanned forty cities, but he was interested more in speculative stock transactions than managing the sprawling operations. Sloan, the sober engineer, was

the antithesis of the flamboyant Durant. While Durant worked the telephones to corner GM's stock yet once more, Sloan developed a plan to bring order to the company. When Alfred Dupont became GM's president in 1920, he essentially adopted Sloan's plan; it guided GM for the next half-century.

When Sloan succeeded Dupont as president and chief executive in 1923, he continued his efforts to rationalize GM's vast operations. Sloan's vision for GM was founded on faith in what he called "scientific means of administration and control" (Kuhn 1986, 4). Such faith in science to manage human affairs was commonplace among elites in the first part of the twentieth century. What distinguished Sloan's vision was his realization that to survive in the capitalist economy a corporation needed a judicious balance of centralizing and decentralizing forces. Sloan recognized that the dynamics of the twentieth-century capitalist economy—economies of scale, the complexities of industrial production, the pace of innovation, and the increasing power of consumers—made a new kind of organizational structure imperative: Large industrial companies required a balance of centralization (strategic control) and decentralization (tactical flexibility and responsiveness to market signals). While Henry Ford imagined that a scientific approach meant absolute control—one pictures Ford running his wholly owned company like a giant machine, with himself at the controls—Sloan sought to develop, regularize, and maintain within GM a series of information flows among product divisions, the central office, and markets; one pictures Sloan, unlike Ford, running a committee meeting.

Sloan centralized key strategic functions like finance, research, and pricing, and set up an active executive committee (which he chaired) to hold the corporation together. At the same time, he delegated daily decision making to individual divisions and their managers, and encouraged each division to function as an independent profit center. Durant had absorbed existing car companies into GM without folding their operations together. While Sloan rationalized the range of models GM divisions built and sold ("A car for every purse and purpose," he boasted [Cray 1980, 243]), he retained and formalized

Durant's concept—product-division structure—because it both allowed divisions to be close to their markets and allowed the financial performance of each one to be tracked against the others. Sloan in effect built the capacity to receive and recognize market signals into GM's organizational DNA. "The big work behind business judgment," he wrote in his memoir, "is finding and acknowledging the facts and circumstances concerning technology, the market, and the like in their continuously changing forms" (Sloan [1964]1990, xxi). He endlessly addressed subordinates in memos, committees, and the regular gatherings for thousands of GM managers that he instituted and presided over, gatherings intended to disseminate his vision, strengthen informal lines of communication, and develop a common GM culture.

Sloan's interest in facts—"making things visible" as he put in his memoir ([1964]1990, 142)—included an early awareness that GM had to systematically monitor its environment, including the sentiments and wishes of the car-buying public. GM pioneered or accelerated American industry's use of consumer research, advertising, annual models, marketing, style, and recognizing women as an important market segment. Within a few years after Sloan took over GM's leadership, the company matched and surpassed Ford, bringing to an end the long run of the Model T. By the end of the 1920s, in the words of one scholar, "Sloanism had defeated Fordism" (Farber 2002, 104).

Sloan ran GM for more than two decades, serving as president until 1946 and as chairman of the board of directors from 1937 to 1956. GM's success inevitably bred arrogance and suspicion. In 1952 Sloan's successor as GM president, Charles Wilson, famously resisted selling his GM stock to avoid a conflict of interest when asked to become Secretary of Defense: "For years I thought what was good for our country was good for General Motors—and vice versa" (Cray 1980, 6–7). During the 1950s GM was the subject of antitrust suits and investigations, as its size and the degree of concentration in the automobile industry became objects of increasing public unease. GM's insular power, embodied by another of Sloan's successors, Roger Smith, was the subject of Michael Moore's scathing 1989 film lampoon, *Roger*

and Me. But the colossus that Alfred P. Sloan Jr. built remains today a bulwark of the American economy, and one of the largest and most powerful entities in the world.

In retirement, Sloan wrote a business memoir, *My Years with General Motors* (1964), a classic that has sold over a million copies and remains in print. Sloan's philanthropic foundation, the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, supports research in a variety of fields, including medical research.

—Michael Harvey

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SMALL BUSINESS

Governmental policymakers, institutional organizations, and individuals have realized the potential of small business entrepreneurship as an economic "weapon" for building individual wealth, creating opportunity, and growing economies around the world. Within the United States, more than 75 percent of new jobs and 50 percent of the gross domestic product are the result of business entrepreneurship. On a global scale, entrepreneurial activity has been studied in numerous countries, with reports such as the *Global Entrepreneurship Monitor* producing annual interpretations of entrepreneurial activity within selected countries on six continents.

New trends in small business include the creation of virtual new venture top management teams (that is, team members that are connected electronically

rather than working in the same facility), the cognitive nature of business opportunity recognition within a global environment, and the growing realization of the importance of shared leadership within new business ventures. As a result, business scholars of the twenty-first century have concluded that we have entered a period best described as an entrepreneurial revolution and that leadership as it pertains to small business entrepreneurship is a key ingredient in the success of this revolution.

TRADITIONAL VIEW OF SMALL BUSINESS AND LEADERSHIP

Small business can be viewed from a number of perspectives. In some cases, small business represents a family or partnership venture and serves simply as an alternative income source for individuals or partners who undertake the business. This alternative income source can be viewed as a substitute for traditional sources of income from employment with public or private enterprises. For these types of sole proprietorships or partnerships, leadership is defined through the actions of the individual small business owner, who typically has total control over the tactical and strategic actions of the business. The vast majority of businesses in the United States, which are typically defined as sole proprietorships, are this class of business.

The demonstration of leadership within income-substitution businesses follows traditional leadership theories, which focus on instilling vision and exerting influence over others to create purpose and, ultimately, better performance. This leadership capability rests solely with the entrepreneurs and helps support the perception of small business entrepreneurs as “rugged individualists,” using their leadership capabilities to create opportunity for themselves. In fact, when prompted to identify entrepreneurial leadership successes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, we often create mental images of individuals such as Andrew Carnegie, Henry Ford, John D. Rockefeller, and Bill Gates, all giants of business who influenced the development of whole industries through their individual perseverance, vision, and business leadership.

Contemporary viewpoints of small business entrepreneurship and leadership have shifted from a focus on individual leadership styles and entrepreneurial success to a team approach. The concept of the high-potential new venture (start-ups based on technological innovation) and the recognition of the new venture top management team (NVTMT), which uses shared leadership and collective vision to achieve business survival and success, have replaced the “rugged individualist.”

CONTEMPORARY VIEW OF SMALL BUSINESS AND LEADERSHIP

Small businesses of the twenty-first century face pressures and obstacles that were smaller in scope or unknown in previous times. For many small businesses, survival and success are thwarted by several broad and industry-level environmental forces.

In some instances, the increasing reliance on technology development and application has created industry forces that lead to complex, highly related environments for small business. In other instances, the ability of small businesses to reach global customers has created time-sensitive markets, where the ability to exploit product or service logistics paths can become more valuable than the product or service itself. Finally, increasing regulatory requirements and litigation have built an entrepreneurial requirement to comprehensively understand the legislative and legal ramifications for small business products or services. Thus, for those small businesses that operate in these complex and hypercompetitive environmental landscapes, the ability to exploit niche opportunities and gain institutional legitimacy requires a team approach.

In essence, high-potential new ventures require a greater cognitive and business capability than the lone entrepreneur may have. Leading a high-potential small business of the twenty-first century requires a NVTMT comprising team members who can simultaneously provide individual perspective and expertise for these difficult environmental forces but who also have the key individual orientation to reach consensus and cohesiveness around shared team objectives. The twenty-first-century small business

requires collective vision and shared leadership within a NVTMT—an increasingly important component for understanding leadership in today’s high-potential new venture.

THE CONCEPT OF SHARED LEADERSHIP

Shared leadership is a key component for any high-potential new venture. It is defined generally as a team process where leadership is shared among team members, based upon the knowledge or experience they bring to the small business and its environment. To that end, the mantle of leadership shifts from one NVTMT member to another as the new venture seeks to survive and gain legitimacy within its industry environment. For example, when the new venture encounters technical capabilities that create a competitive advantage within older or more established firms, the shared leadership within the NVTMT may place greater weight on the advice and recommendations of technically oriented team members. Other members of the team sublimate their own personal or individual desire for control and follow the lead of the team member best qualified to lead the NVTMT.

However, the shifting of the leadership mantle from one team member to another does not fully encompass the concept of shared leadership with the NVTMT. Success is also dictated by how well the team members can cohesively and synergistically (relating to combined action) “lead together.” This process includes team members’ efforts to create cohesion by providing group support, sharing information, and creating constructive communication feedback loops. When faced with internal team disagreement, NVTMTs who use shared leadership practices are more likely to use constructive conflict resolution and are thus more likely to come to a more optimized decision with respect to the issue at hand.

By simultaneously assuming leadership and following others, the NVTMT can create effective responses to environmental challenges. Thus, shared leadership among high-potential new ventures can create an internal capability that is not easily replicated by other businesses.

One aspect of shared leadership that is particu-

larly valuable is the creation of a collective vision for the small business, which puts individual members of a high-potential new venture on the “same page.”

THE CONCEPT OF COLLECTIVE VISION

An important question that surrounds the concept of shared leadership and small business is “Why is a high-performance team member able to assume leadership within certain organizational situations and yet forgo the leadership mantle within others?” Entrepreneurship studies have long understood that one particularly important characteristic of entrepreneurs is their desire to “be their own boss.” In fact, the drive to be personally responsible and in charge of the business is a hallmark characteristic of entrepreneurs.

The answer to this question resides in the development of collective vision within the high-performance NVTMT. The development of shared leadership within a small business necessitates that high-performance new venture teams be more “aware” of the deeper purpose of the organization. With shared leadership, this deeper purpose is manifest in a collective vision that all of the NVTMT members have with respect to the concept, direction, and strategic intent of the organization.

Not surprisingly, collective vision can be attributed to the greater understanding that NVTMTs have of the entity (in this case a high-performance new venture) that they helped create. Through shared leadership, team members can internalize and ultimately become strongly committed to that shared understanding such that members of the team are able to trust the cognitive capabilities and behavioral contributions that each team member brings to the top management team. Therefore, a team member’s willingness to give up the leadership mantle is directly related to the collective vision that exists within that NVTMT.

In essence, because all members of the team identify with the deeper purpose of the organization and recognize the talents and capabilities of fellow team members, they become more willing to trust their fellow team members in assuming the leadership role in those areas where they have the most competence.

This “give-and-take” leadership approach within high-performance (successful) new ventures is a key competitive advantage that these ventures have over other ventures that may have a more vertical or hierarchical approach to entrepreneurial leadership. Thus, shared leadership and collective vision within entrepreneurial settings are a leadership approach that has distinct advantages over more traditional leadership approaches within small business.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SHARED LEADERSHIP AND NEW VENTURE PERFORMANCE

The entrepreneurial success of a business is often dictated by the knowledge, skills, and abilities of the top management team who is charged with implementing a strategic plan to achieve that success. For example, venture capital investment is often driven more by the characteristics of the NVTMT than of the concept itself. To that end, shared leadership has been found to be an important characteristic of those small businesses that truly succeed in entrepreneurial settings.

Recent research that has examined leadership dynamics within NVTMTs has demonstrated how shared leadership leads to better performance among entrepreneurial businesses. The ability of the NVTMT to collectively determine who should lead and when has allowed those businesses to create a more effective team to respond to the changing dynamics of the environment. Shared leadership and collective vision are a key determinant of small business success.

SHARED LEADERSHIP AND NEW VENTURE PERFORMANCE: A PROPOSED MODEL

To understand the linkages among shared leadership, team dynamics, and business performance, several propositions and a model that illustrates these linkages have been developed.

Yukl defined leadership as “influence exerted . . . over other people . . . in a group or organization” (Yukl 1998, 3). Leadership has been linked to effective strategic decision making (e.g., Korsgaard,

Schweiger, and Sapienza 1995) and to entrepreneurial business performance (Baum, Locke, and Kirkpatrick, 1998). However, leadership research has had its critics. For example, Meindl and Ehrlich (1987) have suggested that researchers have a romanticized conception of leadership and that it may not make as much of an impact as all the interest in leadership would suggest. Further, findings in the substitutes-for-leadership literature suggest that such elements as professional standards account for more unique variance in criterion variables than does leader behavior (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, and Bommer 1996). Nonetheless, the emphasis of most leadership theory and research has been on the individual leader. For example, many researchers have attempted to understand the personality traits of leaders (House 1977). Others have focused on the behavior of leaders (Sims 1977).

One reason why some researchers have concluded that leadership is not particularly important (Meindl and Erlich 1987) is that researchers have been, perhaps, overly concerned with the role of the individual to the exclusion of the team in the examination of leadership. Some early research on shared leadership in intrapreneurial teams (new ventures within an existing company) (Pearce, 1999) and entrepreneurial teams (Ensley and Pearce 2000) suggests that shared leadership is a more important predictor of team effectiveness than is simply the leadership exhibited by the team leader. Thus, in this research, focus is on shared leadership as an important antecedent variable in the explanation of new venture performance.

Priem and associates (1999) argue for the use of substantive variables in models to better understand the “black box” of TMT (top management team) process. They propose the dimension of power as one possible variable to clarify TMT process. Many researchers have hypothesized about the power of the entrepreneurial leader. For example, Mintzberg and Waters (1985) developed a framework outlining the possible range of power that a top manager might exhibit.

Again, however, the issues of power and leadership have been only minimally examined in the new venture context. Smith and associates (1994) in a

study of high-tech firms found that tough financial times result in more stern leadership. Eisenhardt and Bourgeois (1988) found that firms where top managers shared power outperformed firms with dominating, power-controlling managers. Zenger and Lawrence (1989) suggested that when power is controlled by a single, dominant leader, the potential for negative politics increases.

Katzenbach argues that TMTs achieve real team performance when they learn to shift the leader role back and forth depending on needs and demands. He argues that an effective TMT will “draw on the leadership ability of each of its members at different times and in different ways. The leader’s mantle falls naturally on the shoulders of whichever executive has the knowledge or experience most relevant to the particular issue at hand” (Katzenbach 1997, 86).

Leadership of the NVTMT is a key determinant of how strategic choices are made (Manz and Sims 1993; Yeatts and Hyten 1998) and how team members relate to one another (Nurick 1993). Leadership involves the ability to influence others (Bass 1990; Yukl 1998). The exercise of leadership can affect team processes and functioning as well as the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors of team members, all of which ultimately impact organizational strategy (e.g., Ensley et al. 2003).

The leadership process in NVTMTs is a little-researched topic. Many new venture performance models proposed during the last several years have overlooked the influence of entrepreneurs and their leadership behaviors on the strategy-making process (Ensley 1999). On the other hand, venture capitalists have long understood that the quality of the leadership process in the NVTMT is of paramount importance (Timmons 1999). However, this issue has basically gone unexplained in academic research during the past several decades, even though the leadership of the NVTMT has “significant impact on the resource levels and ultimately on the growth of young firms” (Eisenhardt and Schoonhoven 1990, 506). Thus, leadership of the NVTMT may provide vital insight into NVTMT processes that ultimately affect new venture performance.

Two sources of leadership exist in a TMT context:

vertical leadership and shared leadership. Vertical leadership is the more traditional, hierarchical leadership, wherein a specified leader directs all group activities, feedback, and rewards. Vertical leadership has received considerable attention and support in the literature (Bass 1990; Manz and Sims 1989; Yukl 1998). Vertical leadership is behavior of the designated team leader (Pearce 1999).

Shared leadership has been a focus of research that views the team as a source of leadership (e.g., Barry, 1991; R. J. Pearce 1997; E. Pearce 1999). Shared leadership is a team process by which leadership is carried out by the team as a whole rather than solely by the top executive. “Shared leadership” means the behavior of the team members as an aggregate (Pearce 1999). With this type of leadership, the team as a whole shares fully in the tasks of leadership, which Katzenbach (1997) deemed critical to the effective functioning of the team. This process includes team members motivating one another, sharing feedback, and directing activities of the team together. Recent findings have demonstrated that NVTMTs may utilize shared leadership more than other types of teams (Ensley and Pearce, 2000). Shared leadership represents a conceptualization of leadership wherein team members are empowered and leadership responsibilities are shared.

Research suggests that when shared leadership occurs, teams are more effective (Barry 1991; Katzenbach and Smith 1993; Manz and Sims 1993). With shared leadership, teams enjoy greater amounts of collaboration, coordination, cooperation, and innovation (Manz and Sims 1993; Yeatts and Hyten, 1998). Shared leadership has also been found to be an important predictor of new venture performance (Ensley and Pearce, 2000).

The majority of research on leadership has focused on vertical leadership, although a wealth of theoretical and empirical evidence supports the important role of shared leadership (Butler and Reese 1991; Jolson, Dubinsky, Yammarino, and Comer 1993). Relying solely on vertical leadership in TMTs would seem to “ignore leadership dynamics within the group context” (Barry 1991, 32). In empowered TMTs, power and authority are vested in the team itself, and the sharing of leadership is a nat-

ural outgrowth of vesting power and authority at the team level. In NVTMTs individual members will generally be highly skilled, educated, and self-confident individuals (Ensley, Carland, and Carland 1999). Thus, collectively, the NVTMT often has the potential knowledge, skills, and abilities to effectively engage in shared leadership.

Leadership (Greene and Schriesheim, 1980), especially shared leadership, has been linked to the development of group cohesion for some time. Shared leadership, because of its inherent contribution to the development of group interaction and socialization, has a logical link to cohesion of the NVTMT. Therefore, a first proposition is offered:

Shared Leadership Is Related to the Development of NVTMT Cohesion

Cohesion has been suggested to be the central mediator of group formation, maintenance, and productivity (Bollen and Hoyle 1990). Cohesion reveals itself not only at the cognitive level of group members, but also in their affective (emotional) state. Cohesion therefore has effects on motivation, morale, and willingness to engage in social and task-related activities, group potency, and, ultimately, performance. Researchers think that cohesion facilitates group productivity, whereas a lack of cohesion constrains group productivity (Greene 1989).

Research indicates that highly cohesive groups have a high degree of commitment to the group task and to group goals (Klein and Mulvey 1995). Cohesion has also been positively linked to group effectiveness (Klein and Mulvey 1995). In a meta-analysis of studies, which looked at a link between cohesiveness and performance, Mullen and Copper (1994) found a relatively small but significant effect. They suggest that commitment to the task is the most critical component of the cohesion-performance link. Overall, evidence seems to indicate that cohesiveness is a necessary condition for a group to be productive but that it is not sufficient in and of itself.

Moreover, studies have shown the benefits of cohesion and a related concept, social integration, to the performance of TMTs. Smith and associates

(1994) found social integration in the TMT to be directly related to ROI (return on investment) and sales growth. Similarly, Elron (1997) found cohesion of the TMT to contribute to TMT performance on issues such as implementation of decisions and strategies, comprehensive vision, and goals. Taken together, these findings point to a complex web of effects whereby cohesive teams interact more efficiently and disagree more effectively, without arousing the sorts of negative affections that can so undermine top management team performance. This leads to a second proposition:

Cohesion within NVTMTs Is Positively Related to New Venture Performance

With shared leadership in the NVTMT, development of collective vision is more likely than it would be if a vision were simply imposed from an appointed leader, as in vertical leadership. Researchers have described vision as a mental model, cognitive image, or ideal that encompasses a sought-after future state (e.g., Nanus 1992). Hambrick uses the term “corporate coherence” to represent the collective vision or “integrated logic and basis for action within a company—its unity of purpose, its unity of action” (Hambrick 1997, 24). Katzenbach alludes to the idea of collective vision when he proposes that “teams must be deeply committed to a purpose” (Katzenbach 1997, 84) in order to gain a common sense of direction.

The findings demonstrate that leadership behaviors that are more organic or transformational tend to have higher levels of understanding of the firm’s vision (Baum and associates 1998; Hewson 1997). Because Burns described transformational leadership as occurring when “leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of morality and motivation” (Burns 1978, 20), shared leadership would then be the next logical step in the development and creation of collective vision. Shared leadership includes efforts by team members to motivate each other and create a leadership dynamic in which all are responsible for the task of leadership. Shared leadership is logically more closely related to collective vision than is vertical leadership. Team members would

surely have greater understanding of something that they helped to create rather than just had communicated to them to follow. Shared leadership is an important antecedent of collective vision in NVTMTs. Therefore, a third proposition is offered:

Shared Leadership in the NVTMT Is Positively Related to Higher Levels of Collective Vision

When shared leadership results in collective vision, what are the likely outcomes? Research on self-managing work teams suggests that group self-leadership (Manz and Sims, 1993), team self-leadership (Stewart and Barrick 2000), distributed leadership (Barry, 1991), and shared leadership (Katzenbach and Smith 1993; Pearce 1997, 1999) are strongly associated with more effective teams. For example, Katzenbach and Smith's (1993) study of teams showed that high-performance teams actively engaged in shared leadership much more than did other teams, and Pearce (1997) found shared leadership to be an important predictor of intrapreneurial team effectiveness.

The importance of this issue was highlighted in Yukl, who designated "heroic vs. shared leadership" as the most important current controversy in organizational leadership studies (Yukl 1998, 504). He states: "The extent to which leadership can be shared, . . . the success of shared leadership, and the implications [of shared leadership] for design of organizations are important and interesting questions that deserve more research. As yet, we have only begun to examine these research questions" (Yukl 1998, 504).

Accordingly, collective vision can be defined as the commonly held mental model of the desired future state of a group that provides the basis for planning, goal setting, coordination, and motivation within that group. In this definition of collective vision, the focus is on the clear articulation and understanding of the desired future state of the group.

Baum and associates (1998) found CEO vision to have an effect on firm performance; however, the link between collective vision and new venture performance has yet to be articulated. Because of the recent findings of Baum and associates (1998) and the role of collective vision in performance (Pearce

and Ensley, 2000; Timmons, 1999), the concept of collective vision is an important predictor of new venture performance.

Amason (1996) stated that collective vision is a group-level understanding of the reasoning behind a decision, which allows each team member to act independently but in a way that is consistent with the essence of the decision. This deep understanding helps team members articulate their mental models more fully, which, in turn, increases team success (Carley, 1997). Thus, a fourth proposition is posited:

Collective Vision within NVTMTs Is Positively Related to New Venture Performance

Cohesion and collective vision are positively and reciprocally related. Hambrick (1997) argued that teams need both cohesion and collective vision, which he labeled "behavioral integration," to be effective. These two elements tend to increase each other. When both cohesion and collective vision are present, a team is sharing information, acting in a collaborative fashion, making joint decisions, and sharing resources. This dynamic interplay, enhanced by the presence of both collective vision and cohesion, likewise helps to increase both. Therefore, a fifth proposition is posited:

Collective Vision Increases Levels of Cohesion, and Cohesion, in Turn, Increases Collective Vision

The model of shared leadership proposed here develops an understanding of leadership in new ventures that is different from that to which many people have become accustomed. As Gartner and associates (1995) noted, the new venture development process is not so much about individuals as it is about a team of people with the skills necessary to drive the new venture. Given the complex and ambiguous nature of new ventures, people should not think of new ventures as smaller firms operated by Lone Ranger-type characters with little reliance on anyone else. This is certainly true in relation to the task of leadership. Although leadership does serve as a citation for studies that still wish to cast entrepreneurs as rugged individualists, this task, too, is more team based.

To understand the development of new ventures and their leadership, we must understand the role of all of the founders and entrepreneurial team members. One of the great criticisms of new venture research and entrepreneurship research during the past several years is that they have long concentrated on the characteristics of the founder without fully understanding the founder's behavior. Leadership in new ventures may well take on dictatorial frames, such as exists with generals in battle, but the likelihood is that the new venture task is far too ambiguous for such a leadership style. As Ensley and associates (2003) noted in their study, it is nearly impossible for one person to envision the new venture task clearly. And decades earlier, Cybert and March (1963) wrote that the organizational task and the number of organizational options for businesses are too great for one person to ever conceive. Clearly, shared leadership and collective vision improve the potential of new ventures by overcoming their inherent ambiguity. To view the leadership task as anything other than shared in complex new ventures is both illogical and difficult to substantiate. Studies that include shared leadership variables as a part of their analysis will improve the studies' predictive power.

—Michael Ensley

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SOCIAL CAPITAL THEORIES

Social capital theories examine the moral resources and moral and collective goods that people invest in each other as members of a family, workplace, community, society, or nation. Moral goods such as truth, unlike other goods, are measured in value rather than price. Collective goods, such as environmental quality, are commonly shared to a greater degree than other goods. These theories may also narrowly examine civic associations and their role in democratic society or some other moral resource and a particular setting or purpose. In between these two subjects, social capital theories offer insight into the goals and processes of leadership in several contexts and the reason why people are willing to lead and follow.

SOCIAL CAPITAL “DISCOVERED”

The scholarship of Robert Putnam, a U.S. political scientist, on civic associations and democracy pre-

sented the most popular theory of social capital, albeit a narrow interpretation, and created enormous interest in the concept. Putnam compared two areas of Italy for their democratic governance and economic prosperity. He attributed the difference between the two areas on both measures to social capital or “norms of reciprocity and networks of civic engagement” (Putnam 1993, 167). Communities build up their stock of social capital, in Putnam’s assessment, by people associating with others in groups—choirs, bird-watching groups, craft guilds, as well as formal nongovernmental organizations such as Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts and Red Cross. In these groups—“networks of civic engagement”—people learn to work with others and to look out for each other—they learn “norms of reciprocity” that spill over into cooperation and success in economic activities and democratic processes in public decision making. Thick networks increase the likelihood of collaboration and cooperation for mutual purpose.

Putnam’s theory of social capital relies heavily on the role of civic associations and thus renews the importance that the French writer and politician Alexis de Tocqueville placed on them in one of the earliest systematic analyses of U.S. democracy. In subsequent work, Putnam focused primarily on the number and membership of civic associations to measure social capital and argued that increases and decreases in social capital mean more or less wealth, health, education, and civil society and stronger or weaker democratic governance.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

Discoveries of social capital that preceded Putnam’s offer broader views of social capital. The story of the start of a domestic violence shelter in Swansea, Wales, inspired one such discovery in 1986. A rise in domestic violence occurred after a local steel works closed and left five thousand workers, mainly males, unemployed. Some women had no place to go with their children to escape harm. As the need for some form of safe space became clear, community volunteers found an unused rectory in the inner city of Swansea, gathered contributions of appliances, bedding, and clothes, found and trained volunteer staff,

and began offering haven to victims of domestic violence. Midway in a presentation about this project, one of the shelter’s founders explained, “We didn’t go about this in a very businesslike way.” On the contrary, one of her listeners pointed out, she found a market for a service and gathered the resources to go into the business of serving that market. Her work differed from other business plans only in that it never envisioned a profit. It viewed the women and children as worthy of investment because of their humanity, not their cash value to the labor force, which had just declined. This view distinguishes social capital for its investment in people to whom the existing set of social and public resources does not or will not provide needed services.

In another discovery, James Coleman, a leading U.S. sociologist, used social capital to explain the family origins of the success of students in high school. Stability, assistance with homework, parental education, and parent-teacher cooperation were all forms of social capital in his assessment and gave some children more chance of school success than others. Later, in an effort to apply his field of sociology to economics, he related social capital to three other forms of capital: financial, physical, and human. Financial capital is money. Physical capital is tools, machinery, and other productive equipment. Human capital is people in the production process. Social capital is the relationship among persons involved in the production process. Human capital resides in people; social capital resides in the relations among them.

These four forms of capital are related to each other, most obviously in a business organization created by owners of financial capital for their profit. Entrepreneurs turn financial capital into physical capital by acquiring tools and buildings, into human capital by recruiting or training people with the knowledge and skills required in production, and into social capital by investing in organizational culture—the design of obligations and expectations, responsibility and authority, and norms and sanctions among the people within the organization in order to achieve efficiency.

Other discoveries of social capital relate it to socioeconomic differences rather than the inner



The Origins of Social Capital

In 1916, Lyda J. Hanifan, state supervisor of rural schools in West Virginia, first used the term social capital in an article titled "The Rural School Community Center." Below is an excerpt from the article that explains his usage of the term.

In the use of the phrase social capital I make no reference to the usual acceptance of the term *capital*, except in a figurative sense. I do not refer to real estate, or to personal property or to cold cash, but rather to that in life which tends to make these tangible substances count for most of the daily lives of a people, namely, goodwill, fellowship, mutual sympathy and social intercourse among a group of individuals and families who make up a social unit, the rural community, whose logical center is the school. In community building as in business organization and expansion there must be an accumulation of capital before constructive work can be done. In building up a large business enterprise of modern proportions, there must first be an accumulation of capital from a large number of individuals. When the financial resources of these several individuals have been brought together under effective organization and skillful management, they take the form of a business corporation whose purpose is to produce an article of consumption—steel, copper, bread, clothing—or to provide personal conveniences—transportation, electricity, thoroughfares. The people benefit by having such products and conveniences available for their daily needs, while the capitalists benefit from the profits reserved to themselves as compensation for their services to society.

Now, we may easily pass from the business corporation

over to the social corporation, the community, and find many points of similarity. The individual is helpless socially, if left entirely to himself. Even the association of the members of one's own family fails to satisfy that desire which every normal individual has of being with his fellows, of being a part of a larger group than the family. If he may come into contact with his neighbor, and they with other neighbors, there will be an accumulation of social capital, which may immediately satisfy his social needs and which may bear a social potentiality sufficient to the substantial improvement of living conditions in the whole community. The community as a whole will benefit by the cooperation of all its parts, while the individual will find in his associations the advantages of the help, the sympathy, and the fellowship of his neighbors. First, then, there must be an accumulation of community social capital. Such accumulation may be effected by means of public entertainments, "sociables," picnics and a variety of other community gatherings. When the people of a given community have become acquainted with one another and have formed a habit of coming together upon occasions for entertainment, social intercourse and personal enjoyment, that is, when sufficient social capital has been accumulated, then by skillful leadership this social capital may easily be directed towards the general improvement of the community well-being.

Source: Hanifan, Lyda J. (1916). "The Rural School Community Center." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 67, 130.

workings of for-profit corporations. Glenn Loury, a U.S. social scientist, stressed that civic associations, such as churches and labor unions, may produce and reproduce the socioeconomic class structure. Pierre Bourdieu, a French sociologist, develops this notion further. He explains that people have different amounts of social capital depending on the actual or potential wealth, the size of the networks to which they are linked, and the amount of economic and cultural capital the members of that network have. Social capital is never independent of the other forms of capital, according to these discoveries.

The first discovery of social capital substantially precedes these others. The first mention of the term occurs in the writing of Lyda J. Hanifan, state super-

visor of rural schools in West Virginia. Writing in 1916, Hanifan urged community involvement to improve rural schools. He spoke of social capital as "good will, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse" that may come from contact with neighbors and networks of neighbors. Social capital also may become "a social potentiality sufficient to the substantial improvement of living conditions in the whole community" (Hanifan, as cited in Putnam 2000, 19). Hanifan focused on the manner in which one community "actually developed social capital and then used this capital in the improvement of its recreational, intellectual, moral, and economic conditions" (Hanifan, as cited in Putnam 2000, 445–446).

Hanifan's early discovery suggested many ele-

ments of the later discussion of social capital, including confusion over the term. He described social capital as characteristics of people but related it to the conditions of the whole neighborhood. Presently, some development economists talk of the living conditions in the whole community as “social capital overhead.” This notion begins to suggest some of the confusion in the discussions of social capital: Do improvements in the community come from the characteristics of the people who live there, or do the characteristics of people come from the community in which they live? To confuse matters further, Hanifan was writing about events in the coal mining region of West Virginia at the time of great labor unrest but did not mention it. This presents the possibility that people acquired “good will, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse” in pitched battles to improve their working conditions and in time the social capital overhead that employers were not providing. To reduce this confusion here, the term *social capital* is used to encompass moral resources, the characteristics of people and individual behavior, moral and collective goods, and the mutual exchange among them. Hanifan’s silence on the “coal wars” of the area is an indication of the political nature of social capital that many social scientists, including Putnam, avoid.

The discoveries of social capital provide theories about the moral resources with which people relate to each other (fellowship, sympathy, communication, empathy, shared norms of responsibility and authority, trust) and the production of moral goods—security, truth, justice, honest government, and so forth—and collective goods—such as schools, environmental quality, social services, efficient productivity, and other goods and services that no one can have or produce without sharing.

PREMISES OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

Theories of social capital have several premises that bear upon the human condition. The first of these is the premise that people do not and should not work exclusively for their own advantage and profit. The second is that people make real, although non-monetary, gains in the pursuit of moral and collective goods. The founders of the domestic violence

shelter in Swansea, for example, did not profit from their work in a narrow monetary sense. People know also from everyday experience that people spend countless hours in actions that are not instrumental to their monetary benefit. An individual may paint, master an intricate ice-skating jump, or climb the face of a vertical cliff without the intention of producing anything of monetary value. In the narrow focus of economic, instrumental activity, this effort amounts to unproductive time. However, this effort produces vast amounts of moral resources such as aesthetic appreciation, patience, discipline, and mutual dependence. Moral resources—or what have been called the “social norms” and other features of an organization with which people relate to each other—along with moral and collective goods make up the twin pillars of social capital.

The third premise of social capital theories holds that people use their moral resources to pursue moral and collective goods. This pursuit also makes no sense in terms of individual and market capital. Actions to achieve moral goods have uncertain outcomes. People can never be sure, for example, that their efforts to attain justice will succeed. Market capital entrepreneurs also take risks. That is what entitles them to large rewards. Social capital entrepreneurs, however, take risks for moral goods—truth, beauty, justice, liberty, community, friendship, love, or salvation—that they cannot possibly enjoy privately. Making an effort to produce something that is not a certain outcome and that if attained must be shared, even with those who made no effort, violates the narrow norms of individual calculation for financial and physical capital: the predominant assumptions of market economics.

Why then do people develop moral resources and use them in the pursuit of moral and collective goods? There is rich satisfaction in the pursuit of moral and collective goods. For example, the volunteers who worked to gain a majority vote on the referendum for the peace accord in Northern Ireland in 1998 reported feeling more alive during their intense period of activity than at any other time in their lives except for those in the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland in the late 1960s. Participants in intense campaigns on behalf of some moral

or collective good frequently report this euphoria. Student council members “enjoy,” in this sense, a successful school activity because of their part in producing it more than do other students who only participate in it. Part of the intoxicating quality of striving for moral and collective goods comes in the feeling of being a “real person” and of belonging to a group. In economic terms, non-instrumental action represents an investment in individual and group identity. In political and social terms, non-instrumental action may provide a glimmer of solidarity and community, the thick horizontal network that Putnam described that individual action for individual gain can never achieve.

Moral goods also differ from other capital goods because they increase through use and diminish through disuse. Justice increases with use, unlike automobiles, which depreciate with use. Similarly, an increase in the stock of moral goods increases the stock of moral resources used to achieve them, unlike economic goods and natural resources used to produce them. As justice increases, so does civility, unlike the production process of automobiles, which does not increase the resources it uses.

Moral resources—*aesthetic appreciation, discipline, mutual dependence*—resemble moral goods in their contrast with economic resources. *Courtesy*—a moral and not an economic resource—does not occur in finite amounts that may be depleted. In simple terms, permitting another driver to merge into one’s lane does not diminish one’s capacity for courtesy for the day. The efficient system of traffic to keep several lanes of vehicles flowing—a moral and collective good—depends upon individual acts of courtesy—moral resources. Although permitting a driver or drivers to merge before one in one’s lane may delay one’s travel, it assists everyone to move at a slower but reasonable rate. Not only does one’s stock of courtesy remain intact, but also, seeing how moral and collective goods come from moral resources, the latter may actually lead one to increase and improve one’s stock of moral resources. One learns that a modest sacrifice of individual well-being can provide for the benefit of everyone and apply this lesson of the road to other areas of life.

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND LEADERSHIP

The traffic example illustrates the broad consensus of the several theories and discoveries of social capital around Putnam’s description of it as the “features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions” (Putnam 1993, 167). In addition, there seems to be consensus that in daily interactions—structured by family, groups, schools, workplaces, civil society, and civic associations—people learn trust, social norms, and effective networks for public action. Social capital, according to its theories, underwrites all transactions, private and social as well as economic and political. It is not surprising then that social capital will also play a large role in leadership as a human transaction.

Indeed, theories of social capital intersect with theories of leadership at several places. Most explicitly, Hanifan explained that “skillful leadership” provides the means of transferring social capital into community improvement or realizing social capital’s “potentiality” (Hanifan 1916, 131). By narrow rational and economic calculation, leadership, just as social capital, makes little sense. Both take an investment of time, energy, and other resources in risky efforts to achieve uncertain goals, the benefits of which accrue to others disproportionately to their effort. Only in the intoxicating quality of using moral resources to strive for moral and collective goods and in the feeling that being a “real person” means belonging to and taking responsibility for a group does leadership make sense. These qualities also make sense of “followership” and explain the bond of leaders and followers in the features of social organization such as trust and norms of behavior that instill hope that coordinated and collective action can improve a state, society, organization, or other group.

The stock of moral resources of leaders and followers provides further understanding of specific theories of leadership. Innovative narratives of moral values and collective goods, in the framework of developmental psychologist Howard Gardner, trade on the stock of moral resources—such as trust, loyalty, courtesy, honesty, and other norms—in the minds and hearts of audiences and may increase that

stock. The nature of adaptive work in the theory of leadership scholar Ronald Heifetz is also a deficit of social capital that can be reduced only by an investment of moral resources to increase moral or collective goods. Customer satisfaction, no less than justice, cannot be produced exclusively or primarily by instrumental means; striving is required to satisfy a customer or to be just. Striving for moral and collective goods requires moral, not instrumental, resources. Adaptive work reminds people that actions are aligned with values when they are understood, like moral resources, to be the expression of all or some part of the values. Social capital also relates clearly with the servant leadership theory of Robert Greenleaf, the author of the landmark study of the same name. His theory calls for people within social institutions, including business, to take responsibility for their values. The servant leader invests in the human resources of a group or enterprise—Greenleaf spent his career in human resource development—but also in the bonds among the people of a group and enterprise and in the bond of that group and enterprise with its public purpose. Greenleaf challenges leaders to be stewards of the social capital of organizations, which can be preserved only by being renewed and increased.

A final intersection of social capital and leadership theories is the several leadership studies that list the characteristics and habits of effective people and leaders. Viewed through the lens of social capital, these studies are depositories of moral resources, and the items they list, like moral resources, increase and improve upon their use. Independence and interdependence are not things that people can “own.” People attain them by their pursuit of them and begin to lose them when they stop their pursuit. People also attain them more surely when they pursue them for themselves rather than as instruments to individual gain.

Social capital theories provide a path for the improved understanding and practice of leadership as well as intersections with its theories. James MacGregor Burns, author of the landmark study *Leadership*, for example, distinguishes between modal values, or what we call moral resources, and end values, moral goods. If people relate these values as moral resources and moral goods, they have a continuum

rather than categories. Similarly, transactional leadership, which depends heavily on modal values or moral resources, becomes better integrated with transforming leadership for end values or moral and collective goods. Indeed, Burns understands the fusion of modal and end values over time in personal development. “Typical modal values, such as honesty, responsibility, courage, and simple fairness, in the sequence of moral stages [of development] take on increasingly the qualities of more broadly and socially defined morality. . . . *At the highest level* modal values . . . merge with the end-values of justice, equity, and human rights” (Burns 1978, 429–430). Social capital relates modal and end values, moral resources and moral goods in actions of people of all ages. Moreover, the development of modal values into end values within a person requires the continued practice of the first for the second. In the connection of moral resources and moral and collective goods, people no longer have a distinction between means and ends, modal and end values, but rather a continuum; as the Indian nationalist Mohandas Gandhi suggested, people’s means are their ends in the making.

It would be an error to assume that moral resources and moral and collective goods go hand in hand with transforming leadership for increased democratic practice and reduced socioeconomic inequalities. Some theories of social capital explain that it may preserve and increase class distinctions and inequalities. Indeed, transforming leadership for increased democracy may have to start with transforming some moral resources and the immoral and collective goods they support. For example, Gandhi had to draw on the practice and goal of *satyagraha* (forceful love and truth) to transform the oppressive colonial social capital of British imperialism in South Africa and India.

Similarly, it would be shortsighted to think that social capital applies to only grand efforts of social and political leadership. Social capital theories help people understand instrumental leadership, that is, leadership that uses social capital for its own profit. In particular, Bernard Bass, the very distinguished scholar of leadership and management, has adapted Burns’s dramatic notions of transforming leadership

to the for-profit organizational setting. In Bass's work, leaders may foster performance beyond expected performance—an instrumental end for productivity and profit—but only by adopting moral resources that imply a broader focus on the well-being of employees and not just their productivity. Bass's associates summarize years of work and research with their observation that combines an instrumental goal with moral resources: "Certain leaders foster performance beyond expected standards by developing an emotional attachment with followers and other leaders, which is tied to a common cause, which contributes to the 'greater good' or larger collective. . . . [This] involves a unique bonding among leaders and followers—emotional attachment, respect, and trust form the basis of these approaches" (Avolio & Yammarino 2002, xvii). Without naming it, Bass and his associates explain the nature and value of the social capital that Coleman took pains to distinguish from other forms of capital.

The bottom line seems to be that leadership requires that people look beyond the bottom line. When they do, they see social capital or networks of engagement, the investment of moral resources for moral and collective goods in varying forms and amounts, and the return on those investments in the form of increased moral resources.

—Richard A. Couto

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SOCIAL DILEMMAS

Many of the world’s most pressing environmental, natural resource, and public goods problems are social dilemmas—situations where the long-term benefit of the collective (for instance, society, an organization, or a team) conflicts with the short-term benefit of the individual. For example, it is very nice to huddle in front of a roaring log fire on a cold winter night—there is a clear benefit for the individual. However, if everyone did this every single winter night every year in a very large high-density city like London or Paris, then the quality of the air would be appalling and everyone would suffer. Another example—there is a clear short-term benefit for an individual to avoid paying television license fees in the UK or making a contribution to the Public Broadcasting System in the United States. But if everyone avoided paying, then everyone would suffer—no commercial-free radio or television. There are thousands of other examples to do with overfishing, tree-clearing, automobile pollution, traffic congestion, and so forth.

Social dilemmas are notoriously difficult to resolve, because people are basically self-oriented, or selfish, and have short-term goals. One of the most common ways to resolve a dilemma is to have an individual or a group manage the resource and regulate people’s access or contribution to it and use of it. These structural solutions require leadership. This entry focuses on the ways in which leadership is used to resolve social dilemmas.

DEFINING SOCIAL DILEMMAS

Social dilemmas are situations in which the short-term benefit of the individual is, if pursued by all

individuals, in conflict with the long-term benefit of the group or collective. Perhaps the best illustration of a social dilemma is “the tragedy of the commons,” which gets its name from the common pasture that English towns used to have. People were free to graze their cattle on this land, and if everyone used it in moderation it would regenerate and continually benefit them all. Imagine, however, one hundred farmers surrounding a common that could support only one hundred cows. If each farmer grazed one cow, the common would be maximally utilized and minimally taxed. One farmer, however, might reason that if he or she grazed an additional cow, his or her output would be doubled, minus a very small cost due to overgrazing—a cost borne equally by all hundred farmers. So this farmer adds a second cow. If all one hundred farmers reasoned in this way they would rapidly destroy the common, thus producing the tragedy of the commons.

The commons dilemma is an example of a *replenishable resource dilemma*. The commons is a renewable resource that will continually support many people provided that all people show restraint in harvesting the resource. Many of the world’s most pressing environmental and conservation problems are replenishable resource dilemmas—for example, rain forests and the world’s population of ocean fish are renewable resources only if they are harvested appropriately.

Another type of social dilemma is a *public goods dilemma*. Public goods are provided for everyone or no one—for example, public health, national parks, clean air, national road networks, public radio, and public television. Because public goods are available to all, people are tempted to use them without contributing to their maintenance. There is a “free-rider effect” in which people self-interestedly use a resource without taking care of it. An example of a public goods dilemma is tax evasion—taxation pays for roads, health, social security, and other goods that all people use. People are in favor of these goods but still try to avoid paying for them via taxes. Another example is national parks—most people are strongly in favor of national parks and derive great pleasure from visiting them, and yet many people try to avoid paying for them through taxes or entry fees.

Self-Interest and the Collective Good

Reflecting on the commons dilemma, Garrett Hardin observed pessimistically: “Ruin is the destination to which all men rush, each pursuing his own best interest in a society that believes in the freedom of the commons. Freedom in a commons brings ruin to all” (1968, 162). Experimental research on social dilemmas finds that when self-interest is pitted against the collective good, the usual outcome is competition among people and resource destruction—people find it very difficult to escape the trap of a social dilemma.

One reason why this happens is that people generally believe that others will pursue their own self-interest; therefore, people do not trust others to sacrifice immediate self-gain for long-term collective good. People also have a strong belief in equity and reciprocity (if someone treats you nicely, then you should do the same back; if someone is selfish, then you should also be selfish), which causes them to reciprocate the actions of others. Together, distrust and reciprocity readily produce social dilemmas. If you assume that others will behave selfishly, there is little reason for you not to do so also—if you know that others are free-riding, you certainly do not want to be taken for a sucker.

Social dilemmas seem to rest on people’s basic concern in life to look after themselves and people’s basic lack of trust that other people will put the social good before their own selfish interest.

RESOLVING SOCIAL DILEMMAS

Because social dilemmas can have disastrous consequences (for example, environmental destruction, famine, or the collapse of public goods), the question of how to resolve such dilemmas is probably one of humanity’s most significant challenges. Research indicates that dilemmas are very difficult to resolve, because it is difficult to build sufficient long-term trust among people to promote collective restraint and positive social behavior. Even appeals to basic human norms that promote altruistic behavior are surprisingly ineffective. There are, however, two general ways to combat social dilemmas: social identity and structural solutions.

Social Identity

Although people may generally be self-interested or selfish in their behavior, what would happen if “self” could be extended to include others? The answer is that self-interest becomes group interest and you have a situation where individual people trust one another and behave in ways that serve the collective good of the group. This often happens in families, where members of the family have an enduring sense of commitment to and trust in the family group, which allows them to behave in ways that benefit the family as a whole even though they themselves may suffer personal losses.

According to the *social identity approach* in social psychology, which is a general theory of group processes and the collective self-concept (self as “we” not “I”), this state of affairs arises, psychologically, when people categorize themselves as members of a social group and identify strongly with that group. Self-categorization and social identification, as subjectively experienced, produce a web of positive regard and trust within a group, as well as common goals and a common will to pursue the group’s goals. Identification facilitates communication that develops conserving norms, encourages adherence to those norms, encourages perceptions of distributive and procedural justice, and makes people feel that their group-serving actions really do have an effect.

Therefore, if a particular resource is accessed by only one group, then as increasing numbers of people identify with the group, people will behave increasingly in ways that conserve the resource, thus avoiding or resolving a social dilemma. For example, if a single group with a strong sense of common identity and group membership relied on a particular fishery, then overfishing would be extremely unlikely—the group would harvest the resource responsibly so that it would endure and continue to benefit the group as a whole. Where people identify very strongly with a group that accesses a shared resource, those people act in ways that benefit the group as a whole rather than themselves as separate from the group. It is as if a large number of individuals (defining themselves as “I”) competing for

access have been transformed into a single person (defining themselves as “we”) who carefully tends the resource. Indeed, privatization of a public good, which transforms “we” to “I,” can increase selfish non-conserving behaviors, precisely because it inhibits these social identity processes.

This rosy picture, however, has a dark side. Social identity processes transform self-interest (“I”) into group interest (“we”) and thus promote not only trust among people within the group (ingroup trust), but distrust and hostility between groups (“us” vs. “them”). Intergroup behavior is often more fiercely distrustful and competitive than interpersonal behavior. So if two groups, rather than a large number of isolated individuals, have access to a limited resource, then we are left with a social dilemma that can be immeasurably worse and will destroy the resource very quickly. “I” versus “you” is transformed into “us” versus “them.” War can often be the ultimate consequence of this type of dilemma—groups actually fight over access to the resource (which can be oil, land, food, wealth, and so on).

Structural Solutions

Structural solutions cause the dilemma to disappear. They include a range of measures, such as limiting the number of people accessing the resource (for instance, via permits), limiting the amount of the resource that people can take (for instance, via quotas), facilitating free communication among those accessing the resource, shifting the payoff to favor cooperation over competition, and handing over management of the resource to an individual (a leader) or a single group.

The problem with structural solutions is that they require an enlightened and powerful authority to draw up measures, implement those measures, manage the bureaucracy, and police violations. This can be very difficult to bring about. A case in point is the inability, in the face of global catastrophe, for the world’s nations to put a structural solution in place to limit carbon emissions and halt global warming. There has been the Rio summit, the Kyoto protocol, and in 2000 the meeting in The Hague, and still selfishness prevails and the social dilemma persists,

capped by the United States' withdrawal from the process in early 2001, which set up an intergroup orientation over the issue of global warming between the United States and the rest of the world.

LEADERSHIP AND THE RESOLUTION OF SOCIAL DILEMMAS

Leadership plays a key role in structural solutions to dilemmas. People typically do not like to have a leader manage a resource, although there are individual differences revolving on people's social value orientations. People with a more pro-social orientation than a pro-self orientation generally show a greater preference for appointing a leader.

Groups as a whole do, however, sometimes choose to have a leader manage a resource. This is most likely to occur when the group, left to its own devices, has clearly failed to manage the resource properly, or when the group has allocated the resource unfairly so that there are large differences in outcomes among group members. One thing that a leader can do is facilitate group identification among people who access a collective resource, and thus help make those people act responsibly toward the resource. Leadership can build a sense of common identity, shared fate, interindividual trust, and custodianship of the resource.

In this respect, the effect of leadership on the resolution of social dilemmas can only be properly understood by considering leadership in the context of the extent to which the leader and/or followers identify with the group. A number of studies of leadership in social dilemmas, mainly conducted by Mark van Vugt and David de Cremer and their colleagues, have done this by adopting a social identity model of leadership. The key question is what kind of leadership is most effective in building identity-related trust, and thus in abolishing the dilemma.

Research Findings

In one study, the strength of identification with a small group was varied, and preferences for different types of leaders, including an ingroup versus an outgroup leader were measured. Participants preferred ingroup

(that is, representative of the group) over outgroup (that is, non-representative) leaders. This differential preference was more pronounced among participants who identified strongly with the group than among participants who did not identify strongly.

Other experiments on how leadership shapes individual contributions in small groups facing public goods dilemmas have shown that leaders who express group commitment, behave in a group-oriented manner, engage in self-sacrificing behavior, and show fairness toward group members are better at raising contributions by the group to the public good. But this happens only when social identity is psychologically salient and participants identify strongly with the group. Furthermore, highly committed leaders are more influential when social identity is salient, whereas leaders with intrinsic leadership skills are more influential when social identity is not salient and participants are focused more on their personal identity. This research suggests that the effectiveness of leadership as a solution to social dilemmas depends upon the fit between the leader's characteristics and the expectations that members have of the leader's behavior.

Contemporary leadership research places a great deal of emphasis on the way that charismatic leaders are able to motivate followers to work for collective goals that transcend self-interest and transform organizations. Presumably, charismatic leaders will be particularly effective at resolving social dilemmas, because they can effectively transform self-oriented behavior into group behavior. Research on decision makers in public goods dilemmas has shown that the role of charismatic leadership is complex. It has been shown that, in dilemmas, self-sacrificing leaders are perceived as more charismatic than self-benefiting leaders, and the former are better able than the latter to motivate decision-makers to cooperate. The motivation effect is more pronounced among people who are oriented toward maximizing their own self-interest (that is, pro-self), than among people who are oriented toward maximizing joint or collective outcomes (that is, pro-social). Charismatic leaders, therefore, seem to be particularly useful in motivating people who are more selfish to be less selfish and more willing to serve the group.

Overall, research on leadership and social dilemmas shows that leaders are very effective at resolving social dilemmas under certain circumstances. People with a generally pro-social orientation are relatively open to being led when their group is faced with a social dilemma, particularly if they identify strongly with the group. Typically, leader charisma is not critical, but it is important that the leader can be viewed as a representative member of the group. People with a generally pro-self orientation are less open to leadership unless they identify strongly with the group and view the leader's behaviors and qualities as serving the group and representative of the group. Charismatic leaders are particularly good at helping pro-self members behave in pro-social and group-serving ways.

WIDER IMPLICATIONS OF RESEARCH ON LEADERSHIP IN SOCIAL DILEMMAS

One implication of this research on leadership in social dilemmas is that leaders who are not seen to represent the group or who do not behave in ways that are considered self-sacrificial and group-serving will not be able to build sufficient trust and a strong enough sense of common identity to transform self-interest into collective interest. They are not very effective in transforming selfish motives into pro-social motives. Such leaders will lack legitimacy and will have only limited success; their authority will rest mainly on legislation and punishment that shapes merely compliant behavior. However, compliance is a relatively inefficient solution to a social dilemma, because people's behavior requires constant and diligent policing.

This idea touches on broader issues relating to civil society. Society requires people to sacrifice a degree of individual freedom for the good of the collective (taxation is an excellent example)—the very idea of a society is a social dilemma. Societal leadership is therefore, in some senses, a structural solution to a social dilemma, a structural solution that integrates leadership with societal identity. One could hazard the suggestion that leadership will be more effective, in the long run, in solving the social dilemma through the transformation of human

motives if leadership is located within a participative and perhaps democratic social order than residing in an oligarchic social order based on power.

FUTURE OUTLOOK

The idea that leadership may help resolve social dilemmas is a relatively old one. However, the contemporary analysis of leadership as a structural solution, which conceptualizes leadership in the context of group identification processes, is relatively new and provides a more textured analysis of the contexts and types of leadership that are effective. This approach certainly holds great promise, and it has wide and socially relevant implications that may even contribute to an understanding of effective socio-political structures.

—Michael A. Hogg

See also Altruism; Collective Action; Organizing; Self-Interest

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SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

Social identity theory, more accurately the social identity perspective or approach, is a social psychological theory of the self-concept, group membership, group behavior, and intergroup relations. Originating in the work of Henri Tajfel in the late 1960s and collaboration with John Turner in the early to mid-1970s, social identity theory mainly focused on intergroup issues such as conflict and discrimination. However, during the past ten years, it has developed to encompass the entire range of group and intergroup phenomena and has become a dominant theoretical perspective in social psychology on people in groups. This development has, during the past five or six years, generated a social identity model of leadership.

The significance of the social identity model of leadership is threefold. It is a new model (1) that integrates what is known in social psychology about social cognition, self-conception, and group

and intergroup processes; (2) that approaches leadership as a group phenomenon; and (3) that marks a renewed interest in mainstream social psychology in the study of leadership (since the mid-1970s, social psychology has paid little research attention to leadership).

THE SOCIAL IDENTITY APPROACH

Personal and Social Identity

People can conceive of themselves in many different ways, among which the most important distinction is between one's personal identity and one's social identity. Personal identity is a definition and evaluation of oneself in terms of idiosyncratic personal attributes (e.g., generous, honest) and/or one's personal relationships (e.g., X's friend, Y's lover). Social identity is a definition and evaluation of oneself in terms of the shared defining attributes of specific groups to which one belongs (e.g., being male, a nurse, African-American, Hindu). Personal identity is tied to the personal self, whereas social identity is tied to the collective self.

Salience

People have many social and personal identities that vary in how generally important they are and how frequently they are used—how chronically accessible they are to one's self-concept. The interplay of chronic self-conceptual accessibility, situational cues, and deliberate personal or group goals primes particular personal or social identities as a way to categorize oneself and other people. These social categorizations are then automatically used to make sense of the situation. If the social categorization seems to fit the ways that people differ in the context and to make sense of why people are behaving in the way they are, then that particular social categorization becomes psychologically salient. When a social categorization, self-conception, or identity is psychologically salient, it becomes real in the sense that it is one's subjective reality in that context. It is how one sees oneself and others, and it governs the way one perceives, thinks, feels, and behaves.

Prototypes

Social identity theory focuses on social identity. It argues that social identity is associated with group and intergroup behaviors (e.g., conformity, stereotyping, normative behavior, cohesion, intergroup discrimination) that are quite different from the interpersonal and personal behaviors associated with personal identity. People cognitively represent groups in terms of prototypes—these are complex (fuzzy) sets of interrelated attributes that simultaneously capture similarities within each group and differences between two groups. If one says “Norwegian,” then what comes immediately to mind is a prototype of that national group. Prototypes are mental constructs that maximize entitativity; that is, they enhance perceived similarity within each group and differences between each group in order to make the groups seem to be entities that are as clear and distinct as possible. The prototype of a group to which one belongs, an in-group, can therefore change as a function of which out-group one is comparing one’s group with. In this way prototypes are context-specific rather than transcendentally invariant.

SELF-CATEGORIZATION

Self-Categorization

When one categorizes another person, rather than seeing that person as an idiosyncratic individual, one sees them through the lens of the prototype—they become *depersonalized*. Prototype-based perception of out-group members is more commonly called “stereotyping”—one views “them” as being similar to one another and all having out-group attributes. When one categorizes oneself, exactly the same depersonalization process applies to self—one views oneself in terms of the attributes of the in-group (self-stereotyping), and, because prototypes also describe group-appropriate ways to feel and behave, one feels and behaves normatively. In this way self-categorization also produces, within a group, conformity and patterns of in-group liking, trust, and solidarity.

Motivation

Social identity and self-categorization processes are psychologically motivated by uncertainty reduction and self-enhancement. People strive for a sense of relative certainty about the social world they live in and about their place within it—they like to know who they are and how to behave and who others are and how they might behave. Social categorization ties self-definition, behavior, and perception to prescriptive and descriptive prototypes—and thus satisfies uncertainty reduction. People also strive to feel good about themselves. Prototypes are evaluative—they evaluate groups and thus those people who belong to those groups. Therefore, people strive to belong to groups that have favorable prototypes and thus have relatively higher status.

SOCIAL IDENTITY AND LEADERSHIP

From a social identity perspective, leadership is a relational process that largely plays out in the context of group membership. Just as other group processes are affected by the degree to which group membership is psychologically salient, so, too, is leadership.

Prototypicality and Influence

The starting point for the social identity analysis of leadership is the fact that salient groups are internally structured, with some members being more prototypical than others—there is a degree of consensus about who is most prototypical and who is least prototypical. In addition, where group membership is salient, group members pay close attention to prototypicality because it is the prototype that defines one’s identity—prototypical members stand out against the background of the rest of the group. In salient groups, people conform to the prototype, and thus those members who happen to be most prototypical are consensually perceived to be the focus of normative conduct and thus to have disproportionate influence over the group as a whole. Merely being prototypical lends one the appearance of having influence—occupying a leadership role.

Social Attraction, Popularity, and Status

In salient groups, evaluations of and feelings for fellow members are more positive than for less prototypical members. One way to look at this is that in salient groups, one's liking for other people is governed by how prototypical they are rather than by personal preferences, friendships, and enmities—liking becomes depersonalized social attraction. Furthermore, because in salient groups there is usually agreement over prototypicality, prototypical members are liked by all—they are consensually liked (popular).

Social attraction has a clear consequence. Social psychology research has shown that liking increases compliance with suggestions and requests—if someone likes a person, that person is more likely to be able to persuade the other person or simply have the other person assent to suggestions or ideas. In a salient group, then, prototypical members are more likely than non-prototypical members to be able to persuade the group or to have the group assent to their suggestions or ideas. Put another way, the same innovative idea proposed by a prototypical member and by a marginal member will be met with nods and general assent in the former case but with resistance and perhaps ridicule in the latter case. Prototypical members are thus able to be actively influential and innovative.

Prototype-based social attraction is associated with an intragroup status hierarchy in which one member is consensually more highly valued, better liked, more influential, and more innovative than the rest of the group. One member occupies a leadership role.

Attribution and Charisma

Research in social psychology has shown that people need to gain an understanding of the causes of events around them and in particular the causes of people's behavior. People gain this understanding through a process of causal attribution in which they have a tendency to overlook situational factors that might cause someone to behave in a particular way and instead emphasize invariant properties of the person. This fundamental attribution error (or correspondence bias) is accentuated where the person stands

out against the background of other people or the situation. Where the person stands out, people have a strong tendency to map the person's behavior onto his or her underlying personality.

In salient groups, highly prototypical members are figural (stand out) in precisely this way, and therefore people are likely to consider their behavior to reflect an underlying disposition or personality rather than situational constraints. For highly prototypical members in these situations, the behavior that is being attributed includes being influential, persuasive, innovative, consensually liked, and having higher status. These are all components of charisma. Thus, prototypicality and social attraction processes work in conjunction to ensure that attribution processes construct a charismatic personality for highly prototypical members. Charisma is often an important component of leadership, and indeed theories of charismatic leadership are currently popular in the organizational and management literature on leadership. In contrast to these literatures, which treat charisma as a personality correlate of effective leadership, social identity theory treats charisma as an emergent property of social identity processes in salient groups.

Leader Behavior

Generally speaking, the more prototypical of a group a person is, the more central and important the group is to that person's self-concept and the more strongly that person identifies with the group. More prototypical members actually do have a greater investment in the group and thus are more likely to behave in group-serving ways. They embody group norms more precisely, and they are more likely to favor the in-group over out-groups, to treat in-group members fairly, and generally to act in ways that promote the in-group. These behaviors confirm their prototypicality and membership credentials and cause group members to trust them to act in the best interest of the group even when they may not appear to do so.

Herein lies a paradox. As long as high prototypicality and core membership are not in question, people are allowed a greater latitude of behaviors. Under these conditions prototypical members can, paradoxically, behave in ways that do not conform tightly to

the group prototype. Thus, they can experiment with new directions for the group to go in—they can be innovative and transformational. This analysis based on social identity processes may help explain what Edwin Hollander, in the 1950s, called “idiosyncrasy credit”—the way in which organizational leaders who had climbed up the organizational hierarchy by conforming tightly to organizational norms could accumulate credits to be more idiosyncratic when they reached the top.

Leaders who are highly prototypical members with trusted membership credentials are in a strong position to guide the destiny of the group and to maintain their leadership position. They can persuade the group that they are more prototypical than they really are, and they can redefine what the group stands for, its prototype, in order to make themselves appear a better match to the prototype. Prototype management strategies can include direct rhetoric, identification and marginalization of in-group deviants, or invocation of different out-group comparison groups. All these strategies directly influence perceptions of prototypicality.

Low-Salience Groups

Social identity processes impact leadership as a function of increasing salience of group membership. Where salience is low, the group is more of a loose aggregate of people who don't consider the group important to their self-concept and who don't gain much of a sense of who they are from the group. Under these circumstances prototypicality is an overall less important consideration—being prototypical is unlikely to contribute to leadership effectiveness. Other factors, such as having good leadership skills (matching general or task-specific leader schema [mental codifications of experience]), will be more impactful.

Canny leaders might be expected to have an intuitive understanding of how salience may influence leadership effectiveness and may adapt their behavior accordingly. If the group were cohesive and self-conceptually important, a person would enhance leadership effectiveness by behaving in ways that make one appear prototypical. If the group were a

loose aggregate, a person would more effectively be seen to match general or task-specific leadership schema. Correspondingly, if one were already highly prototypical, then one would more usefully make the group more cohesive and self-conceptually important, whereas if one were not very prototypical, then one would more usefully undermine the group's cohesiveness and self-conceptual importance.

SOCIAL IDENTITY RESEARCH ON LEADERSHIP

The social psychology literature abounds in anecdotal evidence for the social identity model of leadership. For example, research on gangs in the 1950s by Muzafer and Carolyn Sherif showed that gang leaders whose membership credentials were unquestioned were allowed greater latitude of behavior than were followers or more marginal leaders.

Direct social identity research on leadership has, according to recent reviews by Michael Hogg and Daan van Knippenberg, also supported much of the theory. A number of laboratory experiments have set up conditions in which high-salience or low-salience small groups anticipate a group discussion under the leadership of one group member who is randomly appointed by the experimenters. Participants are given information about the leader that makes him or her appear highly prototypical or not and a good match to general leadership schema or not. This research shows that schema-congruent leaders are anticipated to be effective but that under high salience prototypicality becomes important—highly prototypical leaders are much more effective than less prototypical leaders. This general finding has also been obtained in more natural settings, for example, with “outward bound” groups.

Other variants produce the same effect, for example, when prototypicality is manipulated by having the group leader as an in-group member (high prototypical) or an out-group member (low prototypical), or when the leader is appointed from within the group (high prototypical) or imposed from outside (low prototypical).

Other studies provide evidence that leaders who are seen to be highly committed to the group or who

appear to treat group members fairly are more effective and that this effect is much more pronounced in groups with which members identify strongly. Other studies show the same effect on leadership for leaders who show group-oriented behaviors such as self-sacrifice for the group and discrimination against out-groups. Overall, when group membership is salient, leaders are more effective if they are prototypical and if they behave in ways that are group oriented and confirm their group commitment.

A final set of studies has confirmed a qualification to the preceding, namely that in salient groups, group-oriented behavior has less influence on leadership for leaders who are well-established, highly prototypical members than for leaders who are more marginal. The latter leaders need to behave in a group-oriented manner to be effective.

Links to Other Leadership Approaches

The social identity model of leadership has implications for other models of leadership. To date, three of these links have been explored.

Leadership Categorization Theory

Since the early 1980s, Robert Lord and his colleagues have developed leader categorization theory. In its original form, this theory of leadership states that people have schemas of effective leaders that vary from being very general to being very specific to a particular task. The relevant schema is activated when a person is categorized as a leader. The schema then generates assumptions about the leader's attributes and behaviors, and if there is a good fit of the person to the schema, then the person is considered an effective leader.

In contrast, the social identity model states, and provides evidence, that although leadership categorization processes do influence leadership effectiveness, their influence diminishes relative to group prototypes when social identity is salient and people identify strongly with a group.

Charismatic and Transformational Leadership

By the mid-1980s, probably the most popular focus of leadership theories in organizational and manage-

ment science was on how charismatic leaders are able to motivate followers to work for collective goals that transcend self-interest and transform organizations. Social identity leadership researchers were troubled that this focus was underemphasizing the group quality of leadership and was leaning too far toward a personality disposition explanation: Regardless of group processes, some people simply are charismatic and thus able to lead effectively. The social identity model recognizes that effective leaders are often viewed as being charismatic and transformational but provides a different analysis of the origins and role of charisma. The social identity model views charisma as an emergent property of social cognitive and social interactive processes that occur in salient groups.

Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) Theory

Another popular leadership theory is the LMX (leader-member exchange) approach. It states that effective leaders need to establish high-quality personalized relationships with individual group members and that such relationships need to be catered to idiosyncrasies of the particular group members. High-quality personalized relationships provide followers with valued resources and thus ensure reciprocation in the form of support for and endorsement of the leader. Social identity leadership researchers argue, and provide evidence, that although personalized leader-member relationships may work in this way in low-salience groups, they are not so effective in high-salience groups. In high-salience groups, depersonalized leader-member relationships in which followers are treated as prototypical group members are more strongly associated with effective leadership.

THE FUTURE

Although the social identity model of leadership rests on a well-established theory of groups—the social identity theory—it is relatively new. As such, it is still evolving conceptually and empirically, and its implications for other models of leadership are still being explored. This is an active research area in contemporary social psychology.

—Michael A. Hogg

See also Attribution Processes; Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) Theory

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SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Social psychology is the study of how the thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of individuals are influenced by the actual, imagined, or implied presence of others. When applied to leaders and leadership, the idea that social interactions influence people is used to understand (1) how certain individuals emerge as leaders and influence others' thoughts, feelings, and behaviors in a positive way to achieve group goals and (2) how these social interactions influence people's perceptions of certain group members as leaders or as followers.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY'S DEFINITION OF LEADERSHIP

Social psychologists consider leadership to be a special case of social influence involving a complex interaction between the leader, the followers, and the group to which they belong. The social influence process in the domain of leadership is thought to be reciprocal and cooperative such that leaders and followers influence one another and exchange resources with the purpose of attaining collective and personal goals. The resource exchanges between the leader and the members of the group can be transactional in nature, involving expenditure of time, energy, knowledge, and social support, or they can be transformational in nature, resulting in beneficial changes to the group members' motivation, values, beliefs, and needs.

Many social psychologists view leaders and followers as enjoying an exchange relationship. From this view, leaders and followers give each other things of value, both material and psychological. Leaders provide followers with a vision for the

group, security and protection, a means for achieving group goals and a sense of effectiveness, feelings of inclusion, and a sense of self-respect and pride in the group. In return, followers give the leader focus and direction, gratitude and loyalty, commitment and effort toward achieving group goals, cooperation and sacrifice, and respect and obedience. When this relationship becomes imbalanced, either efforts are made by leaders and followers to restore the balance or the leader leaves (or is removed).

Leadership is conceptualized as a positive social process in which all people in the group, whether leaders or followers, benefit from the outcomes of their interactions. Thus, leadership is *not* considered a negative social interaction in which leaders use their influence as a means of coercing, manipulating, or controlling their followers to achieve the leaders' goals with no or little regard to the outcomes that would benefit all members of the group. People often think of dictators as leaders; however, a leader's behaviors and intentions should attempt to reflect the best interests of all members of the group. For example, the German dictator Adolf Hitler is not defined by social psychology as a leader, nor were his actions defined as leadership because he used his power to dominate others, his actions did not reflect concern with the best interest of his people, and he did not equally distribute resources to all segments of German society (e.g., Jews, Gypsies, homosexuals).

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO LEADERSHIP

The modern study of leadership considers two main themes in order to understand how leaders emerge and influence others. The first theme is the social interactions between leaders, followers, and the situation; the second theme is the personality traits of each individual. However, the study of leadership has not always considered these two main themes together. Early social psychological theories of leadership identified a certain set of personality and physical characteristics that set leaders apart from non-leaders. These person or trait theories suggested that the probability of emerging as a group leader is associated with the possession of certain distinguishable

characteristics regardless of the situation. Although this perspective has lost favor over the last fifty years (primarily due to inconsistent findings across research studies), a number of characteristics have indeed been found to slightly or even moderately distinguish leaders from non-leaders. In general leaders tend to be taller, more talkative, older, more intelligent, male—although gender is becoming less a distinguishing characteristic—extroverted, friendly, conscientious, and stable. More recent work has found that leaders also tend to score higher on what many psychologists call “social intelligence”—the ability to empathize and adjust to the needs of a group and to make changes that lead to higher overall group satisfaction.

Later situational theories proposed that the situation in which a particular group finds itself determines the leader. Situational theories argue that the power of circumstance (i.e., the right time, the right place) rather than personality traits creates leaders and followers. For example, many presidential historians have made the argument that Lyndon B. Johnson might have been remembered as one of the best presidents of the twentieth century if not for the social and political turmoil surrounding United States involvement in the Vietnam War. Situational theorists might argue that the power of the situation (i.e., the Vietnam War) ultimately determined Johnson's public perception as an ineffectual leader. On the other hand, the power of the situation can lead to positive perceptions of certain individuals. For example, President George W. Bush's high rating on leadership quality after the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 might reflect to a greater extent the situation in which President Bush found himself rather than any personality traits he possessed.

Although one-dimensional approaches such as trait theories or situational theories hold a great deal of intuitive appeal, most modern social scientists ascribe to the U.S. social psychologist Kurt Lewin's two-dimensional conceptualization of behavior as a function of both the person and the environment. An early proponent of such a conceptualization was the psychologist Fred Fiedler. Fiedler developed a contingency theory of leadership in which he argued that there is no ideal leader nor one perfect situation in

which a leader will emerge. Instead, the emergence of a leader depends on an interaction between a person's leadership style and the degree of situational control. Fiedler defined leadership style as a set of observable behaviors that describes how a leader interacts with the other members of the group when pursuing goals. Leadership styles can be either task focused, which describes leaders who minimize socioemotional goals and emphasize goals related to task completion, or relationship focused, which describes leaders who focus on maintaining a positive, supportive environment in which the emotional needs of group members are emphasized. Fiedler defined situational control as the degree to which leaders can direct the group's actions, and he argued that the direction is largely determined by the quality of the relationship between leader and followers, by the quality of understanding with regard to task structure, and by the degree to which the leader has power over positive or negative group outcomes (e.g., rewards or punishments). The result of high control of these factors is a favorable situation. The result of low control of these factors is an unfavorable situation. Fiedler's contingency model predicts that task-focused leaders are most effective in situations that are either highly favorable or highly unfavorable and that relationship-focused leaders will be most effective in situations that fall between these two extremes. Currently, social psychology emphasizes the complex interaction between personality traits and environment in understanding leadership.

SOCIAL COGNITION OF LEADERSHIP

The most recent approach to leadership within social psychology focuses on how individuals conceptualize leaders and on leader prototypes. The underlying assumptions of this social-cognitive approach are that people have intuitive beliefs about what characteristics and behaviors leaders possess and that people will use these beliefs to categorize others as either a leader or a non-leader. Such a categorization process is based on the degree to which an individual's behavior matches these predetermined beliefs or prototypes. For example, if people believe that a leader should be highly extroverted,

friendly, conscientious, and stable, then an individual who possesses these characteristics is more likely to be categorized as a leader than an individual who does not possess, the characteristics or possesses them to a lesser extent. Leader prototypes are thought to be so powerful that the members of a group might even ignore behaviors from the leader that do not match their prototype.

Social psychological researchers argue that such categorization is just the first step in a much more complex interpersonal process. The social identity theory of leadership proposes that leadership is primarily a group process in which members of a group are attracted to, and therefore elect as leader, the group member who most closely matches the perceived characteristics of the group. The process starts with the categorization of oneself and others as in-group or out-group members, then the process continues with one's identification with the characteristics of his or her own group and with the selection of the leader, who is the member who most closely fits group members' perceptions of the group's defining features. This prototypical member is judged to be the most respected, to have high status within the group, and to be the best leader for the group.

Leaders are those who influence others' thoughts, feelings, and behaviors in a positive way to achieve group goals. Some people appear to possess personality traits of an effective leader, but the social psychological approach to leadership focuses more on situational or contextual factors that evoke effective leadership behaviors. A classic example is former New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who received mixed reviews of his performance as mayor until he masterfully guided the city through the aftermath of the attacks of 11 September 2001. The extreme context (i.e., the terrorist attacks and the chaos that ensued) provided him the context for showcasing his leadership qualities. It is clear that context alone does not create a leader; today most social scientists believe that contextual factors must also be weighed with the individual's social and emotional intelligence, the characteristics of followers, and the leader-follower exchange relationship. The current state of leadership in social psychology reflects a more collaborative approach in which

ideas from diverse areas—ranging from basic experimental social psychology to political science to sociology to applied military research, with different methods and distinct foci (e.g., specific application, basic theory)—are considered with the goal of exchanging ideas that facilitate a better understanding of what leadership is and how it emerges.

—*Michael J. Markus, Scott T. Allison,
and Dafna Eylon*

See also Attribution Processes; Cognitive Structures; Intelligence, Emotional; Intelligence, Social; Intelligence, Verbal; Intelligences, Other; Intergroup Processes; Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) Theory; Methodologies of Leadership Research; Qualitative Methods; Situational and Contingency Approaches to Leadership; Social Dilemmas; Social Identity Theory; Sociology

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SOCIOBIOLOGY OF LEADERSHIP

Are leaders predetermined at birth? Do traits and charisma arise from genes and provide the foundation for leaders? These questions and others indicate a rudimentary understanding of sociobiology—the attempt to connect social behaviors to an underlying biology.

The idea of sociobiology was founded in 1975 by Edward O. Wilson (b. 1929) (Wilson 2000). Sociobiology as Wilson envisioned it began as an extension of his research into the organization of social insects. Sociobiology is defined as “the systematic study of the biological basis of all social behavior” (Wilson 2000, 4). Therefore, the underlying nexus for the basis of social behavior is biologically determined. Genes are enablers (or disenablers). So what is the nature of these genes?

GENETICS

Gregor Mendel (1822–1884) first stated the gene concept as “each organism contains two factors for each trait and that the factors segregate during the formation of gametes so that each gamete contains only one factor from each pair of factors” (Mader 1987, 152)

A gene is a segment of deoxyribonucleic acid, or DNA, the foundational blueprint for the structure and function of an organism. Genes located within longer strands of DNA known as chromosomes are passed from parents to offspring. It is this genetic link of “tens of thousands of genes we inherit from our mothers and fathers” that “constitute our genome” (Campbell & Reece 2002, 234–235). Genes code for the proteins that build all of the anatomical structures. It is these structures, designed by the genes, that provide the physical basis for the behaviors one sees in a sociological setting—the structures do not determine whether the individual will choose to behave in a particular manner; they only enable the action should the individual choose to exercise a behavior. Therefore, social behaviors are only *enabled* by genes.

This enablement does not mean that behaviors are predetermined or that they will be expressed. Enablement, or lack thereof, for the expression of a behavior occurs because of the absence or presence of a gene that creates an anatomical structure that can (or not) produce a given behavior. For example, the tongue is a critical structure for the creation of verbal speech but it is not necessary for language. One can lack a tongue but be quite capable of language through signing or writing. The structures necessary

for the creation of speech include a number of other structures too, including the muscles of the lips, throat, and so on. The structures are collectively created through the activation (or not) of genes. The control of these structures lies in the brain, specifically Broca's area (Marieb 2001, 437). Even Broca's area is determined through the activation of genes. The choice to use all of these structures for the production of speech remains with the individual. The genes do not tell one to speak or what to say; they only enable the production of speech. Most individuals retain control over the choice to speak and what is to be spoken. The genes only enable the production of the speech functionality through the creation of anatomical structures.

A GENETIC BASIS FOR LEADERSHIP

In the sociobiology of leadership there may be the enablement for leadership through genes. The genes of an individual may be arranged in such a way as to offer leadership traits. Whether or not the ability to lead is exercised remains with the individual, undoubtedly influenced heavily through environmental factors. It may be environmental factors that motivate individuals to lead or rule because "they are socially and biologically driven" to do so because "the rewards that come with ultimate power" also "serve as powerful motivators for would-be rulers to do Nature's bidding" (Ludwig 2002, 1). One of the motivating rewards is breeding access. Primate alpha males have "far greater access to females in estrus than any subordinate male" (Ludwig 2002, 10).

Structures like the limbic system and the hypothalamus are "the most ancient parts of the brain, all of which deal with such instinctive responses as fight-or-flight, territoriality, aggression, sex, and survival" (Ludwig 2002, 5) and as a result may offer some insights into the nature of behaviors they enable.

Of course, Wilson's thoughts did not arise in a vacuum. The movement of genes is the basis for natural selection. The most influential idea, natural selection, was proposed by Charles Darwin (1809-1882). Natural selection is the process whereby certain genes gain representation in the following generations superior to that of other genes located at the

same chromosome positions. When new sex cells are manufactured in each generation, the winning genes are pulled apart and reassembled to manufacture new organisms that, on the average, contain a higher proportion of the same genes (Wilson 2000, 3).

Wilson claims the "individual organism counts for almost nothing" (2000, 3). What is important is that "in a Darwinist sense the organism does not live for itself" and "its primary function is not even to reproduce other organisms; it reproduces genes, and it serves as their temporary carrier" (2000, 3).

EXPLAINING SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

The sociologist Émile Durkheim (1858-1917) drew inspiration for evaluating societies in the Darwinist perspective of sociobiology. Society, or the collection of individuals interacting socially, "was the functioning of the social structure" (Garbarino 1977, 40).

One of the behaviors that may be seen in social settings is altruism, a condition of selflessness. Altruism would appear to reduce individual fitness. So why does altruism exist if it reduces fitness in a Darwinian natural selection model? For example, altruism is seen in the selflessness displayed by stinging bees that die upon the execution of a sting, or the selflessness of ants that defend the nest to their death. We occasionally see selflessness among humans that results in the death of the altruistic individual. It would appear that kinship is the deciding factor. Any social individual has genetically determined predisposition for altruistic behavior because

if the genes causing the altruism are shared by two organisms because of common descent, and if the altruistic act by one organism increases the joint contribution of these genes to the next generation, the propensity to altruism will spread through the gene pool. This occurs even though the altruist makes less of a solitary contribution to the gene pool as the price of its altruistic act. (Wilson 2000, 3-4)

This is not the first attempt to compare social interactions similarly to biological interactions. Just as Durkheim founded the sociological tradition of functionalism upon the idea of evaluating society as an analog of an organism, similarly Karl Marx

(1818–1883) embraced the biological analogy for explaining and evaluating society. At Marx's point in time, "the body, as an organic whole" was "easier of study than are the cells of that body" (Feuer 1959, 134). So Marx took to analyzing economic forms at a macro level because "in bourgeois society the commodity form of the product of labor—or the value form of the commodity—is the economic cell form" (Feuer 1959, 134).

Future investigations of sociobiology with a leadership focus are promising. Evaluating and explaining leadership in sociobiological terms will require further investigations. One field that could enrich the sociobiology of leadership is primatology.

At the structural level, "laboratories around the world have over the last decade demonstrated chimpanzees to be genetically closer to us than they are even to gorillas, despite the close physical resemblance between chimpanzees and gorillas" (Wrangham & Peterson 1996, 23). Studies that include DNA hybridization and protein chains in amino acids have revealed that the human-chimp relationship is indeed very close—close enough to perhaps warrant a "revision in the taxonomic scheme" by placing humans and chimpanzees into the family Hominidae, displacing chimps from the family Pongidae (Poirier 1990, 56).

Due to the research of notable scientists such as Jane Goodall (b. 1934) and Frans De Waal (b. 1948), an ethogram, or behavioral repertoire, of chimpanzee behavior exists that includes behaviors such as tool use and conducting warfare. By studying the analogous behaviors demonstrated by non-primates, one may be able to gain more knowledge of human behaviors, specifically leadership. As De Waal stated, "sociobiology represents a giant stride forward; it has forever changed the way biologists think about animal behavior" (1996, 13). Just as a gene that encourages selfish behavior (Dawkins 1989) may exist, a gene that enables leadership may also exist.

Wilson proposed that "sociobiology can eventually be derived from the first principles of population and behavioral biology and developed into a single, mature science" (2000, v–vi). With the maturing of other science fields, such as primatol-

ogy and sociobiology, a synthesis of discovery awaits students of leadership.

—Jason Barkeloo

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SOCIO-EMOTIONAL LEADERSHIP

The construct of the socio-emotional leader is used for conceptualizing and studying leadership behavior in the context of small groups. The underlying interest behind the research is in learning the ways in which leaders gain influence over other group members—in other words, how leaders emerge from previously leaderless groups. The starting point is the assumption that a situation consists of two parts: One part is the task that the group must perform; the other part is the needs and desires of the group members themselves. Within this context, group members themselves help to determine who their leader is. This concept is a significant advance over earlier approaches to the study of leadership, which focused on traits of leaders and styles of leadership, because this concept recognizes that even leaders with strong claims to power must receive their groups' approval in order to be effective.

INTERACTION PROCESS ANALYSIS

In the 1950s, the sociologist Robert F. Bales was one of the first researchers who systematically observed two different forms of leadership in the context of groups through his interaction process analysis (IPA), which became a classic tool for analyzing group interaction. Bales investigated measures of problem-solving and decision-making capability in face-to-face groups. In doing so, he distinguished between

what he called instrumental orientation and socio-emotional orientation. Instrumental, or task, orientation focuses on purpose-oriented actions, while socio-emotional orientation comprises more passive, expressive-integrative statements or evaluations.

Within socio-emotional orientation, reactions to problems are classified as either positive or negative; within a task orientation, reactions to problems are classified as either answering (that is, seeking to provide answers) or asking (that is, requesting help). Among the positive reactions of leaders with a socio-emotional orientation are positive reinforcement, praise for good ideas, acknowledgment of individual concerns, recognition of others' contributions, and intervention to settle disagreements or to maintain or reintroduce a positive atmosphere. Examples of negative socio-emotional reactions include setting rules for mutual respect when necessary, chastising those who violate the rules of respect, defining and enforcing limits on group and individual behavior, and defining and enforcing standards for group tolerance of differences among group members. For task-oriented team leaders, attempted answers include giving information, explaining, summarizing, and making suggestions, while questions include asking for information or for details, or bringing up hypothetical, what-if situations to elicit clarification.

DIVERGENCE THEORY OF LEADERSHIP

In 1955, Robert Bales and socio-psychologist Philip E. Slater concluded on the basis of interaction process analysis that small groups perform different functions. One person takes the role of task leader (i.e., the idea and guidance specialist), and another takes over as the maintenance socio-emotional leader (i.e., the best-liked team member). The task leader employs instrumental leadership to move the group toward its goal while the socio-emotional leader turns his supportive, people-oriented nature toward promoting group cohesion. The task leader's actions cause tensions that can only be relieved by the actions of the socio-emotional leader, who interjects humor, is friendly, complimentary, lowers friction, and generally creates to a positive group climate.

However, too much focus on the socio-emotional side of the balance may hinder the accomplishment of the group's tasks and jeopardize its very existence. One-sided socio-emotional orientation often comes at the expense of corrective action, in that the socio-emotional leader is likely to withhold criticism, fail to point out errors, or fail to attribute blame or responsibility for poor group performance to employees or group members. Therefore, the continuance and efficiency of a group depends on both forms of leadership being present and in equilibrium; too much of either sort causes problems for the other. However, Bales believed that because the task and socio-emotional functions in a group are opposed, it is difficult to accommodate both: There is always some friction between the task leader's role—who urges completion or criticizes achievement efforts—and the socio-emotional leader's role of maintenance and integration.

The dichotomy posited between task leadership and socio-emotional leadership has been criticized for its inability to account for the multidimensional relational qualities and for its rigid categorization of any response into only one category. In 1984, the psychologist Joseph E. McGrath suggested that a statement or response could carry both task and socio-emotional information at once. One methodological problem with Bales's study is the fact that, regarding team members' ratings of one another, neither the actual communication that occurred in the groups nor individual characteristics of group members were examined. It can be assumed that the emergence of either or both kinds of leadership depends on task-related communications as well as on the characteristics of individual group members and specific conditions within the group's organization. Additional limitations of interaction process analysis include questions of "face validity" as a fuzzy procedure for validating because of inherent subjectivity and the need to train observers, which requires a great deal of practice. Additionally, frequent retraining is also necessary.

SYMLOG: SYSTEM OF MULTIPLE-LEVEL OBSERVATION OF GROUPS

Bales expanded his original model to include additional structural dimensions, status (dominant or sub-

missive), and attraction (friendly or unfriendly). In the process he developed a multidimensional checklist that researchers can use to structure their observations of groups, SYMLOG. The acronym SYMLOG stands for "systematic multiple-level observation of groups." Beyond serving as a checklist that gives researchers a set of practical methods for measuring behavior, SYMLOG also claims to be a theory of personality and group dynamics for changing behavior and values in democratic ways. The goal has been to understand the group better in order to improve productivity and satisfaction, thereby increasing the probability of effective change. As an integrative approach, the SYMLOG method tries to consider multiple-level observation of groups systematically, offering a new field theory of the multiple contexts in which people live. People's mental processes, their social interactions, and group dynamics are seen as taking place in systematic, structured contexts that can be measured, permitting explanation and prediction of behavior in a more exact way than was possible with earlier models.

SYMLOG has proved to have considerable longevity and impact on studies of groups. Field diagrams based on SYMLOG ratings have been used to illustrate aspects of group leadership and to understand more clearly what comprises undesirable and desirable leadership, with the basic process being to observe initiation, maintenance, or termination of a process of either unification or polarization in the group space. Additionally, SYMLOG provides suggestions for desirable types of leadership in situations of group polarization (e.g., optimum kinds of behavior, imagery, or value content of superordinate group goals for mediation). That fact leads to problems of "social desirability bias" (Hare & Hare 1996)—that is, the presence of an interviewer leads respondents to distort their answers in order to be rated socially desirable or respectable. The interviewer can also bias the results by using terms which appear socially desirable for him or her. Like interaction process analysis, SYMLOG is time-consuming and expensive, involving costly training programs for interviewers, data gathering, and interpretation. On the other hand, SYMLOG makes possible comparative examinations of multiple indi-

Jingshen is the Mandarin word for spirit and vivacity. It is an important word for those who would lead, because above all things, spirit and vivacity set effective organizations apart from those that will decline and die.

—James L. Hayes

viduals and group dimensions in a structured manner. Various groups' solutions to the same problems can be compared to determine the most effective solution and to find out what conditions favor or hinder arriving at that solution. Bales summarized SYMLOG's advantages as follows (Bales 1999, 344):

- It provides a data gathering procedure which permits a thorough assessment of teamwork.
- It enables leaders and members to visualize and talk about the group in an effective way.
- It provides a theoretical framework by which they can better understand their group and particular member relationships.
- It gives many clues and suggestions as to what changes could improve teamwork.
- It gives a way to monitor and maintain progress by periodic repetitions of the procedures.

In a 1999 publication, Bales attempted to establish an integrative framework for all social psychology, based on interaction process analysis and augmented by value content analysis. He observed that in all systems of social interaction, irrespective of size, values are major foci for organizational cooperation and conflict. They are also sources of dynamic processes and change.

LINKS TO OTHER APPROACHES

The differentiation between task orientation and socio-emotional orientation represents a basic pattern that resembles patterns in other research approaches. One evident connection is with the Ohio State Leadership studies of the 1950s (see for overview Stogdill & Coons, 1957), in which similar orientations were identified, but termed "initiating

structure" and "consideration." This approach differed from the dichotomist approach taken by Bales in that both dimensions could exist simultaneously and individuals could display varying amounts of both sorts of behavior.

Other research approaches following the same pattern include "contingent concepts" like that of Fred Fiedler and that of Paul Hersey and Kenneth Blanchard, both of which also assume a continuum of style from more task oriented to more relationship oriented, adding that effectiveness of any given orientation depends upon the circumstances prevailing. Hersey and Blanchard see that satisfying the group's needs to set goals and organize work requires not only task orientation but also high levels of socio-emotional support. With this supplementary approach, high task control on the part of the manager is being made more acceptable by employees because there is a complementing high level of supportive, caring behavior.

A similar pattern can also be discerned in the more normative approaches of Robert Blake and Jane Mouton. In *The Managerial Grid* (1964), they outline a model that contrasts a concern for results with a concern for people. They clearly advocate an approach that integrates both, thus recognizing the interdependence of the two.

Finally, there is the distinction James MacGregor Burns and Bernard Bass make between transactional and transformational leadership. Transactional leadership focuses on tasks and reflects more traditional "management by objectives" and reward systems, while transformational leadership, with its components of idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and individualized consideration, is more emotion oriented and involves heightened levels of emotional awareness.

On a meta level, the difference between task orientation and socio-emotional orientation can be seen as the difference between leadership and management. If management has a relatively strong emphasis on the task, leadership appears to be about the choice of direction and the generation of enthusiasm for the task and facilitating further socio-emotional dimensions. For Warren Bennis and Burt Nanus, the problem with many organizations is that they tend to

be overmanaged and underled. They may excel in the ability to handle the daily routine, but never question whether the routine should be done at all. “To manage” means “to bring about, to accomplish, to have charge for conduct” (task-orientation), while “leading” is “influencing, guiding in direction, course, action, opinion” (socio-emotional orientation). While task-oriented managers are people who do things right (for example, they are good at mastering routines and promoting efficiency), the more socio-emotionally oriented leaders are people who do the right thing (they are the ones with vision and judgment). However, it would be misleading to suggest that socio-emotional leadership is needed only at the top of an organization: It is required at virtually all levels, even among lower-level managerial, professional, and technical employees.

All in all, it is evident that both task-oriented and socio-emotional leadership are possible and necessary. Organizations appear to function best when the two orientations are integrated. Accordingly, an integral leadership (Beck & Cowan, 1996; Wilber, 2000) contributes to overcoming the reductionism of being either task or socio-emotional.

IMPLICATION AND PERSPECTIVES

Practicing socio-emotional leadership supports the development and maintenance of high-quality and trustful relationships with and among members of groups. Socio-emotional leadership is especially important in today’s complex, uncertain, and dynamic business environments, rocked by cultural value shifts and continuous change. Unfortunately, the need for socio-emotional competencies contrasts with their neglect in traditional education systems, particularly in leadership education. Training programs and management development programs that build socio-emotional competencies would help leaders learn the required interpersonal, communication, and emotional skills. Correspondingly, the increasingly considered competencies of an “emotional intelligence” (Goleman 1995; Bar-On & Parker, 2000) and emotionally intelligent workplace (Cherniss & Goleman, 2001) manifest the recent integration of socio-emotional aspects in organiza-

tions. However, formally learned socio-emotional competencies are of little value unless they can be put to work in actual organizations. Learning and practicing socio-emotional competencies on the job can lead to the appropriate use and further development of them. Furthermore, to evaluate and consider the implications of a socio-emotional leadership practice and increased use of multi-source or “360 degree” feedback assessment, appraisal workshops and reports might be helpful.

Socio-emotional leadership also requires authentic emotion management, which means that leaders must develop the ability to acknowledge, express, and be sincere about their feelings and the feelings of others. Authentic socio-emotional leaders encourage organization members to express their full range of emotions without fear of reprisal. To do so, a leader must project a sense of honesty, fairness, justice, and respect for those with whom he or she is dealing. A leader who is skilled in emotion management also recognizes the impact of the timing, pacing, and sequencing of various actions, is aware of different emotional styles, and is adaptable, lively, and flexible. Emotion management keeps socio-emotional relations open and prevents a gradual bottling-up of negative feelings, which unchecked can hamper organizational functioning.

From the perspective of scholarship, a focus on socio-emotionally competent leadership should contribute to future interdisciplinary research on the relationship between leaders and followers.

It can be expected that the transforming and positive, evaluatively rich and insightful role of socio-emotional dimensions will become even more important for an effective (George 2000) and ethical leadership (Ciulla 1998) process in the future. Therefore, the socio-emotional dimension of leadership is not merely a category or a methodological construct: It is a decisive capability and a mode of integration that leaders must cultivate in order to create successful organizations in the present for a sustainable future.

—Wendelin M. Küppers

See also Intelligence, Emotional; Intelligence, Social; Narcissistic Leadership; Rhetoric

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 **SOCIOLOGY**

Sociology is the study of how external, social factors influence human behavior. Unlike psychologists, who investigate internal processes such as thought or emotion, sociologists investigate social behavior, especially the coordinated social behavior of groups. Sociology's contributions to leadership studies have focused on the emergence of leaders, the basis of leader authority, and leadership styles. The application of leadership studies to sociology makes important contributions to better understanding of a number of sociological phenomena, including social and political movements, community organizations, bureaucracies, and religious behavior.

RESEARCH METHODS

Sociological research on leadership uses a variety of methods. In experimental methods, laboratory-based investigations permit tight control of situational variables. Unfortunately, the laboratory setting limits the extent that findings may generalize to the broader social world. Much of the laboratory research on leadership uses college students in leader-follower simulations. Although researchers would like to assume that findings on college students generalize to larger populations, this assumption does not always hold true. Questionnaires are often used by sociologists. In most questionnaires, sociologists assign numerical values to participants' responses and then look for statistically significant relationships between different questions or sets of questions. Sociological studies of leadership also use case studies. In a case

study of leadership, a researcher might collect a great deal of information about one particular leader or a small assortment of leaders. Ideally, insights gathered from the case study of one or a few leaders would generalize to a larger group of leaders. In ethnographies, a researcher joins a group in its day-to-day activities and systematically but unobtrusively keeps detailed field notes. Although rich in detail, with potentially important insights into social processes, the ethnographic method may be criticized for lacking objectivity.

THEORIES OF LEADERSHIP

Sociologists have studied the emergence of leaders and devised theories of leadership. Traditional theories of leadership, especially those derived from psychological orientations, are embedded in a logical positivist framework. As such, they emphasize the relationship between leader and follower as unidirectional, with power centered in the leader's role. One early theory is the "great person" theory. According to this theory, great leaders are born, not made. The great person theory of leadership assumes that leaders possess a special cluster of traits that sets them apart from followers. Using the trait-oriented focus popular with psychologists, researchers have shown that leaders tend to possess high cognitive ability, inner drive, the desire to take on a leadership role, self-confidence, integrity, and sufficient flexibility to develop novel approaches to problem solving. An individual with these traits would be more likely to emerge as a leader. More recent scholars have argued that effective leadership emerges from situations or crises that invoke leadership skills rather than from innate personality traits.

Postmodern perspectives in sociology deny the existence of an objective reality and, instead, focus on how individuals actively construct their own social reality. In light of postmodernism, other sociological theories focus on outward behaviors associated with becoming a leader. Individuals become leaders when they are perceived as representing the values of members of a group. As such, the leader-follower relationship can be construed as emerging from a consensual agreement among participants.

Talkative individuals tend to emerge as leaders. Expressing self-confidence and determination is often taken as an outward sign of the potential to assume a leadership role. One troubling aspect of research on the emergence of leaders is the extent to which factors irrelevant to success can determine a leader. In almost all U.S. presidential elections in the twentieth century, the winner was the tallest candidate. Evidence indicates that physically attractive individuals are more likely to emerge as leaders. Even one's position at a table can influence leadership emergence. People who sit at the head of a table are more likely to become leaders.

The emergence of leaders is especially important for sociologists involved in the study of social movements and the development of community and volunteer organizations. A social movement is geared toward creating social change. Examples of social movements during the second half of the twentieth century include the civil rights movement and the feminist movement. U.S. civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. emerged as an important and influential leader for racial equality. With the publication of her book *The Feminine Mystique*, Betty Friedan emerged as a leader in what has been termed the "second wave" of feminism.

LEADERSHIP STYLES

Sociological research has identified different ways to classify leaders. One classification is based on a leader's problem-solving orientation. Instrumental (task-oriented) leaders focus on solving problems at hand. In practical terms, a task-oriented leader focuses on meeting quotas and reaching measurable goals. In contrast, expressive (socio-emotional) leaders focus on the interpersonal dynamics involved in coordinating the behavior of multiple followers. Expressive leaders work to ensure that followers feel valued.

Leaders can be classified as either transactional or transformational. A transactional leader is more conventional in orientation and obtains compliance by setting clear goals, offering or withholding rewards as a function of performance, and providing assistance to complete tasks. In contrast, a transformational leader is inspirational. Examples of transfor-

mational leaders include Martin Luther King Jr., U.S. President John F. Kennedy, and South African leader Nelson Mandela. Steven Jobs, the cofounder of Apple Computers, is viewed as a transformational leader. When Jobs tried to persuade John Scully, then president of Pepsi-Cola, to accept a position with Apple, Jobs said, "Are you going to keep selling sugar water to children when you could be changing the world?" (Sheff 1985, 50). Scully accepted the position. Jobs's question identifies him as a transformational leader who motivates followers to transcend their personal needs and inspires commitment to a common cause. One should distinguish between a true transformational leader, who is morally uplifting and inspirational, and what is termed a "pseudo-transformational leader," whose appeal to emotion is meant to manipulate his or her followers. The German Nazi leader Adolf Hitler is an example of a pseudo-transformational leader.

The sociologist Max Weber identified different types of authority that leaders can exert over their followers. Leaders exercise different kinds of control over their followers. Authoritarian leaders tend to provide direct orders to followers regarding how to behave. Authoritarian leaders often create dependence in their followers. Democratic leaders, in contrast, discuss problem-solving strategies with their followers, provide guidelines, and present feedback in objective terms. Democratic leadership inspires a group-centered focus and more attempts at consensus building and can promote relatively high levels of achievement. Finally, laissez-faire (non-interfering) leaders adopt a highly permissive structure, offer little advice or performance feedback. Under laissez-faire styles of leadership, followers tend to be less productive relative to other leadership styles. The finding that democratic styles of leadership are more effective than autocratic has been criticized as reflecting the underlying political ideology of researchers. One important aspect of sociological research is that individuals working in the field often hope that their research will promote a certain agenda for policymakers. Because human beings are the research subjects in sociological research, one would have difficulty thinking of a topic that lacks potentially important consequences for at least cer-

tain groups of people. Thus, at least some sociologists greatly value the applied aspects of their work.

Sociologists have also considered leadership in terms of different styles of authority. Traditional authority is derived from custom or precedent. Rational-legal authority is derived from written rules that define an individual's power. Charismatic authority is derived from charismatic leadership, that is, from a leader who possesses a special trait or ability. Someone with "stage presence," to use a term derived from the theater, is thought to be charismatic. The French national heroine Joan of Arc was an influential leader because people believed that God had given her a higher purpose.

The source of a leader's authority is especially relevant in terms of the potential uncertainty created by the transfer of authority from one person to another. Transfers of authority occur more readily in traditional and rational-legal systems in contrast to systems under charismatic leadership. Under traditional and rational-legal systems, power structures facilitate transfers of authority. In contrast, a charismatic leader's transfer of authority is more difficult because the leader himself or herself is the source of power. Without the guidance of their leader, followers may have difficulty identifying and empowering a new leader. Because the orderly transfer of authority contributes to social stability, forward-thinking, charismatic leaders may choose to build an organization around themselves to facilitate the transfer of authority, a process that is termed the "routinization of charisma." Whereas some approaches to leadership focus on either leader traits or a leader's environment, a major contribution of the sociological approach has been to develop contingency models of leadership effectiveness. Contingency approaches stress that a leader's style interacts with a specific context and that the two operate as joint determinants of a leader's effectiveness. A leader's effectiveness is contingent on both his or her style and the context in which he or she operates. Favorable contexts exist when leaders have good relations with their staff, face few external threats (e.g., a looming recession), and have adequate resources to complete necessary tasks. Unfavorable contexts exist when leaders have poor leader-follower relations, face

outside threats to success, and have limited resources. Task-oriented leaders, who focus on getting the job done, are most effective in either highly favorable or highly unfavorable situations. In contrast, socio-emotional leaders are most effective in moderately favorable situations. In a mixed situation, a leader's focusing on followers' motivational levels by providing an open, participative style gives followers an incentive to problem solve in creative ways. According to contingency approaches, a socio-emotional leader in an unfavorable situation will not be effective.

APPLICATIONS OF SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY

One of the more important contributions of a sociological approach to leadership is an understanding of groupthink, a concept developed by a psychologist. *Groupthink* refers to how consensus pressures in cohesive groups sometimes promote poor group decision making. One classic example of groupthink is John F. Kennedy's decision to invade Cuba at the Bay of Pigs. The groupthink interpretation is that Kennedy's advisors kept their reservations about the invasion's possible effectiveness to themselves to avoid creating dissension in the group. One of the more important applications of groupthink is to identify what leaders need to do to avoid creating groupthink. A leader should avoid stating his or her position too early to prevent premature closure of a problem, and the leader should appoint individuals to play the role of devil's advocate during group discussions.

One of the most dramatic examples of the power of charismatic leaders took place in March 1997, when thirty-nine members of the Heaven's Gate cult took their own lives by ingesting poison. Their goal was to meet a UFO waiting behind the Hale-Bopp comet. The leader of the cult, Marshall Applewhite (who called himself "Bo"), apparently believed he was leading members to a higher level of consciousness. His body was found among the suicide victims.

Leadership also plays an important role in jury deliberation. Research has found that the foreperson in a jury often is an individual with higher occupa-

tional status or prior jury experience. Evidence also indicates that men tend to be forepersons more than women. In some cases, the emergence of a foreperson occurs for seemingly irrelevant reasons. For example, the first person who speaks often ends up being the foreperson. Given the sometimes life-and-death importance of juries, it is surprising that so little research has been devoted to the emergence of leaders in juries.

Sociological perspectives could influence leadership studies in diversity issues. Evidence suggests that men and women differ in their leadership styles, with women tending to engage in more democratic styles. One recent illustration of this difference was displayed on television in the program *Star Trek: Voyager*, which featured a woman, Kathryn Janeway, as captain of a starship. Janeway displayed a "feminine" orientation toward conflict resolution. For example, she was more inclined to touch members of the crew, relative to previous male captains such as James T. Kirk and Jean Luc Picard. Despite the best efforts of the feminist movement to eliminate double standards, stereotypes about women continue to place an emphasis on women's roles as caretakers of children. As a result, women in leadership roles also experience more conflict between demands of work and family. Further research on the leadership styles of women, as well as of persons of diverse ethnicities, should be conducted.

—James K. Beggan, Scott T. Allison,
Johanna Beyenbach, and Carolyn Clements

See also Bureaucracy; Group Process; Groupthink; Methodologies of Leadership Research; Political Science; Qualitative Methods; Social Psychology

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SPIRITUALITY

Both participants and observers describe the exercise of leadership as exhibiting spiritual purpose beyond the material realm. This increasing use of the language of spirituality deserves respectful scrutiny by scholars.

A REVIVAL OF INTEREST IN SPIRITUALITY

Scholars have studied spirituality for centuries, and not just in theology. Recently, there has been a revival of interest in spirituality in management, organizational behavior, and leadership studies. The Academy of Management, for instance, created a special interest group on Management, Spirituality, and Religion. Numerous colleges and universities have started organizing conferences on this theme. In 2001, the *Leadership Quarterly* devoted its book review section to the many publications appearing on the topic. Stephen Robbins added a segment on workplace spirituality to the tenth edition of his popular textbook, *Organizational Behavior*.

The attention is overdue, according to Jerry Harvey, who reminded colleagues that leaders themselves have frequently claimed the importance of spirituality, and not just to their personal lives, but to their leadership specifically. It is, in his opinion, irresponsible to bar such evidence at the gate, as it were, and neglect what leaders report. Many managers are reported to “say their relationship with God influences their work lives more than any other factor” (McCormick 1994, 5).

A person can be skeptical about particular claims of spirituality, yet remain open to the possibilities that scholars have begun to examine. At the very least, in an explicitly pluralistic forum, claims of spirituality deserve as much respect as other diverse claims.

A substantial amount of research considers the instrumental value of spirituality. One publishing executive believes “there is a creative energy in work that is somehow tied to God’s creative energy. If we can understand that connection, perhaps we can use it to transform the workplace into something remarkable” (Gunther 2001). Corinne McLaughlin, who assembled many of these findings into one article, concluded that “[s]pirituality could be the ultimate competitive advantage” (McLaughlin 2002). Nonetheless, “spirituality in no way guarantees material success” (Gunther 2001).

Spirituality promises to anchor morality, where the search for an immanent morality has failed. Spirituality implies morality, contributing to the formation of a moral framework and informing ethical deliberation for many leaders. As the interest in ethics and moral leadership increases, so will an interest in spiritual authority and the language of spirituality.

In short, spirituality is empirically important to existing leaders, helpful with morals and the bottom line, so the question arises: what is spirituality?

WHAT IS MEANT BY SPIRITUALITY?

The word “spirituality” is hard to define. The Department of Education in Britain is reported to have found it necessary to define spirituality: “The valuing of the non-material aspects of life, and intimations of an enduring reality” (Handy 1998, 102). Such a definition fails to convey its full meaning. A number of writers explain what it is by showing what it is not.

Spirit Is Not Soul

In the literature on leadership, the terms *spirit* and *soul* are used interchangeably, and they do bear a family resemblance to each other. Both refer to the immaterial realm, beyond or behind the phenomena of ordinary experience, but they are not necessarily the same. Archetypal psychologist James Hillman has illustrated the differences. Spirit is isolated, roving, gaining distance from experience to consider its context or meaning. Soul, on the other hand, abides in the immediate, the intimate, in darkness, where it

receives or suffers, in passivity associated with the feminine. Spirit is masculine, active, creating, sparking as light, closely tied to purpose.

Spirituality Is Not Religion

Many writers emphasize that spirituality is not the same as religion. Again, there is a family resemblance, and the terms are closely related, but religion reflects the original meaning of the word, which is to bind, whereas spirituality connotes liberation. These writers argue that spirituality pertains to something too deeply private or too large and vast for any organized religion to monitor or control. Religion occupies an alienated middle ground between these two extremes. If anything, they assert, religion obstructs spirituality.

Spirit Is Not Here

The language of spirituality frequently uses spatial metaphors. It has to do with something higher, something larger, something deeper, something somewhere else. It can be characterized as moving, restless, or it can be at a distance, so that one must go in search or quest. In all cases, spirit is not something here, now, permanently fixed. Instead, it hides or roves elsewhere, with the hope that at some point a person attunes oneself with it.

Spirituality proves to be elusive, like the breath from which we get the word. This elusiveness has been imagined in two different ways. One way is the transcendence of spirit, which means simply its tendency to cross boundaries, like wind at the border, as it comes and goes. This image portrays spirit as a force or power that crosses over the boundaries of my individuality, reaching a part of me that I closed off, and then drawing me out of myself, into the wider world. This image corresponds to the notion of vocation as calling, being summoned toward a task or purpose, without respecting boundaries.

Spirit Is Not a Thing

The other way to imagine the elusiveness of spirit is to say that spirit is not a thing at all. Rather, it is rela-

tionship. One does not grasp or possess relationships; one participates in them. Spirit connects individuals together, sewing or knitting them, as it were, into a larger fabric of community. Spirit is a process of integration. The resulting relationship gives a context for one's efforts, fixing the coordinates for making decisions and establishing an identity.

For Christians, spirit is not a thing but a person, the third member of the Trinity, a divine being referred to as the Holy Spirit, who reveals God historically as an inward presence and life-renewing power, both giver and gift.

Usage

Other words and phrases allude to spirituality and implicate its importance to leadership. Stephen Covey, to cite one example, urges leaders to become pathfinders. "Pathfinding deals with the larger sense of the future. It gets the culture imbued and excited about a tremendous, transcendent purpose" (Shriberg et al. 1997, 180). Among their "ten most important lessons," James Kouzes and Barry Posner use comparable language:

[L]eaders must envision an uplifting and ennobling future. . . . We expect leaders to take us to places we have never been before—to have clearly in mind an attractive destination that will make the journey worthwhile. (Shriberg et al. 1997, 186)

Kouzes and Posner conclude by urging leaders "to seize the opportunities for greatness" (Shriberg et al. 1997, 189). James MacGregor Burns describes transforming leadership as raising leader and follower "to higher levels of motivation and morality [because followers] can be lifted into their better selves" (quoted in Shriberg et al. 1997, 213). Peter Vaill "equates visionary leadership with a spiritual process through which people seek ways to bring out the best in themselves and, consequently, the best in others" (Shriberg et al. 1997, 35). Charles Handy insists that "life is about more than surviving—there could be something glorious about it, it could contribute to a better world. That leaves one with a personal challenge, to do something glorious with one's life. It is also, I believe, a challenge for

every organization and every business” (Handy 1998, 118).

Despite these multiple synonyms and images, Deborah Bloch (2003, para. 2) made a valiant effort to summarize the meaning of spirituality:

Spirituality is the experience of connection to something that transcends our ordinary lives. We may envision this as a connection to something larger than ourselves or deeper within our selves, but we know that it is beyond the material. For some people, there is a sense of connection to a higher spirit, and that connection may or may not be associated with a particular religion. For others, it is a connection to a set of ideals or ethics, for some a connection to all humankind. Of course, these are not mutually exclusive categories. Indeed, the essence of spirituality is a sense of unity or the oneness of it all. It is through this sense of oneness that people experience meaning in their work.

THE CONNECTION OF SPIRITUALITY TO LEADERSHIP

Research investigates the effects of spirituality on individuals and organizations. There is evidence to suggest that people believe spirituality has utility for leaders. The connection to leadership appears to be stronger than this, however. Spirituality is more than the latest workplace technique. Many persons agree with Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, who wrote last century that “[w]e are not human beings having a spiritual experience. We are spiritual beings having a human experience” (quoted in Bowling 2001, 369). Because we are spiritual beings, anything we do has a spiritual dimension.

The specific connection to leadership is stronger than this. Leadership *implies* spirituality. Leadership, like spirituality, is a relationship grounded in a purpose, and that purpose reflects the aspirational character of its participants. Participants experience and respond to the tension of existence. Leadership originates in a desire to change the present, to improve something about one’s existence and bring it into alignment with an ideal, no matter how slight. Leadership embodies those aspirations, representing a level of faith we have as humans that together we can

participate in approximating those ideals. Aspiration justifies leadership.

Max Scheler, writing extensively on spirit, regarded it completely as “guidance and direction” (1961, 68). Spirit sublimates drives or instinct by detaching a person momentarily from the immediate press of events to contemplate another way, another possible condition, which it then pursues by channeling energy. Spirit inspires leaders to realize a vision and permits them to inspire followers to do the same. In this way, leaders experience spirit within themselves and evoke spirit in others.

SPIRITUAL DISEASES

If spirituality turns out to be a meaningful construct, then it would be important to consider the possibility of spiritual disease or pneumapathology, as it pertains to leadership. This section describes seven such diseases, for purposes of illustration.

Man the Measure

A prospective leader who refuses to acknowledge an authority “anterior, exterior, and superior” to humankind will be tempted to ground leadership in cunning and coercion and seek aggrandizement. Many theorists since Plato contrast such an imperialistic tyrant with the spiritual leader, whose deference to something higher or larger than herself makes her worthy. The driving force in contradistinction to spirit is appetite, the will to power, or what was known as the *libido dominandi*. The cure for this disease is wisdom and humility.

Despair

The word itself indicates the nature of this disease: to have lost spirit, to have given up on its power, to proceed into the future without hope, dispirited. In the Roman Catholic tradition, despair is a mortal sin, because it expresses the profoundest doubt about the sovereignty of God. It certainly nullifies the possibility of spiritual leadership, by preventing a person from seeing any reason to participate. The opposite of despair is hope.

Private Spirituality

People live in a single, common world, and they are drawn by spirit together. “Through the life of the spirit, which is common to all, the existence of man becomes existence in community. In the openness of the common spirit there develops the public life of society” (Voegelin 1990, 7, citing Heraclitus) By way of contrast, a person who lives in a private world of passion and imagination, even if he or she acknowledges the promptings of the spirit, rejects the unifying imperative of spirit and gradually builds a fantasy in isolation, ruining prospects for community and collective action. The opposite of this disease is community.

Denying the Spirit in Followers

Participants come together at the prompting of the spirit. Each one responds to a vocation or calling, a calling that gives their participation meaning. Thus, followers should be seen as spiritual beings with a spiritual mission, and not as human resources to deploy in some impersonal manner. It dishonors the spirit to squash or neglect the spirit in others. They are partners on a journey or, as Charles Handy put it, “instruments of the sublime” (1998, 118). If for no other reason, they deserve empathy and respect, if not servant leadership. The remedy for this disease is justice.

Identifying Oneself with the Spirit

Leaders are at risk of believing they embody the spirit, that in fact their leadership bears a transcendent and permanent authority, as though their leadership were conclusively ordained by a higher power to which others must defer. It is not uncommon for participants to justify leadership on these grounds, and this is actually the basis for charisma. It qualifies as a disease when such a transcendent authority comes to be fused in the imagination with a particular person. This is hubris or pride. Such arrogance, aided by an uncritical view of the leader, produces cults and implicates psychiatry. It is in this sense that one can speak meaningfully of demonic leadership. The cure for this disease is piety.

Hypocrisy

Given the elusiveness of spirituality, people can pretend to be spiritual when they are not. It is one thing to be mistaken, but the spiritual disease lies in active deceit. Niccolò Machiavelli endorsed hypocrisy as a tactic. Yet for more than one reason, a false spirituality can be more harmful than none at all. Its uncovering bruises trust and builds cynicism in followers, yet even if undetected, such leadership rests on a lie. Accordingly, the opposite of hypocrisy would be authenticity grounded in truth.

“Swallowing the Spirit, Feathers and All”

This phrase comes from Martin Luther and represents a state of mind that believes the only resource one requires is spiritual. A leader suffering from this condition refuses to rely on other resources, such as practical wisdom, tradition, or science. The organization he or she leads would neglect such basic tools as forecasts, budgets, policies, and engineering. Actually, such a utopian organization would not qualify as an organization at all, as its operations become turbulent and disordered. This is a disease because spirit does not presume to replace mundane managerial tools. The opposite of this disease is prudence.

By implication, healthy spirituality aligns with wisdom, humility, hope, community, justice, piety, authenticity, truth, prudence, and presumably all of the virtues.

OBJECTIONS TO STUDYING SPIRITUALITY WITH LEADERSHIP

The attempt to connect spirituality with leadership has met with resistance. Several objections are raised. Foremost among them is that spirituality is superstition, beyond the reach of science to observe or measure, in the same class as magic, miracles, mystery, and mythology. If one can explain leadership adequately as an immanent phenomenon, entirely within the reach of science, then spirituality adds nothing but mystification. Appeals to spiritual-



Pillar Edict VII: Asoka's Measures for the Propagation of the Law of Piety in the Maurya Empire

Asoka was the ruler of the Maurya empire in India from 269 to 232 BCE. During his rule, he became a Buddhist and encouraged the spread of Buddhism in India, although he also preached toleration of other religions. The following edict indicates that as a ruler he stressed religious belief and practice across India.

Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King:—"The kings who lived in times past desired that men might grow with the growth of the Law of Piety. Men, however, did not grow with the growth of the Law of Piety in due proportion."

Concerning this thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King:—

"This [thought] occurred to me:—In times past kings desired that men might grow with the growth of the Law of Piety in due proportion; men, however, did not in due proportion grow with the growth of the Law.

"By what this means, then, can men be induced to conform? By what means can men grow with the growth of the Law of Piety in due proportion? By what means can I lift up at least some of them through the growth of that Law?"

Concerning this thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King:—

"This [thought] occurred to me:—

"Proclamation of the Law of Piety will I proclaim; with instruction in that Law will I instruct; so that men hearkening thereto may conform, lift themselves up, and mightily grow with the growth of the Law of Piety."

"For this my purpose proclamations of the Law of Piety have been proclaimed; instructions in that Law of many kinds have been disseminated; my missionaries, likewise my Agents set over the multitude, will expound and expand my teaching.

"The Governors, also, set over many hundred thousands of souls have received instructions—'In such and such a manner expound my teaching to the body of subordinate officials of the Law.'"

Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty:—

"Considering further the same purpose, I have set up pillars of the Law, appointed Censors (High Officers) of the Law, and made a proclamation of the Law."

Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King:—

"On the roads, too, I have had banyan-trees planted to give shade to man and beast; groves (or 'gardens') of mango-trees I have had planted; at every half-*kos* I have had walls dug; rest-houses, too, have been erected; and numerous watering-places have been provided by me here and there for the enjoyment of man and beast.

"A small matter, however, is that so-called enjoyment.

"With various blessings has mankind been blessed by former kings, as by me also; by me, however, with the intent that men may conform to the Law of Piety, has it been done even as I thought."

Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty:—

"My Censors (or 'High Officers') of the Law of Piety, too, are employed on manifold objects of the royal favour affecting both ascetics and householders, and are likewise employed among all denominations. On the business of the Church, too, they are employed, as well as among the Brahmans and Jains are they employed. Similarly, they are employed among the Jains; among miscellaneous sects, too, are they employed.

"The High Officers of various kinds shall severally superintend their respective charges, whereas the High Officers of the Law of Piety (Censors) are employed both on such things and also among other denominations."

Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King:—

"Both these and many other officers, heads of departments, are employed in the distribution of alms, both my own and those of the Queens; and in all my female establishments both here [i.e. 'at the capital'] and in the provinces they indicate in diverse ways sundry places where satisfaction may be given.

"Those same officers are also employed in the distribution

Source: Smith, Vincent Arthur (Ed. & Trans.). (1920). *Asoka, The Buddhist Emperor of India*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Reprinted in McNeill, William H. and Seldar, Jean W. (Eds.). (1969). *Classical India*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 109–112.

ity are an attempt to re-enchant the world, contrary to the Enlightenment project.

Conversations about spirituality open the door to controversies about ghosts, demons, and the occult—controversies unsettling even to discuss, let alone to study as part of an academic discipline. One

recent book on leadership, to make a larger point, contemplated the efficacy of tarot cards. There is no consensus on which of these are legitimate issues for leadership studies.

Even if spirituality helps to encapsulate legitimate issues, such as loyalty, trust, morale, and

of the alms of my sons, and likewise of the other Princes, sons of the Queens, in order to promote the practice of the Law of Piety and conformity to that Law.

"The practice of the Law of Piety and the conformity referred to are those whereby compassion, liberality, truth, purity, gentleness, and saintliness will thus grow among mankind."

Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King:—

"Whatsoever meritorious deeds have been done by me, those deeds mankind will conform to and imitate, whence follows that they have grown and will grow in the virtues of hearkening to father and mother, hearkening to teachers (or 'elders'), reverence to the aged, and seemly treatment of Brahmans and ascetics, of the poor and wretched; yea, even of slaves and servants."

Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King:—

"Among men, however, when the aforesaid growth of piety has grown, it has been effected by twofold means, to wit, by regulations of the Law of Piety and by reflection. Of these two, however, regulations of the Law are of small account, whereas reflection is superior.

"Nevertheless, regulations of the Law of Piety have been made by me to the effect that such and such species are exempt from slaughter, not to speak of numerous other regulations of the Law of Piety which have been made to me.

"Yet the superiority of reflection is shown by the growth of piety among men and the more complete abstention from killing animate beings and from the sacrificial slaughter of living creatures.

"So for this purpose has this been recorded, in order that my sons and descendants (lit. 'great grandsons') may conform thereto, and by thus conforming may win both this world and the next.

"When I had been consecrated twenty-seven years I had this scripture of the Law written."

Concerning this His Sacred Majesty saith:—

"This scripture of the Law of Piety, wheresoever pillars of stone or tables of stone exist, must there be recorded so that it may long endure."

meaning, we are possibly better served choosing a term with less sectarian baggage. Spirituality has historically meant more than this, so that in effect we would be cheapening the term by restricting it to such mundane concerns. On this point, those who take spirituality seriously can agree: The term does

incorporate some understanding of a divine or transcendent realm. Using it to mean anything less is a distortion.

By the same token, spirituality can easily merge with anything a person prefers, so that spirituality becomes confused with political ideologies, pet ethical theories, and in one notorious instance: on-site massage therapy. If the concept is so elastic that it serves as a placeholder for things I like, then it really serves no purpose for serious study.

Even if scholars in the field of leadership were to agree that spirituality in the full sense is an important and specific topic for study, there is considerable disagreement how to proceed. Spirituality is understood to be elusive and insubstantial. No one knows how to prove many of its claims; the scientific method has its limits. That alone creates difficulties. One writer described the risk of confusion "as a football game in which half the players are invisible" (Marsden 1997, 95, citing Lovelace 1979). More broadly, the existing literature ranges over many traditions and for many purposes, so that imposing a sense of discipline will prove daunting.

Because of the close relationship between spirituality and religion, there is always the risk of sectarian conflict. A number of Christian publishing houses, for example, issue works on leadership and spirituality citing Christian authorities, yet spirituality is a topic of interest in other traditions, such as Zen and Hinduism, that cannot accept the Christian framework. As a result, even among those with an interest in spirituality, there is widespread disagreement based on technical disputes over dogma and sacred texts, which quickly overwhelms students who are without sufficient training.

Given the risk of confusion and abuse, there is reason to wonder whether spirituality belongs in the workplace or other public places. Maybe it is specifically to avoid these difficulties that so many people prefer to regard spirituality as strictly private.

Finally, educators have reason to be uncertain how to teach spirituality, especially in hostile forums, as well as how to assess learning, so that a teacher can assign a grade based on a student's demonstrated proficiency.

SPIRITUALITY AND CONTEMPORARY MANAGEMENT THINKING

Leadership studies has witnessed an explosion of interest in spirituality, not only for its instrumental value but also for its close connection to the inner work of leaders. Despite its imprecision and mystique, spirituality has tremendous meaning to participants, as well as to observers seeking a conceptual framework for the immaterial aspects of leadership. Marc Gunther (2001, para. 78) captures this belief:

Faith works. . . . [T]he core principles of spirituality—the belief that all individuals have dignity, that we are all interconnected, and that a transcendent being or force defines purpose in human affairs—dovetail with contemporary management thinking.

—Nathan Harter

See also Religion

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SPORTS

In essence, leadership in sports is like leadership in other areas. But because sports have some unique qualities, there are some important aspects to sports leadership that may not be as evident in other fields. The eminent baseball coach and manager Yogi Berra (b. 1925), when asked what it took to be a good manager, replied, “Good players.” In other words, leadership is all about the quality of those being led.

In talking about sports leadership, one must decide what level of leadership one will examine. This entry examines leadership in sports from the perspective of the coach, manager, or other person most closely involved with the players’ performance in the game or sporting event, rather than, for example, considering a team owner to be the leader. The team owner’s leadership, while important, is more business oriented than sports oriented.

SPORTS INTELLIGENCE

Certain traits of leadership are common to all fields. The central ingredient in all leadership is intelligence. In all human endeavors, the leader must possess sufficient intelligence to be able to identify

objectives and formulate strategy, to create a plan and design methods for executing that plan, and to adjust course as events unfold and circumstances dictate. Although the most highly intelligent are not always or even frequently the best leaders, there is nevertheless a level of intelligence, suitable to the activity, that any leader must have to be successful. Yogi Berra (1925–) and Ted Williams (1918–2002) are two players whose baseball intelligence made them leaders among players. Although Berra is not highly educated in the conventional sense, his baseball intelligence is superior. As a catcher, he was able to remember the strengths and weaknesses of each batter and guide his pitchers accordingly. Years after his retirement, the legendary Ted Williams, perhaps the finest hitter of his generation, could recite at length the tendencies of pitchers he faced to throw certain pitches at certain stages in the count. Nor are those two alone: There is a long list of successful coaches and managers whose obvious intelligence surely contributed to remarkable performance.

In professional football, the genius of Paul Brown (1908–1991) is legendary. A successful coach at Massillon High School in Ohio, he coached at Ohio State and during World War II at the Great Lakes Naval Training Station, where his team became dominant largely because Brown ignored the segregationist policies of the military and played a large number of future Hall of Famers who happened to be black. Among them was the fullback Marion Motley, who later became the model for all fullbacks because he was able to use his remarkable size (he was 185 centimeters tall and weighed about 96 kilograms) to his advantage as a ball carrier and blocker. Indeed the draw play, a staple of football since his time, was designed by Paul Brown to take full advantage of Motley's unique physical attributes. In the draw play, the quarterback "draws" the defense toward him, and then suddenly hands the ball off to his fullback. Motley, big and fast, was a terror in this play. Along with Motley, Paul Brown had such black players as Bill Willis, who had played for Brown at Ohio State, and Horace Gillam and Led Ford. All three later starred for the Cleveland Browns, the first integrated team in professional football.

Paul Brown invented professional football as we

know it. He was the first to give players intelligence tests, to use play books, to teach technique in the classroom, and to send in plays via messenger players on each down. He clearly saw himself as a teacher, and he maintained strict control over his player-students. And when his Cleveland Browns came to dominate the National Football League, others quickly took note and copied his methods. A stern, somewhat humorless leader, Paul Brown represents the epitome of successful coaching. It is therefore no surprise that a large number of the most successful coaches in later generations either played for Brown or coached alongside him as assistants. Don Shula of the Miami Dolphins, Chuck Noll of the Pittsburgh Steelers, Weeb Ewbank of the New York Jets, and Bill Walsh of the San Francisco 49ers are but some examples. Paul Brown redefined leadership in football by applying his intelligence and organizational skills to a game that had never previously been exposed to that kind of systematic direction.

WINNING: THE BUILT-IN GOAL

In some sense, leaders in sports face a rather easier strategic challenge than leaders in some fields. In most sports, winning is just about everything. Despite the fact that one regularly hears that "it isn't who wins but how you play the game that counts," one rarely aims for the middle of the pack or the top half of the standings or merely to do well. As another popular saying goes, "It's all about winning, stupid." And so it is. For leaders in sports, the strategic objective is to win. One must turn to tactics to figure out how to make the win. John Wooden (b. 1910), the most successful basketball coach in intercollegiate history, had an unusual approach: He never mentioned winning at any time to any of his teams. He said, "If you do as you were taught, the results will take care of themselves."

INNOVATIVE THINKING: BOB KIPHUTH AND SWIMMING

If in all sports the objective is winning, the tactics become the occasion for differentiation. Take the case of the most successful swimming coach in his-

tory, the man who, like Paul Brown in football, redefined the sport of swimming, the Yale University coach, Bob Kiphuth (1890–1967). In more than forty years at Yale, his teams won 528 dual meets and lost only 12. He had two long consecutive win streaks, one of more than 260 meets, and he became internationally recognized as the most powerful figure in his sport, coaching the U.S. Olympic team in many Olympics and for many years serving as the athletic director at Yale.

Bob Kiphuth is now largely ignored except by those who swam at Yale for him or who have a special interest in sports. But Bob Kiphuth applied his superior intellect to the sport of swimming in a way never previously imagined. Raised on a farm in rural upstate New York, Kiphuth had a minimal education. It is unlikely he finished high school. Arriving at Yale during World War I, he found a menial job in the gym and began to apply his intense interest in bodybuilding and gymnastics to a new interest: swimming. Although he had no background in physics, he redefined swimming as the simple exercise of moving a body through water by applying the strength of that body against the resistance of the water. As he saw it, the more one could build up one's strength, the faster one could overcome the water's resistance.

Although that idea may sound simple and even obvious today, before Bob Kiphuth no one had thought to build up the bodies of swimmers with specific exercises designed to create strength in the arms, chest, and legs so as to force the body through the water at a faster rate. Kiphuth put his young swimmers on a rigorous exercise program so that they would be capable of peak performance when competitors were becoming weaker and more tired. He did not have his students lift heavy weights. Rather, he designed a program in which students would lift light weights hundreds of times over long periods of time. The results were astonishing, and Yale became the epicenter of a revolution in the sport. All over the world, Kiphuth's training methods were copied, especially in Australia and Japan, also swimming powerhouses, and soon international swimmers were coming to Yale to work under Kiphuth. In the early 1950s, John Marshall,

an Australian national hero because of his Olympic victories, enrolled at Yale and prospered under Kiphuth. Wayne Moore and Johnny McLane were other swimmers who helped Kiphuth maintain an undefeated streak that ran from 1941 to 1959. His success prompted more and more great swimmers to come to Yale. Don Schoellander won six gold medals at the 1964 Olympics and swam for Yale. There were many others. And it all began with this little man who, it was said, could not swim the length of the pool.

It is also notable that Bob Kiphuth put his energy into redefining his personal skills. With his limited education, he felt insecure around the Yale faculty and teaching Yale students. So early on, he decided to read the entire Modern Library series of great works. That way, he believed, he would at least be able to discuss the classic books his associates would have read. His efforts made Kiphuth not only a legendary swim coach but a full-blown legend at Yale itself.

MENTAL FLEXIBILITY: MAKING INSTANT DECISIONS

In business, government, and on the battlefield, time pressures require leaders to perform under the stress of the clock. So too in sports the suppleness of the leader's mind is tested, as he or she is required to change or modify tactics in the midst of the game to deal with the tactics of the opposition. Then, having modified the tactic, the leader must be able to direct or motivate his or her followers to adapt the new course. What makes sports different from business or government is that in sports, the leader's decisions must be made without consultation in many cases, and often almost instantaneously. Even crucial decisions in business or government may be made over a longer period of time than most games permit. In sum, sports makes leadership into a compact exercise. There is very little time, there are very few people with whom to consult, and there is much riding on each decision. Only war, perhaps, duplicates the intensity of sports; perhaps that is why the Duke of Wellington claimed that the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton and Douglas



Sports, Prison, and Democracy in South Africa

Although the playing field has often been a training ground for leaders, the quotes below indicate that prison football leagues provided unique leadership opportunities for the leaders who would emerge in post-apartheid South Africa.

"My strictness on procedures at meetings which, sometimes, might have been distasteful to some delegates, has resulted in all meetings being successes. . . . What we are doing today we are doing so as to be creatively better armed mentally and morally for the society to which we belong in the free world. So, let's all be prepared to learn by accepting authority in its *justice* [italics added] and accepting criticism. . . . My advice to the next executive is that the sovereignty of our constitution should be upheld. Only by using the constitution can we amicably solve issues."

—D. Malepe, Chairman
Matyeni Football Association, 1968

"An uninformed delegate to a General Meeting can hardly make head or tail of the multiple problems of the Association. The General Meeting is the guide, curb, spur of the executive, with any [meeting] the executive is bound to leap its bounds or err, also clubs become detached from the executive, treating it as some kind of repressive foreign organization. . . . To any Executive my advice is that never should executive issues be decided by vote. Matters should be discussed thoroughly until all opinions are synthesized into one sound common decision. Votes encourage division, disintegration and block formation which tend to crystallize with time into factionalism."

—D. Moseneke, Chairman,
Makana Football Association, 1971

"People are not conversant with the Constitution and this has resulted in a series of procedural problems . . . everyone should know the Constitution . . . and arrangements should be made for it to be typed and distributed to all Clubs."

—D. Moseneke, Chairman,
Makana Football Association, 1972

"In order that we should have leave to these high principles we had to fulfill one basic condition. We had to exist and nothing of our strength and courage had to be spared to strike this basic condition."

"Our approach on several matters was correct and commendable. I have in mind the approach we adopted towards those who sought to leave the Club."

—Stephen Tshwete, Chairman,
Dynaspurs Football Club, 1971

"Let us not allow disagreements on the field to become causes of more frustration, tension, and discomfort than we are already experiencing. Our sports has played no small role in bringing us together . . . a social cement, if I may say so. Let it not become a point of conflict and misunderstanding. Some might say, noble ideas and big talk which has no bearing on the real situation. My reply to those people is in the form of a question: If we had no noble ideals, would we have been here today?"

—Marcus Solomon, Acting Chairman,
Dynaspurs Football Club, 1971

The "here" to which Mr. Solomon referred was Robben Island Prison, the place to which the apartheid regime in South Africa consigned the political opponents who posed a threat to the maintenance of the system. So many of the prisoners (all of whom were male and, in the South African classification system, "non-white") believed in the British idea that sports can be used to build character, a sense of community, and create leadership skills. Nelson Mandela, the most famous of the prisoners on the Island, called Robben Island, "The University of the struggle." It was the place where prisoners taught themselves the discipline and the skills they thought were necessary to continue the fight against a tyrannical government and then to create a free, democratic South Africa. If it was a "university," sports was a required part of the curriculum. One of the first demands made by the prisoners to the authorities was the right to create an organized scheme of sports leagues and to run them without any interference.

Many of the prisoners who were involved in the sports activities went on to hold important positions in a democratic South Africa. These include Jacob Zuma, Deputy President, M. G. P. Lekota, Minister of Defense, D. Moseneke, prominent industrialist and judge, and Stephen Tshwete, Minister of Sport and later, Minister of Safety and Security. Others like Marcus Solomon created self-help and social service agencies that have helped to ameliorate some of the worst caused by more than fifty years of government imposed discrimination and repression.

—Charles Korr



Vince Lombardi, coach of the Green Bay Packers and other football teams, is considered by many commentators to have been the greatest football coach of all time. Here, on 17 December 1960, his players carry him off the field after a key victory over the Los Angeles Rams. Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

MacArthur spoke of learning skills useful in battle during West Point football. What is often most admirable about sports leaders is not so much their conclusions as the speed at which they operate.

COMMUNICATION

Leadership in sports also places emphasis on another skill that is required of all leaders in all fields—the ability to communicate. A successful coach or manager in sports must be able to motivate his or her followers, and that motivation is often grounded in the spoken word. We are still reminded of a halftime talk delivered in 1928 at Notre Dame by Knute Rockne (1888–1932), who challenged his losing warriors to “win one for the Gipper,” stirring them to action with the memory of the star George Gipp, who had died eight years earlier. In what other field is the motivational talk so long and favorably recalled? A team leader with powerful verbal skills is often able to provide intense motivation, but the ability to communicate is actually quite subtle.

The sports leader has to be able to sort out what to say and when. But because sports involve contests, the leader is always directing his attention toward the event. He is leading up to something.

Without the ability to speak clearly, the sports leader suffers and risks diminishment of his message. Sometimes sports leaders such as Vince Lombardi, the Green Bay Packers coach, use vitriol and abuse to motivate. Others even use physical abuse. “Bear” Bryant was known to have kicked and otherwise abused his football players at Texas A&M in the 1950s. In contrast, Joe Torre of the Yankees and Red Auerbach of the Celtics use a gentler approach. Both are much more subtle in their guidance. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, in sports, the leader is seeking not merely to motivate the players to a great performance, but to great performance on a very specific day at a very defined time. In most other areas of endeavor, the leader has more leeway.

LEADING THE YOUNG AND FIT

Because sports is generally dominated by the young and the physically fit, a sports leader, unlike a leader in business or politics, is dealing with a collection of young people. That fact defines the kind of leadership that is successful in sports. Moreover, because sports demand physical activity, a sports leader is dealing not only with the mind but also with the body. The leader is trying to energize the entire being of the player; it is not enough to win the mind of the player. Having persuaded the player of the tactic to say nothing of the strategy, the coach or manager must then get the player’s body to react. Emotional distractions, fatigue, and injury can limit the performance of even the most highly motivated in a way that is not so true in other fields.

SPORTS LEADERSHIP AND ETHICS

Sports leadership is also unlike other forms of leadership in that it sports is almost totally morally neutral. Coaching a baseball team does not have the same moral implications as manufacturing weapons

systems or cigarettes—or lifesaving vaccines. A good game does not have any moral connotation, so leadership in sports carries very little moral baggage. But that is not to say that a sports leader cannot be unethical: Pete Rose bet on baseball while managing and leading the Cincinnati Reds baseball team—an unethical act. It also takes integrity to resist certain temptations: Coaches must decide how they will deal with such issues as illegal bodybuilding steroids or star players who commit crimes. But those issues are external to the act of directing the game itself. Sporting events themselves are a form of entertainment; it is not immoral to win or to lose.

THE MYSTERY OF LEADERSHIP

In the end, some elements of leadership remain a mystery unable to be analyzed. It is possible to draw concentric circles of knowledge around the concept of leadership. We can describe certain qualities of fine leaders. We can account for failures of leadership by describing flaws in our leaders. But at the center of the concept of leadership is that certain ineffable, mysterious quality that leaders possess and followers relate to. And because leaders arise from all sorts of backgrounds and have widely different education and personal qualities, it is virtually impossible to predict which of our youth will become our future leaders. If we begin by acknowledging the mystery of leadership, we may be able to approach our topic with appropriate humility.

—*Fay Vincent*

See also Coaching; King, Billie Jean; Lombardi, Vince; Robinson, Jackie; Russell, Bill

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STALIN, JOSEF (1879–1953)

Soviet dictator

Josef Vissarionovich Stalin, the “Man of Steel” as his name means in Russian, was one of the most important leaders of the twentieth century. He participated in the Russian revolutionary movement that overthrew the three-hundred-year-old Romanov dynasty in 1917; in the 1920s he emerged as ruler of the Soviet Union (USSR), history’s first socialist state; and his leadership in the 1930s transformed the country into an industrialized superpower that played a major role in the defeat of Nazi Germany in World War II. However, the achievements of the USSR during Stalin’s long reign, which ended with his death in 1953, came at a tremendous price: millions were exiled, arrested, and/or executed; millions more starved due to policies pursued by Stalin, who was clearly one of history’s worst tyrants. His role and legacy would remain an issue of debate and controversy for decades after his death.

STALIN’S EARLY YEARS

Stalin was born Josef Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili, 21 December 1879, in Gori, Georgia, at that time part of the Russian Empire. His father Vissarion was an impoverished shoe cobbler who drank a lot and beat his wife and son. Stalin’s mother Ekaterina cleaned homes to pay for her son’s education. She was a deeply religious woman and wanted Josef to become a priest, so after he finished elementary school in 1894 she sent him to a seminary in Tiflis.

While at seminary, Stalin became acquainted with Marxist literature. In 1898, he joined a socialist organization and was expelled from the seminary for propagating Marxist ideas. Known as “Koba” after a revolutionary hero in Georgian literature, he organized railway workers in Tiflis. In 1902, Stalin was

arrested for organizing a strike and spent the next two years in exile in Siberia.

The Russian Socialist Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP) split in 1903 in a dispute over the party's structure, and Stalin joined the Bolshevik faction headed by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870–1924), who called for a closed, secretive party of professional revolutionaries. At the outbreak of the 1905 Revolution in Russia, Stalin was in Tiflis organizing workers' strikes. Still known as "Koba," he contributed regularly to socialist publications, and in 1907 he began editing "The Baku Proletarian," an underground Bolshevik newspaper. The Tsarist police arrested Stalin in March 1908 because of his revolutionary activities, deporting him to Siberia for two years. He escaped in June 1909 and returned to Baku, but was arrested and exiled again in March 1910. Released in June 1911, Stalin moved to St. Petersburg, the Russian capital, to become directly involved in the revolutionary movement. However, the Tsarist police arrested him again in September 1911.

Stalin escaped in February 1912, returning to St. Petersburg to help edit the first issue of the Bolshevik Party newspaper *Pravda* (Truth), only to be arrested and deported again in April. He escaped in September, returning to St. Petersburg to resume his editing duties for *Pravda*, but was arrested and exiled yet again in February 1913. This time the Tsarist authorities observed Stalin closely and he was not able to escape. He was in exile when World War I began in August 1914, and was still exiled when, in March 1917, bread riots in St. Petersburg turned into a revolution, forcing Tsar Nicholas II to abdicate. Stalin, released from exile because of the fall of the Tsarist government, made his way to St. Petersburg, where he again began working on the editorial staff of *Pravda* in March 1917.

STALIN EMERGES AS LEADER OF THE USSR

Lenin and the Bolsheviks assumed power in November 1917, and, following Lenin's death in January 1924, Stalin gradually emerged as ruler of the USSR. One factor contributing to Stalin's rise to power was that the Central Committee appointed him as general secretary of the party in April 1922.

This proved to be a vitally important post because the general secretary appointed people to positions throughout the party apparatus, which allowed Stalin to gradually build up a support base of loyal followers in the party.

Stalin was a very capable politician. Unlike Leon Trotsky (1879–1940), the main rival for political power following Lenin's death, Stalin was neither a great orator nor a charismatic individual. He was, however, a flexible politician who adapted his opinions to fit different situations. For example, following Lenin's death Stalin adopted the platform of his political ally at the time, Nikolai Bukharin (1888–1938), promoting "socialism in one country," which meant concentrating on constructing socialism in the USSR alone. Trotsky, on the other hand, argued that socialism could not survive unless it spread to the West. The "socialism in one country" platform of Stalin and Bukharin appealed to people on nationalistic grounds, and was also a realistic appraisal of the international situation of the mid-1920s since successful revolutions had not materialized elsewhere in Europe.

Another factor contributing to Stalin's rise to power was his deceitful, backstabbing nature. Throughout the power struggle of the 1920s, Stalin made alliances with key figures, including Grigori Zinoviev (1883–1936) and Lev Kamenev (1883–1936), two of Lenin's closest lieutenants, only to turn against them later when their assistance was no longer needed. Between 1924 and 1928, Stalin was closely allied with Bukharin in support of the New Economic Policy (NEP), a market-based economic policy introduced by Lenin in 1921. In 1928, however, Stalin rejected NEP and turned against Bukharin, gradually pushing him out of the party leadership. Most of his allies in the 1920s, including Zinoviev, Kamenev, and Bukharin, were victimized by Stalin's show trials and purges in the 1930s. Trotsky was exiled in 1928 and assassinated in 1940 in Mexico City by one of Stalin's agents.

STALIN IN POWER IN THE 1930S

By 1928, Stalin was the country's sole leader, and he ruled with an iron hand. He ended NEP and



Stalin on the Elimination of the Wealthier Peasant Class (Kulaks)

Until recently the party adhered to the policy of *restricting* the exploiting proclivities of the kulaks. As you know, this policy was proclaimed as far back as the Eighth Party Congress. This policy was again announced at the time of the introduction of the New Economic Policy and at the Eleventh Congress of our Party. We all remember Lenin's well-known letter to Preobrazhensky (1922), in which he again urged the necessity of pursuing this policy. Finally, this policy was confirmed by the Fifteenth Congress of our Party. And it is this policy that we have pursued until recently.

Was this policy correct? Yes, it was absolutely correct. Could we have undertaken such an offensive against the kulaks five years or three years ago? Could we then have counted on success in such an offensive? No, we could not.

[. . .]

But today? What is the position? Today, we have an adequate material base which enables us to strike at the kulaks, to break their resistance, to eliminate them as a class, and to substitute for their output the output of the collective farms and state farms. You know that in 1929 the grain produced on the collective farms and state farms amounted to no less than 400,000,000 poods (200,000,000 poods less than the gross output of the kulak farms in 1927). You also know that in 1929 the collective farms and state farms supplied more than 130,000,000 poods of grain for the market (i.e. more than the kulaks in 1927). And, finally, you know that in 1930 the gross output of the collective farms and state farms will amount to no less than 900,000,000 poods.

[. . .]

That is why we have recently passed from the policy of

restricting the exploiting proclivities of the kulaks to the policy of *eliminating the kulaks as a class*.

Well, what about the policy of expropriating the kulaks? Can we permit the expropriation of kulaks in the regions of solid collectivization? This question is asked in various quarters. A ridiculous question! We could not permit the expropriation of the kulaks as long as we were pursuing the policy of restricting the exploiting proclivities of the kulaks, as long as we were unable to launch a determined offensive against the kulaks, as long as we were unable to substitute for kulak output the output of the collective farms and state farms. At that time the policy of not permitting the expropriation of the kulaks was necessary and correct. But now? Now the situation is different. Now we are able to carry on a determined offensive against the kulaks, to break their resistance, to eliminate them as a class and substitute for their output the output of the collective farms and state farms. Now the kulaks are being expropriated by the masses of poor and middle peasants themselves, by the masses who are putting solid collectivization into practice. Now the expropriation of the kulaks in the regions of solid collectivization is no longer just an administrative measure. Now, the expropriation of the kulaks is an integral part of the formation and development of the collective farms. That is why it is ridiculous and fatuous to expatiate today on the expropriation of the kulaks. You do not lament the loss of the hair of one who has been beheaded.

There is another question which seems no less ridiculous: whether the kulak should be permitted to join the collective farms. Of course not, for he is a sworn enemy of the collective farm movement. Clear, one would think.

Source: Stalin, Josef. (1940). *Problems of Leninism*. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, pp. 323–326.

embarked on the “Stalin Revolution,” enacting the First Five-Year Plan (1928–1932), which comprised two policies that would define the early part of his reign: collectivization and industrialization. Collectivization of agriculture meant peasants had to give up the plots of land allotted to them after the 1917 Revolution and work on state-managed collective farms. There was significant opposition to this policy, with peasants slaughtering their livestock rather than relinquishing them to the collective farms. Those labeled *kulaks* (“rich peasants”) were severely repressed, with millions deported to Siberia, sentenced to forced

labor, or executed. As a consequence of collectivization in 1932 to 1933, famine ravaged Ukraine, the best agricultural region of the USSR and an area of strong resistance to Stalin's policies.

Collectivization of agriculture was intended to give the state the resources needed to fund rapid industrialization, the other part of the “Stalin Revolution.” The goal of this policy was to make the Soviet Union self-sufficient in the shortest amount of time, and the plan emphasized heavy industry at the expense of consumer products. As a result, living standards declined and rationing began for most food

items and consumer goods for the first time since the inception of NEP.

Meanwhile, Stalin consolidated his dictatorial control in the 1930s by eliminating potential rivals. This process began with the infamous show trials of the mid-1930s, during which many of Stalin's former allies and others were accused of conspiring with foreign powers and/or Trotsky to overthrow the Soviet government. The show trials were a warm-up for Stalin's worst crime: the purges between 1936 and 1939 that killed hundreds of thousands—if not millions—of people. The vast majority of the victims were party members, many of whom were “Old Bolsheviks,” meaning that they were in the party before 1917. Many were leaders at the local level and within the Soviet military, and thus as a result of their removal a new generation of leaders emerged who were loyal to Stalin.

STALIN THE GENERALISSIMO

The purges ended as the threat of war loomed in Europe. In August 1939, Stalin shocked the world by signing a non-aggression treaty with Adolph Hitler (1889–1945), leader of Nazi Germany. The treaty specified that neither country would become involved in a broader war involving a “third party,” which cleared the way for Hitler's invasion of Poland in September 1939, thereby sparking World War II in Europe. However, Nazi Germany did not hold to the pact, and on 22 June 1941, invaded the Soviet Union, thereby bringing the country into the war on the side of the anti-Hitler alliance.

Stalin had trusted Hitler and was shocked by the German invasion. He ignored several warnings that an invasion was imminent, including a communication from British leader Winston Churchill (1874–1965), and as a result the USSR was not well prepared for the war when it began. The war was devastating for the USSR, with much of the country occupied by Nazi forces. The fighting took a far heavier toll in casualties for the Soviet Union than for any other combatant nation.

Nonetheless, the USSR and its allies prevailed in the conflict, and the turning point in the war was the battle for the city bearing the Soviet dictator's

name—Stalingrad. Between the autumn of 1942 and February 1943, Nazi forces fought a bloody battle with the Soviet Red Army for control of this city on the Volga River, the city Soviet military planners had designated as the place to make their stand. After the surrender of German troops at Stalingrad, the Red Army gradually began pushing Nazi forces toward the West, eventually taking Berlin itself to end the war in May 1945.

STALIN'S FINAL YEARS

The final years of Stalin's rule were characterized by the rise of the Cold War on the international scene and by economic reconstruction and political repression at home. The split with the USSR's Western allies, mainly the United States and Great Britain, began toward the end of World War II, with Stalin refusing to withdraw Soviet troops from the countries of Eastern Europe that they had liberated from German occupation.

Meanwhile, Stalin continued to impose his political will in the USSR through repression, although there was never a return to the mass-scale purges of the 1930s. Many Soviet soldiers returning from POW camps in Germany were exiled to Siberia, their loyalty questioned because they had not died for their country. Intellectuals and others fell victim to the *Zhdanovshchina* (1946–1948), a repressive campaign named for one of Stalin's closest aides, Andrei Zhdanov (1896–1948). Thousands were arrested and many executed in a purge of the Leningrad branch of the party during the “Leningrad Affair” (1948–1949).

Near the end of his reign, Stalin was particularly prone to paranoia. In January 1953, *Pravda* announced that a group of Kremlin doctors had been arrested in the so-called Doctor's Plot for allegedly conspiring to poison the country's leaders, including Stalin himself. Stalin may have intended the announcement as the first step toward another purge of the party's ranks, but before he could unleash such a plan he died of a brain hemorrhage on 5 March 1953, partly because his personal doctor of many years was under arrest and thus not on hand to treat him.

CONTROVERSIES

Josef Stalin, who had emerged from Russia's revolutionary movement to become one of history's most brutal dictators, remained a dominant figure in Soviet politics for decades after his death. His significance for the country's history was underscored when his successor, Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971), attacked Stalin as a despot at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February 1956. Khrushchev's rule depended to a large degree on a policy of de-Stalinization—his attempt to limit the repressive aspects of the Stalinist system.

Khrushchev failed, however, and was replaced in 1964 by Leonid Brezhnev (1906–1982), who looked more favorably on Stalin's legacy. It was not until the rise of reformist Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev (1931–) in 1985 that Stalin's legacy was again criticized. Even after the collapse of the USSR in 1991 and now more than fifty years after the death of Stalin, his legacy and impact on world history remain a matter of controversy.

—Jeffrey W. Jones

See also Churchill, Winston; Roosevelt, Franklin Delano

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STONEWALL REBELLION

The Stonewall rebellion was a three-day period of rioting and protest that followed a 1969 police raid on New York City's Stonewall Inn, a bottle club (a bar without a liquor license where the patrons are expected to bring their own liquor) frequented by a gay clientele. A product and shaper of the 1960s counterculture, the rebellion marked a decisive moment in the unification, leadership, and self-determination of the gay rights movement.

THE RAID AND ITS AFTERMATH: THREE DAYS OF VIOLENT PROTEST

On the night that spanned 27–28 June 1969, eight representatives of New York City's Alcoholic Beverage Control Board raided a mafia-run bottle club at 51–53 Christopher Street in Greenwich Village. The club, part of the Stonewall Inn, was a seedy watering hole frequented by a young, gay, male clientele largely comprising street hustlers (prostitutes) and, to

a lesser degree, transvestites. As such, it was a frequent target of urban police for raids, extortion, and bribery. On that particular evening, much of the clientele was in mourning for the actress and gay icon Judy Garland, who had died a few days earlier; that fact made the raid and ensuing abuse seem all the more intolerable. The undercover officers claimed to be investigating violations of the Alcohol Control Laws. They may also have been enforcing a Prohibition-era dancing ban that, by the late 1960s, was invoked almost exclusively at gay bars. As police began rounding up the staff and demanding identification from patrons, the patrons initially reacted with saucy but cavalier defiance. Many of the nearly two hundred patrons flippantly sashayed their way outside to have their IDs checked. In doing so, they taunted the police with exhibitionist posturing then recognized as stereotypically gay, while a growing crowd of onlookers cheered. The mood of the crowd, then nearing four hundred, changed dramatically when a drag queen named Tammy Novak resisted being shoved into the paddy wagon and struck the arresting officer. Posturing and flippancy turned to tense expectation after that first blow. When a policeman struck Stormé Delarverie, a cross-dressed lesbian charged with violating a New York statute prohibiting “wearing clothing inappropriate to one’s gender” (Duberman 1993, 196), the enraged crowd began throwing cans and bottles.

Someone barricaded the inn door with a parking meter, locking many of the officers inside. The bar was nearly destroyed in their attempt to flee as fires were set ablaze. When backup police forces arrived, a full-scale riot engulfed Christopher Street and the adjacent Sheridan Square. At least twelve people were arrested, including a local folk singer, David Van Ronk. Like Van Ronk, many of the people arrested were local residents who, although not in the tavern during the raid, joined the fray when it spilled out into the streets. The next night, and again two nights later, crowds of angry protestors gathered amidst the rubble of the inn and confronted fresh waves of riot control officers. Rocks were thrown at cars and at police, fires were lit, protesters were assaulted and arrested, and anger smoldering for years blazed through the long-oppressed local gay community.

The media reaction to the Stonewall Rebellion was sadly indicative of the indifference that engendered its inception. While local papers such as the *Village Voice* publicized the riots, the mainstream media largely ignored them. This lack of coverage, particularly conspicuous amidst the 1960s culture of pervasive and well-publicized activism, was symptomatic of the marginalization of the gay and lesbian community.

Many of the left-wing radicals who were engaging in or writing about other battles against oppression ignored the plight of the gay and lesbian community, which made clear the community’s need to develop an autonomous, aggressive, visible voice and mission. The three days of violence and tension known as the Stonewall rebellion answered that need.

KEY PARTICIPANTS

Among the leaders of the Stonewall rebellion were Sylvia Rivera, Tammy Novak, Stormé Delarverie, Craig Rodwell, and Jim Fouratt.

Sylvia Rivera

Born Ray José Christian Rivera on 2 July 1951, Sylvia Rivera was a Puerto Rican-Venezuelan drag queen and street hustler. Raised by his grandmother in the Bronx, Rivera matured on the streets of Times Square and endured a long history of police brutality—reputed to include an attempted rape during incarceration. An unofficial leader of village street queens, Rivera was also involved in both the peace movement and the black liberation movement. However, as a male who dressed partially or completely in women’s clothing, he represented a particularly isolated strain of the oppressed minority. In the late 1960s, drag (when a man sometimes dresses as a woman) and transvestitism (when someone of either sex dresses as the opposite sex as part of his or her lifestyle) had yet to be associated with gender as performance (that is, a person “performing” a gender rather than being born as that gender). Therefore, men wearing clothing common to the other sex was often viewed by feminists as a trivialization of the gender constructs at the heart of the women’s libera-

tion movement (i.e., feminists felt that drag and transvestitism trivialized women's roles in society by suggesting that women were about nothing more than vanity and superficial trappings.) Even among gay rights activists, the drag queen persona was not recognized as political. Thus, it is not surprising that Rivera did not see himself as a champion of gay rights until after the Stonewall rebellion. Prior to Stonewall, rather than seeing his public identity as political, Rivera simply saw himself as a man who liked to dress up in women's clothing. Thus, as opposed to promoting Rivera as a leader within the rebellion, as some historians have done, one might propose that the rebellion's aftermath made a leader of Rivera. Rivera's shift from submission on the sidelines to active gay rights leadership epitomizes the scholar Bernard Bass's 1989 great events theory of leadership, which posits that an extraordinary event can bring to the surface an ordinary person's hidden potential for leadership.

Rivera was seventeen years of age and, he claims, visiting the Stonewall Inn for the first time when the rebellion broke out. Rivera claims that, rather than leading a charge against the police, as some historians have suggested, he watched most of the rioting from the sidelines. It wasn't until the following year that Rivera became truly active in the gay rights movement.

Previously against the idea of joining an organized front against gay oppression, Rivera was inspired by the new assertiveness of the post-Stonewall gay community. He joined the Gay Activists Alliance, a group that had formed in 1970 as a more radical, visible, autonomous successor of the Gay Liberation Front. He and other members of the GAA were arrested in February 1970 for petitioning on Forty-Second Street for a gay rights bill for New York City. Forced to testify before a judge, Rivera decided to do so in full drag, knowing he was forcing on the court a subculture that was shunned even within the wider gay community. His act of confrontation marked the onset of a lifelong fight against the harassment and obscurity of the transvestite community.

A few months later, his leadership stance reached another milestone. Rivera and an African-American

drag queen called Marsha Johnson attended a four-day NYU sit-in in order to protest the university's decision not to sponsor a gay dance. On the fourth day, when the police arrived to make arrests, the remaining protestors were primarily street queens who had no home life to prioritize. It was an ironic contrast to the invisibility transvestites typically experienced within the larger gay community. Recognizing the unique plight of the street queen, Rivera and Johnson founded STAR (Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries), an organization designed to supporting transvestites and street hustlers financially and socially. As a founder and leader of this group, Rivera brought hope to and became the icon of a community that the Black Panther Huey Newton described as one of the United States' most oppressed.

Not only does Rivera's story provide a detailed account of the often highly romanticized Stonewall rebellion, it reveals the monumental impact the rebellion had on leadership models within the gay community. Active in support of the civil liberties of many other communities, Rivera only came to see the irony of her own invisibility as a drag queen when the rebellion led the gay rights movement to the streets in search of greater visibility. When Rivera died of cancer of the liver on 19 February 2002, the world mourned him as the individual who forced the gay community and the world to acknowledge the transvestite and homeless heroes and heroines in its midst.

Tammy Novak

Born in 1951, Tammy Novak, a friend of Sylvia Rivera, was a full-time transvestite and local performer who was selected for arrest during the first night of the Stonewall riots. When the arresting officer attempted to push him into the paddy wagon, Novak decided that his long history of submission to police brutality was at an end. Before a cheering crowd, Novak fought back. During the attempted arrest of Stormé Delarverie, in one of the more intense moments of the riots, Novak and a few other queens escaped the paddy wagon and were engulfed by the angry crowd.

In the aftermath of the riots, the blows Novak directed toward the arresting officer came to be seen as a metaphor for the end of passive submission to police brutality and the beginning of a newly radicalized quest for gay rights. It is often suggested that Novak was under the influence of narcotics when she confronted the arresting officer. If such suggestions are valid, this act of physical resistance may have been impulsive rather than calculated, and the fact that it inspired the crowd and changed the course of history may only have been coincidental. Nevertheless, the response was seen as the right action for the situation in question, which validates it as an excellent example of situational leadership.

Stormé Delarverie

Stormé Delarverie, a cross-dressing African-American lesbian, was born 24 December 1920 in New Orleans, Louisiana. In the 1950s and 1960s, he toured the country with the Jewel Box Revue, an infamous drag performance cabaret in which he was the sole male impersonator. On the night of the first Stonewall riot, Delarverie had just returned from a tour of New York City clubs when he saw a friend being herded into the paddy wagon by police. Delarverie pulled her friend away from the arresting officer, and when the officer tried to push her aside, struck what is reputed to be the blow that signaled the violent turning point of the protest. Long an outspoken and intelligent voice against oppression, Delarverie is likely to have joined the fray with full understanding both of the consequences for her own person and for the transvestite, African-American, and lesbian communities.

Two weeks later, Delarverie helped to form the Stonewall Veteran's Association, an organization initially composed of Stonewall rioters and focused on promoting the needs and visibility of the gay, lesbian, transgender, and bisexual communities and maintaining a strong public voice on their behalf. Known for her brash, direct, and plain manner of speaking, Delarverie later served as the SVA's chief of security, ambassador, and, from 1998 to 2000, vice president. In 2000, she received a gay lifetime achievement award from Senior Action in a Gay

Environment (SAGE). Like Sylvia Rivera, Delarverie is recognized for reconciling the needs of the transvestite community and those of the wider gay community. Like that of Tammy Novak, her act of physical resistance is often described as a deathblow to the passivity of the pre-Stonewall gay liberation movement. Because her actions in the rebellion marked neither the beginning nor the conclusion of her lifelong fight against oppression, and because her actions are likely to have been both calculated and thoughtful, Stormé Delarverie's leadership supports Bernard Bass's trait theory, which suggests that personality characteristics prepare a natural leader to master a moment of intense crisis.

Craig Rodwell

Gay rights activist Craig Rodwell was born in Chicago, Illinois, in 1940. In his late teens, he moved to New York City, where he became involved with the Mattachine Society (a group named for a traveling band of masked medieval players who performed ballads and skits featuring social causes), the East Coast Homophile Organizations (ECHO) consortium, and the North American Conference of Homophile Organizations (NACHO). In November 1967, he opened the Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookshop, New York City's first gay bookstore. Rodwell intended his shop to serve as "a clearinghouse for individuals and organizations supporting homosexual reform in New York State" (Duberman 1993, 164). It also served as a gathering place for an organization Rodwell soon founded—the Homophile Youth Movement in Neighborhoods (HYMN). Despite the varied leadership roles Rodwell played within the gay liberation movement, he was frustrated with the mild tactics and slow progress of the Mattachines and other gay rights organizations. Rodwell strove to take the movement in a more radical and more visible direction. Within the Mattachines, he achieved this goal by developing Mattachine Young Adults, a splinter group that infused the Mattachine Society with new members and young militant vigor. Within the gay rights movement as a whole, it took the Stonewall rebellion to inspire him to become a new sort of leader. Thus, Rodwell's



On the Streets during the Stonewall Rebellion

*In conjunction with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Stonewall Rebellion in 1994, the Columbia University Libraries mounted an exhibition titled "Stonewall and Beyond: Lesbian and Gay Culture." (The online edition of the exhibit can be accessed at <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/eresources/exhibitions/sw25>.) The exhibit includes a transcription of the front-page story (excerpted below) by writer Lucian Truscott IV that appeared after Stonewall in *The Village Voice*, a weekly newspaper based in Greenwich Village.*

Sunday night was a time for watching and rapping. Gone were the "gay power" chants of Saturday, but not the new and open brand of exhibitionism. Steps, curbs, and the park provided props for what amounted to the Sunday fag follies as returning stars from the previous night's performances stopped by to close the show for the weekend.

It was slow going. Around 1 a.m. a non-helmeted version of the TPF [Tactical Police Force] arrived and made a controlled and very cool sweep of the area, getting everyone moving and out of the park. That put a damper on posing and primping, and as the last buses were leaving Jerseyward, the crowd grew thin. Allen Ginsberg and Taylor Mead walked by to see what was happening and were filled in on the previous evenings' activities by some of the gay activists. "Gay power! Isn't that great!" Allen said. "We're one of the largest minorities in the country—10 percent, you know. It's about time we did something to assert ourselves."

Ginsberg expressed a desire to visit the Stonewall—You know, I've never been in there—and ambled on down the

street, flashing peace signs and hailing the TPF. It was a relief and a kind of joy to see him on the street. He lent an extra umbrella of serenity to the scene with his laughter and quiet commentary on consciousness, "gay power" as a new movement, and the various implications of what had happened. I followed him into the Stonewall, where rock music blared from speakers all around a room that might have come right from a Hollywood set of a gay bar. He was immediately bouncing and dancing wherever he moved.

He left, and I walked east with him. Along the way he described how things used to be. "You know, the guys there were so beautiful—they've lost that wounded look that fags all had 10 years ago." It was the first time I had heard that crowd described as beautiful.

We reached Cooper Square, and as Ginsberg turned to head toward home, he waved and yelled, "Defend the fairies!" and bounced on across the square. He enjoyed the prospect of "gay power" and is probably working on a manifesto for the movement right now. Watch out. The liberation is under way.

Source: Truscott, Lucian, IV. (1969, July 3). "Gay Power Comes to Sheridan Square." *The Village Voice*, p. 1. Retrieved October 10, 2003, from http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/eresources/exhibitions/sw25/voice_19690703_truscott.html

leadership epitomizes both the trait model and the transformational model of leadership, which describes leaders who inspire their followers on a deeper level and to a greater degree than ordinary leaders. A natural and seasoned leader, Rodwell was prompted by a period of crisis and rigorous self-examination to become a great one.

Rodwell happened to be passing the Stonewall Inn when the first evening's riot broke out. In response, he circulated through the village community, attempting to entice media coverage and lead supporters of other leftist movements to the streets in support of gay rights. The indifference with which his call was answered led him to see that greater visibility was absolutely necessary to secure rights for the gay and lesbian community. Long a critic of mafia and police collusion, he used his own money

to print and distribute pamphlets exhorting the gay community to stop supporting exploitative businesses such as the Stonewall Inn and aggressively demanding political, financial, and social visibility.

Rodwell's break with previous forms of resistance was cemented by his public support of a lesbian couple's decision to hold hands during a July 4th march on Independence Hall. First held in 1964, the Independence Hall march was an annual tradition designed to remind the general population that homosexuals had yet to enjoy the freedoms due every American.

Rodwell is credited with leading the marches from 1964 to 1969. The previous marches had been characterized by careful avoidance of any behavior that would alienate critics of the gay rights movement. However, Stonewall had altered Rodwell's

perception of his role as founder and leader of the marches. He no longer believed that grace and decorum would win acceptance from the heterosexual population; on the contrary, he saw them as ineffective means of thwarting oppression that preserved the status quo. The march developed into the Christopher Street Liberation Day March, and Rodwell became its organizer. The first was a commemoration of the Stonewall rebellion; it took place on 28 June 1970. In 1984, the Heritage of Pride Committee replaced the Christopher Street Liberation Day Committee, and Christopher Street Liberation Day became known as Gay Pride Day. Although Craig Rodwell died of stomach cancer in 1993, his development as a leader and subsequent attack on gay invisibility gave birth to the gay community's premier spectacle and metaphor for pride, emergence, resistance, and acceptance.

Jim Fouratt

Born in 1950, Jim Fouratt was a New York advertising agent who supported various civil rights causes and underground news publications. Like Rodwell, he was not a patron of the Stonewall Inn, but he attempted to generate support for the Stonewall rioters by appealing to media sources and leftist friends and colleagues. The Stonewall rebellion taught Fouratt that the success of the gay rights movement would be contingent upon more radical forms of protest and less traditional forms of leadership than those employed at the time. Also like Rodwell, he recognized greater visibility was a necessary first step toward equality. However, Fouratt's focus was on gaining visibility by simultaneously connecting gay rights to, and maintaining autonomy within, the larger civil rights movement. As the scholar Martin Duberman suggests, Fouratt hoped to "incorporate ideas about gender parity and 'rotating leadership' from the burgeoning feminist movement" and tie them to "the long-standing struggle of the black movement against racism" (Duberman 1993, 206–207). Thus, it is not surprising that Fouratt led a small band of radical followers out of a 4 July 1969 meeting of the Mattachines to form the Gay Liberation Front. A radical organization designed to cham-

pion the rights of all oppressed cultures, the GLF spoke out for gay rights and wider cultural consciousness. In the process, it also alienated some gay activists by reportedly trivializing pre-Stonewall acts of resistance.

In the 1990s, Fouratt was severely criticized by the gay community that once embraced him as a leader and champion. For speaking out against the use of body and hormone manipulation as a means of gaining acceptance, as he saw it, from the heterosexual majority, Fouratt has been accused of directing derogatory remarks toward members of the transgender community. Despite his sometimes controversial and always strident views, Fouratt (now a writer and editor) can be credited with serving as a mediator between various civil rights groups and linking gay liberation to their values and mission. In his ability to inspire others and lead them to radical change, in his tendency perhaps to gauge such change as product rather than process, Jim Fouratt epitomizes charismatic and transformational models of leadership.

SIGNIFICANCE

Social historians frequently debate the Stonewall rebellion's relationship to a pre-1969 gay rights movement that was already gaining momentum, to avant-garde New York theater culture, and to the American hippie movement. Many critics view the Stonewall rebellion as the product and sustainer, rather than the shaper, of burgeoning gay visibility. Those critics remind us that 1961 heralded the first openly gay candidate's bid for public office, when José Sarria ran for city supervisor of San Francisco, as well as the first state's (Illinois) decriminalization of sodomy. We are reminded that gay rights organizations had been holding public demonstrations since 1965 and doing so with increasing frequency. Other historians champion the Stonewall rebellion as a singular point of self-definition and self-determination for the gay community. They maintain that the Stonewall riots marked the point at which gay and lesbian activists, most of whom were involved with other civil liberties movements, simultaneously achieved visibility and autonomy

within the ranks of other marginalized communities.

Whether as a shaping or sustaining event in the history of the gay rights movement, the Stonewall rebellion assuredly marked a turning point in the movement's visibility, autonomy, and self-definition. The Stonewall riots challenged the mainstream media's neglect of set gay lifestyles, culture, and institutions amid current dialogues and reevaluations of race, class, and gender. It was only natural that the Black Panthers' mantra, "Black power!" would morph into the gay rights mantra "Gay power!" but it took three days of unfettered rage to spark the shift from dignified and often passive resistance to visible, aggressive, radical engagement.

By the end of the summer of 1969, gay liberation organizations had become active in New York City and in Berkeley, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and San José (all in California). Within ten years, there were over three hundred gay rights organizations in operation, including organizations in Europe and Latin America. In spite of continuing progress, the fight for equality for gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender individuals is far from over. However, thanks to the Stonewall rebellion, today's leaders and activists engage in the struggle publicly and aggressively in the forefront of political, media, and academic arenas.

—Priscilla Glanville

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STRATEGIC LEADERSHIP

In 1975, Henry Mintzberg, a scholar in the field of management studies, conducted a study of what managers actually do. He concluded that managers performed ten different roles. These roles can be grouped into three categories. In the first of these categories

are the interpersonal roles of figurehead, leader, and liaison. In the second category are the informational roles of monitor, disseminator, and spokesman. Lastly are the roles associated with decision making—entrepreneur, disturbance handler, resource allocator, and negotiator. According to Mintzberg, it is in the role of the leader that the influence of the manager is most clearly seen. But what is leadership? In his 1998 book, *Leadership in Organizations*, the management scholar Gary Yukl provides eight different definitions. All eight agreed that leaders influence others above mere mechanical compliance with organizational directives, direct activities toward a shared goal, and give purpose and meaning to collective effort. Jerry Hunt, the editor of *Leadership Quarterly*, says that leadership of organizations—that is, strategic leadership—should be conceptualized differently from leadership in organizations, that is, lower-level, direct leadership. Likewise, the historian James MacGregor Burns, in his Pulitzer Prize-winning book *Leadership* (1978), suggests that it is important to distinguish between transactional theories of leadership (those that ultimately involve an exchange of promises of rewards for performance and focus on the task at hand) and transformational theories of leadership (which address the process of building commitment to the organization's mission, objectives, and strategies).

The organizational scholars Kim Boal and Robert Hooijberg refer to theories of leadership in organizations as supervisory theories of leadership, and to theories of leadership of organizations as strategic theories of leadership. According to Boal and Hooijberg, supervisory theories focus on person-oriented and task-oriented behaviors of leaders that provide guidance, support, and feedback to subordinates. Among the most popular and researched supervisory theories of leadership are Robert House's path-goal theory of leadership, Fred Fiedler's contingency theory of leadership, George Graen's leader-member exchange (LMX) theory of leadership, and the decision-making model of leadership developed by Victor Vroom and Phillip Yetton.

In contrast to transactional or supervisory theories of leadership are transformational or strategic leadership theories. Strategic leaders are people who

have overall responsibility for the organization. These include not only titular heads of the organization, like the chief executive officer (CEO), but also members of the top management team or dominant coalition. Strategic leaders are in a position to change or reinforce existing patterns of behavior in the organization as a whole. Philip Selznick says that strategic leadership is "marked by a concern for the evolution of organizations as a whole, including its changing aims and capabilities" (Selznick 1984, 5). Boal and Hooijberg suggest that activities associated with "strategic leadership include making strategic decisions; creating and communicating a vision of the future; developing organizational structures, processes, and controls; managing multiple constituencies; selecting and developing the next generation of leaders; sustaining an effective organizational culture; and infusing ethical value systems into an organization's culture" (Boal and Hooijberg 2000, 516).

LEADERSHIP TRAITS AND CAPACITIES

While early studies of leadership focused on selection started during World War I, the serious study of leadership behavior and the development of theories of leadership occurred after World War II. After reviewing studies conducted between 1949 and 1970, the psychologist Ralph Stogdill concluded:

The leader is characterized by a strong drive for responsibility and task completion, vigor and persistence in pursuit of goals, venturiveness and originality in problem solving, drive to exercise initiative in social situation, self-confidence and sense of personal identity, willingness to accept consequences of decision and action, readiness to absorb interpersonal stress, willingness to tolerate frustration and delay, ability to influence other persons' behavior, and capacity to structure social interaction systems to the purpose at hand. (Stogdill 1974, 81)

Most of the studies Stogdill reviewed were of leaders in organizations and not of leaders of organizations. Furthermore, the environment in which leadership occurred was relatively stable. Kathleen Eisenhardt, a professor of strategy at Stanford Uni-

versity, argues that the today's organizational environment is increasingly hyperturbulent. The new, hypercompetitive environment is characterized by increasing strategic discontinuities and disequilibrium conditions and by an increasing focus on innovation and continuous learning, a situation that has led Boal and Hooijberg to suggest that today's strategic leaders need the ability to learn, the ability to change, and managerial wisdom.

The Ability to Learn

The ability to learn is referred to as absorptive capacity. It involves the capacity to recognize new information, assimilate it, and apply it toward new ends. It is a continuous process in which new logical structures are added or deleted from memory. Learning can occur through studying, through doing, and through using. In 2003, the management scholar Jonathan Doh interviewed six major leadership and management scholars, asking them two simple questions: Can leadership be learned? and Can leadership be taught? They all agreed that leadership could be learned, and they agreed that leadership could be taught, though there were disagreements about the best way to do it. One scholar, Kim Cameron, said, "I would cite David Whetten who advocates a learning model consisting of five distinctive (although sometimes overlapping and integrated) learning activities: (1) skill preassessment, (2) skill learning (concepts and best practices), (3) skill analysis, (4) skill practice (with feedback), and (5) skill application" (quoted in Doh 2003, 62).

Other management scholars have suggested that absorptive capacity is enhanced when organizations encourage constant experimentation, a willingness to tolerate small failures, active listening, trust and support, and information exchange.

A person's degree of cognitive complexity describes how he or she constructs meaning or organizes information. Cognitively complex individuals use more categories and dimensions to discriminate among stimuli and see more commonalities among these categories or dimensions. They search for more information, and spend more time interpreting the information. Cognitive complexity,

therefore, is a key individual difference underlying absorptive capacity.

The Ability to Change

Adaptive capacity is the ability to change. Organizational success depends upon strategic flexibility, and an organization's strategic flexibility derives from the leaders at the top. Adaptive capacity requires that strategic leaders are cognitively and behaviorally complex.

Cognitively, strategic leaders may understand and see differences in their environment, yet this does not mean the leader possesses the broad repertoire of behaviors needed as situations change. Strategic leaders need not only the ability to perceive the needs and goals of a constituency, but also the ability to adjust their approach to action accordingly. Research supports the idea that leaders with a large behavioral repertoire are more effective, as is their organization.

Along with a flexible behavioral repertoire, strategic leaders need an understanding of their social environment, or what some have referred to as social intelligence—"ability to monitor one's own and other's feelings and emotions, to discriminate among them and to use this information to guide one's thinking and actions" (Salovey and Mayer 1990, 189). Social intelligence is not to be confused with IQ. Social intelligence is a key component of effective leadership because decision making, implementation of planned solutions, handling of emerging problems and organizational change are rarely emotion free. Effective social intelligence allows the strategic leader to develop and use social capital—the potential influence or increased understanding that is available to a leader solely as a function of the structure and characteristics of the social setting.

Managerial Wisdom

Managerial wisdom combines the properties of discernment and kairos time. Discernment, in this context, is the ability to perceive variation in the environment. Discernment has both a social and a nonsocial component. Social intelligence is a key factor underlying discernment in the interpersonal

The significant problems we face cannot be solved at the same level of thinking we were at when we created them.

—Albert Einstein

arena. In the nonsocial dimension of discernment, experience is a key dimension of discernment, as is cognitive capacity.

The concept of *kairos* time draws on the ancient Greek word *kairos*, “critical time” or “opportunity.” In a business context, use of *kairos* time involves the capacity to take the right action at a critical movement. The management scholar Robert Burgelman and Andy Grove, the president of Intel, suggest that there are important strategic inflection points in the life cycle of any organization. These strategic inflection points are caused by fundamental changes in industry dynamics and technologies, and they create an opportunity for strategic leaders to develop new visions of the future, craft new strategies, and move their organizations in new directions. “It is action, taken at the appropriate time and in the appropriate manner, along with discernment, that defines managerial wisdom” (Boal and Hooijberg 2000, 532).

STRATEGIC LEADERSHIP THEORY

The scholars Donald Hambrick and Paula Mason first suggested in 1984 that organizations are reflections of their top managers’ cognitions and values. This is so, they hypothesized, because the specific knowledge, experience, values, and preferences of top managers influence their assessment of the environment and thus the strategic choices they make. In 1996, Sidney Finkelstein and Hambrick expanded this earlier work into their strategic leadership theory (SLT). Strategic leadership theory examines how the psychological make-up of the top manager and the top management team influences information processing and strategic decision making. Hambrick and Finkelstein suggest that the amount of discretion enjoyed by top managers will moderate the relationship between their strategic choices and organizational outcomes. The greater the discretion, the more

impact the leader’s choices will have on organizational outcomes. In situations of high discretion, wide latitude in choices and actions exists. Thus, individual differences play a determining role in the course of action chosen.

Most of the research to date on SLT has focused on the demographic characteristics of the top management team and the relationship between those characteristics and such organizational outcomes and behaviors as return on equity, return on investment, return on assets, strategic reorientation or change, strategic persistence, affective and cognitive conflict, and even corporate illegal behavior. The focus on demographic characteristics as surrogates for underlying psychological processes has been highly criticized, however.

CHARISMATIC THEORIES

The German sociologist Max Weber is credited with introducing the term *charisma*, which is a Greek word that means “divinely inspired gift.” This charisma typically was evident to others and recognizable by them as God-inspired. Charisma, thus, is not inherent in the office of a leader, CEO, or anyone else on the organizational chart. Weber suggested that charisma is born when there is a social crisis, a leader with exceptional qualities emerges with a radical vision that provides a solution to the crisis, and that leader attracts followers who believe in the vision and perceive the leader to be extraordinary.

In 1977, Robert House became the first leadership scholar to present a fully developed theory of charismatic leadership. House suggested that charismatic leaders have profound and unusual effects on followers. Perceiving the leader’s beliefs as correct, followers accept and obey the leader willingly, feel affection toward the leader, are emotionally involved in the mission of the group, believe they can contribute to the success of the mission, and have high performance goals.

Since House’s original work, other leadership scholars have made important contributions to understanding charisma. Jay Conger and Rabin Kanungo focused on the conditions that would lead followers to attribute charisma to a leader. In their



“Attack by Stratagem” from *The Art of War* by Sun Tzu

Sun Tzu said: In the practical art of war, the best thing of all is to take the enemy's country whole and intact; to shatter and destroy it is not so good. So, too, it is better to capture an army entire than to destroy it, to capture a regiment, a detachment or a company entire than to destroy them.

Hence to fight and conquer in all your battles is not supreme excellence; supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy's resistance without fighting.

Thus the highest form of generalship is to baulk the enemy's plans; the next best is to prevent the junction of the enemy's forces; the next in order is to attack the enemy's army in the field; and the worst policy of all is to besiege walled cities.

The rule is, not to besiege walled cities if it can possibly be avoided.

The preparation of mantlets, movable shelters, and various implements of war, will take up three whole months; and the piling up of mounds over against the walls will take three months more.

The general, unable to control his irritation, will launch his men to the assault like swarming ants, with the result that one-third of his men are slain, while the town still remains untaken. Such are the disastrous effects of a siege.

Therefore the skilful leader subdues the enemy's troops without any fighting; he captures their cities without laying siege to them; he overthrows their kingdom without lengthy operations in the field.

With his forces intact he will dispute the mastery of the Empire, and thus, without losing a man, his triumph will be complete.

This is the method of attacking by stratagem.

It is the rule in war, if our forces are ten to the enemy's one, to surround him; if five to one, to attack him; if twice as numerous, to divide our army into two.

If equally matched, we can offer battle; if slightly inferior in numbers, we can avoid the enemy; if quite unequal in every way, we can flee from him.

Hence, though an obstinate fight may be made by a small force, in the end it must be captured by the larger force.

Now the general is the bulwark of the State: if the bulwark is complete at all points, the State will be strong; if the bulwark is defective, the State will be weak.

There are three ways in which a ruler can bring misfortune upon his army:—

(1) By commanding the army to advance or to retreat, being ignorant of the fact that it cannot obey. This is called hobbling the army.

(2) By attempting to govern an army in the same way as he administers a kingdom, being ignorant of the conditions which obtain in an army. This causes restlessness in the soldiers' minds.

(3) By employing the officers of his army without discrimination, through ignorance of the military principal of adaptation to circumstances. This shakes the confidence of the soldiers.

But when the army is restless and distrustful, trouble is sure to come from the other feudal princes. This is simply bringing anarchy into the army, and flinging victory away.

Thus we may know that there are five essentials for victory: (1) He will win who knows when to fight and when not to fight. (2) He will win who knows how to handle both superior and inferior forces. (3) He will win whose army is animated by the same spirit throughout all its ranks. (4) He will win who, prepared himself, waits to take the enemy unprepared. (5) He will win who has military capacity and is not interfered with by the sovereign. Victory lies in the knowledge of these five points.

Hence the saying: If you know the enemy and know yourself, you need not fear the result of a hundred battles. If you know yourself but not the enemy, for every victory gained you will also suffer a defeat. If you know neither the enemy nor yourself, you will succumb in every battle.

Source: Giles, Lionel (Trans.). (1910). *Sun Tzu on the art of war*. London: Luzac & Co. Reprinted in McNeill, William H. and Sedlar, Jean W. (Eds.). (1970). *Classical China*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 95–97.

view, the leader must (1) possess a vision that is highly discrepant with the status quo; (2) act in unconventional ways to achieve the vision; (3) make self-sacrifices, take personal risks, and incur high cost to achieve the vision; (4) appear confident about their vision; and (5) use persuasive appeals. If those conditions are met, followers identify with the

leader, feel a desire to please, and internalize new values and beliefs.

In 1993, Boas Shamir, Robert House, and Michael Arthur extensively revised House's earlier work, focusing on explaining why leaders are able to influence followers profoundly and motivate them to transcend their personal interests for the sake of group.

They identified four conditions: personal identification with the leader, personal identification with the group, the embracement of new values, and enhanced self-esteem, self-efficacy, and group-efficacy resulting from the leader's expectations of high performance and expression of confidence in the ability of the followers to meet those expectations.

It is worth noting that while for Weber the emergence of charisma required a crisis, this is not the case for leadership scholars, who find that a crisis merely facilitates the emergence of charisma. In 1988, Kim Boal and John Bryson suggested there are two forms of charisma: visionary and crisis-responsive. Visionary charisma results from the leader creating a world that is intrinsically valid for the follower. In such a world, behaviors are linked to important core values, purposes, and meanings through the articulation of a vision and goals. On the other hand, the crisis-responsive form of charisma results when a leader creates a world that is extrinsically valid. Boal and Bryson suggest that during crises, the connections between behavior and outcomes become severed, and it is the role of the leader to reestablish them. Boal and Bryson believe that visionary charismatic leaders have longer-lived effects on followers than do crisis-responsive charismatic leaders. Recent experimental evidence supports this distinction.

TRANSFORMATIONAL THEORIES

While many scholars treat charismatic and transformational theories of leadership as if they were interchangeable, differences exist in terms of the level of analysis and choice of dependent variables. Charismatic theories tend to focus on individual-level outcomes such as affect, loyalty, identity, commitment, motivation, and performance, whereas transformational theories affect cognitive and causal maps, values, and strategies. Transformational theories do not require that leaders be charismatic to bring about dramatic change; rather, they focus on the process of building commitment to the organization's goals and empowering followers to accomplish these goals.

In 1985, the leadership scholar Bernard Bass (joined in subsequent works by Bruce Avolio) first

proposed a theory of transformational leadership that built on the earlier work of Burns. According to Bass, transactional theories of leadership are good, charismatic theories of leadership are better, but transformational theories of leadership are best. Transformational behaviors are aroused by idealized influence, which is to say charisma, individual consideration, inspirational motivation, and intellectual stimulation. During the 1980s and 1990s, many other leadership scholars contributed to the literature on transformational leadership. Summing up their contributions, it appears that transformational leaders change the culture and strategies of an organization by formulating a vision; developing commitment to it among people both inside and outside the organization who have a stake in the decisions, activities, and outcomes produced by the organization; implementing strategies in line with the vision; and, finally, embedding new values and assumptions in the culture and structure of the organization.

VISION

Vision plays a crucial role in both charismatic and transformational theories. The scholars Dennis Gioia and James Thomas (1996) say that it is in the leader's vision and in his or her articulation for change that the past, the present, and the potential future of the organization come together. Visions have a cognitive component that influences what information is sought and used. Visions also have an affective component, which underlies the motivation and commitment to subsequent implementation. The scholars Paul Nutt and Bob Backoff suggest that effective visions have innovative features, are future oriented enough to reveal opportunities with important consequences, connect future opportunities and outcomes to an organization's values and culture, and are achievable. Visions point to activities that people can undertake to move the organization toward a desirable future.

FUTURE RESEARCH

This entry has suggested that strategic leadership is embedded in an environment that is hypertextual,

characterized by discontinuities, disequilibrium, ambiguity, complexity, and information overload. Yet none of the theories relating to strategic leadership adequately take into account the role of the context in which leadership occurs. While there have been a few tentative suggestions, research has lagged on this crucial issue. If learning and change can take place during kairotic movements, is it possible to achieve charismatic and transformational effects during periods of stability? The theories mentioned have focused more on the traits of the followers than on the characteristics of the organization within which leadership behaviors take place. There have been few attempts to link these disparate theories or even to actually define strategic leadership. Toward that end, this chapter ends on a new definition of strategic leadership that attempts to reconcile the different theories and stimulate research.

Strategic leadership is a series of decisions and activities, both process-oriented and substantive in nature, through which, over time, the past, the present, and the future of the organization coalesce. Strategic leadership forges a bridge between the past, the present, and the future, by reaffirming core values and identity to ensure continuity and integrity as the organization struggles with known and unknown realities and possibilities. Strategic leadership develops, focuses, and enables an organization's structural, human, and social capital and capabilities to meet real-time opportunities and threats. Finally, strategic leadership makes sense of and gives meaning to environmental turbulence and ambiguity, and provides a vision and road map that allow an organization to evolve and innovate.

—*Kimberly B. Boal*

Further Reading

See also Charisma; Organizational Dynamics; Transformational and Transactional Leadership; Transformational and Visionary Leadership

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SUBSTITUTES FOR LEADERSHIP

Substitutes for leadership are an important extension of contingency theories of leadership. Contingency theories specify that effective leadership depends on matching specific leader behavior patterns with certain organizational situations. A specific leader behavior may result in high performance among followers or positive attitudes in one situation but not another. The effectiveness of a leader's behavior depends on such factors as the amount of power the leader possesses, the amount of training or experience followers have, the type of work they are facing, the work group they belong to, and other organizational and environmental factors. Much of the research on contingency theories has addressed two leader behavior patterns that emerged from early studies during the 1950s at Ohio State University. These patterns were called initiating structure (later termed directive leadership behavior) and consideration (later called supportive leadership behavior). Directive leadership behavior includes providing followers with task guidance and performance expectations; supportive leadership behavior involves showing personal concern and consideration for followers' feelings and welfare. Early theory building and research on substitutes for leadership addressed primarily these two behavior patterns.

LEADERSHIP NEUTRALIZERS

In 1977 and 1978, articles by leadership expert Steve Kerr and management scholar John Jermier extended the idea of contingency theories by suggesting that certain situational factors may completely neutralize and at times replace (substitute for) the impact of a leader's behavior on followers' performance and attitudes. Leadership neutralizers are those characteristics of followers, their work tasks, or their organization that decrease or eliminate the

effectiveness of the leaders' influence on followers. Followers who are extremely independent may resist a leader's influence, causing certain leader behaviors to have little or no effect. A high degree of spatial or geographic distance between a leader and followers can also decrease the leader's effectiveness. In 1990, scholars Jon Howell, David Bowen, Peter Dorfman, Steve Kerr, and Philip Podsakoff published "Substitutes for Leadership: Effective Alternatives to Ineffective Leadership," which included the example of Kinko's, a company that provides photocopying services at widely dispersed locations, to show how the neutralizing effect of geographic distance caused major leadership problems for regional managers. These regional managers were not able to provide new store managers with enough personal guidance, direction, and support through occasional visits, phone calls, and e-mail. The new store managers needed more continuous personal interaction, but that was not possible given the company's organizational structure.

In 2001, Howell and the management scholar Dan Costley described other examples of leadership neutralizers, including organizational reward systems based on union contracts or civil service policies that do not allow leaders to reward the best performers, or senior managers who habitually countermand or change effective directions by a lower-level manager and prevent that manager from having the influence he or she needs. Although neutralizers are often dysfunctional, and most leaders probably try to avoid or eliminate them, they can be useful in blocking the influence of an incompetent manager. If politics or seniority make it impossible to replace a problem manager, a neutralizer such as the removal of monetary rewards from the leader's discretion may be created to minimize the problems the problem manager causes.

LEADERSHIP SUBSTITUTES

Leadership substitutes include those characteristics of followers, their work, or their organization that make specific leader behaviors unnecessary by replacing the effects of that leader behavior on followers with effects of their own. Examples of this are



The Laws of Hammurabi on Substitutes for Military Service

- 26 A runner or a fisher who is commanded to go on a mission of the king has not gone or has hired a hireling and sends (him as) his substitute, that runner or fisher shall be put to death; his hired (substitute) shall take and keep his house.
- 32 If either a runner or a fisher, who is taken captive on a mission of the king (and) a merchant has ransomed him and so has enabled him to regain his city, has the means for ransoming (himself) in his house, he shall himself ransom himself; if there are not the means of ransoming him to his house, he shall be ransomed out of (the resources of) the temple of his city; if there are not the means of ransoming him in the temple of his city; the palace shall ransom him. His field, his plantation, and his house shall not be given for his ransom.
- 33 If a recruiting officer or adjutant levies men exempt from service or has accepted and dispatches a hired man as a substitute for a mission of the king, that recruiting officer or adjutant shall be put to death.

Source: McNeill, William H. and Sedlar, Jean W. (Eds.). (1968). *The Ancient Near East*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 198.

found today in many organizations that emphasize self-managed work teams. In a team-based organization, much of the guidance and task clarity inexperienced employees require is provided by other team members rather than by the formal hierarchical leader. Many self-managed teams develop the task expertise and knowledge through team dynamics and are able to operate with little task-related input from their formally designated leader. Air traffic controllers who help land jet fighters on nuclear aircraft carriers and at major airports rely on the work experience, continuous training, and close working relationships with their coworkers rather than on orders from their managers to redirect operations when necessary. The closely knit, cohesive community of air traffic controllers can respond more quickly to emergencies without interference from above and may actually ignore directives from a manager who is removed from the front line of action. Organiza-

tions often recognize this and change the name of the hierarchical leader to “facilitator” or “coach” to reflect the team’s task competence and the leader’s new duties as a trainer, team consultant, and boundary spanner.

A similar leadership substitute can be found in organizations that employ highly trained professionals doing technical work, such as software development or management consulting. These professionals’ tasks often require extensive knowledge and expertise that is only obtainable from long periods of specialized education and training. Such employees frequently know much more about the specifics of their work than their hierarchical leader does. Consequently they learn to rely not on their hierarchical leader but on their own judgment (or that of other professional colleagues) in making task-related decisions.

A final type of leadership substitute is the satisfaction felt by people whose work is intrinsically fulfilling, as is the case with many human service jobs such as counseling or social work or with highly creative jobs such as scriptwriting. In these fields, the satisfaction that comes from performing the job may lessen the need for supportive behaviors from the hierarchical leader.

IMPORTANCE OF LEADERSHIP SUBSTITUTES AND NEUTRALIZERS

Some leaders may view leadership substitutes as a threat to their position and status as a leader. But strong leaders understand that effective results can be attained when guidance and good feelings come from sources other than themselves. These leaders often create leadership substitutes to ensure that their followers will receive the task guidance, incentives, and interpersonal support they need without having to depend entirely on the leader. When strong substitutes are present, the hierarchical leader may have less opportunity and less need to display certain leader behaviors. This has several important implications for organizations that employ leadership substitutes.

When leaders create important substitutes for leadership, their followers are less dependent on the leader, which can free up the leader to focus on other

important activities, such as developing innovative reward systems, providing participation opportunities for followers, or designing training experiences to increase followers’ job competence. Leadership substitutes also give leaders more options for influencing followers. Rather than directly affecting followers’ behavior by giving instructions for task performance, leaders can create self-managed teams in which experienced coworkers provide advice and guidance to one another. This may be more acceptable in a team-based organization structure. Alternatively, the leader may provide developmental experiences that increase individual followers’ task capabilities and alleviate their need for guidance. This approach will likely be appealing to followers who are highly individualistic.

Substitutes also provide stable influences on employee performance and attitudes when leaders are absent or are transferred, which often occurs in the military or in organizations with geographically dispersed operations. With important leadership substitutes in effect, leaders can often increase their span of control; they can be absent and still be assured that followers have adequate sources of guidance, and satisfaction available when needed. Despite the important benefits of leadership substitutes, it must be emphasized that they do not abolish the entire leadership function. Consider the following analogy:

Just as the conductor of a symphony orchestra should not and cannot be eliminated, he or she need not worry about directing individual symphony members on instrumental techniques or musical structure. The musical score and the high level of training and commitment of professional musicians obviate the need for the conductor to spend time on these matters; instead, the conductor creates a unique expression of the music from an ensemble of competent individuals. (Howell et al. 1990, 37)

In their classic article, Kerr and Jermier noted that “In most organizations . . . substitutes exist for some leader activities but not for others” (Kerr and Jermier 1978, 400). It is a misperception that leadership substitutes make all leadership insignificant. In fact, creating substitutes is an act of leadership. When organizations experience leadership problems, creating

substitutes can be a valuable alternative to retraining or replacing the leader. In 2002, the leadership scholar Gary Yukl suggested that changing the situation to make leadership more effective by removing neutralizers or creating substitutes may be the best long-term solution to many leadership problems.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

In 1986, Howell, Dorfman, and Kerr added another concept to the theory of leadership substitutes and neutralizers. They defined leadership enhancers, which are attributes of employees, tasks, and organizations that amplify a leader's effects on employees. An organization can enhance a leader's influence by making additional resources available to the leader or by giving the leader more discretion over the distribution of existing resources. Giving a leader access to key information and prestigious people at high levels may also enhance the leader's effects on followers, as followers will connect the leader with important sources of power and information and will perceive the leader as having considerable influence with those at the top. Giving a leader important organizational responsibilities or building the leader's image through in-house publications may also amplify a leader's perceived expertise and consequent influence with followers. Creating leadership enhancers can be a valuable strategy for new leaders or in situations where followers are slow to respond to influence attempts. Research on leadership substitutes has also been extended to participative, rewarding, and charismatic leadership. Substitutes and enhancers have been found for all leader behavior patterns.

A controversy exists among leadership researchers about the importance of leadership substitutes in comparison to traditional leader influence processes. However, studies in the early 1990s showed that leadership substitutes often predict more variance in follower attitudes and role perceptions than a combination of frequently studied leader behaviors. This finding shows the importance of leadership substitutes. Much of the controversy is attributable to the varying statistical procedures used by different researchers. In 2003, researchers addressed this statistical issue and showed that much research on lead-

ership substitutes has most likely been underestimating the prevalence of leadership substitutes.

Many current management programs emphasize non-leader sources of influence on followers by creating several types of leadership substitutes. Self-management programs and self-directed work teams incorporate substitutes by increasing workers' ability, training, and knowledge, and by providing non-leader sources of performance feedback within closely knit cohesive work teams. Total quality management programs use continuous training to increase workers' knowledge and ability to act on their own; these programs also incorporate regular performance feedback from customers and the work task. Telecommuting and computerized workplaces utilize groupware and computer networks to place multiple non-leader sources of information and job guidance at the fingertips of workers. These management programs effectively empower workers to address job issues and problems without relying directly on their formal leader.

Other organizational characteristics and trends have been described as substitutes, neutralizers, or enhancers. The MacDonaldization of society, a trend toward complete specification of processes and procedures, can act as a substitute for a leader's direction. In some organizations, the organizational culture and shared values can alleviate the need for much direction from the leader. Subordinate cynicism can act as a neutralizer by creating suspicion and distrust among followers to the extent that they are less responsive to the leader's requests. And the leader's rank and expertise can enhance the leader's impact on followers.

Leadership is clearly a potent and robust social process that exercises strong influence on followers' attitudes, behavior, and performance. An understanding of leadership substitutes, neutralizers, and enhancers can be critical for correctly diagnosing the type of leader behavior needed in a particular situation. If neutralizers are ignored, they can interfere with leaders' attempts to influence followers. If substitutes are created, leaders will have more time to devote to other important activities. Because enhancers result in greater leadership influence, they help leaders be more effective and more efficient with

their time. Strategies for creating and modifying substitutes, neutralizers, and enhancers should be part of all leaders' repertoire as they create direct and indirect strategies for eliciting the best possible performance from their followers and their organizations.

—Jon P. Howell

See also Group Decision Rules; Group Norms; Group Process; Groupthink; Leaderless Groups; Shared Leadership; Team Leadership; Teamwork

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SUEZ CRISIS OF 1956

The leadership issues raised by the 2003 U.S.-led war on Iraq are strikingly similar to those raised by the Suez War in 1956. In both cases, government leaders misled their countries about the reality of the situation in order to obtain support for a unilateral military intervention in a sovereign Arab state. By exaggerating the threat posed by the Arab state and ignoring the values and concerns of the public, of other government officials, and of the United Nations, these leaders brought their countries into war. For Britain, the Suez War marked an abrupt decline in its influence throughout the Middle East and made party leaders aware that the state could no longer act on a global scale. As Charles Johnston, governor in Aden in 1961, wrote: "One of the worst things that has happened to us since the war, and most particularly since Suez, is that in the Middle East we have lost confidence in our own ability to deal with situations. . . . Our Suez fiasco seems, in effect, to have left a far deeper mark on ourselves than on the Arabs" (Ashton 1997). Warning Britain against joining the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq, British Liberal Democrat Charles Kennedy told *The Guardian*: "God forbid we go down unilateral routes. Look at the history books and it is called Suez" (10 January 2003).

THE SUEZ WAR

During the summer of 1956, Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser transferred the operation and assets of the Suez Canal from nonresident corporate owners to local state control; many of the dispossessed, who were then living in Britain and France, pressured their elected leaders to protect their finan-

cial interests. A few weeks later, on 29 October, Israeli forces under Minister of Defense David Ben-Gurion invaded the Sinai Peninsula and headed for the Canal Zone, complaining of cross-border skirmishes. Two days after the Israeli invasion, planes from the British and French air forces bombed Egyptian airfields and British and French troops landed in Port Said, so that by the beginning of November, Britain and France occupied a third of the Canal Zone.

British and French political leaders justified these actions as necessary to impose demilitarized zones on both sides of the canal. British Prime Minister Anthony Eden explained that British and French troops had entered Egypt as peacemakers to separate Israel's aggressive military from Egypt's defensive forces. Eden told the House of Commons on 20 December 1956: "There were no plans got together (with Israel) to attack Egypt" (Noorani 2001). This assertion was revealed to have been a falsehood when the British Public Records Office opened its files on the Suez crisis on 2 January 1987. It was also revealed after the war that Israeli aggression against Egypt was as much a response to the fear of Egypt joining forces with other Arab states as to the uncoordinated border skirmishes it had originally cited.

THE UNILATERAL ROUTE

What the British Public Records Office revealed when it opened its files on the Suez crisis was that British, French, and Israeli representatives had attended secret meetings in Sèvres near Paris during which a protocol binding to military action against Egypt was signed. While all British copies of the protocol were secretly burned, a protest note from Sir Gladwyn Jebb, British Ambassador in Paris to the Foreign Secretary, survived. Excluded from the discussions, Jebb wrote: "I do not complain, but it is, I believe, a novel arrangement for diplomatic business of the highest importance to be conducted by the Principals without any official being present, even to take a note." Sir Donald Logan was the only person from the British side to have attended the Sèvres discussions.

Eden's unilateral leadership style reached beyond the House of Commons—to the public and to the



This photo taken on 19 November 1965 shows sunken ships blocking the Suez Canal at Port Said.

Source: Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis; used with permission.

British Civil Service—with consequences that ultimately harmed both him and his country. British Labour MP George Galloway, recalling the demonstration against the Suez invasion on London's Trafalgar Square, said the square was "overflowing with people (*Palestine Chronicle*, Noorani, op. cit). And an editorial in the *Belfast Telegraph* credits this crowd with swinging "Labour leadership away from a national unity stance and [undermining] Anthony Eden's leadership" (2003, July 27). This crowd's disappointment in Eden's leadership was expressed worldwide. U.S. presidential candidate Eisenhower told voters on the campaign trail: "We cannot subscribe to one law for the weak, another for the strong; one law for those opposing us, another for those allied with us. There can only be one law, or there shall be no peace" (Macek 2001, para. 10).

Even during such public discussions of the invasion, the professional honor of British civil servants prohibited them from sharing doubts about national policy with print journalists and broadcast media. According to Peter Hennessey: "Suez was the greatest professional trauma experienced by the British Civil Service before or since 1956. Yet discipline held. Nobody flouted the rules or spilled the beans. In its way it was a remarkable tribute to the ethos of the profession. Would it be the same today in identical

circumstances? I doubt it. Most would bite their lips and think of England but not all—and it only takes one mouth to blow a whistle” (Kelly and Gorst 1990). However, one civil servant later explained, “In those days civil servants were not expected to betray their Ministers and I certainly did not feel this, no . . . I think the idea that a civil servant should get up and say ‘the Minister is not telling the truth’ any time that this is likely to happen is a recipe for chaos and certainly for disloyalty” (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030923-4.html>).

This silence extended to leaders’ private fallibilities, which researchers include as a factor that escalated the crisis to military conflict. For example, Eden responded so strongly to the Egyptian president that his subordinates confidentially noted their concern for his balanced judgment. Eden asked BBC viewers: “Who will chain the ‘mad dog’ of Cairo?” and his assistant, Evelyn Shuckborough, noted Eden’s intense response to Nasser, seeking not the Egyptian leader’s confinement but his assassination (Shuckborough 1987). Researchers suggest medical origins for such intense mood swings. After a botched operation to remove his gall bladder in 1953, Eden was plagued by liver malfunction and suffered from symptoms including fever, headache, jaundice, irritability, and general malaise (Thorpe 2003); he was said to have needed amphetamines to work during the Suez crisis of 1956.

THE UNITED NATIONS PATH

Eden’s misrepresentations to the House of Commons show how far he had taken Britain from its commitment to the infant United Nations. The collusion between Britain, France, and Israel was in total defiance of the United Nations Charter, which all three nations had signed in 1947. The charter banned the first use of force in Article 2: “All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State.”

However, the United Nations was ultimately successful in halting the conflict; the new nations in the General Assembly were able to block the former colonial powers represented on the Security Council. The United States and the Soviet Union sponsored a

cease-fire resolution in the Security Council, but Great Britain and France successfully vetoed this call to halt military activity against Egypt. Resolution 377 provides that if there is a “threat to peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression” and the permanent members of the Security Council cannot agree on a single course of action, the General Assembly can meet immediately and recommend collective measures to “maintain or restore international peace and security.” A General Assembly resolution under this uniting-for-peace procedure was successful in requiring an immediate cease-fire and the full withdrawal of the invading forces in the name of the United Nations.

U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower reinforced deliberations within the United Nations with administrative procedures in other multilateral institutions. Immediately following Britain’s veto in the U.N. Security Council, the U.S. representative to the International Monetary Fund likewise vetoed a routine loan to Britain to support the pound sterling’s value on international markets. Judging devaluation graver than the threat to Suez Canal shareholders’ investments, Britain accepted the General Assembly’s call for a cease-fire. United Nations Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld then formed a multinational Emergency Force (UNEF) to monitor the cease-fire between the Egyptian and Israeli armies (Kunz 1991).

PARALLELS WITH IRAQ

Like the Suez War, which stemmed in part from the perception that a sovereign Arab state had the potential to invade its neighbors, the war on Iraq started with the perception that a particular state possessed military potential not available to its neighbors. Just as civil servants’ pacifist and universalist values were compromised by British military intervention during Suez, British and U.S. civil servants’ appeals to procedures of verification were compromised by some national leaders’ sense of political expediency. And, just as national leaders’ statements misled the public before the Suez War, the statements of national leaders concerning Iraq’s violations of international agreements were not independently verified or substantiated.

The U.S.-led war on Iraq in 2003 was justified by the allegation that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein sponsored programs to develop weapons of mass destruction. These allegations began with U.S. President George Bush's address to the United Nations on 12 September 2002 in which he asserted that "Iraq is expanding and improving facilities that were used for the production of biological weapons" and were repeated in the State of the Union address of 28 January 2003 in which he revealed "our intelligence officials estimate that Saddam Hussein had the materials to produce as much as 5000 tons of Sarin, Mustard, and VX nerve agents" (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030128-19.html>).

However, while some of Eden's subordinates mourned the Suez invasion as compromising international ideals, Bush's subordinates have been even more explicit than their head of state in asserting that the United States must invade Iraq because it possesses weapons of mass destruction. On 9 January 2003, Bush's press secretary told reporters, "We know for a fact that there are weapons there," and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld identified weapons of mass destruction "in the area around Tikrit and Baghdad" during an interview on ABC TV on 30 March 2003. The invasion of Iraq by the United States and Great Britain resulted in a military occupation which after several months failed to yield the alleged chemical or biological weapons or weapons of mass destruction.

Journalists disseminate suggestions that leaders on both sides of the North Atlantic have misled the public. *New York Times* columnist Paul Krugman wrote that if the claim that Iraq's former president posed an imminent threat "was fraudulent, the selling of the war is arguably the worst political scandal in American political history" (3 June 2003). Iain Duncan Smith, Conservative leader in Britain's Parliament, accused Prime Minister Tony Blair and his communications chief Alistair Campbell of "creating a culture of deceit and spin at the heart of government" (17 July 2003).

During the Suez crisis, two leading institutions of the post-World War II order (the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly) initiated steps to stop the aggressors, but before the 2003 war

on Iraq, the UN proved itself unable to maintain international peace and security. Two informal factors hindered the Security Council's exercise of the authority granted in its charter. The first was the conubial collusion between the United States and Britain and the second was the sibling dissonance between Britain and the continental members of the European Union. Together, these meant that France vetoed any attempts to use force against Iraq, and the United States and Britain vetoed all attempts to prohibit the use of force against Iraq.

Britain's entrance into the Suez hostilities, ostensibly to protect Egypt from Israeli aggression, appeared to compromise global postwar visions for political and military administration. The feeling of betrayal on the part of many Britons was grounded in their hope for a new postwar order under the United Nations and its charter. Many who had lived through the World War II expected postwar international relations to be governed by a collective appeal to law rather than by the initiative of individual heads of state. This hope was ultimately realized when the United Nations General Assembly called for an end to the Suez invasion. Although the General Assembly did not serve this function for the war on Iraq, many people in the world still hope for an end to unilateral leadership.

—Elizabeth Bishop

See also Nasser, Gamal Abdel

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SÜLEYMAN THE MAGNIFICENT (1494–1566)

Sultan Süleyman I of the Ottoman Empire

In Europe, which trembled at the appearance of his armies more than once, Sultan Süleyman I was known as “the Magnificent.” Throughout the Islamic world, he was better known as *Kanuni*, “the Law-giver,” and was believed to embody the highest principles of justice and harmony in a ruler. No model of leadership to be emulated today, Süleyman dealt harshly with those who opposed him and was obsessed with his ambition to become “Lord of the Age.” By force of will and his many accomplishments, Süleyman nevertheless deserves consideration as one of the great leaders of history.

As sultan of the Ottoman Empire, Süleyman pursued a policy of militant Islam and imperialism. Süleyman’s deep faith in God and upbringing in the warrior traditions of the Ottoman Turks required that he should someday lead armies in battle, defeat infidels in the *dar al-harb* (“abode of war”), and give law and provide order for the faithful in the *dar al-Islam* (“abode of Islam”) (Goffman, p. 46). Christian rulers like Francis I (1515–1547) or Charles V (1516–1556) were similarly inspired by dynastic, crusading agendas, escalating the level of violence along the fault lines of Christian and Islamic civilizations.

As a young man, Süleyman spent little time with his father, Selim the Grim (1470–1520), but his father’s driving energy must have influenced the young man. Selim had advanced the Ottoman Empire past the frontiers of Kurdish and Turkmen potentates into what is now northern Iraq. He had crushed the Mamlukes in Egypt, and that country, along with Syria and the Hijaz part of the Arabian Peninsula that included the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, fell under the sway of the Ottomans. Selim the Grim was a man who “enjoyed nothing more than homicide,” and indeed a callous regard for

human life would permeate the rule of Süleyman as well. (Bridge, p. 27) In his father’s blood-drenched shadow, Süleyman spent most of his youth in the care of his remarkable mother. Hafiza Khatoun, a woman of “great charm and intelligence,” brought up her son, teaching him the manners of sultan and man. Known for her pride and aloofness as much as her elegance and wit, Süleyman would later exhibit these same traits (Bridge, p. 28).

ASCENSION OF SÜLEYMAN

The Ottoman Empire was not a hereditary monarchy like most in Christendom, and it was not elective. Ottoman sultans maintained celibate marriages with their wives in order to prevent outside challenges to dynastic succession. They chose their procreative partners instead from the many concubines that lived in the imperial harem. Sexual relations were restricted to one male offspring per concubine, and fratricide, the practice in which a newly enthroned monarch killed his brothers and their descendants, was institutionalized. It was not certain that Süleyman would follow in his father’s footsteps, until his father chose him to the succession. Selim the Grim would not leave such a matter to chance; he had secured his own power by murdering his oldest brothers and their five children: the latter, strangled to death by deaf and mute assassins, were within earshot of Selim who heard their cries for mercy and their gasps from an adjoining room. The youngest to die was five years old. When Selim died of cancer at fifty-four in September 1520, he had cleared the way for the ascension of Süleyman.

The young sultan appeared to have been confident, proud, and forceful. He was described as “tall but wiry and of delicate complexion,” and “his neck is a little too long, his face thin, and his nose aquiline.” With “a light moustache and small beard and a pleasant expression,” according to the ambassador from Venice, Süleyman rewarded his supporters by showering them with gifts (Bridge, p. 29). He punished those who had not shown loyalty during his ascension. He gave clemency to those rotting away in prisons for alleged crimes against his father, and most important, he rewarded his bodyguards,

called the janissaries, with liberal cash disbursements. The young sultan soon demonstrated other talents aside from political acumen: He wrote poetry that is considered among the best in Islam, and he commissioned the architect Sinan to beautify the Ottoman capital of Istanbul, constructing the magnificent Süleymaniye mosque in Istanbul behind which the bodies of Roxelanna and Süleyman were later entombed. In life, the two lived in the magnificent Topkapi palace that housed the imperial harem and the Ottoman government.

Slaves staffed the entire machine of Sultan Süleyman's government. The most powerful slave official was the grand vizier, the former falconer named Ibrahim Pasha. "Handsome" and "highly intelligent," he spoke Turkish, Greek, Persian, and Italian. Sultan and vizier became extremely close, and some suggest they even had a homosexual affair. Regardless, Ibrahim served as Süleyman's closest advisor, his alter ego, until he was caught signing orders as Sultan instead of using the less prestigious title of *Serasker* or commander-in-chief (Bridge, p. 127). Süleyman summoned Ibrahim to dine at the Topkapi palace, and there he was strangled to death in the spring of 1536 on Süleyman's orders.

None of the Sultan's other court slaves became as powerful as Ibrahim, although the sultan's favorite concubine, Roxelanna, would replace the grand vizier in influence after his death. Süleyman even broke with tradition and married his beloved Roxelanna, who bore him several sons. Süleyman established a dangerous precedent, involving the imperial harem in politics, and later sultans, less willful than Süleyman, would fall victim to palace intrigue. Yet despite indulging in favorites and breaking with tradition, Süleyman himself never brooked any challenge to his own authority.

Slaves also filled the ranks of the sultan's household troops—the dreaded janissaries. These men, supplied by *devshirme*, or a levy upon the children of Christians, were brutally gathered each year in the Balkans, and marched off to Constantinople where they were raised as Muslims. The best among these Christian slaves, such as the sultan's Grand Vizier Ibrahim, became court officials. The less capable became janissaries. Experts with the deadly composite

bow and firearms, fierce and ill disciplined, the janissaries needed constant employment in war lest they turn on the sultan's subjects from sheer boredom.

HOLY WARS

War in the name of religion was at the heart of Süleyman's view of the world and his understanding of what it meant to be leader of the Ottoman state and its people. *Gaza* or holy war would not only content the janissaries, but also win the favor of God. Süleyman's subjects shared in the belief that God would approve of such warfare and reward the devout with prosperity. Janissaries and other soldiers, such as the *siphais*, free, land-owning cavalry, looked forward to rich plunder, and, if death befell them, a shortcut to paradise. Imperialist wars backed by God's favor were expected of Süleyman, and he did not disappoint (Bridge, p. 48).

The first major test for Süleyman as leader of the faithful was provided by the constant bloodshed of small-scale raids and reprisals that raged back and forth on the border between the Ottoman Empire and the Christian kingdom of Hungary. On 16 February 1521, Süleyman marched out of Constantinople at the head of an army that numbered over 100,000 men. Forty Turkish galleons plied up the Danube River in support, and 10,000 wagons brought powder and shot. War parties of *akinji*, Turkish light cavalry, fanned out into the countryside, visiting death and destruction upon it. At Saba, in Serbia, the Christian defenders fought to the last man. Seeing himself in his diary as an instrument of God, Süleyman recorded events in the third person, referring to himself as the "sultan" or simply as "Süleyman":

On July 7 came news of the capture of Saba?; a hundred heads of the soldiers of the garrison, who had been unable to escape across the Save, were brought to the camp. The next day these heads were stuck on pikes alongside the road to the camp. (Bridge, p. 48)

Süleyman probably intended these grisly human signposts, rotting in the heat of July, to stiffen the ranks of his own troops, and the sultan's troops performed well, as he exhorted them. They captured the Serbian capital of Belgrade. When the defenders of



The Ambassador to Constantinople's Impression of Süleyman I

You will probably wish me to describe the impression which Soleiman [Suleyman] made upon me. He is beginning to feel the weight of years, but his dignity of demeanour and his general physical appearance are worthy of the ruler of so vast an empire. He has always been frugal and temperate, and was so even in his youth, when he might have erred without incurring blame in the eyes of the Turks. Even in his earlier years he did not indulge in wine or in those unnatural vices to which the Turks are often addicted. Even his bitterest critics can find nothing more serious to allege against him than his undue submission to his wife and its result in his somewhat precipitate action in putting Mustapha to death, which is generally imputed to her employment of love-potions and incantations. It is generally agreed that, ever since he promoted her to the rank of his lawful wife, he has possessed no concubines, although there is no law to prevent his doing so. He is a strict guardian of his religion and its ceremonies, being not less desirous of upholding his faith than of extending his dominions. For his age—he has almost reached his sixtieth year—he enjoys quite good health, though his bad complexion may be due to some hidden malady; and indeed it is generally believed that he has an incurable ulcer or gangrene on his leg. This defect of complexion he remedies by painting his face with a coating of red powder, when he wishes departing ambassadors to take with them a strong impression of his good health; for he fancies that it contributes to inspire greater fear in foreign potentates if they think that he is well and strong. I noticed a clear indication of this practice on the present occasion; for his appearance when he received me in the final audience was very different from that which he presented when he gave me an interview on my arrival.

Source: Foster, E. (Trans.). (1955). *The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople, 1554–1562*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Reprinted in McNeill, William H. and Waldman, Marilyn Robinson (Eds.). (1973). *The Islamic World*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 348–349.

this town surrendered, they were massacred. It is not known if Süleyman approved of this atrocity or not. On 18 August 1521, the cathedral of Belgrade was consecrated as a mosque. Even as the great victory was celebrated at home, and the residents of Istanbul praised him, Süleyman planned yet further conquests.

More often than not, over the next forty-five years, the sultan would be found at the head of his armies, doing what his followers expected by conquering the lands of infidels and heretics. In 1522, after five months of siege, Süleyman subdued Rhodes, the Christian base of piracy in the Mediterranean. Four years later, Süleyman led a major invasion of the kingdom of Hungary, fighting the decisive battle of Mohács on 29 August in which

the Hungarian king Louis II (1516–1526) was slain and his countrymen utterly defeated. Between 1528 and 1529, Süleyman led his victorious armies into the heart of the Christian defenses of central Europe and lay siege to the Habsburg capital of Vienna. Far from their depots of supplies, and confronted by unexpectedly stiff resistance, this marked the furthest extent of Süleyman's advance into Christendom. The siege of Vienna failed, but in 1529 when Süleyman withdrew his forces to Istanbul, he was undeterred in his dream to become "Lord of the Age." Over three more decades of violence would follow, but not always against Christians.

The Ottoman Empire's other great rival in the world was the Safavid Empire of Persia, ruled by Shah Tahmasp I (1524–1576). The Safavids had adopted Shi'ism Islam as the state religion of Iran, and their messianic mission clashed with the orthodox Sunni Islam of the Ottoman Empire. Süleyman invaded Safavid territory, and in 1534 captured Baghdad and most of Iraq. Southern Yemen fell in 1539, and in 1546 the sultan's armies captured Basra, in southern Iraq. Yet, the Shi'ite tribes in the south of Iraq stubbornly resisted the Ottomans, and the region was never completely subdued. Meanwhile, renewed war with the Habsburgs continued to preoccupy Süleyman to the end of his reign. In 1565, Süleyman unleashed his forces on the Christian stronghold of Malta, the ensuing siege failed disastrously at the cost of between 20,000 and 30,000 men. The next year, Süleyman died obstinately leading an Ottoman army in yet another campaign against the Habsburgs in Hungary.

The most famous and lasting achievement of the reign of Sultan Süleyman, the creation of a single law code for the entire Ottoman Empire that recon-

ciled divine law with the law of sultans, was actually not the work of Sultan Süleyman himself, but rather a legal expert named Ebu's-Su'ud Efendi.

In the decades that followed the fall of Constantinople in 1454, and throughout the early sixteenth century, Islamic legal experts slowly codified the laws of sultans. By the time of Süleyman, this work was nearly completed under the direction of the Albanian Grand Vizier Lutfi Pasha (1540–1541), and sultanic laws had been mostly regularized and replaced the many local laws and customs of the Ottoman Empire (Goffman, p. 76). The great problem though was how to reconcile divine law with the law code of the sultan. Ebu's-Su'ud Efendi, who deserved real credit as “the Law-Giver,” finally accomplished this. As *seyhülislam* or superior judge, Ebu's-Su'ud used his authority to bring “the laws of mankind into harmony with divine law.” Ebu's-Su'ud integrated Islamic law and sultanic law by using the power of the *fetva*, “a proclamation issued by a qualified religious authority in response to questions of law and usage” (Goffman, p. 76). Ebu's-Su'ud also added the title of *caliph*, meaning leader of the entire Islamic community, to the many titles of Süleyman, making the sultan the ultimate religious authority for all Muslims.

In Islamic tradition, Süleyman or *Kanuni* will always be remembered as the “second Solomon,” a monarch who embodied a perfect concept of justice, *'adale*, according to the Qur'an, and his reign marked a period of almost perfect justice and harmony for those of the Islamic faith. Yet, in fairness, bloodshed and suffering also marked his reign, the result of Süleyman's narcissistic ambitions and the faith-based desires of his supporters.

—George Satterfield

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SYSTEMS THEORY

Systems theory attempts to explain the behavior of all systems, whether in the natural world, such as weather systems, or created by humans, such as computer systems. Systems theory also applies to social systems. Social systems include the most complex social structures, such as bureaucracies or nation-states, as well as simple relationships between two people. From this perspective, leadership takes place within systems, whether businesses, public agencies, or communities, which means that systems theory promises to explain the context for leadership. Leadership itself can be thought of as a system created among the participants. In other words, leadership can be viewed both as a system itself and as a phenomenon that is present within systems. Accordingly, a general understanding of systems should improve a person's understanding of leadership at two levels.

EMERGENCE OF SYSTEMS THEORY

Systems theory coalesced around the time of World War II (1939–1945), when scholars from different areas of study came together to devise a General Systems Theory (or GST). The GST, widely credited to the biologist Ludwig von Bertalanffy (1901–1972), was intended to describe every conceivable system, from the simplest and smallest to the most complex and largest. Social scientists such as Talcott Parsons and Kenneth Boulding worked on the GST as it pertained to social systems.

Today, more sophisticated versions of the GST have taken its place. Mastery of systems theory today requires advanced mathematics and a technical vocabulary, yet for social systems it begins simply, with the definition of a social system as a grouping of people who work together interdependently for a common purpose. A team leader at a factory forms a system with his or her teammates, and their system exists within the factory (which is another system),

It is important that an aim never be defined in terms of activity or methods. It must always relate directly to how life is better for everyone . . . The aim of the system must be clear to everyone in the system. The aim must include plans for the future. The aim is a value judgment.

—W. Edwards Deming

which exists within the larger system of the corporation, and so forth.

SYSTEMS AS STRUCTURES, PROCESSES, AND PATTERNS

Systems theory offers three interrelated approaches to the study of leadership. None of these approaches standing alone will suffice. First is the static, or structural, approach, which, like a freeze-frame, shows who belongs to the system and how they relate to one another. The second approach shows the sequence of events they experience. This is the dynamic approach. The third approach reveals patterns of organization over time in the configuration of relationships. The three approaches are not in competition; systems theory, like leadership studies, includes all of them. Nonetheless, it is helpful to keep them conceptually distinct.

Structures

For every social system, there is a structure comprising people in some kind of relationship with one another. The system's environment comprises those variables that may affect its state. What distinguishes the system from its environment is that in the system interdependent elements share a common purpose. The most important facets of a system's structure are the elements (the participants), their relationships, and the system's environment. In the past, structural analysis tended to isolate parts for study and intervention, to the exclusion of the whole, but systems theory looks at the whole system, not just the component parts. In the words of the physicist and systems analyst Fritjof Capra, "the nature of the whole

is always different from the mere sum of its parts" (Capra 1996, 29). If the participants in a social system share this holistic orientation, they are more likely to cooperate with one another and to avoid wasteful competition, as they will think of themselves as part of a web or network rather than as elements in a production line or chain of command.

Processes

It would be misleading to analyze the structure of a system without acknowledging the fact that systems change. Rarely, if ever, do they approach equilibrium. That is why Jay Forrester, one of the first scientists to analyze how systems behave, has emphasized system dynamics as a critical approach to management education. Social systems are now understood to be autopoietic, which means they constantly recreate themselves and vary their structures accordingly. What matters from this point of view is the structure of change, frequently depicted in a flow diagram. The most important facets of a system's dynamics are input, throughput, output, and feedback. Input describes the conditions at any given moment in time. Throughput describes the action that take place, based on the apparent input. Output describes the future results of those actions. Finally, feedback returns information to the system about its performance. By this means, the system regulates itself.

Patterns

The processes of organization establish an identity for the system, giving it a degree of permanence despite the presence of change. A social system maintains a relatively stable pattern through which processes flow, like water through a river bed. These patterns among the processes include cyclical patterns that represent stability and developmental patterns that represent evolution. Of particular interest to cybernetics are the patterns of communication flow.

An Illustration

It may be helpful at this point to illustrate how these approaches apply to leadership as a system. Leader-

ship includes people, both leader and the led, who work together for the sake of some common purpose, such as producing widgets. Thus, leadership fits the definition of a system. The input for leadership would be such things as the traits of individual participants (including their knowledge, skills, and abilities), the nature of the relationships among the participants, the nature of the purpose they share, and the context within which leadership will have to take place. Throughput would be the interaction among the participants, primarily their communication and the actions they take in response to that communication. If the common purpose, as given above, is the production of widgets, then widgets are the system's output. Feedback would include data on the quantity and quality of widgets produced, as well as such metrics as elapsed time to make them and customer satisfaction.

SYSTEMS DIAGNOSIS

Participants in a system share a purpose, otherwise it would not be a system. Participants take actions intended to fulfill that purpose, however vain or ambiguous it may be. Later, as they acquire feedback about the results of their actions, they may detect a gap or discrepancy if, for some reason, those actions did not achieve their intended results. This discrepancy calls for an investigation, which systems theory can aid. Leaders in particular must measure progress, detect discrepancies, devise strategies to close the gaps, and scan the environment for new ideas and information—always with the end in mind.

It is important to recognize that throughput can be based on inaccurate information about present conditions as well as inaccurate information about the likely consequences of a course of action. If a manager were operating under a mistaken perception that market demand for labor had increased, he or she might award employees large raises in order to retain them in the perceived competitive market. That would be a mistake about present conditions. But a manager might also award large raises because he or she believed that the raises would motivate employees to work harder in the next quarter. If that belief were mistaken, then it would be a mistake about the

likely consequences of a course of action. In fact, it is often the case that when firms think they are appraising employees, they are actually appraising the effect of the system on the employees, which is completely different. W. Edwards Deming (1900–1993), a champion of quality control and an important advocate for systems theory in management education, once estimated that 94 percent of the problems management encounters turn out to be problems with the system and not with individual participants. Making matters worse, feedback may only be returned to the system weeks, months, or even years later—assuming that the manager has not overlooked or ignored available feedback, which also happens. Even when feedback is timely and accurate, the manager can draw mistaken conclusions from it. For example, a manager might infer from increased sales (feedback) that a new marketing campaign was successful, when in fact what really happened was that products sold earlier had simply reached their obsolescence, requiring their owners to replace them. Systems theory would prepare leaders for these potential problems.

When they encounter problems, leaders often search for direct causes. They want to know why something happened so they can fix it. Systems theory reveals that approach to be inadequate for a number of reasons. Alleviating one problem may have unintended consequences that systems theory would have been able to anticipate. Without a systems perspective, leaders may intervene at suboptimal points, wasting resources and increasing frustration. Sometimes, the cure is worse than the disease—a correction at one point in the system may create worse problems elsewhere in the system, or short-term solutions may lead to long-term degradation. Most troubling of all, in many instances the solution turns out to be the cause of the problem in the first place, leading to a vicious cycle, as when declines in productivity lead to worker layoffs, which in turn result in greater productivity declines and the perceived need for more layoffs.

A diagnosis from the systems perspective tries to look behind symptoms for their root causes. In one famous example, an oil leak on the shop floor was found to drip from new (and faulty) machinery that

had been purchased from the lowest bidder because the purchasing agent was rewarded as a matter of policy for reducing the initial cost of purchase. An effort had been made to optimize a part of the system at the expense of the whole. Systems theory enables a leader to interpret feedback and trace its significance back through the system. This requires perpetual learning: An autopoietic system has to learn in order to survive, let alone thrive, in a changing environment. Clearly, then, it is important for leaders to be learning continually. Peter Senge, the author of *The Learning Organization* (1990), teaches social systems how to become learning organizations, precisely for this reason. A system has to monitor itself and its circumstances routinely and draw lessons about how to respond. Leaders need the right input.

THREE SYSTEMS TASKS FOR LEADERS

There are three tasks for a leader. A leader can work within a system to get things done, work to alter a system for the sake of its purpose, or alter the purpose of the system altogether.

Leaders operating a system take action within the constraints of that system in order to achieve the system's purpose. They use and manage processes already in place. An understanding of systems theory would presumably help them perform. Just because some writers claim that systems can be self-organizing, that does not eliminate the need for leadership. As Deming insisted, complex systems require leadership of some kind. Leaders function best to the extent they work with the dynamics inherent in the system. Periodically, for the sake of homeostasis, a leader will have to counterbalance the system's tendencies. Even that action presupposes acceptance of the purpose and the basic design of the system.

Sometimes the system itself must change. When leaders bring about this change, they are said to be designing a new system. Leaders designing a system alter the existing processes in order to increase the likelihood of achieving the system's purpose. Most importantly, a system designer seeks to optimize the system as a whole rather than trying to optimize its parts separately. The output at any stage in the system is supposed to match the input requirements of

the next. Toward this end, a leader has to bring participants into alignment. At this level, therefore, a leader accepts the purpose but not the existing design of the system.

Systems theory had little to say about the third leadership task until the introduction of the concept of "soft systems," which are systems at risk of losing their purpose. When problems arise and the system's purpose has been thrown into doubt, the system becomes especially vulnerable and "soft." For autopoietic systems, that is a good thing, since uncertainty stimulates innovation. This is why system designers no longer seek to create ideal systems. Instead, they seek to create systems that are effective at ideal seeking. This is an important distinction. When people are no longer sure what to think or why they should even bother to participate, they seek a purpose. They reach what is known as a bifurcation point. The hero in this crisis, the leader who performs the third leadership task, has to free himself or herself from the existing system to do this. The leader has to be capable of occupying a place conceptually outside of a system; he or she must bring the organization and the environment into alignment, whether that means changing the organization, the environment, or both. At this level, a leader accepts neither the preexisting purpose nor the design of the current system.

CONTROVERSIES SURROUNDING SYSTEMS THEORY

Systems theory is not without its detractors. Some critics notice that systems theory tends to omit references to ethics. The philosopher and sociologist Jürgen Habermas has worried, for example, that social systems offer no point of critique from outside of the system. Habermas described systems thinking as a "methodological antihumanism" because it avoids looking at human beings as unique subjects engaging in private or intersubjective activities. Instead, they are defined exclusively by the system. His debates with the sociologist Niklas Luhmann on these and other issues greatly influenced the development of systems theory.

Forrester concedes that systems thinking can appear to deny free will, because a certain situation

is seen as ineluctably eliciting a certain response from participants. What he actually claimed, however, was merely that in making free choices people are largely responsive to their experiences of the world in predictable ways. Rather than deny free will, systems theory, properly understood, promises to remove systemic shackles on individual freedom by enabling participants to see the ways in which a system constrains their efforts, as well as how a different system could enhance their efforts to achieve a goal. For example, suppose a worker walks twenty feet to retrieve a part every three minutes. By closing that distance to three feet—assuming that is feasible—the worker saves time and effort. This increases the rate at which things get done, which in turn improves the chances of institutional reward for the worker (such as raises, profits, or simply getting to finish the job sooner and go home early).

Fritjof Capra has explained that unlike bodily organs, which are elements of bodily systems, human elements in social systems are autonomous. They are also frequently the beneficiaries of their own systems, which also require a degree of creativity from their participants. Thus, there is reason to dispute the argument that systems theory denies free will or diminishes the individual human being.

One of the strengths of systems thinking is its focus on the whole as well as its parts. For critics, this is also a weakness, because it diminishes the importance of each individual and risks turning leaders away from being attentive to their followers. Supporters of systems thinking argue in rejoinder that a thorough understanding of systems incorporates both perspectives in what is known as the hermeneutic circle: The parts are known by the whole and the whole is known by the parts.

Systems theory had to become abstract to include social systems in the same category with physical systems—a controversial move in itself—and at such a level of abstraction leaders have to remember their actual predicaments, the real people and stubborn facts of a situation. Concepts detached from experience encourage what the mathematician and philosopher Alfred North Whitehead (1861–1947) called the Fallacy of Misplaced Concreteness—the attribution of concrete reality to abstract concepts.

Some fear that systems theory implies social engineering, by which a technical elite determines the organization of communities. From a systems perspective, the ideal of democratic governance and follower participation seems inefficient and even counterproductive—although not all systems theorists agree with that assessment. Some theorists, such as Margaret Wheatley, argue that systems theory encourages leaders to trust and involve their followers more, not less. They argue the principle of equifinality, which states that there can be different ways to achieve the same end, so that once participants accept the purpose and values of the system and hold themselves accountable to it, they should be turned loose to find their own best way to perform.

There is a tension between participants' desire to have a say in the organization of their lives and the necessity for technical expertise when it comes to making good decisions about complex systems. Even Habermas agrees that social systems have become so complex that they require steering mechanisms to regulate them. He believes that leadership is a weak steering mechanism, but others disagree. The engineer John Warfield believes that leadership is one of the seven critical factors for design success.

Adherents and critics of systems theory have noticed points of conflict with politics, morality, religion, and aesthetics. To the extent leadership can be understood from each of these perspectives, systems theory poses a challenge, because it aspires to comprehend all human behavior in one grand image. To the extent that politics, morality, religion, and aesthetics (or other realms of understanding) claim exclusive understanding of leadership, the emerging discipline of leadership studies will be divided.

System theorists have tried to unlock the laws of nature despite protests that systems have no concrete reality, being mere conceptualizations of the real world. Those conceptualizations rely heavily on metaphors, which in turn come with their own baggage. Thinking about social groupings as systems might be helpful, critics concede, but there is no reason to make the assumption that systems theory alone is true.

Systems theory can be difficult to master and has generated a large and complicated set of terms and

principles, but its difficulty should not be held against it, since the merit of a theory lies not in how easy it is to learn, but rather in how easy it makes the task of understanding experience. Understanding how systems work improves one's ability to predict the consequences of proposed change. Despite numerous objections, therefore, systems theory remains a vivid and powerful tool both for leaders and for those studying leadership.

—*Nathan Harter and Julie Phillips*

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TACIT KNOWLEDGE

How is it that Bill Gates, a college dropout, could become the leader of the most successful software company in the world? What events enabled George Patton, who did so poorly at West Point that he had to repeat a year, to become a four-star general and a combat hero of World War II? Why is it that newly graduated M.B.A. students or newly commissioned military officers have such difficulty influencing others, despite years of formal education and leadership training?

As most successful adults know, the knowledge required to accomplish their goals in life is not limited to the information presented in course readings and passed on by lecturers. Such information provides a foundation for technical skills and shared academic or professional vocabulary, but it does not capture the action-oriented, “tacit” knowledge that guides the way an individual frames and solves everyday problems. Because leadership success is a function of the effective solution of countless everyday problems, an understanding of tacit knowledge and how it is acquired is critical to understanding good leadership. Such an understanding would also inform how better leadership can be developed.

WHAT IS TACIT KNOWLEDGE?

Tacit knowledge is often difficult to verbalize by those who possess it and so typically is not discussed

in textbooks or procedural manuals. Yet, tacit knowledge provides those who possess it with a complex set of links between problem situations having particular characteristics and the actions that should be taken given these characteristics. Consider, for example, an army lieutenant who must take charge of a platoon that has undergone several recent personnel changes and whose previous lieutenant was ineffective. Establishing himself or herself as the leader of the platoon requires not only that the lieutenant have read army leadership doctrine and passed leadership courses, but also that the lieutenant know how to establish and implement quickly a standard operating procedure for the platoon. The lieutenant must also determine how to maintain discipline where previous efforts have failed and when to ask others for advice.

Tacit knowledge informs the ways in which a person deals with everyday interpersonal interactions so that constructive relationships with others can be formed and maintained. Tacit knowledge also informs the ways in which a person must deal with the everyday tasks he or she must manage in order to be a successful student, employee, or citizen. Achieving the self-understanding and personal discipline used to manage one’s own emotional and psychological reactions also requires tacit knowledge. Tacit knowledge, as it relates to tasks, others, and the self, can be applied to accomplishing both short-term and long-term goals.

Tacit knowledge is acquired through the interac-

tion of three cognitive processes that occur when a person encounters a new situation: selective encoding, selective combination, and selective comparison. In every new situation, a person is faced with countless pieces of information, from both the environment and memories of previous experiences. Selective encoding involves sifting through these pieces of information in order to determine which among them is important for solving a particular problem or handling a particular situation. Selective combination involves the integration of this information into meaningful patterns that allow the individual to recognize sets of information that co-occur with successful actions. Selective comparison involves the comparison of new information to previously acquired information in order to continuously update one's knowledge structure. The coordination of these processes allows for the application of tacit knowledge to everyday problem solving in many diverse domains, including leadership.

For example, after a subordinate unsuccessfully heads up a particular type of business unit, a business executive might use selective encoding to identify the personal characteristics associated with the subordinate's failure. This executive might then use selective combination to determine that certain types of characteristics, such as innovative thinking, should be matched not just to certain types of business units (e.g., research and development) but also to units of a particular size (e.g., six to ten people). For the next promotion situation, the executive would use selective comparison to evaluate the characteristics of the current business unit and the traits of the job candidate relative to those of past successful situations in order to make an informed decision.

HOW IS TACIT KNOWLEDGE LINKED TO LEADERSHIP SUCCESS?

In order to link tacit knowledge to leadership success, one must first capture it from expert leaders and then transform it into an assessment. The relation between performance on the assessment and indicators of leadership success (e.g., leadership effectiveness ratings, management simulations) can then be examined. To capture tacit knowledge, experts are

asked to recall events through which they learned something valuable, something they had not been taught in their formal education. The experts describe the problem situation they faced, the action they took, and the lesson they learned from the experience. The tacit knowledge assessments based on the experts' stories can have one of two formats: a situational judgment test or a case study.

For a situational judgment test, the experts' problem situation descriptions are condensed into a brief paragraph accompanied by a series of possible solution strategies. The examinee is asked to rate each of the solution strategies for its expected effectiveness in handling the problem. A series of problem situations and their possible solutions is assembled into what is called a "tacit knowledge inventory." Tacit knowledge inventories have been created to examine management performance, executive leadership, and military leadership, as well as performance in other non-leadership domains (e.g., sales, academic psychology, college life).

For a case study, the experts' problem situation descriptions are expanded into in-depth accounts of a complex problem situation. Possible solution strategies are not provided. Instead, examinees are asked to provide a strategy for handling the problem situation. They are also asked to provide their interpretation of the problem situation, to state their goal in handling the problem, and to identify any obstacles they foresee to getting the problem solved. Case studies recently have been created to examine management performance and military leadership.

Performance on tacit knowledge inventories and case studies can be determined using several methods, but each method results in a score that represents the degree to which an individual's responses conform to those provided by a group of nominated experts. Through the use of assessments such as those described in the previous two paragraphs, tacit knowledge has demonstrated a substantial relation to ratings of leadership effectiveness, to salary, to the quality of company in which a manager is employed, and to performance on management simulations. Although management and leadership are considered separate functions in the leadership literature, it is generally acknowledged that these functions are

interrelated. Both leaders and managers serve both functions throughout their careers.

Tacit knowledge case studies have also provided a tool for investigating the process of acquiring tacit knowledge and how it can be improved. Research on this process and its enhancement is currently ongoing and is a promising approach to understanding how leaders learn from their experiences. A better understanding of this process has implications for improving formal leadership education. Informed by research findings, coursework could be modified such that students are taught not only facts and ideas relevant to leadership but also ways to continue learning once outside of the classroom.

TACIT KNOWLEDGE AND THEORIES OF LEADERSHIP

Decades of interest in accounting for individual differences in leadership success have led to the identification of numerous traits and behaviors characteristic of successful leaders. Tacit knowledge fits in well with several of the personal characteristics of successful leaders identified in the literature, such as social skill, emotional intelligence, complex thinking, and wisdom. The acquisition of tacit knowledge in social and emotional domains gives rise to the interpersonal skills and self-management skills that stem from social and emotional intelligence. As tacit knowledge accumulates, the complexity of an individual's knowledge structure grows, allowing for the finer discriminations among problem characteristics and more flexible behavioral repertoires. Tacit knowledge also serves as a foundation for wise thinking, in which the multiple stakeholders (people with an interest in an outcome) in a problem situation must be taken into consideration in order to arrive at problem solutions that achieve a common good. A noteworthy link between the constructs listed earlier is that all represent an attempt to account for leadership performance beyond the account that can already be made by intelligence and personality as traditionally defined. Accounting for leadership success apart from conventional intelligence becomes especially important in making hiring and promotion decisions in which most candidates have similar high levels of intelligence.

Because the construct (theoretical entity) of tacit knowledge represents a knowledge-based approach to understanding leadership success, it provides an important bridge between behavior-based accounts of leadership success and actual leadership performance. Current theories that describe the behaviors of successful leaders provide useful insights into what one must do in order to communicate vision and influence others. However, these theories do not provide an explanation for how these behaviors are enacted in the workplace to achieve success. When is a leader's behavior effectively empowering his or her followers, as opposed to appeasing them? How does a leader provide individualized consideration in competitive group settings without invoking feelings of jealousy? Tacit knowledge allows the leader to make fine distinctions between situational conditions in which the same behaviors can have strikingly different outcomes.

LOOKING AHEAD

The recent shift away from conceptualizing leadership solely as something passed down from the top of an organization has opened the door to exploring the acquisition and spread of tacit knowledge in organizations. When lower-ranking members of an organization are described as "contributors to organizational vision and success," more informal forms of knowledge become recognized as critical to performance at all levels. One promising avenue of research in this area involves developing an understanding of how tacit knowledge can be made explicit and shared in informal ways, such as online communities of practice. A second avenue involves discovering methods through which one's ability to acquire tacit knowledge directly from on-the-job leadership experiences can be enhanced. Due to advancements in simulation technology and mathematical models of human performance, future methods for creating tacit knowledge assessments could be developed in which procuring tacit knowledge from experts does not require verbalization and the resulting assessments present problem situations that unfold in real time.

The continued exploration of tacit knowledge, its acquisition, and its use in everyday problem solving

will further the understanding and development of successful leadership already accomplished by other means. The construct of tacit knowledge has important overlaps with several other concepts in the leadership literature, and it links accounts of successful leader behaviors with actual leadership performance. As such, tacit knowledge will remain an important aspect of scholarly leadership research.

—Anna T. Cianciolo and Robert J. Sternberg

See also Intelligence, Emotional; Intelligence, Social; Schemata, Scripts, and Mental Models

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TASK LEADERSHIP

When between one-third and one-half of recent scholarly leadership articles are devoted to transformational leadership (where followers' goals are broadened and elevated and confidence is gained to go beyond expectations) or charismatic leadership (where leaders by force of their personal abilities are capable of having a profound and extraordinary effect on followers), one wonders whatever happened to plain, unadorned leadership directed toward task completion. The answer is that such leadership, here called "task leadership," is alive and well and still serves as an irreplaceable leadership component.

The notion of task leadership, first hinted at by social psychologists Kurt Lewin, Ronald Lippitt, and R. K. White (1939), gained dramatic impetus shortly after World War II. A new breed of leadership researchers began to break away from earlier "great man" (a leader as a person endowed with unique qualities that capture the imagination of the masses) and trait approaches (what traits make certain leaders "better" or more effective than others, or what traits make one person, rather than another, emerge as a leader?). Disappointed in their ability to clearly answer the trait questions, researchers decided to look at leadership behaviors in the hope that such behaviors would show clearer results.

Almost concurrently, research teams at The University of Michigan, Ohio State University, and the University of Southern California (USC) converged on similar kinds of leadership dimensions. At Michigan, these dimensions were called "production ("job") centered" and "employee centered" (Likert 1961, Ch. 2). At Ohio State, they were called "initiating structure" and "consideration" (Bass 1990, Ch. 24). At USC, the dimensions comprised such task

aspects as advanced planning, job competence, and lack of pressure for production and consideration-oriented dimensions such as job helpfulness, lack of arbitrariness, sympathy, and the like.

These studies were based on survey questionnaires. However, at roughly the same time, some laboratory experiments were conducted at Harvard, and a research program ultimately using a variety of research methods was started in Japan (Misumi and Peterson, 1985). The Harvard work used small groups comprised students to identify emergent leaders (those arising from the situation) and identified “task-centered” and “socio-emotional” leadership dimensions. The Japanese mixed research methods studies identified performance behaviors (forming and reaching group goals [P]) and (group) maintenance behaviors (preserving group social stability [M]), summarized as the “PM” approach.

Essentially, all of this work tapped dimensions related, in one way or another, to those concerned with group and individual goals and means to achieve the goals (task leadership) and those concerned with maintaining friendly, supportive relations with followers (relationship leadership).

REFINING TASK LEADERSHIP AND RELATIONSHIP LEADERSHIP DIMENSIONS

Much of the literature covering aspects of task leadership and relationship leadership has tended to treat them broadly or at a relatively high level of abstraction. That is, researchers have emphasized overall task leadership and overall relationship leadership. The problem is that the components making up each of these dimensions have tended not to be emphasized much, and therefore dimensions with the same or similar labels have often differed from study to study. Thus, it has been difficult to compare the results of one study with another in terms of follower satisfaction, performance, and so forth.

Business school professors Gary Yukl, Angela Gordon, and Tom Taber (2002) consider this issue in what they call a “hierarchical taxonomy” (system of classification) with three meta-categories (general, broadly defined), two of which focus on task leadership and relationship leadership aspects. After con-

siderable conceptual and empirical work, the authors split task behavior into three more specific behaviors or components tapping short-term planning, clarification of task objectives, and role expectations, and split relations into five specific behaviors ranging from support and encouragement to empowerment. The authors conclude from their conceptual and empirical work that different components are likely to be important in different situations and, in most cases, should be emphasized in lieu of the broader-gauge, more abstract task leadership and relationship dimensions.

Business school and public administration professors Robert Quinn and his associates (Quinn, 1988; Quinn, Faerman, Thompson, and McGrath, 2003) developed a model with eight dimensions, which they call “roles.” Four of these roles can be readily classified as task functions and two as relationship functions as outlined here:

Task

Producer: Seeks closure and motivates behaviors that will lead to completion of a unit’s task

Director: Emphasizes vision, setting and clarifying goals, and establishes clear expectations

Coordinator: Maintains structure, schedules, coordinates, and problem solves, and sees that rules and standards are met

Monitor: Collects and distributes information, does performance checks, and provides a sense of stability and continuity

Relationship

Facilitator: Builds teams, encourages expression of ideas, seeks consensus, and negotiates compromise

Mentor: Is aware of individual needs, listens actively, is fair, and attempts to encourage individual development

These roles, in a manner similar to the work of Yukl and associates (2002), can be considered as more specific aspects of higher-level task leadership and relationship leadership. In turn, Quinn and associates break these roles down still more specifically with what they term “competencies”—three per role.

COMBINATIONS OF TASK LEADERSHIP AND RELATIONSHIP LEADERSHIP

From their inception and regardless of their level of specificity, task leadership and relationship leadership have been considered in combination, as in the Michigan, Ohio State, and other early research. The conceptual and empirical separateness of the Ohio State consideration and initiating structure research dimensions and social psychologist Robert Bales's task-centered and socio-emotional dimensions led to work arguing that the "best" leaders need to be high, or at least above the mean, on both dimensions.

Illustratively, psychologists Robert Blake and Jane Mouton (1964) designed a nine-point grid with concern for production (task behaviors) on the horizontal axis and concern for people (relationship behaviors) on the vertical axis. These grid combinations ranged from a 1/1 "impoverished" style (low concern for production and people) to a 9/9 "team management" style (high on both dimensions). Similarly, a number of studies used the Ohio State consideration and initiating structures research dimensions, Bales's dimensions, or Japanese research psychologist Jyuji Misumi's dimensions to conclude that a high/high combination of the two dimensions was better than other combinations.

A key question in all this is how the relationship between the two dimensions operates. In the "additive" model, the assumption is that task and relationship aspects have independent additive effects on followers. For example, task leadership would be relevant only for accomplishing a task, or relationship leadership would be relevant only for supportive aspects. However, these behaviors would not be relevant for both aspects simultaneously—both would need to be added together to enhance effectiveness.

Alternatively, there is a "multiplicative" model. In this model, task and relationship behaviors or components interact, and each facilitates the other in its impact with followers. For example, the impact of task behavior is more positive when relationship leadership is high than when it is low and vice versa, and if either one is zero, there is no impact.

Most of the studies examining high-high results have been based on questionnaire surveys on which

people are asked to describe leadership at one point in time and to think back on how the leader typically behaved. Bales's experimental work was an exception, and the PM leadership work sometimes was experimental and sometimes used surveys. The survey work has tended to emphasize an additive model with far less work done using a multiplicative model, and, not surprisingly, relatively more support has been found for the additive than the multiplicative model (Larson, Hunt, & Osborn, 1976). Similar results have been found with the PM model (Misumi, 1985).

However, two recent studies extend the thinking on the high/high question. The first of these studies is Quinn and associates' work mentioned earlier. In an interesting twist, they paired each task dimension with a corresponding relationship dimension (e.g., producer-facilitator, director-mentor, etc.) such that the dimensions are considered opposites or competing with each other. A good leader attempts to balance each of these opposites. The authors have emphasized using competing dimensions virtually simultaneously. This emphasis is similar to the multiplicative model, where one dimension facilitates the other in impacting followers. Robert Quinn, Gretchen Spreitzer, and Stewart Hart (1991) have called this notion "interpenetration" (the simultaneous operation of opposites). A second study by business school professor Gian Casimir (Casimir, 2001) examines combining task and relationship aspects of leadership across time in terms of their linkage to follower satisfaction. In other words, how do the leadership aspects combine? Casimir examines the different combinations of task and relationship: order, temporality, and constancy. Order considers whether relationship leadership immediately precedes or follows task leadership. Temporality considers the time interval between task leaders and relationship leaders (e.g., support immediately after task or after, say, a thirty-minute delay). Constancy considers whether the two kinds of leadership are always combined in the same or different ways.

In a fixed form of constancy, there is only one type of paired combination (e.g., relationship is always provided immediately after pressure). In a variable form of constancy, more than one type of

paired combination is used (e.g., support is sometimes provided immediately before task and other times after task).

One series of studies emphasized task orientation as pressures, whereas other work emphasized task orientation as job instructions. High points of Casimir's previously mentioned studies of male and female and blue-collar and white-collar workers, showed that task-oriented leadership (either pressure or instructions) should not be provided without relationship-oriented leadership and that relationship-oriented leadership generally should be provided immediately before task-oriented leadership.

Clearly a leader must be concerned not only about exhibiting both task leadership and relationship leadership but also about the way in which these leaderships should be displayed over time in terms of order, temporality, and consistency. Yukl (1998) also points out that one can exhibit too much of a behavior (too much directiveness may cause resentment and inhibit initiative, and too much support may make a follower overly dependent). Furthermore, as business school professor Mark Peterson (1985) argues, different specific behaviors may be called for in different settings even though the leader is attempting to emphasize both task leadership and relationship leadership—in other words, task and relationship functions are reflected in different ways. The interactions between these dimensions, implied earlier, are complex indeed, and most studies have done little more than pay lip service to this complexity.

SITUATIONAL ASPECTS OF TASK LEADERSHIP AND RELATIONSHIP LEADERSHIP

This discussion has hinted at the importance of the leadership situation for task leadership and relationship leadership. A few approaches recognize the interaction of situation and leadership. The first of these is the situational leadership approach (Hersey, Blanchard, and Johnson, 2001), which posits that there is no best way to lead. This approach focuses on follower maturity or readiness in terms of ability and willingness to accomplish a specific task. Leaders adjust their focus on task behaviors, such as guid-

ance, and on direction and relationship behaviors, such as socio-emotional support according to follower readiness (from low to high) to perform their task. Leaders are expected to develop the capability to diagnose demands of each of these readiness situations and then to choose and implement the appropriate leadership style in terms of the relative emphasis on task leadership and relationship leadership.

More specifically, the approach matches four task leadership and relationship leadership styles (S1–S4) with four follower readiness conditions (R1–R4) as follows:

- R1: Low readiness, unable and unwilling to take responsibility or insecure. S1 high-task, low- to moderate-relationship leadership, defines roles, eliminates insecurity about what must be done
- R2: Low to moderate readiness, unable but willing to take responsibility or confident. S2 high-task, high-relationship leadership, combines directiveness with supportiveness to maintain confidence
- R3: Moderate to high readiness, able but unwilling or insecure. S3 low task, high relationship, combines sharing in decision making with support to enhance security
- R4: High readiness, able, willing, and confident. S4 low task, low relationship, allows willing and confident followers to assume responsibility

The approach is intuitively appealing. It also has been incorporated into training programs by a large number of firms (Hersey et al., 2001) but does not have much systematic research evidence. Regardless, it illustrates well one way of bringing in explicit situational aspects in dealing with task leadership and relationship leadership.

A second situational approach is management professor Robert House's "path-goal leadership theory" (House, 1971; House and Mitchell, 1974). The term *path-goal* is used because the approach emphasizes how a leader influences follower perceptions of work and personal goals and the paths found between these two goal sets. The approach assumes that a leader's key function is to adjust his or her behaviors to complement work-setting situational aspects. When the leader can compensate for aspects lacking in the setting, followers are likely to be satisfied with

the leader and/or be more motivated. For example, the leader could help remove job ambiguity or show how good performance could lead to more pay. Performance should improve with clarification of the paths by which (1) effort leads to performance and (2) performance leads to valued rewards.

Although the approach includes more than task leadership and relationship leadership dimensions, these dimensions, labeled in the approach as “directive” leadership and “supportive” leadership, are two key aspects and form the basis for the following two predictions:

- Directive leadership will have a positive follower impact when the task is ambiguous and the opposite effect when the task is clear. Also, with highly authoritarian and close-minded followers, even more directive leadership is called for.
- Supportive leadership will increase follower satisfaction for those who work on highly repetitive tasks or on unpleasant or stressful tasks. For example, traditional assembly-line autoworker jobs are often considered highly repetitive and perhaps even unpleasant. A supportive leader could make these jobs more satisfying.

Although there is more to the path-goal approach than just described, the discussion suggests its relevance in terms of better understanding the interaction of task leadership and relationship leadership with various situational aspects. The approach has more supportive research than does the situational leadership approach and has recently been revised in an expanded version that includes a number of additional aspects in addition to task leadership and relationship leadership (House, 1996). Again, however, it provides an increased feel for the role of situational aspects in understanding task leadership and relationship leadership.

A final situational illustration worth touching on is the “substitutes for leadership theory” (Kerr & Jermier, 1978), which argues that sometimes hierarchical leadership makes essentially no difference. Certain individual, job, and organizational variables can either serve as leadership substitutes or neutralize a leader’s impact on followers. These substitutes make a leader’s task leadership or relationship leadership unnecessary

or redundant in that they replace the leader’s influence. For example, it may be unnecessary or not even possible to provide the kind of task-oriented direction already available from experienced, talented, and well-trained followers. Sometimes, also, a leader has little authority or is physically separated so that his or her leadership may be nullified even though task supportiveness may still be needed.

Still other approaches exist, but those discussed are among the most widely known. They capture situational aspects of task leadership and relationship leadership well.

FUTURE IMPLICATIONS

As mentioned, there is a trend for task leadership or the two-factor task leadership and relationship leadership to be displaced by such approaches as charismatic and transformational leadership. However, refinements—such as considering more specific task and relationship components, along with an emphasis on combining the two kinds of components, especially across time—appear to offer opportunities for rejuvenation. When the smoke clears for most approaches, task leadership and relationship leadership or something akin to them seem to appear, in one form or another, as important leadership aspects.

—James G. (Jerry) Hunt

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TEAM LEADERSHIP

Effective team leadership enables members of a team to perform collectively to achieve objectives. A team usually has a designated leader, who can be a member of the team or a manager from outside the team. Within a team, the leadership role can be rotated—filled by different members at different times. The leadership role can also be shared by several members of a team simultaneously without the designa-

tion of a formal leader role; shared leadership is more common in teams than in less-interdependent work groups. Team leadership can even change from being the responsibility of a formal leader to being the shared responsibility of several team members as the team gains experience.

Clearly the sources of leadership can vary from team to team, and within a team the sources of leadership can vary over time. Some scholars, including Stewart and Manz (1997) and Zaccaro, Rittman, and Marks (2001), have conceptualized team leadership primarily as a designated role. Other scholars, such as Hackman (2002) and Yukl (2002), have suggested that it is more useful to think about team leadership in terms of a process that facilitates team performance.

However, regardless of whether team leadership is described as a role or process, there appears to be consensus that leadership is necessary for effective team performance. Further, most scholars would probably agree with the premise that leaders can facilitate team effectiveness by ensuring (1) efficient, goal-directed effort; (2) adequate resources; (3) a productive, supportive climate; (4) competent, motivated member performance; and (5) commitment to the team's continuous improvement and adaptation.

LEADERSHIP CONTRIBUTIONS TO TEAM PERFORMANCE

Regardless of its source, leadership's primary contribution to team performance is to create and maintain the conditions necessary for team effectiveness: (1) efficient, goal-directed effort; (2) adequate resources; (3) a productive, supportive climate; (4) competent, motivated member performance; and (5) commitment to the team's continuous improvement and adaptation.

Efficient, Goal-Directed Effort

Teams require coordinated, goal-directed effort for efficient performance. A lack of common goals and coordination among members can lead to a cycle of inefficiency, frustration, and lower collective output that can be difficult to reverse. Team leaders, there-

fore, can facilitate productive team performance by clarifying goals, roles, and task strategies.

Goal clarification requires communication across at least three levels in the organization. The team's mission and goals should be aligned with the needs and expectations of the larger organization in which the team operates. Often the larger organization defines the initial direction of the team when it is created, and determines how to select appropriate team membership. In some cases, however, the team may contribute to or create its own charter and vision for its future. In all cases, team leadership can communicate with the larger organization to clarify expectations when the team is formed and as conditions change during the team's life.

Team leadership can inspire commitment to a shared vision and use this vision as a guide to establish meaningful, shorter-term performance goals for the team. A shared vision and commitment to valued, feasible shared goals are first steps toward developing a collective identity for the team and establishing a basis for coordination.

Team leadership can then facilitate the development of task strategies across team members to coordinate individual actions into collective accomplishment. An important part of this activity is translating group goals into interdependent individual goals and assigning roles to team members. This coordination is especially important when there is a complex team task and each team member needs to understand his or her part clearly for efficient collective effort.

If the team has interdependent relationships with other teams or organizations, leadership may coordinate mutual goals and relationships with these teams to facilitate performance overall.

Adequate Resources

Teams need adequate resources to achieve their goals and rely on leadership to obtain those resources. Teams may require specific equipment or supplies, or they may require just adequate information and time. Effective team leadership can also maintain positive relationships with resource providers to create favorable impressions about the team and influence providers' decisions about

resource allocation. If adequate resources are not available to support the team's achievement of goals, team leaders can negotiate an agreement (e.g., with superiors or clients) that reflects more realistic goals or deadlines.

A Productive, Supportive Climate

Effective team performance requires high levels of cooperation, cohesiveness, and mutual trust among team members, especially in complex task situations. These factors are important aspects of the team's interpersonal climate, a dimension that can be as important to effective team performance as the team's goals, task strategies, and resources. Team leadership can play an important role in establishing this climate by describing and modeling appropriate interpersonal behavior and by supporting relationships that build mutual trust, respect, and cooperation. Team leadership can discourage unproductive conflict among team members and use task-related conflict to enhance interaction, understanding, and mutual problem solving.

Team leaders can also facilitate the development of positive shared beliefs among members about their collective identity as a team and their collective capability to achieve their shared objectives. Identification with the team can cause members to look beyond their individual roles and assume a sense of shared responsibility for the team's overall performance. Team leadership can enhance this identity and build pride among members as a unit by promoting a favorable image of the team to the larger organization. Having confidence in their collective capabilities can inspire members to take on different challenges and persist in difficult tasks despite setbacks and obstacles.

Competent, Motivated Performance

Goals, task strategies, resources, and climate lay the foundation for efficient and effective team effort. The social, emotional, and task-related aspects of team performance, however, can also be affected by member and team competence. Team members need the appropriate skills, knowledge, and motivation to per-



External Control and Team Leadership: Hunting Practice of the Ojibwa

The following description of changes in the indigenous hunting practices of the Ojibwa of Canada due to the emergence of a money economy shows how the notion of teamwork weakened as did the influence of the team leaders.

Until the last two decades, the largest effective economic unit was the hunting (co-residential) unit (cf. Dunning 1959a:55–58), averaging from 20 to 30 individuals at Osnaburgh. Each co-residential unit is composed of several households or commensal units which form the winter bush settlements. In winter, hunting group members occupy a bush settlement in the centre of a communally owned trapping territory. Several males usually form trapping partnerships. Although members of the hunting group cooperate and share food, furs belong to the individual who caught them. In summer, co-residential units form tent clusters at fishing camps. Within the past decade the amount of time spent in the bush has decreased with the consequent decline of the hunting unit in social and economic importance. The weakening of bonds of solidarity can be correlated with a money economy and the relegation of control in many spheres of life to external agencies. As Dunning has noted for Pekangikum, these non-indigenous agencies exercise "considerable control in matters of trapping, fur trade, and credit; illness and hospitalization; schooling, and thus family allowance benefits; and less directly but equally influentially, religion and com-

munal gathering for that purpose" (1959a:185).

Concomitant with these changes has been the decline in authority of the hunting group leader. Where in the past the efficacy of leadership was grounded in magico-religious power attained through the vision quest; missionary influence, improved medical treatment, and education have undermined this basis. Leaders could control the animals necessary for survival and trade, and apply sanctions through the fear of magical power upon wrongdoers. Today, the money economy and subsidies have lessened the importance of subsistence techniques with regard to survival, and the retributive sanctions are no longer feared. In a compact acephalous community composed of formerly dispersed hunting groups, many of whose functions have been taken over by outside sources, social control within such a community is largely restricted to gossip groups (cf. Dunning 1959a:184), and the household tends to emerge as a self-sufficient unit (cf. Rogers 1962:B81). Despite these recent changes, however, there is still the need for economic assistance beyond the household related to bush life at the fish camps and the spring trapping camps.

Source: Bishop, Charles A. (1974). *The Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade: An Historical and Ecological Study*. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, pp. 59–60.

form collective tasks effectively. Leaders can increase member skills and motivation in several ways, including member selection, development, and rewards.

During the team's formation, team leaders can influence member selection to include an appropriate mix of complementary skills and dispositions. Although team members will still need time to learn how to work together to accomplish their interdependent tasks, individual competence and good dispositional fit among members will accelerate this process. Selection is especially important for short-term project teams because they have little time for formal skill development and a greater need for immediate productivity.

After the team is formed, leaders can develop the skills, knowledge, and confidence of team members. Leaders can help members identify skills that need to be learned and the best way to learn them. Leaders

may, for example, provide training or coaching or enlist the assistance of other experts to provide development for the team. More experienced team members may serve as coach or mentor for newer team members. If skills are developed through formal training, team leaders can encourage, facilitate, and reward the application of newly learned skills.

Even highly competent individuals, however, need to learn how to work together as a team. Leaders can facilitate the development of these skills among team members to increase coordination of related tasks. Leaders also can facilitate team learning by having members collectively reflect about their performance, what they did effectively, and what improvements they need to make. Team leaders can arrange for shared learning experiences, which can include realistic practice sessions, feedback, and supportive coaching. Opportunities to practice com-

plex tasks under realistic conditions and to experience success can foster members' confidence in their collective ability to achieve difficult, shared goals.

Developmental activities can help build confidence and motivated behavior, but extrinsic rewards can be another source of motivation for the team if they are aligned with the team's goals. Although each member can be rewarded for his or her individual contributions, the team should be rewarded as a unit for collective accomplishments. Leadership can enhance the positive effect of rewards by clearly linking them to desired performances, including collective task work, teamwork, learning, and improvement.

Commitment to Continuous Improvement and Adaptation

To remain effective, teams must adapt to changing conditions. Team leadership can support this adaptation by monitoring the team's performance against its goals, recognizing its accomplishments, and providing constructive feedback to help the team improve. Effective team leadership also is involved with external constituencies to gather information and influence decisions that can have implications for team performance.

Effective leaders recognize that team performance can be systematically monitored and adjusted to yield desired results. They also recognize that although team leaders may initiate these activities, the team itself needs to be committed to continuous improvement and collective learning. Team leaders can encourage innovation, model appropriate behavior, and provide the appropriate incentives to foster a culture of continuous improvement and adaptation.

IMPLICATIONS

As the use of teams has increased in organizations, both scholars and practitioners have examined the contributions that leadership can make to team effectiveness. Team leaders create the conditions that enable high performance. Leadership may be provided by a designated individual or by several persons from inside or outside the team. Regardless of the source of team leadership, it should ensure

(1) efficient, goal-directed effort; (2) adequate resources; (3) a productive, supportive climate; (4) competent, motivated member performance; and (5) commitment to continuous improvement and adaptation. Effective team leadership manages these outcomes systematically to increase the likelihood of team success.

—Katrina A. Zalatan and Gary Yukl

See also Group Decision Rules; Group Process; Teamwork

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TEAMWORK

In today's fast-paced organizational environment, the use of teamwork has led to innovative problem solving and high levels of performance in organizations. Moreover, teamwork is one of the most critical

components necessary to place a company on *Fortune* magazine's list of the "100 Best Companies to Work for in America." According to leadership scholars R. N. Lussier and C. F. Achua, "everyone talks about teams, but it takes more than an ad hoc group of people to make up a winning team" (Lussier & Achua 2001, 249). Business consultant J. Kouzes and leadership scholar B. Posner's research in *The Leadership Challenge* shows that leadership (and success) is "not a solo act, but a total team effort with winning strategies based on the 'We, not I' philosophies" (Kouzes & Posner 2002, 242).

Important teamwork issues include key definitions; reasons for teams, including advantages and disadvantages; stages of team development; types of teams; team leadership; team dynamics; teamwork and change; and rewarding teams.

KEY DEFINITIONS

Fundamental to the concept of "team" is the concept of "group." People have often noted that a team is a group but that a group is not necessarily a team. Therefore, one must distinguish between teams and groups.

Psychology scholar Marvin Shaw defined a group as "two or more persons who are interacting with one another in such a manner that each person influences and is influenced by each other person" (Shaw in Hughes, Ginnett, & Curphy 2002, 288). The two key components of this definition are the concepts of reciprocal influence and mutual interaction between members.

Business executives Jon Katzenbach and Douglas Smith defined a team as "a unit of two or more people with complementary skills who are committed to a common purpose, set of performance goals and expectations, for which they hold themselves accountable" (Katzenbach & Smith 2003, 45). The two key components of this definition are the concepts of common purpose and shared goals.

One primary difference between groups and teams is that groups designate a leader, whereas teams have shared leadership in which an individual may take a leadership role, or individuals may take leadership roles, depending on the task and on the

individuals' areas of expertise. Members of a group have individual accountability for completing group tasks, whereas team members have shared accountability for setting and meeting the outcomes for the team. In fact, for groups the purposes of the specific work group reflect the purposes of the organization wherein the groups operate. Members of teams develop their own vision and/or purpose and are not constrained by organizational boundaries. Moreover, team members have a shared sense of mission and collective responsibility for carrying out that mission.

WHY TEAMS?

According to leadership scholar and consultant Warren Bennis (1997),

. . . the more I look at the history of business, government, the arts, and the sciences, the clearer it is that few great accomplishments are ever the work of a single individual, [moreover] . . . the problems we face are too complex to be solved by any one person or any one discipline. Our only chance is to bring people together from a variety of backgrounds and disciplines who can refract a problem through the prism of complementary minds allied in common purpose. (Bennis 1997, 3)

This reflects the very notion that teams serve organizations much more effectively than a mere collection of individuals.

In that regard, teams have the advantage of bringing synergy (combined action or operation) to a task. That is, the output of the team exceeds the sum of the output of each individual on the team. Team members, working collaboratively, bring an energy to the team that causes individuals to produce more in the team environment than they would individually. In addition, team members provide mutual support for one another and contribute to continuous improvement and innovation. In fact, one significant advantage to the organization is that teams can be assembled quickly and refocused with greater flexibility than can traditional organizational models. Moreover, teams promote organizational learning and creativity through spending time together (Kazenbach and Smith, 1997) and from the synergy that happens therein.



Romans 12 (King James Version)

- 1: I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service.
- 2: And be not conformed to this world: but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect, will of God.
- 3: For I say, through the grace given unto me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think; but to think soberly, according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith.
- 4: For as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office:
- 5: So we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another.
- 6: Having then gifts differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith;
- 7: Or ministry, let us wait on our ministering: or he that teacheth, on teaching;
- 8: Or he that exhorteth, on exhortation: he that giveth, let him do it with simplicity; he that ruleth, with diligence; he that sheweth mercy, with cheerfulness.
- 9: Let love be without dissimulation. Abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good.
- 10: Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love; in honour preferring one another;
- 11: Not slothful in business; fervent in spirit; serving the Lord;
- 12: Rejoicing in hope; patient in tribulation; continuing instant in prayer;
- 13: Distributing to the necessity of saints; given to hospitality.
- 14: Bless them which persecute you: bless, and curse not.
- 15: Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep.
- 16: Be of the same mind one toward another. Mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate. Be not wise in your own conceits.
- 17: Recompense to no man evil for evil. Provide things honest in the sight of all men.
- 18: If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.
- 19: Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath: for it is written, Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord.
- 20: Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head.
- 21: Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.

However, teams can also have disadvantages, the first of which is social loafing. Social loafers do not contribute to the team process because they feel that they will not reap individual rewards, nor will they have to suffer individual blame. Another significant disadvantage is groupthink, by which members of the team feel pressured to conform with decision-making and fail to present a dissenting opinion because of fear of rejection. Groupthink can result in selective data gathering and failure to consider all alternatives. Groupthink is “extreme consensus building” (Dubrin 2001, 244).

For a team to be effective, individuals must sublimate their individual goals, needs, and desires for the good of the team. Moreover, individuals must learn to synthesize their “knowledge, skills, and efforts toward accomplishment of a common goal so they become a team” (Daft 1999, 355).

STAGES OF TEAM DEVELOPMENT

As a team develops, it goes through predictable stages, progressing from a group of individuals to a cohesive group whose members work together for a common cause. In 1965, educational psychologist Bruce Tuckman published his model of group development, which also applies to team development. Tuckman’s model identifies four stages within a team’s developmental life—forming, storming, norming, and performing. Subsequently Tuckman and psychology scholar Mary Ann Jensen (1977) added a fifth stage: adjourning.

Forming: During this stage team building begins, and team members and team leaders get to know one another. Much of the direction and focus of this stage is on the team leader, with team members displaying caution and observation as they learn each other’s

personalities and roles. This stage is *typically* characterized by courtesy and conservatism.

Storming: Conflict is displayed among team members as disagreement surfaces. This disagreement can be healthy if channeled into productive discussion, but it may cause strife and resentment. Not all teams experience this stage, but those that do are more likely to reach high performance levels because members do not fear challenging one another. Personal relationships begin to develop.

Norming: Norming is characterized by team members resolving differences, modifying behaviors to be productive, and moving beyond disagreements. Unfortunately, groupthink can set in, whereby team members wishing to avoid a backslide into the storming stage may avoid disagreements that are perceived as dissention and dysfunction. This avoidance of disagreements can harm the team's performance by stifling healthy discussion and potentially useful disagreements.

Performing: Healthy team behavior is the modus operandi. This stage is characterized by resolving conflicts as they occur and sharing productive work practices, camaraderie, creative problem solving, and constructive team spirit. Teams at the performing stage reach the point where the whole is greater than the sum of the parts.

Adjourning: When many high-performing teams disband (e.g., at team project completion), members may experience pain at terminating the working relationship on a close-knit team of individuals who perform well together. That sense of loss must be dealt with to lessen the impact that the pain has on the organization and on team members. A successful adjourning stage can include special celebrations, an open sharing of feelings, and a web-based chat room to allow team members to remain in contact.

TYPES OF TEAMS

The primary types of teams are functional, cross-functional, self-directed (or self-managed), virtual, and high performing. Each type has its own purpose and appropriate time to be used.

Functional teams generally include managers and

their subordinates. These teams typically operate within traditional organizational hierarchies and are structured across departmental lines. Leadership styles within these teams vary according to organizational and team needs. An example of a functional team is the accounting managers of the Kroger Company's southwest Ohio region. Their functional team made up of accounting managers, yet their organizational team is the Kroger Company.

Cross-functional teams are composed of members from different departments, with each member selected to represent a particular department or to use his or her expertise. This type of team structure allows organizations to assemble teams that are quickly able to respond to problems. Moreover, with such diverse organizational representation, members get a broader view of problems and their potential solutions. An example of a cross-functional team is a team composed of members from the following departments: accounting, marketing, research and development, engineering, and production.

Self-directed (or self-managed) teams, which are similar to cross-functional teams, are composed of members from across department types within the organization. The primary difference is that self-directed team members take responsibility for the quality of the work process, sharing of management and leadership function, and involvement in the training, hiring, and disciplining of team members. Leaders should teach followers to lead themselves. Self-management usually leads to high levels of performance and satisfaction.

Transition [to self-managing teams] is inevitably accompanied by a reduction in the leaders' power, and constitutes a leadership substitute. The idea of traditional top down leadership is dysfunction in current organizations. The notion of self-management teams is embodied in the theory of leadership substitutes, which maintains that under certain situation variables, leadership might be redundant. (Yagil 2002, 384).

Virtual teams, those whose members are geographically dispersed and come together via technology, have emerged as a result of today's mobile, global, and technological society. The use of virtual teams poses significant challenges for organizations.

Although many of these challenges are present in traditional teams, they may be even more pronounced in virtual settings. Electronically integrated virtual organizations and virtual teams are the results of efforts to look for novel ways to manage the new frameworks of rapid change and global reach, coupled with market forces demanding improved quality, service responsiveness, and tailored production.

High-performing teams are those that display extraordinary effort and productivity. As the name implies, these results-focused teams perform well beyond average teams. "Optimal productivity and morale are most important to be a high performing team. The group must have a strong ability to produce results and a high degree of satisfaction in working with one another" (Blanchard & Carew 1996, 33).

"High performance teams don't just happen—they are developed and nurtured. They take the combined efforts of a visionary leader, willing and competent team members, and a facilitator with expertise in team building" (Blinn 1996, 56).

TEAM LEADERSHIP

To lead any type of team, the team's leaders must have unique skills. Leadership scholars Daniel Denison, Robert Hooijberg, and Robert Quinn's findings suggest that effective team leaders demonstrate the capability to deal with contradiction by performing multiple leadership roles simultaneously. Effective team leaders act in a mentoring role and exhibit a high degree of understanding toward other team members.

One challenge for team leaders is to develop relationships among team members. "These linkages may be hindered by the team leader's ineffective behaviors and poor team leadership skills, which may negatively affect such outcomes as creativity, morale, and decision-making quality" (Warkentin, Sayeed, & Hightower 1997, 975).

Team leadership must accommodate creative team members by establishing procedures that allow for exchanges of creative ideas. Effective team leaders reward joint effort as often as individ-

ual effort. Moreover, they encourage teamwork through tailored team building and team training, which impact team dynamics.

TEAM DYNAMICS

Team dynamics is the process by which team members work together.

Teams of women are not more collaborative than teams of men; men are not better leaders than women simply because they are men; there is not an ideal team size; there is nothing wrong with being a team member on more than three teams at one time; people do like being assigned to teams; team members are usually not of one mind about what is going well or poorly; and, teams are usually in touch with how their performance is viewed by outsiders. (Krug 1998, 14).

These guidelines from Mary-Lane Kamberg enhance team dynamics:

- (1) focus on the goal (sometimes shortened to FOG),
- (2) constantly strive for consensus, (3) speak up freely and be open and honest when doing so, (4) use conflict constructively (particularly as one transitions from the Storming to the Norming phase of team development, (5) respect all types of diversity (race, experience, gender, age, etc.), (6) evaluate ideas and give all ideas merit and attention, and (7) display team spirit. (Kamberg 2001, 430).

Some behaviors to avoid when attempting to improve team dynamics include

- (1) talking too much, (2) allowing too much time and energy to be brought to bear on the same discussion over a long period of time, (3) not being clear, (4) changing the subject without coming to consensus or making a decision, (5) attacking the person and not the issue/problem, and (6) taking criticism personally when it was meant as an attack of the issue/problem. (Kamberg 2001, 45).

TEAMWORK AND CHANGE

Successful organizational change requires effective teamwork. The goal of using teamwork is to achieve more results than individuals could. Business execu-

tive David Nadler and leadership author Michael Tushman (1998) suggested that successful change efforts require the following four steps (Nadler & Tushman 1998, 12):

1. Prepare people for change by creating dissatisfaction with the current state.
2. Motivate behaviors through widespread participation in planning and implementing change.
3. Visibly reward desired behaviors during both the transition state and the future state.
4. Provide people with adequate time and opportunity to disengage emotionally from the current state.

REWARDING TEAMS

Leaders should reward teams to make members feel empowered and energized. Leaders can reward teams in many ways, such as personal thank-you's, handwritten thank-you notes, public praise, time with the manager, a reference in company newsletters, a photo on the Wall of Fame, a designated parking space, time off with pay, a pass-around trophy, a car wash by an executive, a certificate of appreciation, a celebration or lunch, a computer banner and balloons, special awards, and an appreciation day.

IMPLICATIONS FOR ORGANIZATIONS

Teamwork in recent years has gained much attention, in part because of an increased complexity of the workplace with globalization, diversity, and technology enhancements made at a rapid pace. With such high competition at home and abroad for products and services, the competitive edge goes, many times, to those who best learn how to leverage teamwork to accomplish tasks, deal with change, and be as productive as possible by networking and building relationships that can extend beyond the charter of the team. Successful organizations recognize the importance of well-trained—and consequently well-developed—teams and the cultivation of true teamwork.

In fact, in pondering the future of teams, Jon Katzenbach and Douglas Smith (2000, xxx) wrote,

Just as teams have weathered the storms of overuse, misuse, and lack of discipline, so will their unique flexibility and versatility enable them to adapt to the future changes being brought about by speed, technology, and globalization. They will remain the basic unit of both performance and change because of their proven capacity to accomplish what other units cannot.

—Mindy S. McNutt and T. Scott Graham

See also Empowerment; Collective Action; Relational Leadership Approaches

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THEORIES X, Y, AND Z

Drawing upon the conventions of the scientific community, the management theorist Douglas McGregor (1906–1964) postulated two theories that he designated with alphabetic characters: Theory X and Theory Y. These theories represent pure archetypes of managerial beliefs about the nature of people that, in turn, influence their managerial and leadership behavior.

THEORY X

Theory X is the belief that people are passive, dislike work, avoid responsibility, and need to be closely supervised and told what to do. Theory X holds that people are self-centered, prone to resist change, and not very intelligent.

According to psychologists, people have a natural tendency to become congruent; that is, we attempt to behave in ways consistent with our beliefs. Thus, managers who believe in Theory X behave accordingly and tend to supervise their subordinates closely, doubt their subordinates' capabilities, refuse to delegate significant tasks, and insist that very detailed records be kept of their time and productivity. Theory X managers are suspicious of initiative and creativity on the part of employees. Typically, a Theory X manager has a harsh, authoritarian approach to working with others that is characterized by frequent threats, references to transactional rewards or punishments, and disregard for employees' welfare. An atmosphere of distrust, fear, intimidation, and disrespect are everyday aspects of work for people who have a supervisor who believes Theory X.

THEORY Y

Conversely, Theory Y is the belief that people find work natural and life affirming. People seek out responsibility, are trustworthy, and want to perform their best, take initiative, and be creative. A Theory Y manager delegates work, tries to build consensus, encourages innovation and creativity among subordinates, and minimizes hierarchical differences, acting more as a colleague than as a supervisor. Indeed, in Theory Y, supervision is not an important practice as such. The relationship that develops between a Theory Y manager and subordinates is usually comfortable and focused on accepting mutual responsibility for the achievement of their collective objectives. Subordinates and manager share a mutual interest in one another as people; they willingly contribute their best efforts to the tasks at hand, using all of their combined abilities. The workplace is characterized by trust, respect for each person, high integrity, the free flow of communications, and shared decision-making.

EXEMPLARS OF THEORY X AND Y

Historical figures such as Adolph Hitler, Joseph Stalin, and Mao Zedong are examples of Theory X leaders, while Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, Mohandas Gandhi, and Nelson Mandela are exam-

ples of Theory Y leaders. The former counted on fear to influence others and destroyed much of what they ruled, while the latter raised the hopes and aspirations of people throughout the world.

Theory X Leaders

Stalin, Hitler, and Mao were larger-than-life individuals of a sort that are fortunately rare on the world stage. In the contemporary business world, they are complemented by equally destructive corporate leaders. Albert J. Dunlap, the CEO who orchestrated the financial collapse of Sunbeam Corporation in the late 1990s, a company once proudly associated with quality household products, is reviled for his slash-and-burn techniques for bringing companies out of stagnation and back to profitability. His approach to turning companies around was to institute massive layoffs and to dismember corporate assets to raise cash and quickly remove liabilities. Despite the often huge human cost of his turnarounds, he was financially successful, which won him the respect of the shareholders of the stagnant companies he was hired to lead.

Prior to joining Sunbeam, he was CEO of Scott Paper, where he reconfirmed his fearsome reputation as “chainsaw Al.” When he merged Scott Paper with Kimberly-Clark, another paper products manufacturer, he got rid of 11,200 jobs, or 35 percent of the Scott payroll. In addition, he sold off pieces of the company that included another 6,000 jobs. He justified this by saying that once “the bloodletting had ended. . . . 20,000 people had secure jobs once again” (Dunlap 1996). For his twenty-month effort, he received a package of rewards totaling \$100 million.

When he moved on to Sunbeam, Dunlap ultimately faced his dénouement. As part of the settlement with the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission, which charged Dunlap with defrauding investors, he agreed to pay a fine of \$500,000 and was barred from ever again being an executive in a public company. In addition, Dunlap paid \$15 million to settle a class-action suit brought by investors for questionable accounting practices and misleading claims. While behaving in a manner consistent with Theory X isn’t necessarily criminal, doing so usually involves abuse of people.

For that reason, observers of Dunlap’s fall from power were pleased to see his career put to an end.

Theory Y Leaders

There are two popular Theory Y exemplars in business, though not of the stature of a Roosevelt or a Mandela. One is Herb Kelleher (b. 1931), founder and CEO of Southwest Airlines (he retired as CEO in 2001), and the other is Ricardo Semler (b. 1959) of Semco, a Brazilian manufacturer of industrial mixers and other products.

What makes these two men exemplars of Theory Y is their fierce commitment to the belief that the workplace should be respectful of people and encourage them to do their best. Kelleher expresses his belief thus:

You have to treat your employees like your customers. When you treat them right, then they will treat your outside customers right. . . . You’ve got to take the time to listen to people’s ideas. If you just tell somebody no, that’s an act of power and, in my opinion, an abuse of power. You don’t want to constrain people in their thinking. (Brooker 2001).

Southwest under Kelleher never had a layoff and was the only airline to be profitable throughout the last thirty years (its entire existence)—even after the airline terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and the subsequent slowdown in air travel. Southwest has a reputation as a fun place to work, where everyone pitches in to get planes ready to fly safely and efficiently. It is not unusual to see captains helping flight attendants or customer service personnel helping baggage handlers. For Southwest Airlines, consistently applying Theory Y beliefs proved to be successful.

According to Ricardo Semler, at Semco,

We simply do not believe our employees have an interest in coming in late, leaving early, and doing as little as possible. . . . After all, these same people raise children, join the PTA, elect mayors, governors, senators and presidents. They are adults. At Semco, we treat them like adults. We trust them. We don’t make our employees ask permission to go to the bathroom, or have security guards search them as they leave for the day. We get out of their way and let them do their job. (Semler 1993, 59).

BELIEVING IS SEEING

Adhering to Theory X or Theory Y belief systems is the self-fulfilling prophecy insofar as you see what you believe. Thus, Theory X believers will expect and find people who demonstrate irresponsible behavior, confirming their beliefs, while Theory Y believers will tend to find people who confirm their beliefs in people's trustworthiness and responsibility.

Writing in *Leadership: Theory Application and Skill Development*, Robert Lussier and Christopher Agha, both professors of management, report that

a study of over 12,000 managers explored the relationship between managerial achievement and attitudes toward subordinates. The managers with Theory Y attitudes were better at accomplishing organizational objectives and better at tapping the potential of subordinates. The managers with strong Theory X attitudes were far more likely to be in the low achieving group. (Lussier and Agha 2001, 49).

Adhering to Theory X or Theory Y belief systems reflects the self-fulfilling prophecy because you see what you believe. Thus, Theory X believers will find people who demonstrate irresponsible behavior, confirming their beliefs, while Theory Y believers will tend to find people who confirm their beliefs in people's trustworthiness and responsibility. Since the world consists of both Theory X people and Theory Y people, an organization will be most adaptive if it consists of, and learns to deal with, both kinds of employees. Unfortunately, Theory X leaders will tend to be unable to accommodate Theory Y subordinates, since they are incapable of the trust required to unleash subordinates' potential. Theory Y leaders, on the other hand, are likely to be adaptive to Theory X subordinates and able to provide the necessary controls and supervision.

THEORY Z

After McGregor's theories became well established in the business lexicon, various authors used the title *Theory Z* to designate their own theoretical contribution to the management literature. There are two

important versions. The first and most relevant to the continuum established by McGregor is the Theory Z put forward by the psychologist Abraham Maslow. The other important version, which is more popular but is unrelated to McGregor's work, is put forward by William Ouchi, a professor of management. Ouchi's Theory Z represents a hybrid of Japanese and U.S. management styles, and it is Ouchi's Theory Z that has been accepted into the management canon.

Maslow's Theory Z

Maslow is remembered in psychology for his hierarchy of human needs: He believed that people could only express their fullest potential if their more basic physiological and psychological needs had already been met. Once those were met, a person could meet higher needs, eventually becoming, in Maslow's terminology, self-actualized. After a study of the management literature, Maslow posited a transcendent Theory Y leader who epitomized what Maslow called "Being Values," or B-values. These include "truth, beauty, wholeness, dichotomy-transcendence, aliveness-process, uniqueness, perfection, necessity, completion, justice, order, simplicity, richness, effortlessness, playfulness, and self-sufficiency" (Maslow 1971, 106). At this level, the leader seems to occupy a special status, and those he or she leads are not unlike devoted acolytes who feel honored to be of service.

This sort of leader appears only very rarely. In historical terms, Mohandas Gandhi, who led India to independence with a policy of nonviolent resistance, may best fit the model of a fully self-actualized transcendent leader. Perhaps Albert Schweitzer, the doctor who won the 1952 Nobel Peace Prize for his philanthropic medical work in Africa, does as well. Unfortunately, transcendents are not common. Perhaps the consumer and environmental advocate Ralph Nader or John Gardner, the founder of the grassroots people's advocacy group Common Cause, come close. They can and do see people's full potential and understand how simple and practical it could be to create a better world, but they are frustrated by the mediocre, the shortsighted, the fearful, and the unimaginative.

Ouchi's Theory Z

When Japan became the second largest economy in the world in the 1980s and began to win vast markets in the United States, industry after industry fell victim to its competitive strength, notably the automobile, consumer electronics, photography, steel, and toy industries. Many in the U.S. business world feared that a new era of second-class economic status was settling in on the United States. As expected, interest in the Japanese management style grew dramatically. Ouchi's *Theory Z: How American Business Can Meet the Japanese Challenge* (1981) was an immediate bestseller. Ouchi described U.S. and Japanese management styles and suggested a hybrid: Theory Z. In Theory Z organizations, employment is long term, layoffs are a last resort, and workers are multitalented, share responsibility for the whole, and are willing to learn new skills. Theory Z organizations are flat (that is, there are not many levels of management), so promotions take longer and there are fewer promotions in a career. Consensual decision-making is routine, with individuals encouraged to suggest new ideas and innovations in work processes, and workers are judged on objective performance, not obedience.

Ouchi's Theory Z cannot be considered an extension of McGregor's Theories X and Y because it is not based on underlying assumptions about the nature of people. It is a model that attempts to incorporate the best from both Japanese and U.S. management practices to improve the performance of organizations in both countries (Theory Z was also a best-seller in Japan). Both managers espousing Theories Y and Z expect the best from people; but it is during an economic downturn—when the pressure for results is greatest and managers' behavior most closely challenges their fundamental belief system—that the moment of truth arrives for employees. And it is precisely then that the application of these theories is most important.

—John Nirenberg

See also Management

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TIANANMEN SQUARE

On 15 April 1989, the former reform-minded General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), Hu Yaobang (1915–89), died of a massive heart attack. Several hundred people gathered in Tiananmen Square to lay wreaths and flowers, and about five thousand students began a sit-in. Some of the students were beaten by police on April 20, and the next day more than 200,000 students and citizens marched to the Square to protest the incident. Student representatives demanded the posthumous rehabilitation of Hu in a petition that was presented at the Great Hall of the People just west of the Square. When their request to meet with Premier Li Peng was ignored, thousands of students at thirty-seven universities in Beijing boycotted classes, and the protest escalated into a pro-democracy movement.

On 25 April, Li Peng and other officials went to the home of the PRC's (People's Republic of China) paramount leader, Deng Xiaoping, to report on the situation. Deng's response formed the basis of an editorial that appeared in *People's Daily* the follow-



U.S. Embassy Account of Tiananmen Square

Below is a selection from the telegram sent on 22 June 1989 by the U.S. Embassy in Beijing to the U.S. Department of State in Washington, D.C., describing an eyewitness account of events in Tiananmen Square.

A number of other demonstrators had seen what he had seen on June 3–4, the student declared, but most were too frightened for themselves and their families to tell the truth now. He continued that after the tanks went by, he went over to count the flattened corpses of his colleagues so that we could bear reliable witness later in hopes of ultimate justice and retribution for the killings.

The student said that on June 4 around 2 a.m. he was positioned in Changanjie, the avenue of lasting peace, just north of the east of the great wall of the people. His younger brother was elsewhere in the square; they had both been there for many days. On the night of June 1, the students believed that when troops came in to take the square, they would fire rubber bullets. Consequently, many of the students in the first line of barricades on the East and West sides of Changanjie held up padded coats to protect themselves from the projectiles. However, the first lines of students fell after the troops opened fire. The student said he had also been convinced that rubber bullets would be used. He had a sick feeling when he noticed the bullets striking sparks off the pavement near his feet. He said that he saw many students fall during the ensuing hour. He became enraged at the deaths of his colleagues, he said, and threw bricks at the oncoming troops out of a desire for revenge and a hatred for what they were doing, even though he knew there was no match. "In battle, you stop thinking and just fight," he said.

When there were a number of casualties, the student said he and another student used a make-shift stretcher to carry the dead and wounded to the nearest Red Cross area, which was located in the square's northwest corner. He said that he himself made no fewer than a dozen trips, and he reckoned from the state of the wounded that only two of those he carried would survive. He cited one local resident who had been exceptionally brave. Even as the troops continued to fire between approximately 2 and 3 a.m., the resident made 21 journeys on his three-wheeled cart ferrying wounded from a fire zone to the Red Cross area.

Source: Tiananmen Square, 1989: The Declassified History. Retrieved on September 30, 2003 from <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB16/documents>

ing day. The article accused a "handful of plotters" of being "unpatriotic," and of creating turmoil with the aim of overthrowing the Party leadership and the socialist system.

The next day, students from over forty universities marched to Tiananmen Square to protest the editorial. On 4 May, about 200,000 people celebrated the seventieth anniversary of the 1919 pro-democracy May Fourth Movement, demanding accelerated political

and economic reform. Zhao Ziyang, who had replaced Hu Yaobang in 1987 as Party General Secretary, spoke sympathetically of the students to directors of the Asian Development Bank, essentially contradicting the editorial. The government and Party leadership were split on how to handle the crisis. Meanwhile, about two thousand students staged a hunger strike at the Square beginning on 13 May. When Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev arrived in Beijing for a summit meeting with Deng Xiaoping on 15 May, the government was forced to redirect the welcoming ceremony away from the Square. On 20 May, martial law was declared in Beijing, but for two weeks over a million students, workers, army personnel, civil servants, and others blocked the advance of 150,000 to 200,000 troops towards the city. Zhao Ziyang was stripped of his power on 21 May and ten days later replaced by Jiang Zemin, the Shanghai Party chief. On June 3 and 4, People's Liberation Army (PLA) tanks and armored carriers rolled in, clearing the Square and killing scores of people.

This entry deals with the role of the central leadership in the decision making that led up to June 3 (and not with the student organizers

or the protest movement). Although the central leadership was divided during the course of the crisis, it made three major decisions: (1) to remove Zhao Ziyang as Party General Secretary, (2) to declare martial law, and (3) to send in troops to clear the Square. Since these leadership decisions ultimately led to the bloodshed of June 1989, the character of the decision-makers and the process by which they arrived at their decisions need to be explained.

LEADERSHIP DIVIDED: FROM FORMAL TO INFORMAL DECISION MAKING

China's top leaders debated what to do about the Tiananmen protestors at Zhongnanhai, a secluded compound of the country's highest political elite. Located northwest of Tiananmen Square at the center of Beijing, Zhongnanhai houses three central organizations—the Party Central, the State Council, and the Central Military Commission (CMC). From Zhongnanhai, the government and Party leaders closely monitored the crisis situation in Tiananmen Square, in Beijing, and all major cities. They received a constant flow of intelligence reports from Party, military, and government agencies, embassies abroad, and foreign media.

Zhongnanhai is, in short, the collective word for the central Party and government leadership in China. Within Zhongnanhai, the highest body of *formal* political power is the five-person Politburo Standing Committee (or PSC, the Communist Party's Political Bureau). In 1989 the five members were Zhao Ziyang (also Party General Secretary), Li Peng (also Premier), Qiao Shi, Hu Qili, and Yao Yilin. When the government was first confronted with student petitions, sit-ins, boycotts, and protests, decision-making authority was concentrated in the hands of the PSC. However, the crisis quickly caused an internal rift between the “moderates” associated with Zhao Ziyang, who favored a sympathetic approach toward the students, and the “hard-liners” associated with Li Peng. While factional splits have been characteristic of Chinese politics at the national level, the split in this case resulted twice in an impasse.

When members of the PSC were not able to reach a common decision about how to solve the crisis in Tiananmen Square, they deferred to an informal group of eight elders; at this point, the decision-making process shifted from the formal organ (PSC) to the informal body of elders. This group, which consisted of Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun, Li Xiannian, Peng Zhen, Deng Yingchao, Yang Shangkun, Bo Yibo, and Wang Zhen, was extraconstitutional in that its authority was not provided by the Chinese constitution. Although they

had long been retired from official posts, these senior statesmen and veteran Party members represented supreme authority in Chinese government and politics. Among the eight, Deng Xiaoping was the most influential. Deng lived outside Zhongnanhai in a private mansion, but it was at this house that the most crucial meetings took place during the Tiananmen crisis. It was these elders, in consultation with the PSC, who made the three key decisions: to remove Zhao, to declare martial law, and to clear Tiananmen Square.

INFORMAL DECISION-MAKING: MANIPULATING DENG XIAOPING'S VIEWS

Once decision-making had shifted to the informal phase, the entire process hinged on the opinion of Deng Xiaoping. This meant that from then on, each of the two factions would try to sway Deng to its preferred approach to dealing with the protestors. During the crisis, this shift from the formal to the informal occurred twice; each time it corresponded to a personal mistake committed by Zhao Ziyang. The shifts took place because decision making had reached a stalemate in the PSC. Once the first shift had occurred, both Zhao Ziyang and Li Peng wanted to manipulate Deng into adopting, their own approach to the protestors. It was essentially a struggle between Zhao and Li to gain the favor of Deng. In short, when the Tiananmen leadership decision-making became less formal, personal influence became dominant in charting the course of the leadership's decision.

Zhao Ziyang committed the first mistake when the 26 April article condemning the student protests as “unpatriotic” was published in the Party newspaper, *People's Daily*. Zhao was away on a state visit to North Korea at the time; he had received the text by telegraph and wired back his agreement. However, when he returned to Beijing and found that it had strengthened the students' resolve to protest, he attacked the article, saying at a 16 May PSC meeting that the editorial should be revised. This about-face infuriated the hard-liners within the PSC. In addition, the publication of Zhao's speech to the Asian Development Bank unintentionally confused others by

equating the reforms that the students were calling for with democracy, which made the reforms the students wanted seem more fundamental than they really were. Zhao's words had the effect of causing divisions in the Party ranks and confusion among the students and the public. Political opponents like Li were able to capitalize on these effects to persuade Deng and other leaders to act in accordance with the hard-liners' approach.

When the matter was referred to the group of elders, Zhao Ziyang and Li Peng had different strategies. Zhao's strategy was to use the occasion to advance the cause of reform. For him, it was an opportunity to introduce "democratic and legal means," by which he meant guarantees of freedom of speech and "multiparty cooperation." He tried to convince the other leaders that "democracy is a worldwide trend," and that they should be accepting of the view of wide sections of society represented by the protestors.

By contrast, Li Peng's strategy was to exaggerate the threat posed by the protest movement and to turn the movement on Deng's person, thereby convincing the superno of the need for a hard-liner approach. It was Li who said at a 16 May PSC meeting that the "tiny minority" wanted to "begin a political struggle against the Communist Party and the socialist system and to expand this struggle from Beijing to the whole country and create national turmoil." He said this knowing full well that Deng had no way of independently verifying this interpretation without taking the trouble to look at the intelligence evidence himself, and Deng seemed to take Li's rendition of the events on good faith. By saying that the marchers were "anti-Party and anti-socialist," Li was clearly playing on Deng's fears of a general disorder on the scale of the Cultural Revolution. In addition, Li wanted Deng and the elders to think that they were being denounced personally. "The spear is now pointed directly at you and the others of the elder generation of proletarian revolutionaries. . . . There are open calls for 'open investigations into and discussions of the question of China's governance and power'" (Nathan 2001, 10). Li wanted to incite Deng into thinking that people were calling him to account for his extralegal exercise of power, pre-

cisely the kind of informal power that resulted in June 3 and 4.

The polarizing views of Zhao and Li and the eventual triumph of the latter in obtaining the backing of Deng Xiaoping made confrontation the likely outcome, not least because both the hard-liners and the student organizers were determined to stick to their own positions. If Zhao wanted to turn the movement into a major reform movement, Li wanted to use Deng's extraconstitutional authority as a shield. Li wanted the 26 April editorial to be published so as to "get the word out on what Comrade Xiaoping has said" (Nathan 2001, 11). Li succeeded in using Deng's comments to advance the hard-line approach and sealed the outcome of the crisis. His maneuvers might have caused Deng to take a more hard-line stance than he did initially, since Deng was not in principle opposed to reform, although he believed that reform must come incrementally, or to dialogue with the student representatives. Nevertheless, once Deng gave the verdict, the rest of the leaders fell in line. Everyone looked to Deng as the final arbiter of decisions, and once he had made the statement, they rallied behind him. Within the central leadership, Zhao lost favor. The decision to dismiss him was finalized by a vote of the elders at Deng's residence on May 27.

GERONTOCRATIC LEADERSHIP AND GENERATIONAL POLITICS

The world media converged in Beijing on the occasion of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to China on May 15 and 16. Chinese leaders had ascribed great importance to the Deng-Gorbachev summit, for which they had been planning for years; they saw it as the final normalization of relations between the PRC and the USSR. The presence of large contingents of foreign media was to have a major impact on the decisions of the leaders about how to handle the protests and thus contributed significantly to the outcome of June 3 and 4. It was on this occasion that Zhao Ziyang made his second personal mistake.

Two summit sessions were held—the first was at the Great Hall of the People, where Deng met with

Gorbachev, and the second was at a state guest house called Diaoyutai, because of the large number of demonstrators at Tiananmen Square. For the government, this was a matter of losing face on the international stage, and President Yang Shangkun later gave this as one of the reasons for ordering the troops. It was at Diaoyutai that Zhao Ziyang implied to the Soviet leader that while Deng had officially retired from his Party posts in 1987, he still made the most important party decisions. Zhao's comment gave others within the central leadership the opportunity to move against him.

Four hours later, Zhao was denounced in a PSC meeting at Deng's house. Li Peng faulted Zhao for giving the May 4 speech to the Asian Development Bank "without clearing it with anyone else." His speech, Li said, had raised the students' expectations, fueled their impatience, hardened their resistance, and worsened the crisis. Meanwhile, Yao Yilin noted Zhao's second mistake, his "whispers" to Gorbachev. Their aim, it seems, was to shift the burden of responsibility for the crisis to Zhao. What they wanted was a scapegoat for the way that things had gotten out of control, and it was not going to be Deng. Zhao defended himself by saying that his May 4 speech was intended to "pacify the student movement and to strengthen foreign investors' confidence" in China. As for his words to Gorbachev, Zhao said he wanted all communist leaders of the world to know that Deng remained, legally, the Chinese Communist Party's "primary decision-maker" (Nathan 2001, 20).

It all depended on Deng's response. Would he take the side of Li or would he find Zhao's defense reasonable? First of all, it would not be in Deng's interest to exonerate Zhao, for that would mean, to Gorbachev and others, that he himself was responsible for the handling of the crisis. Second, Deng was not in principle opposed to reform; he just did not want Western-style democracy and multiparty elections, which he equated with chaos, the type that conjured up the fury of the Cultural Revolution, the red herring in recent Chinese political history. Third, he had been willing to talk to the students, provided that they cleared the Square and made way for Gorbachev, which they had refused to do. Fourth, he

wanted the matter to be resolved quickly after almost a month. The question for Deng was not whether the leaders should stick to the April 26 editorial, which stated the government's position, and which Zhao's May 4 speech contradicted: If the students saw that there was no unity in the leadership, they would be more adamant in their demands. It was therefore crucial for the leadership to demonstrate a unity of purpose. Since Zhao's speech had the opposite effect, Deng had all the reason he needed to "fire" Zhao from his post. Finally, thanks in part to Li, Deng feared for his own person. "If things continue like this, we could even end up under house arrest." In the end, Deng saw the need to dismiss Zhao, declare martial law, and call in troops to end the "turmoil" (Nathan 2001, 16–21).

Despite Deng's verdict, on the following day (17 May), the PSC met again at Zhongnanhai and reached a second stalemate. The result of a vote was that Li Peng and Yao Yilin voted in favor of martial law, Zhao Ziyang and Hu Qili against, and Qiao Shi abstained. The matter was once again returned to the elders; as before, the informal decision-making process took over. Li convinced the elders that Zhao's May 4 speech violated the central norm of collective leadership because it had not been cleared by the PSC. Again, each of the two factions tried to persuade Deng to adopt its point of view. On 18 May, the elders met with PSC members (Zhao Ziyang was absent) and with members of the Military Affairs Commission, General Hong Xuezhi, Liu Huaqing, and General Qin Jiwei. Together, the collective leadership agreed to declare martial law.

The critical decisions leading up to the incident of June 3 and 4 were therefore not made by any one individual, but by a group of central leaders. Within this collective leadership, Deng Xiaoping was the final arbiter of central decision-making, although this did not mean that Deng was necessarily able to impose his will on the other leaders. Rather, these top leaders sought to defer to Deng. It was hence a combination of Deng's individual decision and the collective leadership's deference to his person that resulted in the critical decisions. Nor does this mean that the collective leadership's decision was unanimous or unchallenged. There was dissent, principally

from Zhao Ziyang, and it was in part how Deng's position overrode the dissenting views and how some members and factions of the collective leadership maneuvered to persuade Deng to adopt the hard-line approach that brought about the final outcome of the Tiananmen episode.

Generational politics characterized Chinese leadership style. The elders were distinguished by their age; in general, the older they were, the greater the unwritten authority they held vis-à-vis the younger leaders. The septuagenarian and octogenarian leaders were entitled to additional measures of authority for having participated directly in the Communist revolution. This rule remains unwritten because it goes to the depths of Chinese political culture, according to which respect for elderly authority traditionally stemmed from a hierarchical sociopolitical structure. It was not just their age and experience, but their personal contributions to laying the foundations of the PRC that afforded them this legitimacy, which was extraconstitutional but conformed to the age-old paternalistic tradition that held that elders know best. The weakness of China's constitutional system, the lack of a legal culture and institutions of checks and balances, and a long-standing political tradition that emphasized personal and informal relationships combined to allow the revolutionary elders to claim supreme authority during the crisis.

The Chinese constitution did not provide the elders with the authority to remove Zhao, which belonged to the Politburo and the State Council. Yet during the crisis of 1989, the elders essentially reshuffled the PSC leadership. The younger leader, Jiang Zemin, who demonstrated a commitment to their conservative view of China's political order, was promoted to Party General Secretary, replacing Zhao. This outcome had to do with generational politics. Deng saw himself as "the core of the second generation," and Jiang Zemin as "the core of the third generation" of Party leadership. When Li Peng told Deng that "the spear is now pointed directly at you and the others of the elder generation of proletarian revolutionaries," he was essentially trying to drive a wedge between the older and younger generations, the elders and the students. The reason he did

so was to maximize his influence over Deng so that Deng would choose his hard-line position. On the morning of 2 June, the elders met with PSC members and decided to clear the Square.

INTO THE FUTURE: THE CHINESE AUTHORITARIAN TRADITION

Leading sinologists argue that Tiananmen leadership decision-making symbolizes the triumph of Chinese authoritarianism. One scholar maintains that it played out "the unaltered instincts of authoritarianism in the leadership" (Pye 1990, 331). Another contends that for post-Tiananmen leaders "authoritarianism is the best path for China, even for reform" (Waldron 2002, 398–9). "The emperors may be dead, but 'imperial Beijing' is alive" (Terrill 1994, 139). The Leninist system would not just "wither away" nor would authoritarianism be replaced by some form of Chinese democracy via economic development. In short, China's political traditions and its Leninist political structure support authoritarianism. The rule of authoritarianism seems strengthened; since 1989 people calling for reforms have become far more cautious, owing to the "lesson of Tiananmen." The view is that incremental change is better than revolutionary upheavals, a view that is actually shared by the generations that experienced the Cultural Revolution and the Tiananmen Square event.

—Anthony Loh

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TOKUGAWA IEYASU (1543–1616)

Japanese military leader and statesman

Tokugawa Ieyasu was the founder of the Edo shogunate (1603–1867), Japan's last. Born Matsudaira Takechiyo in Okazaki, of the Matsudaira military clan, Ieyasu grew up in a period of warfare, kidnapping, and shifting alliances. He not only survived this turbulent era, he used his skills in battle tactics, judgment of others' characters, and land acquisition to unify Japan under one government, organize new laws to regulate the court and the military clans, and lay the foundation for more than 250 years of peace under Tokugawa rule.

In 1547, at four years of age, Ieyasu was sent as a hostage to seal an alliance with the Imagawa clan, but was captured en route by the Oda clan. Held until his father's death in 1549, Ieyasu returned home briefly and assumed leadership of his clan before going back to the Imagawa as a hostage. Their defeat by Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582) in 1560 freed Ieyasu to regain leadership of the Matsudaira, and he immediately allied with Nobunaga, changing his name to Tokugawa Ieyasu and seizing Imagawa land.

Ieyasu gradually rose to prominence, steadily expanding his territorial holdings by joining forces with Nobunaga, who sought to bring the country under unified rule. An example of the battle tactics and quick thinking that made Ieyasu a great leader occurred in 1575, when he found out that Takeda Katsuyori had surrounded Nagashino Castle in Mikawa. Ieyasu called on Nobunaga for help. When Nobunaga did not respond immediately, Ieyasu threatened to join the Takeda and spearhead an attack on Owari and Mino. Nobunaga respected Ieyasu's move and led an army into Mikawa. The combined Oda-Tokugawa army of approximately thirty-eight thousand pushed back the Takeda forces, but did not conquer them.

The Takeda and Tokugawa clans would continue to raid one another's lands frequently.

SURVIVAL

Ieyasu's leadership, decisiveness, and ability to form alliances were often put to the test, perhaps most evidently when he was betrayed—even by those he may have trusted the most. In 1579, Ieyasu's wife and eldest son, Hideyasu, were accused of conspiring against him with Takeda Katsuyori. Due in part to pressure from Nobunaga, Ieyasu ordered his son to perform *seppuku* (commit suicide) and had his wife executed. Tokugawa could be utterly merciless when the overall fortunes of his clan were at stake.

A few years later, Ieyasu was an assassin's target while staying in Settsu province. When Nobunaga was assassinated by Akechi Mitushide in June 1582, Ieyasu narrowly escaped with his own life back to Mikawa. After the assassination, Ieyasu watched the development of events closely as one of Nobunaga's top generals, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, carried out his former lord's goal of national unification. In 1584, Ieyasu allied with Hideyoshi, further solidifying their alliance by marrying his sister.

Ieyasu's ability to organize and develop new organizations was proven when long-time Tokugawa retainer Ishikawa Kazumasa abandoned him for Hideyoshi in 1585. Because Kazumasa had been privy to all of the Tokugawa military secrets and knew its organization, Ieyasu completely overhauled the Tokugawa military structure. Scholars believe he carried out this restructuring by following a system devised by Takeda Shingen.

KEEPING AN EYE ON IEYASU

Following a joint victory at Odawara in 1590 that secured control of eastern Japan, Hideyoshi rewarded Ieyasu by trading his old lands for new lands in the east. This move also was designed to undercut Ieyasu's independence and to keep him isolated in the east. Ieyasu began building an imposing new headquarters at a small fishing port called Edo, which would later become Tokyo.

During the Korean Expeditions (1592–1593,

1597–1598), Ieyasu served in Hideyoshi's Kyushu headquarters, but was not required to provide troops for the campaign. Hideyoshi was able to keep an eye on Ieyasu, while Ieyasu's band of retainers, which contained a number of skilled administrators, continued the work of consolidating the new Tokugawa domain while he was away.

SEKIGAHARA

While Hideyoshi pursued his invasions of Korea, Ieyasu made alliances and gained influence and, shortly before Hideyoshi's death in 1598, became the foremost member of the five-person committee set up to protect Hideyoshi's infant son, Hideyori. Promptly breaking this oath after Hideyoshi's death, Ieyasu began allying with other leaders and in 1600 crushed his principal opponents at the Battle of Sekigahara. Ieyasu's victory in this battle is often referred to as the beginning of the Edo period, because he established a central government in Edo shortly after the conclusion of the battle.

With the defeat of his western rival, Ieyasu was the undisputed master of Japan. He used his power to redistribute lands to those who had served him and to reduce the lands of those who had not. To an extent, he made his decisions keeping in mind that Hideyori was still alive in Osaka Castle.

SHOGUN

In 1603, the Imperial court granted him the title shogun (military governor). Ieyasu established his capital in Edo and devised a system for ruling his kingdom, issuing policies on external relations, economics, and trade. He ordered the regional lords to destroy all their castles except those in which they actually lived and encouraged the warrior class to pursue not only military arts but also scholarly learning. Ieyasu adopted many measures to secure the lords' allegiance to the new government, such as establishing norms of conduct for them and their military retainers.

In 1605, he passed his title to his son, Hidetada, and retired to Sumpu. As a natural leader, Ieyasu still retained much of his power and influence. In some

ways, relieving himself of his shogunate duties allowed him to further his influence by consorting with wealthy merchants, monks, scholars, and foreigners, always manipulating everything he did to his family's advantage.

In May 1611, Ieyasu entered Kyoto leading fifty thousand warriors, ostensibly to attend the retirement of Emperor Goyōzei and the succession of Go-Mizonoō. During his stay in the capital, he ordered the expansion of the Imperial court's buildings and grounds and asked the western daimyo (feudal barons) to sign a three-part document vowing their fealty to the rule of Edo. Perhaps based on his experiences on this trip, Ieyasu returned to Edo and composed the *Kuge Shohatto* in 1613, which placed restrictions on the activities of the nobility, essentially limiting that class to ceremonial and aesthetic pursuits.

He continued to promote foreign trade, establishing relations with the English and the Dutch. At the same time, he enforced the suppression and persecution of Christianity. In 1587 Toyotomi Hideyoshi had issued an edict expelling all Christian missionaries, but it was not obeyed or enforced. Japanese civil rulers throughout Japan began to see that the Catholic Church was not only a religion, but a political power intimately connected with the imperialistic expansion of Catholic countries like Portugal, Spain, and other Western nations into Asia. They worried about loyalty of the Japanese who converted and then pledged loyalty to the Pope, and the presence of Catholicism also caused strife between Christians and Buddhists. To secure the stability of the Tokugawa regime, he issued the Christian Expulsion Edict in 1614. In 1615, drawing on previous "house codes," which were meant to serve as ethical and behavioral guidelines for the sons or heirs of the writers (the head of the house, usually of military families) and often reflected concerns regarding the prosperity and the continuity of the clan and earlier ideas, he formalized what was essentially a house code for the nation's daimyo by ordering the preparation of the *Buke Shohatto* ("Laws for Warrior Houses").

LAST THREAT

The final threat to Tokugawa domination was Hideyori. It is not surprising that Hideyori seemed not to

want to face Ieyasu, given his stature and reputation by this stage of his life. But Ieyasu was unwilling to take any chances, especially given his advanced age, so he devised a pretext for war in 1614 over a convoluted and supposed slight. During 1614 and 1615, he organized two attacks against Osaka Castle that ended in the obliteration of the Toyotomi line.

An example of Ieyasu's cunning and ruthlessness is how he got Hideyori to negotiate in one battle. Guessing that the matron of the castle, Hideyori's mother Yodo-gimi, was a weak link that could be exploited, Ieyasu ordered that her location be determined and that cannon fire be directed in that area. To the shock of the defending generals, Hideyori's mother was able to persuade him to negotiate. Ieyasu promised the defenders that he would honor a peaceful solution to the crisis and that Hideyori would be allowed to retain his holdings in the Settsu-Kwatchi region. Hideyori agreed to the offer and ordered his followers to stand down. Ieyasu made a show of arranging for his army to withdraw, then promptly arranged for Osaka's outer moat to be filled in. Hideyori protested, and Ieyasu revoked his peace offer. In June 1615, during the climactic Battle of Tennōji, Hideyori and his mother committed suicide. In the aftermath, Ieyasu ordered that Hideyori's infant son be executed and Osaka Castle largely dismantled.

NEW REGULATIONS

Ieyasu brought the whole country under tight control. He redistributed that which he had gained in battle among the daimyo: the more loyal the vassal, the more strategically important domains they received. Every daimyo was also required to spend every second year in Edo, which was a huge financial burden that moderated their power at home.

Ieyasu's reign left Japan more socially rigid than it had ever been, and the common man and woman had little control over their own lives. The most important philosophy of Tokugawa Japan was neo-Confucianism, stressing the importance of morals, education, and hierarchical order in the government and society. A strict five-class system existed during the Edo period. At the top of the social hierarchy

stood the samurai (warriors), followed by the peasants, artisans, and merchants. At the bottom of the hierarchy were the outcasts, who were people with professions that were considered impure. The members of the classes were not allowed to change their social status.

LEGACY

In 1616, Ieyasu fell ill and died in bed at the age of seventy-five. He was enshrined at Nikko, which is now a World Heritage Site, as *Tosho Daigongen*, an aspect of the Buddha. Unlike Hideyoshi, the future of the Tokugawa house was secure because of the social and legal systems Ieyasu had established. Additionally, the daimyo were weary of war and content to enjoy the fruits of their labors. While minor disputes and grievances occurred, Japan would mostly enjoy peace for more than two hundred years, with the exception of the short and bloody Shimabara Rebellion (1637–1638). This rebellion of peasants supported by *ronin* (masterless samurai) was in protest of heavy taxation. After initial success, the rebellion was crushed, and an estimated thirty-seven thousand rebels were killed. Because many of the peasants were converts to Christianity, their rebellion strengthened Tokugawa determination to isolate Japan from foreign influence and to vigorously enforce the outlawing of all Christian beliefs and activities.

Few leaders in Japanese history are as difficult to understand as Tokugawa Ieyasu. He was a veteran of countless battles and of a life fraught with viciousness, including the forced suicide of his eldest son and the execution of his first wife. He was moved to express compassion for his defeated enemy Takeda Katsuyori, on the other hand, and protected many former Takeda retainers from Nobunaga's wrath. While he rarely forgot a grudge—he once, as an adult, executed a prisoner who had insulted him in childhood—he never forgot a friend either, and rarely left a loyal retainer unrewarded. He was at heart a rustic Mikawa samurai and had little time for poetry or theater, spending most of his free time hawking or swimming, two of his favorite hobbies.

Ieyasu was a calculating political gambler who

won the battles that counted, both on the battlefield and off. More than anything else, though, Tokugawa Ieyasu was a man with a sweeping vision that would continue to lead the Japanese for two centuries after his death.

—Amy J. Benavides

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TOTAL QUALITY MANAGEMENT

Total quality management (TQM) is an influential philosophy of management, but it is also a hodgepodge of ideas and practices meant to help organizations function more effectively. While there is reasonable agreement about what TQM includes—customer satisfaction, quality as a strategic concern, systematic measurement, continuous improvement, and team-based organization—there is no single TQM school. The ideas that make up TQM were developed and popularized by a number of scholars, practitioners, and consultants, most prominently W. Edwards Deming (1900–1993), a professor of statistics and quality control at New York University whose “fourteen points” are akin to the Ten Commandments of the quality approach. The term TQM itself took hold in the 1980s, the best-known in a series of labels (among them statistical process control, company-wide quality control, total quality control, Six Sigma, and the Baldrige model) going back to the 1930s in the United States and the 1950s in Japan. Different

thinkers and organizations emphasize different aspects of the TQM amalgam—from those who stress precise and systematic measurement (with its image of top-down control) to those who stress motivation and empowerment (with its image of workplace democracy). These different perspectives have sharply contrasting implications for leadership. But the many flavors of TQM share a simple premise: In a market economy, organizations must satisfy their customers or lose them to competitors.

HISTORY

TQM was born in the 1930s, with the application of statistical methods to the measurement of work tasks. The rigorous study of work calls to mind the inventor and engineer Frederick Taylor's notions of scientific management in the first decades of the twentieth century, but in the 1930s statisticians like Walter Shewhart developed more sophisticated ways of measuring work, using statistical control to measure the variation in any task or output (for instance, the number of errors in fabricating a thousand telephone receivers). Shewhart devised techniques to calculate acceptable numerical limits for any given task, allowing researchers and managers to pinpoint problem areas and explore possible causes in poor work design, materials, training, or other factors. During the 1940s, Deming began to apply Shewhart's methods (for instance, in the design of the 1940 federal census), but the United States' unrivalled postwar dominance meant that few U.S. business leaders felt any impetus to adopt or even learn such seemingly arcane statistical techniques.

Deming's ideas, however (and those of like-minded thinkers such as Joseph Juran) found fertile ground in Japan, which had been devastated by the war. In 1950, the Union of Japanese Scientists and Engineers established the Deming Prize, and the phrase "made in Japan" began its remarkable thirty-year transformation from signifying shoddiness to quality. By the early 1980s, Japanese firms and their products posed a serious competitive threat to U.S. businesses. An increasingly nervous United States seized on Deming and his ideas as the secret behind the Japanese miracle, and the potential salvation of

U.S. business. In the 1980s and 1990s, many U.S. organizations embraced TQM. In Europe, TQM efforts were driven less by the need for postwar rebuilding, as in Japan, or by a sense of crisis, as in the United States, as by ongoing efforts to modernize European business culture. The European Foundation for Quality Management, founded in 1988, has played a leading role in encouraging businesses across Europe to embrace TQM ideas, in part by awarding the prestigious European Quality Awards.

After so much initial enthusiasm, especially in the United States, a backlash against TQM followed, as many organizations found that TQM was no panacea for their ills (by some estimates up to 70 percent of TQM efforts fail). Today TQM's reputation is equal parts managerial gospel and snake oil.

ELEMENTS IN TQM

Among the many TQM variants jostling for attention, a few themes may be identified. The first two themes are customer satisfaction and, related to this, quality as a strategic concern. TQM proponents see a great economic transformation in the last decades of the twentieth century, from competitive advantage centered on quantity (economies of scale, mass production, cost leadership) to competitive advantage centered on quality (efficiencies of learning and flexibility, mass customization, differentiation). "The consumer," Deming insisted, "is the most important part of the production line" (quoted in Walton, 1986, p. 30).

And since consumers demand high quality no less than low cost, quality becomes a strategic concern. While quality was traditionally seen as something that raised a product's cost, a host of TQM advocates have echoed the businessman and quality consultant Philip Crosby's provocative statement, "Quality is free." Quality is "free" because designing quality into a firm's processes dramatically lowers its direct and indirect costs (such as waste, rework, employee turnover, repairs under warranty, and lost customers).

A third TQM theme is systematic measurement, especially sophisticated statistical analysis along the lines of Shewhart's pioneering statistical control. This idea remains at the heart of TQM efforts—Motorola's Six Sigma program, for instance, aims to

reduce the incidence of errors to one per million (that is, six standard deviations, or sigmas, away from the mean in a normal distribution). TQM proponents seek to make data acquisition and analysis an ongoing part of an organization's work design, while criticizing traditional quality control—the mass inspection of finished products or activities—as too costly and of little help in improving the design of work. The third of Deming's fourteen points challenges organizations to cease trying to achieve quality by dependence on mass inspection, urging them to build quality into the product in the first place.

Systematic measurement is at the heart of a fourth TQM theme: continuous improvement (often denoted by the Japanese term *kaizen*). TQM premises a never-ending effort to optimize work outputs (sometimes formalized in a Shewhart or Deming PDCA cycle—"plan, do, check, act"). But there is a tension inherent in this eternal hectoring to improve: In his fourteen points, for instance, Deming exhorted organizations to improve constantly, but he also insisted on the need to eliminate numerical targets and quotas, for fear that these would become ends in themselves. In practice, calls for continuous improvement are meant to motivate workers and to turn TQM from a one-time fix into an ongoing discipline, but over time continuous improvement often degenerates into the quotas and targets Deming decried, ceasing to be a useful motivator.

The final core idea of TQM is team-based organization, an approach that shows the strong influence of Japanese culture as well as dissatisfaction with traditional Western management, which TQM proponents see as the root cause of low quality. One prominent TQM popularizer and practitioner, Bill Creech, argues that traditional U.S. management is characterized by a high degree of centralization, a sharp division between managers and workers, and a rigid functional separation within the organization. Teams, Creech and others argue, bring together workers from different departments, decentralize power, increase accountability, and cut across the usual bureaucratic lines. Teams empower workers to see themselves as owners of their work and outputs and encourage them to seek the data and feedback they need to do their work better. But because teams

represent so great a challenge to the usual ways of organizing work and allocating power, many if not most TQM efforts fail to make teams a central part of change efforts.

TQM AND LEADERSHIP

For leadership, TQM's implications are fraught with contradiction. TQM is often portrayed as a way for an organization's leaders to share power with workers—but the systems approach of much TQM thinking often encourages a rigid, all-encompassing approach to planning, measurement, and control that can actually reduce followers' autonomy. TQM is intended to provide a solid empirical foundation for decision-making, but its implementation depends on active charismatic leadership and motivated, engaged workers. Indeed TQM could be said, from one perspective, to be a more extreme form of workplace control than even traditional Taylor-style scientific management: Taylorites sought to control workers' bodies; some TQM enthusiasts try to control their hearts and minds, as well.

The rise and decline of quality circles, a common element of many TQM programs, is revealing. Quality circles—small groups of workers convened to identify work problems and explore solutions—became popular in the 1980s as a way for firms to harness the power and knowledge of workers, but lost favor in the 1990s as managers found they could not easily control the directions quality circles went in. In recent years quality circles have given way to "alignment," a buzzword more compatible with coordinated planning and top-down control. Still, many TQM proponents continue to insist that empowerment remains the critical feature of lasting TQM efforts.

Not surprisingly, TQM has generated a good deal of criticism. Much of it takes aim at superficial or insincere TQM efforts: The searingly satirical *Rivthead*, for instance, describes GM's efforts to introduce quality into its automotive assembly plants in the late 1970s as pure nonsense—the same old quotas and processes, overlaid with cheery but empty slogans about quality and the appearances of "Howie Makem," a giant costumed "Quality Cat" who peri-

odically visited the factory floor. More serious critiques of TQM, such as *The Working Life: The Promise and Betrayal of Modern Work* (2000, chapters 8–9), by the leadership scholar Joanne Ciulla, emphasize that there is far more talk about empowerment than actual power-sharing: While a commitment to quality undoubtedly can improve a company's financial health, workers have no assurance that their lot will be better. In this regard, TQM's more extreme claims to reinvent the workplace fail to confront what some would see as an innate structural conflict between labor on the one hand and capital (and the managers who represent capital) on the other.

TQM's luster has faded since the concept's heyday in the 1980s and early 1990s, when the newly instituted Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Award (established in 1987) was part of a fevered national effort to improve the competitiveness of U.S. business. The decline of TQM, though, is due partly to its very success. Many TQM ideas—attention to customer satisfaction, designing quality in, careful measurement and data analysis, feedback, and continuous improvement—have become business commonplaces, and quality has become a generic business concept. But TQM's fortunes have also declined as Japan's economy, a onetime global juggernaut that seemed to be built on the TQM miracle, foundered in recession throughout the 1990s and into the 2000s. Still, TQM has had a lasting impact. The Baldrige Award has now been bestowed on almost fifty organizations, and in recent years winners from the fields of health care and education have been added to the list, reflecting the degree to which the ideas of TQM have penetrated.

In the end, beyond the hype and the denunciations, TQM deserves to be taken seriously. At its core, it represents an effort to move beyond Frederick Taylor's mechanical image of the organization to an organic or cognitive image. TQM compels an organization's leaders to engage in critical thinking, to ask the simple questions which are hard to answer—Who are we? What do we do? How well do we do it? Who is our customer? What does he or she want? At its best, TQM helps remind leaders that an organization's work is always a collabora-

tion, not merely a division of labor. In that regard, an understanding of TQM is a vital element of contemporary leadership.

—Michael Harvey

See also Management; Theories X, Y, and Z

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TRADITIONAL SOCIETIES

The study of leadership in what have been variously labeled traditional, indigenous, nonliterate, preliterate, simple, kin-based, or primitive societies has been the intellectual responsibility of cultural anthropology. The ethnographic literature is rich with descriptions, discussions, and occasionally comparisons of leadership in indigenous societies around the world. There are numerous accounts of religious leaders, such as the shamans of Siberia and Aztec high priests; of family leaders (women in Iroquois society, men in Ashanti society); and of community leaders, such as the headmen of New Guinea and Arab tribal confederacy chiefs. There is also much information

about the basis of leadership, whether that basis be skill at hunting, bravery in war, personal charm, honesty, delicacy in negotiations, generosity in gift giving, the ability to communicate and influence the supernatural world, or ties of kinship and friendship. And there is much information about leadership in times and places of cultural contact; particularly regarding the changes in indigenous patterns of leadership in reaction to colonization by Westerners.

But despite this wealth of information produced by anthropology over the past 150 years, there is relatively little interest in leadership as a topic in anthropology, nor is there much theory to explain similarities and diversity in leadership across cultures. The theoretical orientation has been mainly within the “trait theory” tradition, which focuses on the traits of leaders—older, male, aggressive, capable, tall, and charismatic. There is some evidence that leaders of indigenous societies are less competitive and more generous than leaders in Western societies.

Perhaps an explicit focus on leadership is missing because ethnographers (anthropologists who conduct field research) have traditionally adhered to a holistic paradigm in which description and analysis considers all structures and functions of societies as integrated and interrelated. In addition, the focus of anthropology has been on the local community, although from the 1980s onward there has been considerably more interest in the local community and people’s lives in national and world contexts. The implication of this approach for the study of leadership in these societies is that leadership has typically been studied within the context of the community in relationship to or as a component of other elements of culture such as power, gender roles, political organization, religion, kin relations, age grades, patronage, social movements, succession, authority, or conflict and conflict resolution, among others.

Despite the paucity of theory, the rich ethnographic record on leadership in indigenous societies played a major role in correcting the early view that indigenous societies had no leadership. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, scholars in the West generally assumed that only Western societies had leaders and true leadership. Indigenous societies, which were known in the West primarily

through the reports of colonists, travelers, soldiers, and missionaries, were often described as living in a state of anarchy with leadership centered in the kin group (the family or clan). This view was completely contrary to reality, as proved by such examples as military leaders among Plains Indian societies in North America, hereditary leaders of African states, Big Men in the Pacific Islands, and shaman leaders in Siberia and South America. The oversight was perhaps intentional, as it allowed colonists to ignore traditional patterns of leadership and political organization and install or support as leaders those individuals or families who would be most friendly to the colonists’ own economic interests.

BAND-TRIBE-CHIEFDOM-STATE

For several generations, anthropologists have classified the 2,500 or so known traditional non-Western societies of the world into four general categories: band, tribe, chiefdom, and state. Despite considerable criticism of this scheme and its very limited applicability in the contemporary world, it continues to be widely used, especially for discussion of political organization and leadership.

For several million years, up to about ten thousand years ago, all human beings lived in bands or perhaps smaller family groups. Since then, the number of people living in bands has declined, and in 2003 very few band societies remain. Those that do are found in Africa, South America, and Australia and live a lifestyle quite different from that of band societies in the past. Bands are small, nomadic groups (usually comprising less than one hundred people) who live by hunting and gathering wild foods. The people in the band are typically kin, and a band is made up of several families. The Inuit of Alaska, !Kung of southern Africa, Mbuti of central Africa, and Tiwi of Australia are among several dozen band societies well described by ethnographers. All bands have leadership, although in smaller bands the leadership role is temporary (for example, there may be a leader for a hunt) and leaders are best described as those whose opinion carries more weight than others regarding the decision to be made. Leaders are those who have good interper-

sonal and speaking skills, are able hunters, are generous, and have a large kinship network that supports their decisions. Ruth Landes describes this type of leader among the Ojibwa of southern Canada:

The leader of a prospective war-party is one who has had a series of dreams envisioning for him all the precise conditions of the future campaign. Legend has an account of a ten-year-old war-leader. In actuality, a leader is one who already has shown his martial mettle. To develop his war power, "he talks and talks to his manido. He examines himself to see if he has strength. He dreams about the path they will take, where they will stop and sleep, where they will see lots of strawberries. He even knows when he will meet a bear or porcupine to eat. If it is a clear dream, then he will go and return safely. If the dream is smoky (i.e., vague), then he will lose some men. He dreams how they will kill the Sioux, and how many of them they will kill. In those days they were helped by the things they dreamed, and they were powerful." (Landes 1937, 118)

In larger band societies such as the Tiwi, leaders are classified by anthropologists as Big Men, a label that identifies them as permanent, general leaders who have much authority in economic and religious matters and who head large families. Big Men typically maintain power through kin-based alliances created by marrying off their daughters to other families.

The so-called tribe or tribal society is the most controversial of these four types of societies. The term *tribe* has largely fallen into disuse because of racist and political uses of the label in modern political—but not anthropological—discourse. As a societal type, a tribe is a society that subsists by horticulture, herding, or both and that is composed of several communities linked by ties of kinship, reciprocity, or both. The population typically numbers in the hundreds (although some such societies may be more populous) with low population density. Leadership in tribes is at the local level and tends to be informal and impermanent. Leaders often act as spokesmen for their communities, and traits such as aggressiveness with outsiders, generosity in the community, eloquence, and knowledge are valued. In herding societies, it is often elders who occupy the leadership positions. Leaders in tribes have more symbolic than

material power, as indicated by the Tonga of south-east Africa:

One of the reasons for the nominal status of the headman is that he is not in a privileged position to exploit economic resources, such as natural resources or manpower. The main resources which are required for the Tonga subsistence economy, such as garden land, water, firewood and building materials, are all in relatively plentiful supply and their distribution is not controlled by headmen. As for control over manpower, there are at present no activities in Tongaland which require the large-scale exploitation of manpower in which the person who has manpower at his disposal has an advantage over a person who has not. (van Velsen 1964, 292)

Chiefdoms are societies that, like tribes, are composed of multiple communities but have larger populations, larger and more permanent communities, subsist by farming or herding (or both), and have centralized leadership and often leaders at the local level as well. Most chiefdoms are led by a chief whose position is usually permanent, sacred, high status, and hereditary. There may also be a council or local councils, and in a few chiefdoms there is no chief, just a council. Chiefs and their families are typically very wealthy, control material and symbolic resources, and are viewed by their followers as being divine or having a special relationship with the gods. Chiefdoms in the South Pacific and sub-Saharan Africa have drawn the most attention. In the South Pacific, chiefs have enormous religious power and live apart from commoners. In Africa, the chief's power rests to some extent on his unique ability to communicate with the ancestors who influence the lives of the living. Although some chiefs may be dictators, there is great variation in how much power chiefs have and how they exercise it across cultures and over time in single cultures.

True state societies are the most recent form of human political organization. They emerged in Mesopotamia and Egypt about 4,500 years ago and have evolved over the millennia to the modern nation-states of today. Nation-states have populations of more than 5,000; cities; subsistence based on intensive agriculture; a defined territory; strong, centralized government supported by an extensive

bureaucracy; and a control force such as the police that enforces the laws of the state. Early states and even some in the twenty-first century were and are theocracies, with the leaders seen as divine or their rule divinely inspired. Larger states also have other leaders in such areas as commerce and finance, the military, and religion. Throughout history, priests (a general term for full-time religious specialists) have played a major sacred and secular leadership role in states, often being involved in military, judicial, political, economic, and ritual matters. Ties based on kinship and alliances created through marriage have often been the means of maintaining power and the means of leadership succession in state societies, although less so in modern states.

The band-tribe-chieftdom-state scheme has led some anthropologists to suggest an evolutionary theory of political leadership. The most common view is that over time and across cultures leadership has moved from informal, shared, and local to formal, autocratic, and centralized.

GENERAL FINDING ABOUT LEADERSHIP ACROSS CULTURES

Beyond the description of leadership in different types of societies, the anthropological record does allow for some other generalizations about leadership.

1. Leadership is a cultural universal. All societies known to anthropology have a social role that fits the general definition of leader, although not all societies have permanent leaders or leaders with general authority.
2. In most societies, leaders are always men. Martin King Whyte's 1978 survey of world societies reported that in 88 percent of societies only men were leaders. War leaders are almost always men in nearly all societies in which that role is present, and women are almost never warriors, evidently because being a warrior conflicts with being a parent. Women are more likely to be leaders in band-level societies and modern state societies than in tribes or chiefdoms.
3. Across cultures, people labeled as leaders play a wide range of roles, including those of spokesman, resource allocator, work organizer, cultural interpreter or broker, economic middle-

man, government official, mediator, translator, representative, decision maker, adjudicator, manager of relations, diplomat, repository of knowledge, link to the past, divine force, and communicator with the supernatural world.

4. Across cultures, power is based on control of both material and symbolic resources. While in all cultures people seek power when given an opportunity to do so, it is also common for people to seek freedom.
5. Who the leaders in indigenous societies are, how they are chosen, and the nature of their roles and power have all been influenced greatly over the past five hundred or so years by contact with Western societies.

LEADERSHIP IN THE COLONIAL AND POSTCOLONIAL CONTEXT

Much of the anthropological research pertaining to leadership has examined indigenous political and to a lesser extent religious and business leadership within the context of colonialism, independence movements, and postcolonial nation building.

The effects of colonization by England, Spain, France and other Western nations on indigenous patterns of leadership cannot be overemphasized, and the nature of precolonial indigenous leadership in many societies is unclear or unknown because of this pervasive influence. Under colonial rule, indigenous political leaders, who were often selected by the colonial officials, were expected to serve the colonial power, provide material resources, and maintain order. Business leaders, often a new category of leader created by the colonists, served as middlemen in the market for goods and people. Religious leaders were often exiled and killed and replaced by Christian missionaries, who served as agents of social change. Although there was much variation, after colonization, new attributes were expected of leaders, including Western education, fluency in the colonial language, adherence to Christianity, Western dress, deference to colonial leaders, and negotiation skills. An example of this new pattern leadership is indicated by this description of families among the Warao of Venezuela:

There are some groups that do relatively well. These are tightly integrated household compounds with a

fairly strong leader. Typically, such a man has just sufficient working knowledge of our economic system to be able to manipulate it, and is clear-sighted enough to maintain the traditional economic structure. He has several sons or sons-in-law who have been to school and cannot be taken in by fast operators. Such a group sends part of its work force out to earn cash, but keeps enough manpower to assure the necessary food supply for the compound, without being forced to spend the hard earned cash on staples and other basics.

They thus avoid the typical dilemma of the Indian: he either sticks to his traditional values and thus continues without the essential know-how to defend his interests in the framework of the inevitable mechanisms that characterize our present global economic system, or he accepts the way of life of the criollo and lets the social structure of his community disintegrate without ever gaining therefore full acceptance in the criollo world. In this way Indians lose the backing their community could give them and fall prey one by one to unscrupulous operators. (Heinen 1975, 43)

But the colonial experience also bred a new type of leader: the revolutionary leader who sought to overthrow the colonial powers and restore indigenous rule. Well-known examples of this type include Che Guevara in Cuba and Shaka Zulu in southern Africa. Especially important were prophet leaders of millennial movements, such as the Paiute religious leader Wovoka (1859–1932), who initiated the Ghost Dance in the United States in 1889. The Ghost Dance sought to end white rule and return to the better times of the past.

It was not unusual for colonial rule to replace the indigenous leadership system with an entirely new one. The best-documented example of this is the patronage system that developed in Latin America with nonindigenous patrons holding considerable economic and political power and control over the lives of poor peasants. Finally, we should note the massive migration from rural, agricultural areas to urban centers that has taken place in the postcolonial period. This, too, has led to the emergence of new forms of leadership and conflict between indigenous and new patterns in new places.

—David Levinson

See also Cross-Cultural Leadership; Gandhi, Mohandas K.; Guevara, Ernesto Che; Handsome Lake; Harris, William Wade; Human Rights; Mau Mau Rebellion; Pueblo Revolt; Religion; Shaka Zulu; Sociobiology of Leadership

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TRAITS OF LEADERS

See Authenticity; Big Five Personality Traits; Charisma; Conformity; Creativity; Happiness; Hope; Humor; Optimism; Resiliency; Risk Taking; Trust

TRANSFORMATIONAL AND TRANSACTIONAL LEADERSHIP

Leadership researcher James MacGregor Burns in 1978 wrote a book entitled simply *Leadership*. In this Pulitzer Prize-winning book, Burns made an important distinction between two types of leadership orientations: transformational and transactional. On the surface the distinction appeared to be simple enough. Some leaders “transact” with followers to get things done, setting expectations and goals and providing recognition and rewards when a task is completed. Burns linked transactional leadership to what he observed through the years in many politicians’ behavior in terms of how they “got things done.” Transactions were typically based on satisfying both the leader’s self-interest and the self-interest of his or her followers.

Burns observed transformational leadership in leaders who did the opposite of transactional leaders, initially defining transformational leadership as the opposite of transactional leadership. According to Burns, transformational leaders engage followers not only to get them to achieve something of significance, as he described them as visionary change agents, but also to “morally uplift” them to be leaders themselves. Central to Burns’s theoretical distinction was the fact that he described such leaders as being morally uplifting and being more concerned with the collective interests of the group, organization, and society as opposed to their own self-interests. Although political scientist James Downton (1973) had referred to transformational leadership in an earlier paper on rebel leadership, Burns solidified the distinction between these two leadership orientations. His work significantly marked the course of leadership research for the next twenty-five years, resulting in transactional leadership and transformational leadership being the most widely researched constructs in the leadership literature throughout the 1990s and into the next millennium.

Industrial psychologist Bernard Bass (1985) picked up on Burns’s work and expanded the distinction that Burns made between transactional and transformational leadership, defining each of them

as higher-order (more encompassing, containing individual constructs) constructs comprised of specific lower-order (more specific or individual level) component constructs. Bass set out to define the component constructs of transactional and transformational leadership while also identifying the behavioral indicators associated with each leadership construct.

Downton referred to transactional leadership as “a process of exchange that is analogous to contractual relations in economic life [and] contingent on the good faith of the participants” (Downton 1973, 75). Downton also described transactional leadership as representing the fulfillment of contractual obligations, which over time creates trust and establishes a stable relationship where mutual benefits can be exchanged between leaders and followers. He referred to positive and negative transactions that are either reward based or coercion based, with the latter representing some form of punishment for noncompliance or the corrective transactional leadership described by Bass as “management-by-exception.”

Building his model based in transactional leadership, Bass first focused on previous literature in psychology pertaining to the use of “contingent rewards” as the basis for describing how leaders set up contractual exchanges with their followers. Specifically, transactional leadership is based on the assumption that “if you produce the desired behavior” then you will receive the “contracted award.” The quid pro quo (something for something) relationship represents a psychological exchange in the sense that the leader clarifies the expectations, and the follower delivers, receiving the contingent reward. On the negative side, if the follower does not deliver, and if the leader spells out the penalty for not delivering in advance, then contingent reward becomes contingent punishment.

Based on the literature in psychology on behavioral reinforcement theory, Bass was able to clarify in more concrete terms the construct of transactional leadership and its component constructs, which he labeled “contingent reward” and “management-by-exception,” the latter being more associated with “if you don’t stay on target,” here’s what you won’t get.

A TIPPING POINT IN THE FIELD OF LEADERSHIP

The latter part of the 1980s in the field of leadership studies was what journalist Malcolm Gladwell called a “tipping point.” Part of that dramatic tipping involved moving away from focusing only on transactional models of leadership, such as the path-goal theory (focused on the direction and the target) of management professors Robert House and Terry Mitchell (1975) and the components of consideration and initiating of structure. Instead, there was a move toward more “colorful” and less observable aspects of leadership such as charismatic leadership.

Turning to transformational leadership, Bass identified from interviews with managers and the literature in psychology, sociology and management the components comprising transformational leadership. The initial components included individualized consideration, intellectual stimulation, and charismatic/inspiring leadership. Bass challenged the early work on charismatic leadership produced by sociologist Max Weber (1949) and others suggesting that it is a construct that can be defined and measured. He argued that charisma is a component of the “higher-order” construct of transformational leadership.

Bass added to his definition of transformational leadership the fact that to be transformational, the leader has to learn the needs, abilities, and aspirations of followers. By doing so, the leader can develop followers into leaders. Some authors have argued that there is little if any distinction between consideration and individualized consideration, which Bass (1985) introduced in his theory of transactional and transformational leadership. They draw this conclusion from research that has shown these two constructs to be highly correlated. This conclusion is false. Leaders who are considerate of their followers are probably more attuned to people, to people’s needs, to individual concerns, and to addressing of those concerns. One can certainly make a clear distinction between being considerate to others in a general sense and being focused on individual needs, challenging those needs, and elevating them to higher levels.

Individualized consideration is a critical facet in

the transformational process discussed by Burns (1978) and Bass (1985), regardless of how it is measured. How? A leader must get to know followers’ needs, capabilities, aspirations, and desires to challenge the followers and to develop them into leaders. To systematically and reliably transform followers into leaders, a leader needs an understanding of followers to grow their needs and capabilities to full potential. Thus, part of the transforming that occurs is in the individual as he or she reshapes and reprioritizes his or her needs, as Bass originally discussed from lower-maintenance (from survival to higher levels of personal development) to higher-level self-actualization needs (hierarchy from basic psychological and safety needs to higher order personal development) in line with the psychologist Abraham Maslow’s hierarchy.

Bass described the second main component of transformational leadership as intellectual stimulation, in which the leader challenges followers’ basic thinking, assumptions, and models upon which such stimulation is based to get followers to think about new ways to perform their work. The component construct of intellectual stimulation arose in this literature around the same time that discussions were emerging about the knowledge worker (employee who works with his or her head and not hands) and the change from theory X-type authoritarian management—which assumes all workers should be controlled to comply with work rather than being motivated from the inside—to leadership embedded in a more inclusive, flat, and knowledge-driven organization.

In combination, individualized consideration and intellectual stimulation were defined by Bass as the basic elements that can drive the transformational process in followers in that the leader has to know something about the followers to figure out how to get the followers to think differently. By adding the inspiring and charismatic component, Bass, management professor Bruce Avolio, and their colleagues were able to provide the “energy,” “reasoning,” and “sense of urgency” that promoted great transformations in organizations, communities, and entire societies.

Why do followers change? Followers change because they come to believe in what the leader’s



James MacGregor Burns on Change versus Transformation

We must distinguish here between the verbs “change” and “transform” using exacting definitions. To change is to substitute one thing for another, to give and take, to exchange places, to pass from one place to another. These are the kinds of changes I attribute to transactional leadership. But to transform something cuts much more profoundly. It is to cause a metamorphosis in form or structure, a change in the very condition or nature of a thing, a change into another substance, a radical change in outward form or inner character, as when a frog is transformed into a prince or a carriage maker into an auto factory. It is change of this breadth and depth that is fostered by transforming leadership.

In broad social and political terms, transformation means basic alterations in entire systems—revolutions that replace one structure of power with another, or the constitutional changes America achieved in the late eighteenth century. Bernard Bass of the Binghamton group has distinguished between the “first order of change” or changes of degree, and a “higher order of change,” constituting alterations in “attitudes, beliefs, values, and needs.” Quantitative changes are not enough; they must be qualitative too. All this does not mean total change, which is impossible in human life. It does mean alterations so comprehensive and pervasive, and perhaps accelerated, that new cultures and value systems take the places of the old.

Is transforming leadership measured simply by the number of alterations achieved? The more transactions, in short, the more transformational change? No, the issue is the nature of change and not merely the degree, as when the temperature in a pot of water is gradually raised to produce a transformation, boiling. Time—timing—can be crucial. Continual transactions over a long period can produce transformation. If such incremental changes take lifetimes, how long should people wait?

Source: Burns, James MacGregor. (2003). *Transforming Leadership: A New Pursuit of Happiness*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, pp. 24–25.

cause represents. They change because they see the leader change and make sacrifices for the change. They change because the leader paints a picture on “life’s canvas” that promotes and compels change in line with a vision that seems more appealing, more exciting, and for many the right solution. Followers come to identify in themselves with the vision articulated by the leader, which then motivates them or in the extreme compels them to pursue the desired change.

ADDING THE MORAL COMPONENT

Unfortunately, in his original work (1985), Bass did not make a clear distinction between good and bad

charismatic leaders, missing the distinction that Burns had made with the key term he associated with transformational leadership, which he called “morally uplifting.” The blurring of this distinction led to a long and to some extent unnecessary debate in the literature concerning the distinction between transformational leadership and charismatic leadership.

Avolio, organizational development expert Tracy Gibbons, and later Bass (1990) refined Bass’s message, arguing that the charismatic component of transformational leadership is what management professor Jane Howell (1992) and others had called “socialized” versus “personalized” charisma. The socialized charismatic cares about his or her people’s collective interest. If he or she were going to transform them, they would be transforming them up to a higher purpose, not down. So the German Nazi leader Adolf Hitler, the Cambodian leader Pol Pot, the Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, and all of the other psychopaths throughout history were *not* transformational leaders because to build up one group,

they had to tear down another. Certainly they were charismatic, and in the eyes of many followers they were inspiring. Yet, such leaders rarely left behind more qualified followers to lead because they had either killed most of their independent-minded followers, or these followers died along the way to support “the cause.”

This distinction between good and bad charismatic leaders has led to a line of research during the last decade and a half (management professors Robert House, William Spangler, and James Woycke, 1991; O’Connor, Mumford, Clifton, Gessner, and Connelly, 1995). For example, using a content coding (identification of key themes or content throughout a text) of leaders’ biographies, psychologist

Jennifer O'Connor and associates (1995) reported that social and personalized charismatic leaders generally had a larger impact on society. However, the more socialized charismatic leaders had a positive impact, whereas the personalized charismatic leaders had a negative impact. This is the clearest distinction that one can make between the use of charisma for the good of society and the use of charisma for personal aggrandizement.

By the late 1980s, Bass had defined essentially six components of what constitutes transactional leadership and transformational leadership, adding the last component, which he labeled "laissez-faire" (non-interfering) leadership. Although many other authors argued that laissez-faire leadership is not a leadership style, if one has worked for such a leader, one might well disagree. Not making a choice, not taking a decision, and not rewarding others certainly represent leadership in its most passive and sometimes most debilitating form.

Bass, Avolio, and their colleagues have used laissez-faire leadership as a reference point to compare styles of leadership that are more active, constructive, and, at the higher end of leadership, proactive (acting in anticipation of problems), visionary, and transforming. Determining whether laissez-faire leadership is or is not a leadership style is not as important as being able to use it as the anchor for what Avolio and Bass (1990) have called a "full range of leadership" and its development.

In the latter part of the 1980s, people in the field of management became more interested in what constitutes transformational leadership and its development. In part, this interest came about because of the organizational transformations caused by advances in information technology, globalization of markets, and emergence of "dot.com" industries while brick-and-mortar industries struggled for survival, going overseas or dying. At the same time, management professors Warren Bennis and Burt Nanus (1985) and management professors Noel Tichy and Mary Anne Devanna (1986), following on the breakthrough work of Tom Peters and Robert Waterman in the book *In Search of Excellence*, were also attempting to explain the type of leadership that goes along with excellent

organizations. Each of these authors described transformational as the more effective style.

Bennis and Nanus, as well as Tichy and Devanna, primarily talked about transformational leaders as occurring at the tops of organizations, in contrast to Avolio and Bass (1987), who clearly argued that such leaders occur at all levels. Avolio and Bass also argued that transformational leaders can emerge in both formal and informal roles of leadership.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE MULTIFACTOR LEADERSHIP QUESTIONNAIRE

In 1985, Bass put forth an early version of a questionnaire to measure the component factors of transactional and transformational leadership described earlier. Shortly after publication of Bass's 1985 book, Bass and Avolio published the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ), which has gone through several revisions to refine its assessment of each of the component factors of transactional and transformational leadership. The importance of the MLQ to energizing the emergence of literature was substantial. Many researchers around the globe had greater access to assessing constructs with an easily administered and well-validated questionnaire. Indeed, during the next fifteen years literally hundreds of dissertations, theses, and research articles emerged using the MLQ in research on leadership. These research projects ranged from work in Canadian prisons to nuns in the Catholic church.

The MLQ, now in its fifth version (MLQ 5X), has been used in every conceivable organization, at every level, and on almost every continent. The MLQ has become the de facto leadership questionnaire of choice for the research community but not without criticism of its measurement properties. Since its introduction the MLQ was criticized on a variety of grounds, including the following:

- Any questionnaire of leadership is fundamentally biased by the rater's recall, interpretation, and implicit theory of leadership.
- Items in the questionnaire mixed behaviors, attributions, and impact items (impact referring to how leaders affect performance).

- Evidence conflicted about support of the discriminant validity (how one scale is differentiated from another) between the factors measured by the questionnaire. For example, contingent reward leadership correlated quite highly with individualized consideration, suggesting these were not unique constructs.
- Early exploratory tests of the factor structure underlying the MLQ did not reproduce the factors that Bass had argued were present.
- Some researchers had difficulty separating charismatic from inspiring, and complaints arose about the factorial purity of the survey.

In response to these criticisms, Bass and Avolio (1993) provided their own extensive critique of their work. They challenged colleagues to engage in exploring the criticisms to determine if the criticisms could be resolved or if the questionnaire was fatally flawed.

During the next ten years, the literature on Bass and Avolio's work exploded in numerous studies across a broad range of populations, organizations, and performance criteria. The full-range model of leadership put forth by Avolio and Bass (1991) received considerable support for its main propositions and hypotheses, and in two comprehensive papers the authors established that the component factors comprising transactional and transformational leadership could be validly measured using the MLQ (Avolio, Bass, and Jung, 1999; Antonakis, Avolio, and Sivasubramaniam, 2003).

Since Bass's book appeared in the literature, researchers have conducted four quantitative reviews of his original model and the expanded full-range model (Gaspar, 1992; Lowe, Kroeck, and Sivasubramaniam, 1996; DeGroot, Kiker, and Cross, 2000). Gaspar's review focused primarily on educational settings in which he aggregated a number of study variables later shown to be important moderators of leadership style and effectiveness. Management professors Kevin Lowe, Galen Kroeck, and Nagaresh Sivasubramaniam (1996) focused on an earlier five-factor model of leadership as measured by the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire to guide their meta-analysis (a quantitative analysis of literature used to average data reported in articles to come to a

summary evaluation). Lowe and associates examined the relationship between transformational leadership and transactional leadership with individual and organizational-level measures of effectiveness. Lowe and associates (1996) also included three moderators of the transformational leadership-to-effectiveness relationship: type of criterion, level of leader, and type of organization, demonstrating how each moderated the relationship between leadership and performance. Both meta-analyses provided support for the full-range model, with transformational demonstrating the highest, positive relationship with performance.

Management professors Timothy DeGroot, Scott Kiker, and Thomas Cross (2000) completed a third meta-analysis of the transformational and transactional leadership literature, producing a positive relationship between ratings of charismatic or what Avolio and Bass (1991) later called "idealized leadership and performance." DeGroot and associates (2000) reported that the relationship between charismatic leadership and performance varied when leadership and performance were examined at an *individual* versus *group* level, concluding that "results show an effect size at the group level of analysis that is double in magnitude relative to the effect size at the individual level" (DeGroot, Kiker, and Cross 2000, 363).

A fourth meta-analysis extended the work of Lowe and associates (1996) by examining twelve scales comprising the MLQ versus the five reported in the earlier meta-analysis study. The twelve scales included the nine leadership constructs (idealized, inspiring, intellectually stimulating, individually considerate, contingent reward, management-by-exception active (passive), passive-avoidant, or *laissez-faire*) as well as three outcome measures: satisfaction, extra effort, and effectiveness. This most recent meta-analysis reported by management professors Rex Dum Dum, Kevin Lowe, and Bruce Avolio (2003) included an examination of the relationship between leadership style and satisfaction, which was also not included in the earlier Lowe and associates (1996) meta-analysis. The focus on satisfaction included measures of personal satisfaction versus satisfaction with one's job.

Results of this latest meta-analysis and subsequent examination of moderators confirmed what was reported in a broad range of earlier individual studies and meta-analyses. The hierarchical pattern proposed by the full-range model of leadership received consistent support linking transformational, transactional, and non-transactional leadership to performance in that order in terms of positive to negative relationships. This consistent pattern of results is encouraging in that it suggests that these relationships are enduring and not tied to one period, a particular version of the MLQ, or other artifacts such as the cohort of raters or the outcomes evaluated.

The research projects that were completed during the last decade on the full-range model produced these general conclusions:

- Transformational leadership augmented transactional leadership in predicting performance.
- Transformational leadership appeared to be observed at all levels of organizations.
- The MLQ could produce a highly stable factor structure of nine component factors, especially given a larger sample of raters/leaders.
- The pattern of results noted earlier generalized across cultures.
- Women leaders as compared to men leaders tended to be rated as more transformational.
- Transformational leadership developed followers into more critical and independent thinkers, providing the basis for transforming them into leaders.
- Transformational leadership positively predicted extra effort and performance beyond expectations, along with higher levels of commitment, cohesion, potency, identification, trust, and satisfaction.
- Transformational leadership could be developed with demonstrated impact on both follower performance and group/unit performance.
- When mediated through information technology, e-transformational leadership (leadership done by e-mail, teleconferencing, and/or through other technological means) in most cases produced patterns similar to patterns of face-to-face transformational leadership.

A summary of additional findings can be found in Bass (1998), Avolio (1999), and Avolio and Yam-

marino (2003). By and large the accumulated literature on the measurement properties of the primary survey instrument used to assess transactional leadership and transformational leadership and the core predictions of the model were borne out and continue to provide a basis for continued research into the higher ends of leadership influence and development.

BEYOND THE BASE: NEW AREAS EMERGING

The editor of *The Leadership Quarterly*, Jerry Hunt, pointed out in the journal's 2000 annual review that most theories start out being widely entertained and positively received. Through time, a theory is more closely evaluated and critiqued, and, if inadequate, it tends to die in the literature. If a theory survives the critical phase, it usually becomes more refined and focused and eventually becomes a stable part of the institutionalized literature.

Although the full-range model put forth by Avolio and Bass is still undergoing further validation work, authors such as management professors John Antonakis and Robert House (2003) have suggested that it is established enough that improved models of leadership can be built upon it. Further refinements to the component constructs comprising the full-range model are also in the offing, as occurred going from the six-component-factor model identified by Bass (1985) to the eight component factors now constituting the full range of leadership: idealized or socialized charisma, inspirational, intellectually stimulating, individualized consideration, contingent reward, active management-by-exception, passive management-by-exception, and laissez-faire leadership.

Apart from identifying these constructs, a number of authors have begun to explore the "black box" (what happens between what a leader does and what a follower consequently thinks and does) associated with the transformational leadership process. For example, management professors Boas Shamir, Robert House, and Michael Arthur (1993) built their self-concept theory of motivation to help explain how followers come to personally identify with their leader's vision and mission and how through that identification process followers' concepts of themselves change, in part explaining the transformation process.

Management professors Taly Dvir, Dov Eden, Bruce Avolio, and Boas Shamir (2003) experimentally manipulated transformational leadership through a comprehensive training program, observing that leaders who were more transformational enhanced followers' identification with their organization's core values and were more critical thinkers. Recent evidence reported by management professors Nick Turner, Julian Barling, Olga Epitropaki, Vicky Butcher, and Caroline Milner (2002) and students showed that leaders who were rated higher on transformational leadership also scored higher on moral reasoning. This, coupled with earlier results, showed why such leaders could be seen as "idealized," according to Avolio and Bass. These leaders will do the right thing, oftentimes at their own expense, because it benefits the larger community. They care that their legacy will be one by which their followers will be capable of leading beyond their time and thus set out to transform followers into leaders. Psychologists Karl Kuhner and Phil Lewis (1987) discussed how having a higher level of moral reasoning is a prerequisite for being able to consider the needs of others above one's own needs, working toward transforming followers into leaders. By the late 1990s, the work on transformational leadership had come back to its early roots and the distinction raised by Burns about how it is associated with morally uplifting followers.

In sum, Avolio and Bass set three goals in 1990 when launching the full-range model of leadership constituting transactional leadership and transformational leadership:

1. To provide a heuristic (aid to learning) for development that can be used to guide leaders in examining their leadership style from the most inactive avoidant (*laissez-faire*) to the most active and proactive forms of leadership
2. To challenge themselves and the field of leadership to move away from simplistic conceptualizations of leadership that form neatly into two or three factors and to ask the question, "What's missing?" to make the full range of leadership even more complete over time
3. To challenge the field of leadership to assess a broader and more comprehensive range of leadership

These goals have by and large been achieved as the field of leadership deepens its inquiry into expanding the full range of leadership to encompass a broader and more complete range of leadership. The main propositions comprising this model have been generally supported.

RECENT EXTENSIONS FROM INDIVIDUAL LEADERSHIP TO TEAM LEADERSHIP

Avolio and Bass (1995) argued that transformational leadership can be examined at either an individual level or a group level. For example, team members can collectively exhibit individualized concern for each member's needs and development. In this example, the concern for individuals can be shared by all members of the team versus any single individual within the team.

Experts define *team leadership* in terms of how members of the team evaluate the influence of the team on each member, as opposed to one individual within or external to the team. The definition of *team leadership* integrates the perspective taken by the team member in assessing leadership as well as the level at which the phenomenon of leadership is examined, which is defined here as the team.

Burns (1997) extended his original thinking on individual transformational leadership to include a focus on collective or shared leadership. Burns wrote in a paper entitled "Empowerment for Change" about "the existence of webs of potential collective leadership" (Burns 1996, 1). He went on to suggest, "the initiator may continue as a single dominating 'leader' a la Castro, but more typically he or she will merge with others in a series of participant interactions that will constitute collective leadership. . . . I see crucial leadership acts in the collective process" (Burns 1996, 2–3).

During the past five years, the full-range model has been extended in work on collective or shared leadership. Avolio and Bass have escalated the constructs defined at the individual level to a team level of analysis in what they have called the "Team Multi-Factor Leadership Questionnaire." Evidence provided by Avolio, Sivasubramaniam, management professors Bill Murry, Don Jung, and John Garger

(2002) demonstrates that the transformational and transactional components operate in similar ways when measuring team-level leadership as compared to individual-level leadership. Avolio, Jung, Murry, and Sivasubramaniam (1996) have also shown that transformational team leadership can be predictive of group performance in ways paralleling what has been found with individual-level transformational leadership. Sivasubramaniam, Jung, Avolio, and Murry (2002) have shown that transformational team leadership predicted group potency, collective efficacy, and group performance over a period of three months.

In sum, beginning with the distinction made by Burns between transactional leadership and transformational leadership, the field of leadership now is exploring a broader and more inclusive range of leadership styles at both an individual level and a team level. The accumulated results provide strong support for Bass's (1985) original propositions and research questions and extend his work to the team level in assessing shared transformational leadership. Experts expect the next ten years of research will involve a much closer examination of the "black box" constituting the transformational leadership process, greater attention to the effects of the followers' characteristics on the leader, and a more concentrated effort in the area of developing transformational leadership for impact on individual and collective performance.

—Bruce J. Avolio

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TRANSFORMATIONAL AND VISIONARY LEADERSHIP

In his seminal book *Leadership* (1978), the scholar James MacGregor Burns concluded that there were two types of leaders: transformational leaders and transactional leaders. This taxonomy was built around the notion of an exchange between the leader and the followers. For Burns, both the leader and the follower had something to offer one another. It was in the nature of what was exchanged, however, that Burns's model came into play. On his analysis, transformational leaders offered a transcendent purpose as their mission—a purpose that addressed the higher-order needs of their followers and themselves. In the process of achieving this mission, both the leaders and the led were literally transformed as individuals—hence the term *transformational*. Burns explained: “The result of transforming leadership is a relationship of mutual stimulation and elevation that converts followers into leaders and may convert leaders into moral agents” (Burns 1978, 4). At the other end of the spectrum was the transactional leader. The more prevalent of the two types, transactional leaders established a relationship with followers that consisted of more mundane and instrumental exchanges: “The relations of most leaders and followers are transactional—leaders approach followers with an eye to exchanging one thing for another: jobs for votes, or subsidies for campaign contributions. Such [instrumental] transactions comprise the bulk of the relationships” (4).

The underlying idea, that leadership is an exchange, has been around at least since the early 1970s. The thesis is that the relationship between a leader and followers depends upon a series of trades or bargains that are mutually beneficial and are maintained so long as the benefits to both parties exceed the costs. Burns would characterize these types of exchanges as transactional rather than transformational because they do not satisfy higher-order needs and they do not result in the elevation of both the leader and the led to a more evolved state of being. Burns's delineation of a more transcendent type of leadership that would satisfy those higher-order needs was his critical contribution to leader-

ship theory. What Burns added, then, is not so much the notion of leadership as an exchange but the idea that certain forms of leadership create a cycle of rising aspirations that ultimately transform both leaders and their followers.

Burns's conceptualization of these two leadership forms has profoundly influenced the thinking of many scholars in the leadership field. For example, in the 1980s—a period of great competitive unrest in the global business world—Burns's ideas appealed to management theorists grappling with the twin issues of organizational change and empowerment. The transformational leader appeared to speak to both those issues, because transformational leaders were concerned both with transforming the existing order of things and with directly addressing followers' needs for meaning and personal growth.

BEHAVIORAL COMPONENTS OF A TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADER

Following the publication of *Leadership*, the scholar Bernard Bass dedicated a significant portion of his career to elaborating upon the Burns model. Whereas Burns defined the transactional and transformational dimensions of leadership as two ends of a spectrum, Bass and his colleague Bruce Avolio conceptualized them as separate dimensions. For Bass, therefore, a leader could be both transformational and transactional. Burns had provided an overview of the two types of leader, but Bass was determined to identify more precisely the behaviors that these leaders demonstrated. At the heart of the Bass and Avolio model of transformational leadership was the notion that transformational leaders are able to motivate subordinates to exceed both their leader's expectations and their own.

Bass and Avolio's model described four behavioral components of the leader: charisma, the ability to inspire, individualized consideration, and the ability to provide intellectual stimulation. They defined charisma in terms of both the leader's behavior (such as in articulating a mission) and followers' reactions (such as trust in the leader's ability), emphasizing charisma's role in enabling the leader to influence followers by arousing strong emotions and identifi-

cation with the leader. When followers identify with the leader, they are less resistant to change, and when a leader can arouse strong emotions, there is a sense of excitement about the mission. Bass argues, however, that charisma alone is insufficient for transformational leadership.

While Bass originally treated the ability to inspire as part of charisma, his more recent writings describe it as a separate component designed to motivate. Much of this particular dimension centers on communications, in that the transformational leader "communicates high expectations, uses symbols to focus efforts, and expresses important purposes in simple ways" (Bass 1985, 22).

The dimension of individualized consideration resembles the notion of consideration developed in early leadership studies at Ohio State University. Individualized consideration is the act of providing encouragement and support to followers, assisting their development by making possible opportunities for growth, and showing trust and respect for them as individuals. Individualized consideration binds leader and followers together more closely and helps build followers' self-confidence.

Intellectual stimulation, the final dimension, is a process whereby the leader increases followers' awareness of problems by challenging them with new ideas and perspectives and by spurring them to rethink their habitual ways of doing things.

COMPARING TRANSFORMATIONAL AND CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP

Some may wonder what distinguishes theories of transformational leadership from theories of charismatic leadership. In a nutshell, some researchers feel that charisma is a component of transformational leadership, while others feel that charismatic leadership is the ultimate form of transformational leadership. The perspective from which leadership is viewed also differs depending on the model. The charismatic theories and research have measured leadership from the standpoint of perceived leader behavior, whereas the transformational theories have largely concerned themselves with follower outcomes. In the case of the transformational theories,

this was the natural outcome of Burns's original conceptualization, which moved followers' needs and motives to the forefront of the leadership discussion. On the other hand, the earlier formulations of charismatic leadership emerging from the fields of sociology and political science were primarily concerned with what contexts and what behaviors on the part of the leader induced people to become followers. In essence, the formulations of charismatic and transformational leadership are highly complementary, examining the same phenomenon from different vantage points.

The two formulations also describe the leadership process in similar ways. Both suggest that the type of leader they describe uses empowerment rather than control strategies to gain influence over followers. For example, charismatic-leadership models would see such actions as role modeling or persuading others to action or consensus-seeking as examples of empowerment strategies. Followers respond to those actions by becoming more committed to the cause and more effective in their own actions.

Similarly, Bass and Avolio describe how behaviors such as promoting self-development among followers (for example, by urging them to seek out learning opportunities in assignments or getting more training), persuading followers that they can perform at a high level, creating readiness for changes in thinking (for instance, by exposing them to new trends or unconventional approaches to problem-solving), and modeling self-sacrifice all have the effect of empowering followers. Both the transformational model of leadership and the charismatic model of leadership also state that the main goal is to change followers' core attitudes, beliefs, and values rather than merely to induce compliant behavior. Attitude changes among followers are characterized by identification with the leader and internalization of the values embedded in the leader's vision.

VISIONARY LEADERSHIP

Defined by the Oxford English dictionary as the "ability to plan or form policy in a far-sighted way," *vision* was rarely used in the literature on leadership until the 1980s. In the late twentieth century, how-

ever, intense global competition and shortened development cycles for technology disrupted the typical life span of corporate strategies. Business leaders were called upon to pay far greater attention to the future direction of their organizations as their products and strategies became outdated ever more rapidly. At the same time, efforts to adapt to the increasingly competitive environment often resulted in downsizing—the laying off of large numbers of employees. In many cases, those layoffs shattered decades-old psychological contracts that ensured employees of job security, and managers needed to know how to enlist and motivate employees under such difficult circumstances. Academics were searching for terminology that adequately described how leaders met the challenge of simultaneously ensuring organizational adaptation and empowering employees. With its connotations of foresight and positive goals, *vision* seemed appropriate.

The leadership field generally defines vision in terms of future-oriented goals that are highly meaningful to followers. For example, the scholars Noel Tichy and Mary Anne Devanna describe vision as "a conceptual roadmap or set of blueprints for what the organization will look like in the future" (Tichy and Devanna 1986, 128). Jay Conger and Rabindra Kanungo define vision as a set of idealized goals established by the leader that represent a perspective shared by followers. Similarly, Warren Bennis and Burt Nanus declare that vision "articulates a view of a realistic, credible, attractive future for the organization, a condition that is better in some important ways than what now exists," concluding that it "may be as vague as a dream or as precise as a goal or mission statement" (Bennis and Nanus 1985, 89). To James Kouzes and Barry Posner, the term implies an image of the future that provides a sense of direction, a set of ideals, and feelings of uniqueness for the organization. For Robert House, vision reflects "cherished end values shared by the leader and their followers. It is a vision of a better future to which followers have a moral right; thus, it embraces a set of ideological values" (House 1995, 416). These definitions tend to have in common the notion that vision is distinguished by future goals, which are seen as attractive for followers.

Where the definitions begin to differ is in the precise nature of the goals—whether they can include strategic and tactical goals or whether they must incorporate a higher social purpose and ideology to be classified as a vision. For instance, some scholars consider the goal of achieving the top market share in one's industry to be just as valid a vision as (for example) revolutionizing the way children learn through the company's innovative products. Clearly the latter has more affective and inspirational content than the former. Yet the former has been the historical vision of one of the business world's most visible charismatic leaders, Jack Welch, the former CEO of General Electric.

A second area of divergence is the degree to which the definition focuses on an individual's special capacity to be visionary. It is commonplace in the popular press to speak of the capacity for vision as a rare, personal gift, but doing so plays to highly romanticized notions of leadership. In reality, leaders' visions are rarely the product of a single individual. Numerous people help formulate them over an extended period of time. Moreover, visions evolve as new challenges or opportunities emerge. Therefore, it is best to define vision around future-oriented goals and communications that are meaningful and challenging to followers rather than to reinforce popular conceptions of an individual with exceptional gifts of vision.

There are many roles for vision. Vision is useful for helping to define the organization's strategic direction. Vision has an overarching quality that is important because it leaves room for more specific, tactical goals to be worked out as opportunities arise and barriers appear. In contrast, detailed strategic and business plans, which are the more traditional means of defining the organization's strategic direction, are often not well understood outside the senior-management levels of an organization. A well-articulated vision, by contrast, provides organizational members at all levels with a simple statement that will help them align their values, actions, and decisions with the organization's strategic objectives. Its simplicity also promotes clarity of focus. By minimizing the number of goals, organizational resources are more likely to be appropriately focused on their achieve-

Not everything that is faced can be changed. But nothing can be changed until it is faced.

—James Baldwin

ment rather than diluted across many goals of varying priorities.

Studies from both the field and the lab consistently show that when a manager sets specific, clear, and challenging goals, rather than vague or no goals, the performance of subordinates is higher. When goals are specific, subordinates are able to focus their efforts; when goals are challenging, subordinates are energized—and in both cases the outcome is better performance. As a rule, goals are more influential than needs, values, or tasks in motivating an employee to work long and hard.

The goals associated with vision have the added characteristic of being portrayed as unique, which heightens followers' sense that their endeavor is a special one. The leader's vision creates for followers the perception that they are at an active center in the social system—one of those rare and remarkable arenas in society in which change and innovation take place.

In theories of charismatic leadership, vision highlights the charismatic leader's uniqueness and thereby makes him or her more admirable in the eyes of followers. To the degree that the leader presents goals whose ideals diverge markedly from surrounding realities, the leader provides a force for change: research has shown that a maximum discrepant position within the latitude of acceptance puts the greatest pressure on followers to change their attitudes. When the idealized goals of the leader's vision represent a perspective shared by followers that promises to meet their aspirations, it tends to be within this latitude of acceptance despite its often extreme discrepancy. Martin Luther King Jr. promised his followers a world of *complete* equality in American society. At the time, that vision was a far cry from the reality they faced in their everyday lives—a world built around discrimination. As a result, members of the organization throw their support behind the vision to achieve its objectives.

Finally, vision also reinforces followers' sense of

collective identity. By stressing the vision as the basis for the group's identity and by highlighting the necessity of collective effort to realize its goals, the leader reinforces the notion that individuals must subordinate their own needs for the sake of the larger group. James Meindl and Melvin Lerner have proposed that a shared identity can heighten the sense of a collective "heroic motive" and increase the likelihood that self-interested pursuits will be voluntarily abandoned for more self-sacrificing and collective behavior—all of which may be necessary to achieve the idealistic goals of the vision.

VISIONARY LEADERS IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Given the pace of change in society today, there will be a strong demand for visionary leadership. Few organizations will survive for the long term without a cadre of leaders who understand the fundamental threats and opportunities awaiting their organizations. As importantly, they must be able to craft credible and compelling visions which inspire their people to let go of old ways of acting and thinking and to embrace new actions and worldviews.

—Jay A. Conger

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TRANSFORMISTIC THEORY

Transformistic theory emerged in the 1970s in an effort to predict the kinds of organizations that would

be most successful in uncertain or highly turbulent environments. This theory posits that in uncertain environments, organizations must generate transformation on multiple levels—individual, organizational, and societal—if they are to change in ways that will ensure both their own viability and the overall well-being of society. At the same time, transformistic organizations must maintain focus and stability by remaining true to their core values and ethics. The theory later incorporated many of the ideas associated with transforming leadership and fundamentally realigned the roles, missions, and functioning of organizations in volatile environmental contexts.

Many of the concepts about uncertain or turbulent environments had their origins in the early writings of the scholars Warren Bennis and Philip Slater (1968), Donald Schon (1971), and Fred Emery and Eric Trist (1973). Dynamic processes emerge and thrive in environments fraught with change. These changes in the environment are self-perpetuating and complex. Emery and Trist use an ecological example from the fishing and lumber industries. In those industries, competitive business strategies that are based on the assumption of a static environment, may (through overfishing and overcutting) lead to disastrous repercussions in the fish and plant population, ultimately causing the destruction of all the competing systems. In human populations, momentous events, such as the fall of the Berlin Wall, the reconfiguration of the former Soviet Union, worldwide terrorist attacks, and the rise of struggling democracies, trigger complex and unpredictable dynamic processes, both positive and negative.

CONTRASTING BUREAUCRATIC, ORGANIC, AND TRANSFORMISTIC ORGANIZATIONS

Transformistic organizations differ in significant ways from bureaucratic and organic entities. Bureaucratic organizations are compatible with stable environments and authoritarian leadership. They function in a world of explicitly formulated goals, rules, and procedures that define and regulate the place of their members. In the traditional bureaucratic world of specialization and expertise, individuals' roles are minutely specified and differentiated.

Organic organizations flourish in changing environments and utilize transactional leadership to compete with numerous similar organizations. In this environmental context, organizations face unique and unfamiliar problems that cannot be broken down and distributed among specialists in the hierarchy. Broad operational procedures, rules, and practices guide the work of functional units. Workers possess an overall knowledge of their organization's purpose and circumstances. Lateral and vertical consultation typifies the communications in such organizations, in contrast to the vertical chain of command present in bureaucratic organizations.

Transformistic organizations flourish in turbulent, uncertain environments. There is interconnectedness to promote mutually beneficial interactions between and within organizations, and frameworks and ethics are used to align organizations. The leadership is transforming; that is, leaders seek to inspire organization members to achieve an ennobling vision. Shifting goals, priorities, and methods of operation characterize transformistic organizations. Organization members with multiple capabilities and skills carry out work in fluid, temporary units; the organization encourages their continuous development and the application of their skills in new and varied situations.

Transformistic theory also links organizational form, leadership, and behavior to the environment. Among the assumptions underlying transformistic theory are that advancements in science and technology have greatly improved access to information and resources and that the increased access has, in turn, expanded the capacity of individuals, governments, and businesses to act. In addition, transformistic theory assumes that individuals, groups, and organizations use information and resources to generate collective, individual, and diverse actions—intentionally or randomly, advantageously or adversely, sequentially or concurrently. Further, these actions increase complexity and uncertainty in social and natural environments.

IMPLICATIONS OF AN UNCERTAIN ENVIRONMENT

According to many scholars, unpredictable environments require a fundamental shift in societal thought

and behavior characterized by intense global concern and competition; intra-organizational relationships and collaboration; a focus on democracy, substantive justice, civic virtues, and the common good; a values orientation; empowerment and trust; consensus-oriented policy-making processes; diversity and pluralism in organizational structure and participation; critical dialogue and qualitative language and methodologies; collectivized rewards; and market alignments. Linking the assumptions mentioned earlier with these characteristics, transformistic theory proposes ways in which organizations and leadership function and thrive in uncertain environments.

Core values and ethics serve to center and regulate the organization and help members assess the purpose, actions, decisions, partnerships, and outcomes of the organization. Transforming leadership engages organizational members in collective purpose linked to social change, with the ultimate objective of enhancing human existence. Although the political scientist James MacGregor Burns, the first to articulate the notion of the transformational leader (1978), did not believe transformational leadership was possible in organizations because of bureaucracy and economic self-interest, later theorists have disagreed; transformistic theory contends that the well-being of organizations and of society in uncertain environments rests on their interconnectivity and reciprocal support.

DEVELOPING HUMAN AND LEADERSHIP CAPACITY

Central to transformistic theory is the notion that organizations have a responsibility to expand human and leadership capacity. Expanding organizational members' capacity entails developing their ability to think critically and systemically; to act with knowledge and authority; to learn, create, and experiment; to develop abilities and expertise; and to apply new capabilities to new circumstances. Expanding leadership in organizations requires recognizing and developing it as an organizational capacity. The scholar James O'Toole discovered that companies in which key leadership tasks and responsibilities are institutionalized in the systems, processes, and cul-

ture are not dependent on the presence of a high-profile leader. In these companies, people at all levels engage in leadership practices. They

- act more like owners and entrepreneurs than employees or hired hands (that is, they assume owner-like responsibility for financial performance and risk management);
- take the initiative to solve problems and to act, in general, with a sense of urgency;
- willingly accept accountability for meeting commitments and for living the values of the organization;
- share a common philosophy and language of leadership that paradoxically includes tolerance for contrary views and a willingness to experiment;
- create, maintain, and adhere to systems and procedures designed to measure and reward these distributed leadership behaviors. (O'Toole 2001, 160–161).

O'Toole identified two factors that contributed to the long-term success of these companies: coherence and agility. Coherence refers to common behaviors found throughout an organization. Agility represents a company's institutional ability to anticipate and respond to change. Institutional agility allows organizations to generate and transform structures, functions, and capabilities to meet the conditions of an uncertain environment.

THE BANK OF MADURA: AN EXAMPLE

An illustration of transformistic theory in action is the Bank of Madura's microlending program for women in rural India. The president of the Bank of Madura recruited managers who were willing to leave their traditional office facilities to work directly with women in rural communities, teaching the women skills ranging from basic literacy to business and accounting. Multilevel transformations occurred as poor, uneducated, and socially isolated women became economically viable entrepreneurs who were able to support their families and form close-knit communities of caring, learning, and support. At the same time, bank managers created innovative banking structures, turned dying rural bank

branches into thriving and prosperous enterprises, and developed increased capabilities by using existing expertise in new ways—all while experiencing a greater sense of purpose and meaning in their own lives, work, and communities.

Transforming and distributed leadership accomplishes multiple missions that link organizational viability to the well-being of society and nature. Established concepts in organization theory maintain that the mission of an organization identifies its basic purpose or reason for existence and establishes its unique identity in relation to others. In transformistic theory multiple missions, often referred to as the double or triple bottom lines, promote transformation among interconnected human, organizational, and ecological systems. Organizations that recognize their symbiotic connection to society and nature and that reflect this connection in their implementation of multiple missions increase their chances for long-term sustainability in uncertain environments.

—Gill Robinson Hickman

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TRUST

The Federalist Papers, the classic series of essays explaining and defending the proposed United States Constitution, was authored by Alexander Hamilton (1755–1804), James Madison (1751–1836), and John Jay (1745–1829). In “Federalist Paper 64,” Jay presents a perfect illustration of the problem of trust and leadership. His topic concerns the treaty-making process under the new Constitution, which stipulates that while the Senate would have final approval of any treaty submitted by the president, the president and his assigned negotiators would have some latitude along the way to engage in secret and candid negotiations and reach agreement with international partners. The people could not themselves sit around the bargaining table; rather, their representatives would have to act on their behalf. On what grounds could the new government, which owed its very existence to a fear and mistrust of previous leaders, justify such discretion in their new leaders?

Jay argues that leaders have to be trusted. The founders designed the Constitution, Jay notes, so that it would recruit to political office individuals of wisdom and keen judgment with no interest other than the well-being of those they represented. If the system worked according to plan, the government would consist of the most able, the most virtuous, and the most trustworthy individuals. Towards the

All of the great leaders have had one characteristic in common: it was the willingness to confront unequivocally the major anxiety of their people in their time. This, and not much else, is the essence of leadership.

—John Kenneth Galbraith

end of his analysis, however, Jay makes an abrupt shift: If citizens are worried about the discretion granted to leaders, he calmly points out, they should be reassured by another provision in the Constitution, namely, that of impeachment of a president who abuses his power.

We trust our leaders in modern life—whether corporate, political, or social life—but only so far. Trust is conditional, bound by the principle of accountability and the limited power and discretion granted to leaders of any stripe. John Locke (1632–1704), the British philosopher, wrote in 1690 about “prerogative,” the necessity for leaders to act with wide latitude when the laws are silent or even when the laws prevent leaders from acting in the best interest of the citizens. The authority of leaders to act in such circumstances is legitimate only if a leader’s acts ultimately benefit the public. That zone of discretion—the amount of trust given to leaders—expands or contracts depending upon the degree to which citizens believe leaders are fulfilling their obligations to those they serve rather than attending to their own self-interests.

Trust is an extremely complex subject, made all the more confusing by the elasticity of the term. Trustworthiness, a personal characteristic that engenders trust, arises from a complicated set of factors. In a leadership context it may include, as Locke implied, a conviction that the leader is acting in the interest of followers rather than personal self-interest. Or it may come from a set of skills and talents that convince others the leader is competent and able. Followers may trust leaders because they perceive in them certain personal virtues, and because they believe their leaders share their own values or are at least mindful and respectful of their values. Or followers may base their trust on the belief that a leader

can get the job done. Modern discussions often confuse these distinctly different meanings of trust.

Violations of trust by leaders in recent times have generated at least a few positive outcomes: an increasing recognition of the many factors that determine trust, a better understanding of the importance of context, and an awareness that trust matters not only in the relationships between leaders and followers but also throughout society. The levels of trust affect how people go about their daily lives and have a profound impact on the kinds of relationships formed between leaders and followers.

THE BENEFITS OF TRUST

Why should trust matter? It is not a necessary condition for cooperation with other people. In everyday life, many transactions occur in which trust plays no role. Car dealers are seldom trusted, but they sell thousands of cars each day because competitive economic relationships fulfill both the dealer’s and the consumer’s self-interest. Of course, when consumers buy cars from dealers, they have some assurance that if the contract is breached, a series of regulations and laws will provide a basis for redress and a secure safety net. A generalized trust in the system, therefore, reduces or eliminates the need for trust in individuals. At times, individuals cooperate with others, even with leaders, who are motivated purely by their own self-interest. When this happens, it is not the result of a trusting relationship; rather, it occurs because the parties’ self-interests are inextricably linked and because a set of institutions and processes binds both parties.

Such protections can be costly, however. Regulations—often disparaged as “red tape”—mean more time, more hassle, and (in terms used by economists) greater transaction costs. In societies with greater levels of trust, such transaction costs are lower. From an instrumental point of view, it is simpler to live in societies where one’s word can be taken on faith, where the need for elaborate procedures and safeguards is significantly less because of a presumption that individuals will not renege on their promises. High-trust societies have the potential to be more productive. They devote fewer resources to monitor-

ing and regulation and more to their core functions. Presumably the same logic applies to high levels of trust among followers and leaders.

Besides this instrumental benefit of trust, there is also the sense that trusting, cooperative societies are more congenial places to live than mistrusting, competitive societies. Higher levels of trust are associated with higher levels of satisfaction and commitment to others. It is difficult to identify the causal direction of the variables: Does trust lead to greater contentment, or is it the reverse? Whatever the direction, however, it is cause for concern when trust levels in society seem to be falling—as most surveys of public opinion in Western democracies indicate. General levels of trust and, in particular, levels of trust in leaders are prime indicators of overall civic health. Trust does matter—for instrumental reasons as well as for reasons of civic well-being.

WHAT GENERATES TRUSTWORTHINESS?

Granting a leader discretion is one type of trust. The person granting the trust assumes a risk. The leader's judgment could prove faulty or the leader may take advantage of the trust placed in him to act in ways harmful to the follower. Why would a follower take such a risk?

Two sets of factors come into play. One is the leader's personal qualities. Those who study the dynamics of personal trust disagree on which factors belong on this list of qualities, their relative importance, and the ways in which they interact. But any list would have to include at least the following: the degree to which the leader understands the interests of others and does not pursue self-interest to the exclusion of the interests of those being led; the apparent consistency between the leader's own actions and public positions or policies (for example, a leader known for a hawkish stance who had himself dodged the draft or avoided military service is less likely to be trusted on military matters); the leader's record of public explanations unblemished by lies or misleading statements; and the leader's consistency and predictability in action—or ability to explain seemingly inconsistent acts.

Second, a set of “macro” factors beyond the

leader's personal characteristics is also instrumental in the bestowing of trust. In modern life, leaders and followers form purposeful relationships in particular areas: business, politics, social change, and so forth. Leaders operate in particular contexts, usually ones in which the authority of the leader resides in the office, not in the person, and in which the discretion to act is bound by agreed-upon procedures, institutional practices, and limited power. Leaders therefore demonstrate their trustworthiness not only by their personal qualities but also by operating appropriately within a system that is itself trusted to some degree. People grant trust based not only on a judgment about the individual, but also on a confidence that institutions are durable and can respond to a violation of trust by any single individual. Conversely, both a mistrust of individuals and a declining faith in the system's ability to find and eliminate an abuse of trust can result in diminished levels of trust overall. Institutional complexity arising from a need for sharper lines of accountability may actually pave the way for greater levels of trust. With some degree of confidence that violators will be caught and purged from the system, citizens and consumers become more willing to assume the risk that goes with a grant of trust.

For example, corporate governance depends upon a level of trust in chief executive officers and chief financial officers. It is impossible to imagine, however, a system of corporate governance unchecked by standards of auditing and disclosure or unregulated by a board, such as the U. S. Securities and Exchange Commission. When a trust is violated, an individual leader as well as the system comes under scrutiny. In modern corporate and political life, trust in leaders is a function, in part, of trust in the institutional context in which they operate.

RATIONAL CHOICE, RISK, AND CALCULATIVE TRUST

Rational choice theory, which explains social relationships by starting with the assumption that individuals are intentional and purposeful in all their actions, offers one explanation for understanding trust. Individuals act only after calculating whether

In order to be a leader a man must have followers. And to have followers, a man must have their confidence. Hence, the supreme quality for a leader is unquestionably integrity. Without it, no real success is possible, no matter whether it is on a section gang, a football field, in an army, or in an office. If a man's associates find him guilty of being phony, if they find that he lacks forthright integrity, he will fail. His teachings and actions must square with each other. The first great need, therefore is integrity and high purpose.

—Dwight D. Eisenhower

the benefits of a particular alternative outweigh the costs. Trust becomes nothing more than a gamble—a rational one to be sure, but nevertheless just a simple variation on the ordinary, everyday balancing of the expected returns from any given decision. Viewed in this manner, trust in leaders would be, in terms of leadership theory, transactional. Trust is granted with the expectation that the leader will offer something in return. According to James Coleman (1990, 99), the elements of trust “are nothing more or less than the considerations a rational actor applies in deciding whether to place a bet.” For Russell Hardin (2002, 3), trust is completely rational and nothing more or less than “encapsulated interest.”

Other scholars challenge that perspective, reserving the term “trust” for those special circumstances where calculation of interest is suspended. The economist Oliver E. Williamson argues that genuine “non-calculative” trust occurs in personal and private relationships but rarely enters our economic or political relationships, which, in his view, are indeed rational and purposeful. Political scientists James G. March and Johan P. Olsen believe that trust plays a larger role in our social lives. They question the rational choice perspective on grounds that the “core idea of trust is that it is not based on an expectation of justification. When trust is justified by expectations of positive reciprocal consequences, it is simply another version of economic exchange” (March and Olsen 1989, 27). From this perspective, trust is a

normative concept, one of those significant social phenomena, like love and friendship, which loses its meaning when framed in terms of rational costs and benefits.

These competing views provide one of the major points of contention among those who study trust. Is it a normative concept based on values and principles of duty, obligation, and responsibility, or is it a construct based on rational and self-interested calculations?

SOCIAL CAPITAL

Another area of scholarship important for an understanding of trust and leadership is *social capital theory*.

In 1835, Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–1859) observed that democracies, particularly the American version he had studied, were vulnerable to excessive individualism. Individualism was not bad in and of itself, he pointed out, but if it caused a weakening of social bonds and a decline in civic participation, it would eventually become pernicious and erode any sense of community. In mid-nineteenth-century America, high levels of association softened the harsh edges of individualism. American citizens, Tocqueville observed, were “joiners.” They belonged to an extensive array of voluntary civic groups. Mutually beneficial interactions with other people routinely occurred in these groups, and individuals would come to recognize their common interests as a result. They would develop “habits of the heart” and learn to trust each other. Broad, intricate, and dense networks of trust would provide a strong foundation for any community, or in modern terminology, a high stock of “social capital.”

Robert Putnam is a contemporary scholar whose studies have identified a decline in civic participation and associated declines in levels of trust throughout American society—trust in fellow citizens as well as trust in leaders and institutions. In his view and the view of many others, the stock of social capital—the resource that citizens and leaders can draw upon in times of civic, economic, and political stress—has reached dangerously low levels. Again, causality is difficult to determine. Has trust declined because of

decreased civic participation, or has decreased civic participation led to a decline in trust? Despite the problems of measurement and conceptualization that complicate an understanding of trust, participation, and civic health, and despite the controversy over some of the conclusions about social capital in modern society, there is widespread agreement that trust in U. S. society has diminished along with civic engagement. The particulars of the relationships remain somewhat in doubt, but the consensus is that the “habits of the heart” identified by Tocqueville are less of a force in complex modern democracies.

Social capital theory highlights at least three important leadership issues. First, as general levels of trust in society decline, leaders find it more difficult to gain followers’ trust. Second, as levels of trust decline, leaders struggle to restore social capital either through their own actions or through policies. Third, some scholars contend, trust and social capital are difficult to generate in pluralistic and heterogeneous societies. Can individuals with vastly differing values trust each other and form dense networks of mutual support? If pluralism makes it difficult to generate trust, most modern societies, particularly those in developed democracies in which tolerance and individual rights are justifiably and unavoidably prominent features, will find the creation and preservation of social capital highly problematic. Leaders will need to develop trust while embracing the benefits of tolerance and the inevitability of pluralism in free and diverse societies.

THE BENEFITS OF MISTRUST

Trust in leaders is obviously beneficial. All things being equal, citizens would prefer to have leaders they can trust. And some level of discretion—“pre-rogative” in Locke’s phrasing—is necessary when circumstances call for urgency, secrecy, or plain judgment in cases where the laws are silent or the public speaks with too many conflicting voices. But as Locke and many others have also observed, a degree of mistrust has its benefits as well. It is empowering to individuals in a democratic society to place their trust in leaders, but only if they do so conditionally. As active citizens, not passive inhabitants, engaged in

Whoever is careless with the truth in small matters cannot be trusted with the important matters.

—Albert Einstein

shaping the nature of their communities, they have their own obligations to participate in civic life, to provide leaders with direction, and to hold them accountable for what they do and how they do it.

A pathology of democratic life occurs when trust shades too far into unquestioned acceptance of a leader’s dictates. Blind or unconditional trust in political, economic, or social life is unhealthy in a society built upon individual autonomy, individual rights, and limited power in any form. By the same token, another type of pathology occurs when mistrust and healthy skepticism shade too far into cynicism and become a reflexive disbelief in any and all leaders in any and all established institutions. The challenge for understanding trust and leadership in modern times is recognizing that trust has its dark side and that mistrust also plays an integral part in leadership theory.

—Kenneth P. Ruscio

See also Altruism; Authenticity; Charisma; Conflict; Discourse Ethics; Ethics, Contemporary; Ethics: Overview; Friendship; Obedience; Self-Interest; Shared Leadership; Teamwork

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TRUST BUSTING

A new kind of giant industrial corporation—commonly known as the trust—dominated American political and economic life at the turn of the twentieth century. Corporations of their magnitude and power, some controlling as much as 90 percent of their markets, were unprecedented in U.S. history before the Civil War, but by 1900 they had spread to several major industries. For millions of Americans, the trusts posed a fundamental threat to business competition, to the independence of government, to individualism, and even to liberty itself. At the same time, the trusts offered some clear benefits, most notably their ability to mass produce commodities efficiently and sell them more cheaply than their smaller competitors.

What, if anything, should the government do in response to the rise of the trusts? The question dominated American political life for at least a generation. It especially engaged three presidents during the so-called Progressive era of the early twentieth century: Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Woodrow Wilson. Each president held very different views about the trusts, and each took distinct actions toward them. Thus, the three presidents who served from 1901 to 1921 exhibited markedly different leadership styles as they confronted one of the most pressing issues of their day. Their actions left an enduring legacy on American political economy—by strengthening the power of the executive branch and, in the process, redefining the balance of power in the American system of governance. Much about this critical era remains widely misunderstood—especially the central role of Theodore Roosevelt, whose reputation as the greatest “trustbuster”

in American history lives on, in spite of his strong support of corporate trusts relative to the antitrust stances of Presidents Taft and Wilson.

THE TRUST PROBLEM

Large corporations were nothing new to the U.S. economy in the late nineteenth century. Early in the century, families and groups of New England capitalists built large textile mills with hundreds of workers in towns such as Lowell, Massachusetts. Canal companies in the Northeast, Middle Atlantic, and Midwest (then the West) consumed millions of dollars of public and private investment capital. And railroads boosted the scale and scope of corporate business by an order of magnitude. Growing from local lines to interstate systems in the mid 1800s, railroads merged to form vast regional systems in the 1870s and 1880s. By that time the Pennsylvania Railroad—with thousands of miles of track and some 5,000 employees—was the largest business enterprise in the world.

The scale and scope of the railroads disconcerted a growing number of Americans. Midwestern farmers and shippers were especially vocal in their criticisms of the major railroad lines, and they lobbied successfully for passage of a series of “Granger” laws in the 1870s (passed in response to the farmers’ Grange movement) that regulated railroad rate-setting and operations. At the same time, it was clear that the railroads—as a fast, efficient, reliable, and high-capacity mode of transportation—held many benefits for society.

Not surprisingly, the first *federal* regulation of corporations was directed at the railroads. Several states had developed a commission form of regulation, in which a board of experts was appointed to collect information about railroad operations and rates and make it available to the public. But the commission did not have direct power of enforcement or rate-setting. For this reason, some astute observers called them “sunshine” commissions: They would cast light on railroad operations with the expectation that those that competed unfairly would draw the attention of the press and, ultimately, the wrath of the public and its legislators, who might revoke a corporation’s char-

ter or take other punitive actions. In 1887, the federal government emulated the actions of some of the more progressive state commissions by passing the Interstate Commerce Act, the first federal corporate regulation in American history. The legislation created the Interstate Commerce Commission, a board of independent experts.

After the Civil War, several manufacturing industries went through a process of consolidation reminiscent of the mergers that swept through the railroad industry a decade or two earlier—and for essentially the same reasons. These industries, too—oil refining, iron and steel manufacturing, brewing and distilling, tobacco, and sugar refining, to name a few—were heavily capitalized and plagued with overcapacity. Rather than compete, most companies chose to merge. It was then illegal for one corporation to own another in a different state, but ingenious corporate attorneys found ways around the obstacle. In the late 1880s, an attorney for Standard Oil created a new kind of legal entity called a “trust” that exchanged trust shares for shares of stock in Standard Oil companies in various states. (There were thus two definitions of the trust: the narrow definition that referred to the kind of arrangement devised by Standard Oil and copied by others, and a vernacular use of the term to refer to any large corporation with a dominant position in its industry.) New Jersey also passed a holding company law to attract industry

The regulatory response to these consolidations also paralleled the railroad experience, but with important differences. In 1890, Congress passed the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, which outlawed all combinations “in restraint of trade.” The phrasing of this and other critical passages was vague, however, leaving wide latitude for interpretation by the courts. Over the next decade, in several dozen suits, the courts ruled in favor of large corporate defendants in the overwhelming majority of cases. Most of the findings against companies penalized medium-sized firms or trade associations, and the Sherman Act was even used against labor unions. Unlike the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Sherman Act created no commission or other oversight body; it was left to the Justice Department to bring actions against alleged violators on behalf of the American people.



This ink drawing by Clifford Berryman was published in the *Evening Star* on 11 October 1907. It shows President Theodore Roosevelt trust busting and uses a hunting motif, drawing humor from Roosevelt's penchant for hunting.

Source: Corbis; used with permission.

Ironically, when it came to the largest and most heavily capitalized manufacturing industries, the Sherman Act soon proved to have largely the opposite effect from what was intended—that is, it *encouraged* consolidation. This came about in the 1890s as a growing number of firms—fearful that they could be prosecuted under the terms of the Sherman Act for making formal and informal agreements with competitors to regulate wages, prices, and output—decided that outright merger was a legally safer strategy. The severe depression of 1893 gave further impetus to a massive merger movement that, by the time it was over, gobbled up more than 1,200 manufacturing firms.

The public hue and cry about the trust problem reached a fevered pitch. In political cartoons, magazine and newspaper articles, and books, “muckrakers” vividly portrayed the Machiavellian maneuverings of several of the nation’s captains of industry, colorfully dubbing them “robber barons.” Millions of

readers were outraged and intrigued by the likes of Frank Norris's *The Octopus* (1901), a scathing indictment of railroads in California, and Ida Tarbell's expose, *History of the Standard Oil Company* (1904).

PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S LEADERSHIP ON ANTITRUST

Such was the industrial and political landscape in 1901, when Vice President Theodore Roosevelt received the shocking news that President William McKinley had been assassinated. A massive merger wave was under way; the Sherman Act had proven to be unpredictable at best and ineffectual at worse in reining in the trusts; and large segments of the population, especially those outside of the "monied" classes, were deeply concerned about the burgeoning size and influence of the trusts, though not quite sure what to do about it. And there were significant obstacles to strong federal action, from the polity's persistent wariness about the expansion of federal power, to Constitutional arguments that actions against corporate assets denied those entities (which held legal standing much like a person) due protection of their property rights.

Roosevelt's national leadership on the antitrust issue was both potent and evolutionary. It was potent because he brought to the debate a sophisticated and in many ways advanced understanding of the salient issues, and because his leadership style proved to be among the most rhetorically powerful in the history of the United States presidency. It was evolutionary because Roosevelt's position was more muted and mainstream during his early years in the White House compared with how he later articulated his antitrust position, especially when he ran (unsuccessfully) for reelection in 1912.

A Republican, Roosevelt attained the presidency largely in spite of the wishes of his party's leaders. As a boy, he had been a severe asthmatic, sickly throughout his childhood yet determined to refashion himself into a paragon of rugged masculinity. He graduated from Harvard College, won a seat in the New York State assembly, served as president of the New York City Board of Police Commissioners, and became secretary of the navy. During the Spanish-

American War, he led the Rough Rider regiment. He loved to hunt big game, ranch in the West, and read and write voraciously. Roosevelt spurned the help of the Republican Party machine, which saw him as a loose (albeit colorful) cannon and helped channel him into the vice presidency as a way of containing his influence. All of that changed with McKinley's assassination, which made Roosevelt, at 42, the youngest president in American history.

As president, Roosevelt held complex views about the trust issue. To begin with, he saw the nation's behemoth industrial combines as both a great resource and a potential threat. They were a resource because most were enormously efficient compared with their smaller rivals. By producing on a large scale—Rockefeller's refineries, for instance, were much larger than those of any of his competitors, even before he bought out 90 percent of his competitors—the trusts captured enormous economies of scale that allowed them to lower their production costs dramatically. Contrary to widespread fears—and emerging theories of monopoly—near-monopolists like Rockefeller slashed their prices rather than extorting "monopolistic rents." Operating costs were so much lower at the giant producers that they could afford to lower prices *and* still earn enormous profits for their owners. (With nearly a billion dollars of accumulated wealth, Rockefeller was the richest man in the world.) The president understood the internal economics of such industries, and also saw their benefit for consumers and for the larger economy. He saw them as the culmination of a long and successful process of industrial evolution.

Roosevelt was first and foremost a militant nationalist. In his view, giant industry was a vital source of American strength. Roosevelt and others of his generation had witnessed the transformation first-hand. On the eve of the Civil War, the United States had been a third- or fourth-rate economic power. By 1900, it led the world in the production of iron, steel, oil, and several other key industrial commodities, and featured more miles of railroad track than all of Europe and Russia combined.

At the same time, Roosevelt recognized that trusts also held the power to dissipate the nation's economic vitality. They could seek comfort in merger

rather than striving to develop competitive products and services; they could run smaller rivals out of business by pricing below costs until their competitors folded; they could forge secret deals with ostensible competitors to hold prices artificially high or hold output artificially low; they could demand secret kickbacks from key customers; and so on. The trusts needed to be controlled, but—in Roosevelt’s firm opinion—the Sherman Act was not the way to do it. As applied by the courts during its first decade, the federal antitrust law had proven to be inconsistent at best, and ineffective at worst. At the same time, President Roosevelt highly valued the rule of law, which prevented him from dismissing the Sherman Act or its enforcement lightly.

His preferred solution to the quandary—of how to preserve the strengths and benefits of corporate efficiency for national strength, how to safeguard against their potential abuses of power, and how to uphold the rule of law—was administrative government. The federal government needed to expand its powers and administrative capacity in order to act as a countervailing regulatory force against the asymmetrical power of the trusts. Drawing inspiration from the recent history of state and federal regulation of the railroads, the U.S. government needed to create an agency or commission to oversee industrial combinations that was akin to the state railroad commissions and the Interstate Commerce Commission.

During his first term, the ever-resourceful Roosevelt pursued a combination of strategies and tactics to achieve his antitrust aims. Seeing the presidency as a power venue for moral suasion—a “bully pulpit,” as he memorably called it—he loudly called for responsible corporate behavior and an expanded oversight role for the executive branch. He also successfully urged Congress to create a Bureau of Corporations within the Department of Commerce and Labor, which (like the state commissions) gathered information about corporate operations and reported it to the president, who then decided whether to publicize potential wrong-doing and urge government prosecution. Finally, Roosevelt wielded the antitrust club during his administration by directing the Justice Department to bring suit against scores of cor-

porations—a total of forty-three by the time he completed his second term in the White House.

His first target (in 1902) was the Northern Securities Company, a gigantic railroad holding company put together by financier J. Pierpont Morgan to control all of the long-distance railroad lines west of Chicago. With great fanfare, the case (*Northern Securities v. U.S.*) reached the Supreme Court, which ruled the stock transactions an illegal restraint of trade. Roosevelt also initiated actions against the beef, oil, and tobacco trusts. All of this earned him a reputation as a great “trust-buster.” Although Roosevelt indeed held the interests of the “little man” in high regard, his preferred method, as noted, was to build a strong nation and protect its citizens through administrative activism. Roosevelt’s activism outran even his own party’s sense of propriety after his reelection in 1904. In the realm of antitrust, as well as several other areas of social and economic reform, he proposed an ambitious program of reforms, including a national incorporation law, which he dubbed the “New Nationalism.” Although several of his key measures were enacted into law, his more ambitious proposals, including the national incorporation law, were defeated by a combination of Democrats and “old guard” Republicans.

After his reelection, Roosevelt pledged not to run for a third term, a decision he later regretted. In 1908, his chosen successor, Secretary of War William Howard Taft, entered the White House. During his four years in office, Taft and his aggressive attorney general, George Wickersham, initiated sixty-five antitrust actions—far more than Roosevelt and in a much shorter time—although Taft was motivated more by his desire to enforce the law rather than expand administrative government. Roosevelt watched from the sidelines with growing distaste. At the same time, his antitrust views evolved. In 1911, the Justice Department, concluding antitrust actions it launched years earlier at Roosevelt’s institution, ordered the break-up of the American Tobacco Company and the Standard Oil Company. In its rulings, the court articulated what became known as the “rule of reason”—essentially, that trusts had to possess not only the power but also the intent to impede competition to have violated the Sherman Act. The principle

resonated with Roosevelt, who increasingly thought and spoke in terms of “good” and “bad” trusts.

WILSON VERSUS ROOSEVELT ON ANTITRUST: THE ELECTION OF 1912

Roosevelt decided to make another bid for the presidency in 1912, when the trust question was one of the burning issues of the day. The contest pitted Roosevelt—running as the nominee of his own, newly formed Progressive Party—against Democratic nominee Woodrow Wilson, Taft (as the Republican nominee), and socialist Eugene V. Debs. Wilson—the son of a minister and an academic most of his professional life—had served as president of Princeton University and governor of New Jersey.

Wilson’s antitrust philosophy contrasted starkly with Roosevelt’s. He saw powerful industrial combinations as growing out of the failure of the market rather than (as Roosevelt saw it) the market’s natural progression. The ideal state of political economy was not, as Roosevelt believed, firms of all sizes with a strong administrative state policing the large in defense of the medium and small, but rather a nation without the giant combines altogether. In this way, Wilson called for the return of an earlier stage of economic development, one closer to the world of Adam Smith, when no company held the power to influence prices. Simply put, whereas Roosevelt saw “good” and “bad” trusts, Wilson viewed bigness itself to be inherently bad. He promised a “New Freedom” if elected.

Roosevelt’s third-party candidacy split the vote and threw the election to Wilson. (The total votes cast for Roosevelt and Taft together far exceeded those garnered by Wilson.) Once in office, however, Wilson proved to be a much more activist president than his campaign rhetoric had suggested. He ushered through a roster of major legislative reforms that secured his reputation as (along with Roosevelt) one of history’s two great Progressive presidents. Among the key measures was Clayton Antitrust Act of 1914, which exempted unions from antitrust prosecution and created the Federal Trade Commission. The FTC monitored competitive practices and possessed the power to issue “cease and desist”

orders against corporations. Wilson’s administration thus gave the nation the kind of administrative oversight of corporate behavior long envisioned by Roosevelt. Thereafter, antitrust enforcement resided chiefly in the hands of the executive branch rather than the courts.

Wilson’s style of leadership—generally and when it came to antitrust—contrasted starkly with Roosevelt’s. He was cerebral, moralistic, at times even preachy, and thus much less effective than Roosevelt at mobilizing public opinion. His fundamental position on the trusts was backward looking rather than forward looking. Nevertheless, he held a deep suspicion toward economic concentration that persists to the present, when Americans continue to hold ambiguous attitudes toward trusts that echoed Roosevelt’s ruminations a century ago. And in action, Wilson became one of the chief architects of both the modern antitrust tradition and the modern administrative state.

—David B. Sicilia

See also Rockefeller, John D.; Roosevelt, Theodore

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TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSIONS

Truth and reconciliation commissions (TRCs) are established to research human-rights abuses that have taken place during a specific time period in a

country or area or during a particular conflict. TRCs exist for a designated length of time, have a specific mandate, and varied organizational arrangements, processes, and procedures. These commissions allow victims, their relatives, and perpetrators to give evidence of human rights abuses and provide an official record of their accounts. Commission members have authority to access information from all institutions and to provide legal protection to witnesses. TRCs are most helpful when they are headed and created by strong leaders who have a peaceful vision for their country's future.

In most cases, one goal of truth and reconciliation commissions is to produce and disseminate a final report that includes both conclusions about the abuses that occurred and recommendations for preventing a recurrence of these abuses. Ultimately, the goals of such commissions are to contribute to ending and accounting for past abuses of authority, to promote national reconciliation, and to bolster a new political order or legitimize new policies.

More than twenty truth and reconciliation commissions have been established around the world since the first was created in Uganda in 1974. The majority of TRCs were established by the national governments of the countries in question, some by international organizations such as the United Nations, and a few by nongovernmental organizations. When national governments form commissions, those governments are usually transitional governments, because newly emerging democracies often want to or are sometimes forced to give a formal accounting of the violence, crimes, and civil and human rights abuses of the previous regimes.

JUSTICE

Much has been written about truth and reconciliation commissions, but in all the literature no theme has been as prevalent as justice. TRCs are often seen as controversial because of the tension between the two extreme positions that can form between those who want to exact vengeance for horrible acts committed against innocents and those who feel the need to offer forgiveness for those horrific acts.

Many believe that the perpetrators of human rights

abuses, violence, ethnic cleansing, or genocide must be subjected to criminal proceedings by a tribunal or a court of law that can establish the facts of the abuses, render verdicts, and, if needed, mete out punishment. This is often called retributive justice. But truth and reconciliation commissions are not designed to be courts of justice.

Truth and reconciliation commissions are designed to establish what is often called restorative justice. This approach to dealing with the past seeks reconciliation instead of retribution. Believers in restorative justice hold that when a perpetrator confesses his crimes, the victim is empowered through forgiving the tormenter. They believe that the healing can be even more pronounced if the TRC has the power to order and enforce reparations or restitution. The society at large can be helped by the public airing of crimes or grievances, which is sometimes accompanied by confessions. TRCs typically involve a greater degree of public participation than criminal trials do.

Because TRCs are not punitive, they can result in situations where, following the public airing of grievances, victims watch perpetrators continue to enjoy their freedom despite their acts of violence. One way to avoid this problem is for TRCs to serve as a first step to the prosecution of selected individuals who are deemed responsible for especially heinous crimes. A country may begin with one process and bring about closure with the other, or run both processes simultaneously, perhaps putting the leaders and planners of atrocities on trial while using a TRC mechanism for other players in the crimes or events being addressed.

TRUTH

Although the word *truth* has a defining place in the commissions' titles, a definition of the word cannot be agreed upon. Any event has almost as many versions of what happened as it has witnesses. In their writing about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa, Charles Villa-Vicencio and Wilhelm Verwoerd proposed using different types of truth to satisfy the different demands made on the word. These types included historical truth, moral truth, factual or forensic truth, personal or narrative truth, social or dialogue truth, and healing and



Truth and Reconciliation Commissions

As part of its Jeanette Rankin Library Program, the United States Institute of Peace maintains a digital collection of information on truth and reconciliation commissions. Below are excerpts from the collection.

Argentina

The 16-member National Commission on the Disappeared was created on December 16, 1983, by then-President Raul Alfonsín. The commission's report on 9,000 disappearances during the 1976-1983 military rule, issued on September 20, 1984, was commercially published under the title *Nunca Mas: Informe de la Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas*.

Chile

The eight-member National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation, which was established in 1990 by then-President Patricio Aylwin, released their *Report of the Chilean National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation* in February 1991. The report is commonly known as the *Rettig Report* after former Senator Raul Rettig, who was president of the commission. The commission's mandate encompassed human rights abuses resulting in death or disappearance during years of military rule from September 11, 1973, to March 11, 1990.

East Timor

A regulation issued on July 13, 2001, by the U.N. Transitional Administration in East Timor established a Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation with a three part mandate: 1) to investigate human rights violations committed between April 1974 and October 1999, which resulted in the death of an estimated 200,000 East Timorese. To establish a truth-telling mechanism for victims and perpetrators to describe, acknowledge, and record human rights abuses of the past; 2) to facilitate community reconciliation by dealing with past cases of lesser crimes such as looting, burning and minor assault. Panels comprised of a Regional Commissioner and local community leaders will mediate between victims and perpetrators to reach agreements on acts of reconcilia-

tion to be carried out by the perpetrator; and 3) to report on its findings and make recommendations to the government for further action on reconciliation and the promotion of human rights. After a months-long public nomination and selection process, seven national commissioners were sworn in on January 21, 2002, in Dilli.

El Salvador

The Commission on the Truth for El Salvador was mandated by the January 16, 1992, U.N.-brokered peace agreements ending the Salvadoran civil war. It was established in July and released its report on March 15, 1993. The report on "serious acts of violence" since 1980 was titled *From Madness to Hope: The 12-Year War in El Salvador: Report of the Commission on the Truth for El Salvador*.

Germany

The Enquet Kommission Aufarbeitung von Geschichte und Folgen der SED-Diktator in Deutschland, or Study Commission for the Assessment of History and Consequences of the SED Dictatorship in Germany, was established by members of the German Parliament in March 1992 to investigate human rights violations under communist rule in East Germany from 1949 to 1989. Its mission was primarily investigative rather than judicial. The commission results were published in eighteen volumes in 1995. The authorities established procedures to make available to the public the personal dossiers and surveillance files of the Communist secret police.

Guatemala

The Historical Clarification Commission (CEH) was established on June 23, 1994, as part of peace agreements between the Guatemalan government and the National

restorative truth. These different sorts of truth play different roles: Forensic truth, for example, aspires to uncover overwhelming material evidence and present it in such a compelling and scientific manner that no one can argue that the various atrocities or crimes under investigation didn't happen. Narrative or personal truths, which primarily refer to the victims' and perpetrators' public testimony, also seek to ensure that individual acts of oppression and oppressed individuals cannot be forgotten.

But while attempts are made to ensure that the facts are established, a society-wide consensus on what they mean cannot be forced. In the case of human rights abuses committed in South Africa and Latin America, for example, although the victims of violence were often innocent of any crime, South African security forces and Latin American generals and colonels often believed that they were fighting subversion that threatened national security. They may still believe that they did the right thing and can

Guatemalan Revolutionary Unit (URNG), to investigate human rights violations in the country's 36-year armed conflict. The commission's final report, entitled *Guatemala: Memory of Silence*, was released on February 25, 1999.

Peru

In December 2000, the Valentin Paniagua government approved the establishment of a truth commission to investigate human rights abuses committed between 1980 and 2000. The commission was inaugurated on July 13, 2001, and began its work after President-elect Alejandro Toledo took office later that month. In early September 2001, upon the request of the Catholic Church, the commission was renamed the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and its membership was expanded from six to twelve.

The commission investigated human rights abuses by the Shining Path and the Tupac Amaru rebel groups and the military during the administrations of former Presidents Fernando Belaunde (1980–1985), Alan Garcia (1985–1990), and Alberto Fujimori (1990–2000). It was estimated that such abuses resulted in 30,000 deaths and 6,000 disappearances in Peru over the last two decades, but the commission's report, which was released on August 29, 2003, stated that 69,000 people were victims of political violence during this period.

Philippines

On March 18, 1986, then-President Corazon Aquino gave broad power to the seven-member Presidential Committee on Human Rights to investigate human rights violations attributed to the military during the 1972–1986 rule of President Ferdinand Marcos. The committee never issued a final report.

South Africa

The Commission of Truth and Reconciliation was established in 1995 by the South African parliament to investigate human rights violations during the apartheid-era of 1960 through

1994. Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu chaired the 17-member body. The commission held public hearings throughout South Africa at which former victims of human rights abuses told their stories. The commission's amnesty committee received 7,124 applications by perpetrators of such violations by December 9, 1998. A reparation and rehabilitation committee was established to recommend appropriate forms of compensation for human rights victims. The commission's report was presented to President Mandela in October 1998.

Sri Lanka

In November 1994, President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga appointed three different Commissions of Inquiry into the Involuntary Removal or Disappearance of Persons, and each was assigned to cover a different geographic part of Sri Lanka. The three independent commissions had the identical mandate of investigating whether individuals had "disappeared" from their homes since January 1, 1988; determining the fate of the disappeared; and bringing charges against those responsible for the abductions. Together they investigated more than 16,700 cases of disappearances, submitting a single final report to the president in September 1997. Eventually, the final report was made public, compensation paid to the relatives of some of the victims, and more than 400 members of the country's security forces were duly charged with human rights violations.

Uganda

The six-member Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights was established in May 1986 by President Yoweri Museveni, and was mandated to investigate the human rights violations committed under the governments of Milton Obote and Idi Amin between October 9, 1962, and January 25, 1986 and make recommendations of ways to prevent the recurrence of such events. The commission's reports were published in 1994.

Source: Truth Commissions Digital Collection. United States Institute of Peace. Retrieved October 8, 2003, from <http://www.usip.org/library/truth.html>

continue to believe this despite the collective belief that their actions were criminal upon hearing the commission's evidence.

RECONCILIATION

Reconciliation is the first step towards mending a broken society so the people can have dignity and justice. In South Africa, it was Nelson Mandela (b. 1918), himself a political victim of apartheid and a great

leader, who suggested forming that nation's truth and reconciliation commission. (South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission began its work in April 1996.) In South Africa, where the granting of blanket amnesty by the commission has been one of the most controversial aspects of its work, Bishop Desmond Tutu (b. 1931), one of the leaders of the commission, argued that freedom was offered to perpetrators in exchange for their truthful confessions.

Tutu solves the problem of justice by distinguish-

ing between retributive from restorative forms. In fact, Tutu says that restorative justice reflects a fundamental and venerable African value of healing and nurturing social relationships at the expense of exacting vengeance. In the Zulu language, this quality of humane sociality is called *ubuntu*.

Joseph Montville, a senior associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, a nonpartisan think tank based in Washington, D.C., is a leader in the field of truth and reconciliation commissions. He breaks down the process of reconciliation into a formula of acknowledgment and contrition from the perpetrators and forgiveness from the victims. This process can occur in specially designed workshops wherein, under the guidance of trained third parties, contestants take “walks through history.” The goal is to effect a healing process, which cannot begin until there has been some public acknowledgment of what has happened. Montville says that justice itself is a form of healing.

In fact, proponents of reconciliation often turn the discussion of justice into the language of therapy and healing, or into a moral and religious discourse of forgiveness. Along with ideas of punishment or retribution, what is also lost in this transformation, to many critics, is the notion of equity. One argument against the usefulness of reconciliation is that while the process may be useful on the individual level, when it is brought to the collective level reconciliation often seems to become more ambiguous as an approach to building peace.

In an analysis of the South African TRC and its results, the social anthropologist Richard Wilson emphasizes the value of recognizing individual suffering and collectivizing it, as the South African TRC did through its televised hearings. A new political identity was constructed, the “national victim.” In this way, individual suffering was brought into a public space to be shared by all; in Wilson’s estimation it was made sacred as a precursor to building a new national collective conscience. In contrast, Tom Winslow, who has worked with victims of torture in South Africa, argues that while the South African TRC has worked in some ways to effect reconciliation at the collective level, this may have occurred at the expense of individual, psychological healing.

Healing at the individual level, in his estimation, is independent of collective reconciliation.

AMNESTY

Granting perpetrators amnesty in exchange for full disclosure of their human-rights abuses is a controversial practice of many TRCs. But some form of amnesty provision is often essential to ending what is often a protracted, bloody war: Without amnesty the killing, torture, rapes, and disappearances would continue.

A few possible ways to gain amnesty exist. After an armed conflict, all parties involved may be given amnesty. This solution is also referred to in the Geneva Protocols, which are the laws that govern during armed conflict. By granting this kind of amnesty, a government can absolve the military or police of crimes committed on its own orders. Another means of gaining amnesty is by being discharged from further prosecution because of mitigating circumstances, such as the fact that one was carrying out orders or because the statute of limitations on the crime has expired. Last, individuals may escape prosecution because their crimes are not considered proven, or because there is not a judge who is willing to prosecute the case.

Three primary outlooks on the granting of amnesty are most prevalent. José Zalaquett, a member of the Chilean Truth and Reconciliation Commission and leader in the field of TRCs, has stated that amnesty may not be granted if this endangers finding the truth. He has also stated that some crimes, including genocide and crimes against humanity, are of such a serious nature that they should not be included in the provisions pertaining to full amnesty. The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission has taken the viewpoint that individual amnesty can only be granted for crimes that were “in proportion” within a “political context.” And finally, Amnesty International’s position is that “impunity negates the values of truth and justice and leads to further human rights violations” (Amnesty International 1996). The organization states that any pardons should be granted only after perpetrators of serious human rights violations are

brought to justice and that those who are convicted must be prohibited from holding future positions of authority over prisoners or from having responsibility for decisions on the use of force.

Perpetrators can be pursued by their crimes, however, even if they are granted amnesty. For example, the former president of Chile, Augusto Pinochet, was given amnesty for his crimes in 1990 when he stepped down from power, but he was arrested in 1998 in the United Kingdom after Spain requested his extradition. He was judged too ill to stand trial in Spain, however, and was returned to Chile, where charges were brought against him, dropped, reinstated, and dropped again.

PERSONAL RISK

Whether a committee leans more toward reconciliation or retribution, there will always be risk involved. Parties involved with TRCs have received threats and been killed. In Uganda, for example, members of the TRC were chased, killed, or exiled overseas. In Chile, at least three political killings, including that of a prominent senator, occurred in the weeks after the TRC announced its findings. These political killings create a culture of fear in the community. The aim of the violence and threats is to stop people from talking about the TRC process and findings.

Some threaten those who are attempting to gather evidence for the commission in hopes that there will be nothing to talk about because people will be too intimidated to compile a report. For instance, the Guatemalan Forensic Anthropology Team (EAFG), a nongovernmental organization formed in 1992 to carry out exhumations of cemeteries where massacre victims had been buried, has often been the subject of threats and intimidation. Those who, like TRC members, their staff, and investigators, face risks and threats but nevertheless carry out their mission, are leaders in the truest sense. They will lead their countries to reconciliation and a new future through their determination to have the truth told and recorded. It will be up to history to decide what the truth means, but at least the tools will be available because of these strong, committed people.

—Amy Benavides

See also Apartheid in South Africa, Demise of; Mandela, Nelson; Tutu, Desmond

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TUTU, DESMOND (b. 1931)

*South African priest and
Nobel Peace Prize laureate*

Desmond Mpilo Tutu was born in 1931 in Klerksdorp to Methodist parents. He was educated to become a teacher but resigned over the Bantu Education Act, which took control of schools away from churches. After leaving the teaching profession, he received training at St. Peter's Theological College in Johannesburg and was ordained a priest in 1961. Tutu held several positions within the Anglican Church, including archbishop of Cape Town, and headed the South African Council of Churches (SACC). He received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984. After the election of Nelson Mandela in 1994, he was chosen to chair the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).

THE PRIESTHOOD

Tutu believed that religion could not be sealed off in a watertight compartment apart from the hurly-burly business of ordinary daily living. His early acquaintance with Father Trevor Huddleston, an activist white priest, made an impression on Tutu. Here was a man whose "speaking up for the oppressed showed me what a man of the Church can do" (Hope & Young 1981, 112). His friendship with Huddleston was an early reminder that not all whites were irre-

deemable. Tutu also credited his time in England, where he was a student at King's College from 1962 to 1966, with forestalling bitterness against whites. Tutu returned from England in 1967 to take a position at his alma mater, St. Peter's, which had become part of the Federal Theological Seminary. He arrived on campus at the time that black theology was popular. During this time, he was also the chaplain at the government-controlled black university, Fort Hare, where black consciousness was surfacing. He was in total sympathy with the young students' aims, but his nonracial attitude was too firmly entrenched after four years in England for him to support them totally, for he was at odds with their racially exclusive approach and militant tone. From 1972 to 1975, he served as assistant director for the World Council of Churches, where he was exposed to the ideas of liberation theology, which held that God favored the oppressed. By the time of the Soweto Uprising in 1976, when school children protesting the use of Afrikaans in the schools were fired upon by police, Tutu as the dean of St. Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg was thrust into politics, comforting the parents in Soweto whose children had been killed.

SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

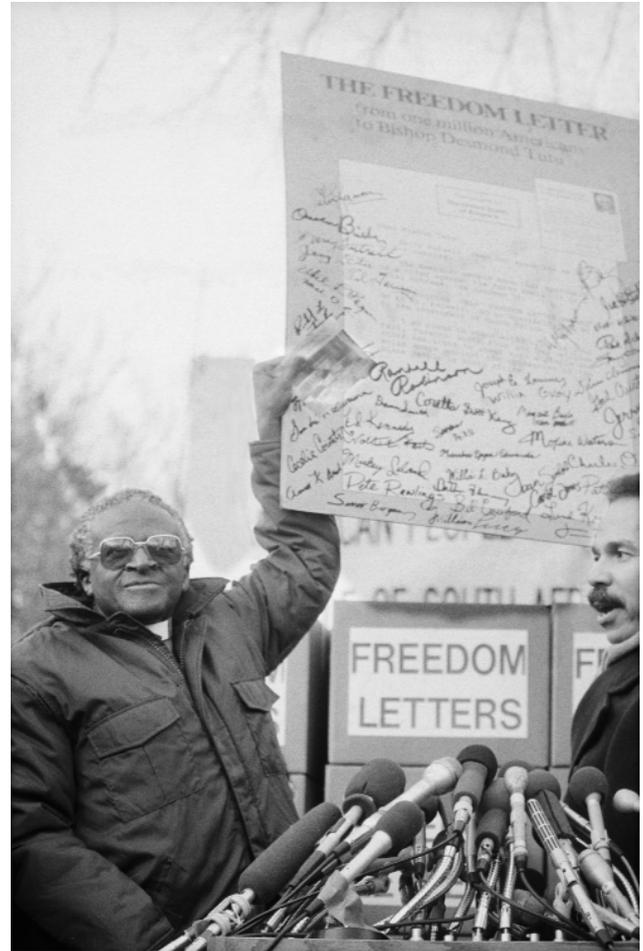
Following his tenure as dean, Tutu held the position of bishop of Lesotho, but it is for his work as the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the umbrella group of churches critical of the government's race policies, that Tutu has become especially renowned. Under Tutu's tenure from 1978 to 1985, the SACC became both more Africanized, with Africans taking over positions of responsibility, and more radicalized, often being accused of being a black power base. Under Tutu's leadership, the SACC appropriated funds to defend political prisoners, supported their families and provided education for their children, aided hard-pressed trade unionists, and assisted political figures fleeing to neighboring countries. Perhaps his most important accomplishment was strengthening SACC's contacts with the exiled liberation groups, including the African National Congress (ANC), which the government termed a terrorist organization.

Underpinning the efforts of the SACC was Tutu's theology of opposition to apartheid. His disavowal of apartheid rested on twin doctrines: humanity as the image of God, and reconciliation through Christ's redemption. Tutu regarded man's creation in the image of God as his most important attribute; the Bible makes no reference to racial, ethnic, or biological characteristics. But apartheid accepted that some are more like God than others. In short, apartheid "can make a child of God doubt that he is a child of God" (Tutu 1983, 45–46).

Second, apartheid denied the central act of reconciliation, which the New Testament declares was achieved by God in his Son, Jesus Christ. For Tutu, the heart of the Christian message was that Christ's work on the cross restored human brotherhood, which sin had destroyed. Whereas the Bible says that God's intention for humankind is harmony, peace, justice, wholeness, and fellowship, "apartheid says that human beings fundamentally are created for separation, disunity, and alienation" (Tutu 1983, 41–42).

In response to criticism that he was "politicizing" religion, Tutu wrote, "If we are to say that religion cannot be concerned with politics then we are really saying that there is a substantial part of human life in which God's writ does not run" (Tutu 1984, 170). For Tutu liberation was inevitable because the cause was just and apartheid was against God's law. His sense of being held up and buoyed by prayers of Christians throughout the world also encouraged him. Receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984 was a source of hope, a boost to morale. "Hey, we're winning!" Tutu exclaimed (Du Boulay 1988, 201).

While some black theology proponents believed blacks were morally superior to whites, Tutu was quick to denounce this notion. He wrote that God is on the side of the oppressed not because they are better or more deserving than their oppressors, but simply because they are oppressed. We say that God is on our side, wrote Tutu, "not as some jingoistic nationalist deity who says 'my people right or wrong' but as one who saves and yet ultimately judges those whom he saves" (Tutu 1979, 166). Tutu warned that a black majority government could become as oppressive as a white minority regime:



Desmond Tutu holds up a copy of the Freedom Letter at a demonstration in front of the South African embassy in Washington D.C. on 8 January 1986.

Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used by permission.

[We] have too much evidence that the removal of one oppressor means the replacement by another; yesterday's victim quite rapidly becomes today's dictator. [We] know only too well the recalcitrance of human nature and so accept the traditional doctrines of the fall and original sin. (Tutu 1979, 167).

THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

In 1983, President P. W. Botha introduced to Parliament a new constitution bill, which extended the franchise to Indians and Coloureds. The government stated that blacks were not given a chamber because they already had their own constitutional path to follow in the homelands and in black local government



The Desmond Tutu Peace Organizations: The Triumph of the Human Spirit

To continue the work begun by Desmond Tutu, there now exists a Desmond Tutu Peace Centre, supported by the Desmond Tutu Peace Trust and the Desmond Tutu Peace Foundation USA. Below is background information on the development of these organizations, as it appears on the Peace Foundation's website:

After Archbishop Desmond Tutu retired as head of the Anglican Communion in 1996, it was decided that a long cherished ideal be established—a Peace Centre that would honor the quality of the contribution and leadership the Archbishop and others had made to peaceful change in South Africa.

In October 1998 Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Mrs Leah Tutu co-founded The Desmond Tutu Peace Trust—a legal registered South African Trust, which would act as the legal vehicle through which The Desmond Tutu Peace Centre could be formally researched and established.

In the words of its mission statement: “The Desmond Tutu Peace Centre is a place, born out of the South African experience, inspired by the spirit of Desmond Tutu, where the visitor and scholar encounters a vision of hope for Africa, and is empowered to participate in the creation of that vision.”

The Desmond Tutu Peace Foundation USA was created in 2000 to support the Trust in fundraising and programmatic activities. The Foundation is currently headquartered in New York, New York.

Source: Desmond Tutu Peace Foundation USA. Retrieved October 1, 2003, from <http://www.tutufoundation-usa.org>

structures. Tutu was vociferous in his rejection of the proposal. He saw it as a refinement rather than a refutation of apartheid and accused it of co-opting a segment of the oppressed as junior partners in order to add their numbers to the white oppressors. He urged SACC's member churches to reject the new constitution and to urge their parishioners to boycott the upcoming elections to the two new chambers. Despite Tutu's plea, white voters approved the new constitution, which excluded 77 percent of the population from voting. Tutu readily became a patron of the United Democratic Front (UDF), an umbrella group

of student, community, religious, professional, and trade union organizations, which campaigned against the tricameral parliament. The UDF's boycott of the elections was wildly successful, with few Coloureds and Indians voting in the first election. Although actively involved in this campaign, Tutu pointed out that he was involved only because the experienced political leadership of the ANC were in exile or in prison. With the mass bannings in the late 1970s, the government effectively had decimated political leadership, and churchmen stepped in to fill the void.

NONVIOLENCE

Tutu advocated nonviolent methods. Because our cause is just, he wrote, “we cannot afford to use methods of which we will be ashamed when we look back” (N. Tutu 1989, 48). He supported the aims of the exiled leaders of the ANC but condemned their methods: “We as a Council deplore all forms of violence, and have said so times without number. We deplore structural and legalized violence that maintains an unjust socio-political dispensation, and the violence of those who would overthrow the State” (Tutu 1984, 181). However, he knew that many ANC members, such as Nelson Mandela, took up arms when peaceful methods had failed.

Tutu was convinced that the gospel could change the hearts of white Christians, and that black South Africans must continually try to persuade whites. Du Boulay explains that his instincts were to negotiate rather than to confront, to reconcile rather than to attack. Although aware that militant blacks would see him as politically naive, Tutu persisted in this view and attempted to meet with President P. W. Botha, and later F. W. de Klerk, time and time again. Tutu explained, “Whether I like it or not, Mr. P. W. Botha and I are brothers, members of the same family. I cannot write him off. I cannot give up on him because God, our common Father, does not give up on anyone” (N. Tutu 1989, 163). Of President F. W. de Klerk, Tutu witnessed a change of heart: “Give him credit, man. Do give him credit. I do” (Villa-Vicencio 1990, 31). He hoped that sanctions would prove effective and that a violent revolution could be avoided. He criticized black-on-black violence as

well. Predictably, one of the first to speak out against necklacing—placing gasoline-soaked tires around the necks and shoulders of alleged collaborators—was Tutu, who on at least two occasions threw himself across a suspected informer, telling the mob he would have to be killed first. In recognition of his leadership in promoting a nonviolent solution in South Africa, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984.

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

When Mandela was released in 1990 after twenty-seven years of imprisonment, he chose to spend his first night of freedom with Tutu at Bishopscourt, the official residence of the archbishop of Cape Town, the position to which Tutu had ascended in 1986. The next morning Tutu told reporters: “I can now get on with the work of the Church” (Villa-Vicencio 1996, 276). Although he hoped to retire, he was chosen by President Mandela in 1995 to head the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which held hearings about the human rights abuses committed during the apartheid era.

Tutu’s leadership in the TRC was crucial to its success. According to Tutu, “Very few people objected to the heavy spiritual and indeed Christian emphasis of the commission. When I was challenged on it by journalists, I told them I was a religious leader and had been chosen as who I was. I could not pretend I was someone else. . . . It meant that theological and religious insights and perspectives would inform much of what we did and how we did it” (Tutu 1999, 82). Bishop Peter Storey has written: “He has wept with the victims and marked every moment of repentance and forgiveness with awe. Where a jurist would have been legal, he has not hesitated to be theological. He has sensed when to lead an audience in a hymn to help a victim recover composure, and when to call them all to prayer” (Storey 1997, 793).

As chairman of the TRC, Tutu endeavored to get victims to welcome perpetrators back into the fold. Not an irredeemable devil but a fellow brother in the family of God, the white man needed to be restored back into the community. Forgiveness is at the heart of what God expects of his children, Tutu believed.

In the South African context, that means that mainly black victims were urged to “turn the other cheek” to mainly white perpetrators. For Tutu, the Christian injunction to forgive was compatible with the African traditional notion of *ubuntu*, which emphasized restoring evildoers back into the community rather than punishing them. *Ubuntu* stressed the priority of “restorative” as opposed to “retributive” justice. To that end, victims were encouraged to forgive perpetrators who by confessing their deeds would receive amnesty from prosecution.

Following the conclusion of the TRC hearings in 1998, Tutu completed a book on the process, *No Future without Forgiveness*, in which he argued that South Africa’s model of reconciliation was preferable to those that stressed retribution, and he urged other divided nations to learn from South Africa’s experiment.

—Lyn S. Graybill

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TYRANNICAL LEADERSHIP

Tyrants, as the Greek philosopher Plato defined them in *The Republic*, are rulers who look to their own advantage rather than the well-being of their subjects and in the process are apt to employ extreme and cruel tactics. The history of tyrants, moreover, is a product of their character and situation. Acting on base impulses, the tyrant is seduced by

all the pleasure of a dissolute life . . . At last this lord of the soul, having Madness for the captain of his guard, breaks out into a frenzy; and if he finds in himself any good opinions or appetites . . . and there is in him any sense of shame remaining . . . to these better principles, he puts an end . . . until he has purged away temperance and brought in madness to the full. (Plato, Book 9).

Tyrannical leadership flourishes in certain kinds of situations. The creator of a new state, as the Italian political philosopher Niccolo Machiavelli argues in *The Prince*, or even the ruler in an established state who comes to power outside the usual selection methods, must at least act like a tyrant. Contemporary experience with German Nazi leader Adolf Hitler and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin suggests that the new prince, with the capacity to act like a tyrant, is most apt to come to power in unstable or changing political and social conditions, where the populace harbors deep-seated resentments or grievances based on historical or social events. The likelihood is increased in situations where people are accustomed to authoritarian rule and rigid social hierarchies. The rise and dominance of Ida Amin of Uganda, Jean-Betel Bokassa of the Central African Republic, and other African leaders suggest a related but somewhat different possibility. Transitions from colonial to local rule, in which the local populace is

poorly educated with little experience in democracy, offer a fertile breeding ground for the tyrant. The dynamics of survival and ascendancy in periods of struggle between competing groups give an advantage to the daring, the ruthless, and the corrupt.

Whatever the situation, a special kind of person is required to secure and turn power into near-absolute rule. Often such persons make grandiose claims for themselves and their missions. In antiquity, as the Greek historian Herodotus noted, the Persian Kings Cyrus and Xerxes saw themselves as having godlike qualities. In contemporary times, both Stalin and Hitler projected themselves as creators of wholly new social orders. Hitler, for example, after the surrender of Czechoslovakia in 1939, predicted that he would be known as “the greatest German in history.” His escapes from attempts on his life were interpreted as signs of his chosen role. He claimed to have a superior knowledge of history, music, and practically every field of endeavor. Shortly before his suicide, he exclaimed, “What an artist dies in me!” Former Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein, too, in the various monuments he built in Iraq has suggested that he was the successor of Hammurabi, the great lawmaker; Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon; Sargon the Great, as well as Ali, a companion of the Prophet Muhammad, revered by the Shiite sect as its founder.

Would-be tyrants claim to possess not only godlike powers but also the ability to do whatever it takes to achieve and consolidate their position. Extensive, overlapping spy networks are constructed to control the populations over which they seek dominance. Alliances are formed and changed as new opportunities arise. Potential rivals are eliminated from their ruling circle.

These tactics are evident in the actions of several contemporary tyrants. As Stalin neared his pinnacle of power, for example, he shifted alliances to eliminate would-be competitors. First he was nominally allied with the Communist Party leaders on the left. He then eliminated those on the left by joining with those on the right. With the left destroyed, he turned on the right, thereby effectively eliminating his competition. By 1929 he had few remaining rivals. Eventually, all of his major competitors were murdered.

After Hitler had gained office, he, too, rid himself

of all possible competitors. During the “Night of the Long Knives” in 1934, he oversaw the killing of hundreds of associates and followers. Murdered on his orders were SA (*sturmabteilung*, stormtrooper) leader Ernst Rohm, General von Schleicher, Hitler’s predecessor as chancellor, and Gregor Strasser, who had broken with Hitler at the end of 1932. As for former leader Hussein, the moment he had secured the presidency in Iraq, he overtly marked for elimination, on trumped-up charges at a party conference, all potential competitors. Later, military heroes who might challenge his preeminence as a military strategist were fired or killed. In 1982, for example, he executed approximately three hundred high-ranking officers—along with a small number of party officials

ELIMINATION

After they have attained supreme power, tyrants typically employ all the resources at their disposal to cover up any embarrassments from their past. In antiquity, the Roman Emperor Maximin put to death many who had supported him in his climb to power because they knew of his barbarian origin. Stalin eradicated almost everyone who had known him during his days in Georgia. He ordered the elimination from written histories and documents of the names of top party officials who had run afoul of him. Hitler went so far as to order the destruction in 1930 of Dollersheim, the small town in Austria where his father, Alois, had been born. No father had been named on Alois’s birth certificate, making Alois an illegitimate offspring.

Not everyone, of course, is psychologically inclined to kill, deceive, and cheat to secure power. Tyrants’ ability to easily do whatever they see as necessary in their reach for absolute power is in part a reflection of a particular character structure. The cultural values they inherit are to be used to gain power, not to curtail any of their activities. Their ties to other people are fragile, subject to being cut as tyrants see political necessity.

Stalin’s ability to outmaneuver the other old Bolsheviks in the mid-1920s was due, in part, to his lack of a commitment to any one idea of what communism might achieve. Lacking genuine ideological

grounding, he could tack to the right or the left as it met his needs. Lacking genuine emotional ties to others, he could destroy even close associates in his pursuit. His first targets in the great purges of the 1930s—Nikolai Bukharin, Sergei Kirov, Serge Ordzhonikidze—were “friends” who had joined his family on picnics and cruises.

Hitler, too, was unanchored to any sort of conventional morality. In his book *Mein Kampf*, he states that existence of a conscience is a Jewish trait. Deception, as he saw it, is a sign of strength. The closer he got to someone, he bragged on one occasion, “the more he lied.” Indeed, he found it funny when he heard that a casket had been presented to his foreign minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop, in 1943, filled with all the treaties that Ribbentrop had negotiated (which were then ignored by Hitler). Hitler laughed until tears came to his eyes. Hitler’s personal relationships, too, were shallow. Needing people around him, he could always command an audience. However, he had no real friends. Although Albert Speer, Hitler’s minister of armaments, spent “endless time” with the Führer, Speer testified that Hitler never really opened up to him. In the autumn of 1943 Hitler remarked to Speer, “One of these days I’ll have only two friends left, Fraulein Braun and my dog” (Speer 1970). Somewhat paradoxically, the character structure that gives would-be tyrants many advantages in the struggle for power can later become a source of personal and political vulnerabilities. Their grandiosity and their self-idealization mask an underlying sense of inferiority. Lacking genuine self-confidence, they are sensitive to competition, cannot tolerate criticism, and have difficulties in dealing with political reversals.

Thus, Dionysius I (430–367 BCE), the tyrant of Syracuse, turned with rage on Plato when the latter noted that tyrants lack justice and are miserable. According to the Greek biographer Plutarch, Dionysius tried to have Plato killed on his return voyage to Greece, or at least sold into slavery. The Persian king Cambyses sent his brother Smerdis home from the field of battle in Egypt after Smerdis had shown that Smerdis was the only one who could draw a bow. Soon thereafter, Cambyses had Smerdis murdered.

As for Stalin, when he heard of anyone opposing

him or saying negative things about him, he would undergo a psychological transformation. According to his daughter Svetlana, Stalin would feel completely betrayed and count that individual as his enemy, no matter how long or deep his relationship with that person might have been. Stalin also was jealous of any friendship that might develop among members of his entourage or in the politburo (the chief policy-making and executive committee of a Communist party). To avoid such friendships, he would either provoke a quarrel or separate the individuals involved through transfers to new postings.

Hitler, too, found any sort of criticism, competition, or defeat intolerable. As was Stalin, Hitler was threatened by superior people. Except for Speer, Hitler's inner circle was composed mostly of people to whom he could feel superior: He routinely made fun of intellectuals. Even his ability to sway crowds did not lead to genuine self-confidence. While rehearsing a speech, for example, he would ask his valet if he "really looked like the Fuhrer." Even opposition from would-be victims enraged him. When Sir Horace Wilson, a British government official, read Hitler a letter relaying the Czech-Slovak rejection of his latest demands on that country, Hitler leaped up, shouted that the negotiations were pointless, and rushed to the door. When he suffered military reversals in Moscow, in his offensive in the Caucuses, or at Stalingrad, Hitler placed the blame on his generals. During the final days of the war Hitler was enraged that the Luftwaffe (air force) could not operate because of weather factors. He blamed the setbacks on the western front on treachery by military commanders.

When a leader with near-absolute power has these three qualities—grandiosity, ruthlessness, and insecurity—he or she can become dangerous to others. Massive cruelties that serve no obvious political end are apt to ensue. In antiquity, Antonius Caracalla, the son of the Roman Emperor Severus, destroyed Alexandria and executed so many people in Rome that its population was significantly reduced. Commodus, the son and heir of the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius, allowed his soldiers to plunder the populace without restraint. On the contemporary scene, Stalin caused the deaths of mil-

lions of Soviet citizens—whether through the agricultural collectivization drive in the late 1920s or the purges of party and military leadership in the 1930s. Hitler's mass exterminations included 100,000 Germans who had been deemed "unworthy," 6 million Jews, and 9 or 10 million others who were gassed or shot or beaten to death or died through starvation or overwork. Saddam Hussein in 1987 and 1988 killed thousands of Kurds with chemical weapons. They were mainly noncombatant civilians who included women and children.

These cruelties, moreover, may be less based on political necessity than on the malice of tyrants—even their twisted pleasure in seeing others suffer. Stalin personally ordered and signed tens of thousands of death sentences, instructed operatives on how to torture his victims, and watched the show trials of the mid-1930s from a darkened room with evident enjoyment. As for Hitler, one of his favorite pastimes was to pretend that he had discovered some malfeasance by a member of his entourage only to announce, as his target sweated in fear, that he was only joking. Later, one of his favorite entertainments was to watch movies showing the death agonies of the men who had participated in the assassination attempt against him in July 1944 as they swung from piano-wire nooses strung from meat hooks overhead. Albert Speer claimed that Hitler wanted to see the films over and over again. Saddam Hussein even permitted the taping of his performance at the infamous Baath Party meeting on 22 July 1979, where he personally called off the names of the purported traitors from a list. Each man marked was escorted out of the room to face his demise, while Hussein puffed on a cigar. In one instance, he announced the first name of one person and then changed his mind, moving on to the next man on the list.

NEW ENEMIES

By engaging in these cruelties, tyrants create new enemies for themselves, heightening the need for future defensive actions. Saddam Hussein was quite explicit about this dynamic. Shortly after assuming the presidency he told a guest that he was sure many people were plotting to kill him, noting

that he had assumed power with his own plots against his predecessors.

The acquisition of near-absolute power not only enables tyrants to put into play their more malevolent promptings, but also tempts them to strive for the grandiose fantasies of which they had heretofore only dreamed. Constrained in their rise to power by the need to pay homage to conventional values and attend to the interests and needs of others, tyrants find that the consolidation of their position gives them more freedom to act as they please. Indeed, their early successes are apt to reinforce their feeling of omnipotence, convincing them that they no longer need to operate with care.

This fact is clear in Hitler's operations. By the late 1930s Hitler controlled every aspect of German life, and his subsequent conquests of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, France, Denmark, Norway, and Belgium seemed to offer the proof that in Europe he could create the empire of his imagination.

However, Hitler dreamed of even greater conquests. In *Mein Kampf*, he argued that the Aryan race would create the greatest empire known in the modern world. The British, as a Teutonic people, he mused, were potential collaborators in this enterprise. After the quick victory over France, Hitler's self-confidence swelled. In February 1941 he ordered preparations for the conquest of India, with his armies going through Russia and Iran and north Africa. In the summer of 1942 he ordered the invasion of the Soviet Union, a three-pronged drive toward Leningrad, Moscow, and Stalingrad, as well as a move through the Caucasus to secure oil wells to the south.

In these latter operations, he had gone too far. The decision to divide his troops on the southern front and the Russian winter contributed to the encirclement and surrender of German troops at Stalingrad. When the United States joined the British and the Soviet Union, Hitler's fate was all but sealed.

Reversals of a major magnitude, moreover, may contribute to a certain amount of psychological fragmentation. After the German attack on the Soviet Union, Stalin was clearly incapacitated for days, leaving it to others to make crucial military decisions. As Hitler's enemies combined against him, he protected

himself with increasingly wild fantasies. At times, he thought the U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British leader Winston Churchill would join Germany to fight Russia or that British prisoners of war would voluntarily join the Nazis to fight Russia. In April 1945, as Germany was being closed in from the west and the east, Hitler fantasized that the Allied coalition would disintegrate and that a disenchanted Stalin would open negotiations with Germany. At the end Hitler was still making plans for massive military action, with large numbers of nonexistent fully-equipped troops reinforcing the frontlines.

CAPRICIOUS BEHAVIOR

Reversals are likely to lead to the increasingly capricious behavior of tyrants, further contributing to a diminution of their capacity for rational decision making. Stalin would issue orders at any time of day or night; agendas switched in accord with his whims. During Stalin's latter years in office, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev would later recall, "the government virtually ceased to function" for months at a time.

Hitler showed similar behavior during the waning days of World War II. He delivered endless monologues at the dinner table on subjects, such as his early days in Vienna, permitting no discussion of current events and the military situation. Erratic behavior would alternate with a frenzied dedication to detail; fear of failure would be followed by convictions that he would win the day. Even a month before his suicide, Hitler remained firmly convinced of his destiny, giving the impression that he was oblivious to events around him. At one point he even ordered the German politician Heinrich Himmler to kill all prisoners of war, an order that Himmler did not obey.

Early in their careers tyrants often purchase some relief from inner turmoil and ambiguity by dividing the world into friends and enemies, good and evil—projecting a rejected side of the self onto an exterior foe. For Stalin the progress and the good of the people were identified with the Communist Party, of which he became the final authority. Evil was laid at the door of the external enemy—the capitalist

classes, the states they controlled, and the agents they had in his own Soviet camp.

However, Stalin ended up making poor judgments about whom he might trust and whom he should suspect. In signing a nonaggression pact with Germany, he ignored all the evidence in *Mein Kampf* that Hitler saw the Soviet Union as his major enemy. When the United States, the British, and even the German ambassador in Moscow tried to warn Stalin in the summer of 1941 of the coming German attack, Stalin simply treated these warnings as enemy propaganda. Later he decided, quite incorrectly, that Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov was a U.S. agent. However, he trusted Lavrenty Beria, the head of his secret police—the one man who could hardly conceal his glee as Stalin lay dying.

As for Hitler, his image of the Jews provided him with a model for his own aspirations for a conquest of the world, an explanation of some of his own failures, as well as a target on which he could project his own disassociated fantasies. The goal of the Jews, as he wrote in a 1924 pamphlet, was to “master the world and then destroy it.” Turning their policies inside out, he would create an empire in which the Aryan race controlled all institutions in society, with the ultimate goal of destroying the Jews in their base—the Soviet Union, as he saw it.

Hitler’s failures as a painter, he hinted, could be attributed to what he saw as the Jewish control of the art world. Perhaps, too, a Jewish doctor could be blamed for the death and suffering of Hitler’s mother from cancer. Certainly Hitler projected onto the Jews his own proclivities for lying, slander, and his own sexual fantasies. Foppish fashions, he insisted in *Mein Kampf* (Vol. 2, Chap. 2), had enabled “bow-legged, disgusting Jewish bastards” to seduce “hundreds of thousands of girls.” As Hitler faced the demolition of his dreams of the Third Reich, his ability to separate the good Aryan Germans from the bad Jews and other so-called inferior peoples collapsed. The entire German nation was insufficiently loyal. In his final days, it is said that he concluded, “Germany is not worthy of me; let her perish!” Indeed, the sacrifices he demanded from the German people as the war ended represented his vengeance against them for failing him.

When the Allies closed in on Germany during the latter phases of the war, Hitler ordered the destruction of churches, schools, hospitals, livestock, marriage records, and almost anything else that he could think of. As Albert Speer said about Hitler’s obsession with architecture, “Long before the end I knew that Hitler was not destroying to build, he was building to destroy” (Speer 1970).

Tyranny, as this analysis suggests, is the noxious result of the compounding of a malignant narcissistic personality structure and absolute power. To avoid such an outcome, it is best to prevent a person with the proclivities noted here from ever coming to power. However, after tyrants have attained high position, their threat to the rest of the world outside of their immediate domain will depend on their command over resources as well as the ability of others to mobilize against the tyrants. Compromises with tyrants will not work; compromises will only whet their appetite for acting out their grandiose fantasies. Confrontations that humiliate or threaten tyrants with a complete loss of position, however, are apt to result in destructive responses that harm all parties involved. Short of a final effort to bring down tyrants, the establishment of clear and firm boundaries around them may provide a check on their most extravagant actions.

U.S. containment doctrines since World War II are instructive along these lines. Stalin was kept from acting on his most extreme expansionistic tendencies. Libyan leader Moammar Qaddafi has been relatively quiet since the U.S. bombing of his base in the mid-1980s. One wonders what would have happened in 1980 if U.S. Ambassador April Glaspie had made it clear to Saddam Hussein, when he told her of his contemplated attack on Kuwait, that any such action would bring about a tough U.S. response.

—Betty Glad

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U



UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

A written constitution of government such as the U.S. Constitution presents a characteristic set of problems for leadership: meeting the demands of the people for the functions government can provide while protecting the rights of the people, not only from private, natural, or external threats, but also from government itself and from tyrannical majorities.

A written constitution, unlike an unwritten parliamentary system of government, is a supreme law that supersedes later laws that conflict with it unless they are adopted as amendments according to the procedures prescribed in the original constitution. It derives its primary legitimacy not from current assent but rather from an original historical constituent act of ratification, and no official act, however popular, can be considered legitimate unless it is logically derived from an authorization contained in the written constitution as amended and as originally understood.

The political theory on which the U.S. Constitution is based is that a society is created by a social contract or compact. The main proponent of this theory was the English philosopher John Locke, who developed it in his *Second Treatise on Government*, published in 1690. Although a new society can be created by adults coming together and explicitly agreeing to form a new society, people are initially inducted into an existing

society by their parents or guardians, beginning with a filial contract between parent and child, which is gradually transformed into a social contract between the child and the other members of the society through a process of socialization, through which the child makes the transition from being a good child to being a good citizen. The essential terms of the social contract are that its members will mutually defend the exercise of one another's rights, from whatever might impair such exercise.

Every constitutional right is a claim against an affirmative action of government and is complementary to the exercise of a delegation of power to that government. A constitutional provision that protects a right restricts powers, and a delegation of a power restricts rights. A challenge for leadership is to define the line separating the two spheres of action and to separate and confine the actions of civilians and officials within their proper spheres.

The written constitution ratified in 1789, and the subsequent Bill of Rights, the first ten amendments, declared various rights, with the Ninth Amendment providing for unenumerated rights that complement delegated powers, but the Founders did not have confidence in the effectiveness of such declaratory provisions, which might be easily subverted by interpretation. Rather, they relied on structural and procedural provisions that divided the powers of government, allowed the divisions to check the

actions of one another, and defined procedures by which departures from constitutional compliance might be corrected. Some procedures were permissive, allowing for the exercise of discretion, and others were mandatory, constrained by defined duties.

In the U.S. model, there are actually two separate constitutions: an unwritten constitution of the society and a written constitution of the government. The terms of the social constitution are that decisions be made by conventions, or deliberative assemblies, called by proper notice, and conducted by established rules of procedure that comprise due process. A convention may consist of such elements as a general election or referendum, in which the voting members of the society function as a convention of the whole; a constitutional convention, which may draft or ratify a written constitution of government; a legislature called under the terms of a written constitution; a town hall meeting; a judicial court; a grand jury to conduct an investigation and make a report of its findings; a trial jury to render a verdict; or a militia called to conduct defensive operations.

The U.S. model was a reaction to the British parliamentary model, which had no written constitution of government except statutes adopted by majority vote of the House of Commons, royal decrees, or key court decisions—precedents that might be sustained by tradition but that can be overturned at any time by the House of Commons, sitting as a kind of ongoing constitutional convention—one that can make its own rules for who may be elected to it and how. The result is the consolidation of power within a single legislative body and a bureaucratic civil service that can easily interfere with public rights and leave abused persons without the means to seek adequate redress.

DISTRIBUTED POWERS

The problem for leadership is further complicated by the fact that the powers of government are not delegated to a single unitary hierarchy, but rather are distributed or separated. A key design objective of constitutional government is to avoid excessive or unbalanced concentrations of power, mainly by dividing power among many branches and individuals, so that abuses by any can be blocked or corrected

by the combined action of others. The main separation of powers was between the central government and the several states, a system called “federalism.” Within the central government, powers were divided between the executive, judicial, and legislative branches; the Congress—the legislative branch—was divided into two houses, the Senate and House of Representatives. By legislation, the executive branch was further divided and subdivided into departments: the judicial branch into a system of general and specialized trial and appellate courts with various geographic and subject jurisdictions, and the houses of Congress into committees and subcommittees, each with their own staff agencies. The constitutions of each of the states followed a similar design, with the exception of Nebraska, which has a unicameral, or one-house, legislature. Similar separations of powers were executed in the territorial governments set up for incorporated territories destined to become states.

In a constitutional republic such as the United States, the people, acting collectively through election, referendum, or convention, rather than a monarch or dictator, are the sovereign, or supreme authority, and thus all officials must be accountable to the people by a chain of command that leads back either to officials elected by the people or to bodies, such as juries, selected by lot, a process called “sortition,” from among the people. The appointment, supervision, promotion, discipline, and removal of every official are supposed to be based on how well he or she performs his or her duties under the authority of the Constitution, more than on how well such performance might please the policy preferences of transient majorities.

Although a constitutional republic is democratic in being accountable to the people, it is not usually a majoritarian democracy, in that decision making is moderated by procedures and structures designed to require deliberation and sometimes by rules requiring approval not just by simple majorities, but by supermajorities, or by majorities in a majority or supermajority of levels or branches to which power is distributed. Thus, amendments to the Constitution require either proposal by a two-thirds vote in each house of Congress or application by majorities of

two-thirds of the state legislatures for a convention to draft amendments, followed by ratification by the majorities of the legislatures of, or of conventions in, three-fourths of the states.

Such procedures and structures confer on certain officials or groups the power to veto, or block, action of various kinds so that to get action, someone must convince all of the elements whose approval is required. Thus, the president can veto any act of Congress, although that veto can be overridden by a two-thirds vote of both houses. However, the president can also refuse to enforce an act of Congress, or sequester the funds for its implementation, a controversial move that can be overcome only by impeachment and removal of the president from office or by the withholding of other legislation that the president might want passed or appointments the president might want approved.

Any federal court can declare a statute or other official act unconstitutional and refuse to give it effect by not sustaining it. If the decision is made by an appellate court, the practice is to treat that decision as a precedent that effectively nullifies that act not only for that particular case but also for similar cases in that court's jurisdiction. If the declaration is sustained on appeal to the highest court, the Supreme Court, the act is effectively nullified for similar cases nationwide. Although such a decision does not remove an act from the records, by the doctrine of stare decisis judges feel bound to follow the precedent, making further enforcement of that act infeasible.

Veto groups can also operate in the legislative branch. The Senate can block appointments by the president by such procedures as refusing to hold committee hearings on nominations. Committees can refuse to pass nominees to the full Senate, and in



Selection from the Constitution of the People's Republic of China

Almost three times the size of the original U.S. Constitution, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China—adopted on 4 December 1982—specifies in great detail the governmental organization of the country, along with the rights that its citizens enjoy. Along with the freedom of the press, speech, and religion, working people have a constitutionally mandated “right to rest.” Below are the first three articles from the constitution.

Article 1. The People's Republic of China is a socialist state under the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. The socialist system is the basic system of the People's Republic of China. Sabotage of the socialist system by any organization or individual is prohibited.

Article 2. All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise state power are the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses at different levels. The people administer state affairs and manage economic, cultural and social affairs through various channels and in various ways in accordance with the law.

Article 3. The state organs of the People's Republic of China apply the principle of democratic centralism. The National People's Congress and the local people's congresses at different levels are instituted through democratic election. They are responsible to the people and subject to their supervision. All administrative, judicial and procuratorial organs of the state are created by the people's congresses to which they are responsible and under whose supervision they operate. The division of functions and powers between the central and local state organs is guided by the principle of giving full play to the initiative and enthusiasm of the local authorities under the unified leadership of the central authorities.

Source: National Constitutions. Retrieved October 8, 2003, from <http://www.constitution.org/cons/china.txt>

the full Senate members may block action by use of a filibuster, or extended debate intended to prevent business from proceeding, which requires a 60 percent supermajority to terminate.

A winner-take-all system of electing legislators by majority votes from states or single-member districts, together with a nationwide presidential election in which each presidential candidate seeks to also win the election of members of his or her party to Congress tends to result in a two-party system, as each main party adjusts its messages to win enough swing voters to exceed 50 percent. One effect of this, however, is that dedicated single-issue constituency groups can become “veto blocks” that may not be

able to gather enough support to get their legislation passed but that can block legislation they don't like and defeat candidates who don't at least keep their causes alive. They can also often negotiate the appointment of their partisans to key positions.

The proliferation of single-issue groups means that assembling governing coalitions and placing people in key positions to achieve needed action can be difficult, but this was intended by the framers of the Constitution. They expected that most of the situations requiring rapid response could be handled through general legislation and appointees with a certain amount of legislated discretion and that most new situations that such general legislation did not anticipate would allow enough time to build the kind of consensus needed to adopt new legislation. This has led to some tension between advocates of immediate response to "emergencies" and advocates of deliberation within constitutional structures and procedures, and some of that tension has resulted in departures from constitutional compliance.

Some of those departures have become entrenched and supported by politically powerful constituencies, who often attempt to conceal the noncompliance with assertions that the established practices amount to "informal amendments" to the "living" Constitution, even though they are not formal amendments to the text. The problem with this elevation of practices to constitutional status, of course, is that once begun there is no end to it and that if allowed to continue it would render the written Constitution a dead letter and reduce all law to politics or force.

This displacement of the written Constitution with practice is sometimes discussed as the doctrine of "legal realism," which defines "law" as "what judges do" or can be expected to do, even if what they do is inconsistent with the written Constitution as originally understood. Although we accept that everyone has the duty to resolve conflicts of law, including conflicts with the Constitution, in any enforcement of law, and that everyone has the duty to help enforce the law and not just to obey it, the fact that judges get cases last puts them in a position that is sometimes attacked as judicial supremacy by those who think that judicial practice is inconsistent with or unautho-

ized by the written Constitution. This has been an ongoing tension since the country was founded.

PERSUASION

In any political or legal system, leadership ultimately comes down to either educating and persuading decision makers to adopt one's proposals or replacing them with other decision makers who will. In a constitutional system such as that of the United States, with powers and duties distributed among multiple officials, that means persuading or replacing multiple officials, which may require persuading or replacing the constituencies of those decision makers, the networks of lower-level decision makers whose own decisions persuade or replace higher-level decision makers. Ultimately, that may come down to the level of the individual voter.

Although persuading a few higher-level decision makers may be done through personal communications, one may not have access except through chains of lower-level decision makers, many of whom may have agendas of their own that conflict with the program of the reformer. Persuading many individual voters, however, may not be feasible through direct communications and may require marketing methods with high costs and limited effectiveness, competing as they must with demands from work and family and tastes for entertainment.

When the country was founded, a person could get elected to office without having to raise or spend much money to market his candidacy. Demand for political information was sufficient that it was profitable for newspapers to publish entire speeches of candidates, with the expectation that this would sell more copies. However, the political culture has changed so that too many people now resist political information, compelling candidates to resort to expensive marketing campaigns that can break through the barriers and at least achieve name recognition and a positive image.

The framers designed the Constitution with the expectation that officials would be essentially independent of one another, not unduly influenced, if at all, mainly by things such as salaries and prospects for reappointment or reelection. They perhaps failed



Selection from the Constitution of Qatar

The following articles from the Constitution of Qatar, which was adopted by national referendum on 29 April 2003, illustrate the sharp differences in the designation of power that come with hereditary rule.

Article 8

The Rule of the State shall be hereditary within the Al Thani family and by the male successors of Hamad bin Khalifa bin Hamad bin Abdullah bin Jassim. The inheritance of the Rule shall go to the son to be named by the Emir as Heir Apparent. If there is no male offspring, the Rule shall be transferred to the one from the family whom the Emir names as Heir Apparent and, in this case, the Rule would then be inherited by his male successors. A special law shall organise all provisions related to the ruling of the State and its inheritance, to be issued within one year of the date of this Constitution coming into force, and should have a Constitutional validity.

Article 9

The Emir shall appoint the Heir Apparent with an Emiri Order after consulting the ruling family and other notables in the country. The Heir Apparent shall be a Muslim and from a Qatari Muslim mother.

Article 10

The Heir Apparent, when appointed, shall take the following oath before the Emir: "I swear by Almighty Allah to respect the Islamic Shariah, the Constitution and the law, and to protect the independence of the country, and preserve the sanctity of its territory, and protect the people's freedom and interests, and shall be loyal to the Emir and the nation.

Article 11

The Heir Apparent shall directly handle the Emir's authority and power on his behalf during his absence from the country, or if there is any temporary obstacle preventing the Emir from doing his duties.

Article 12

The Emir may assign some of his powers and authority to the Heir Apparent with an Emiri Order. The Heir Apparent shall chair those sessions of the Cabinet which he may attend.

Article 13

With consideration to the two previous Articles, if the Heir Apparent is unable to deputise for the Emir, the Emir may appoint a deputy from the ruling family with an Emiri order, to carry out some of his duties and functions. If the one who is appointed by the Emir occupies a post or has a job with any organisation, he should cease this employment during the period of deputation on behalf of the Emir. The Deputy Emir, immediately after being appointed by the Emir, shall take before the Emir the same oath as taken by the Heir Apparent.

Article 14

A council, to be named the "Ruling Family Council" shall be established by an Emiri Decision, its members shall be appointed by the Emir from within the ruling family.

Source: National Constitutions. Retrieved October 8, 2003, from <http://www.constitution.org/cons/natlcons.htm>

to fully anticipate that, to achieve any result in a divided governmental system, people have to put together prevailing coalitions, which tend to persist from one issue to another and emerge into parties or, as the Founders feared, factions that would come to exert continuing control over offices and officials in ways that would defeat the separation of powers. The Founders feared too much power being gathered into the same hands, but the same hands can be a faction as well as an individual, and a single faction can dominate all of the levels and branches of government to the exclusion of the others.

The problem that the framers confronted, and perhaps inadequately solved, was what came to be stud-

ied in the twentieth century as the public choice problem, beginning with the work of James M. Buchanan and Gordon Tullock, set out in *The Calculus of Consent: Logical Foundations of Constitutional Democracy*. They approached politics through game theory (the mathematical theory of decisions that deals with actions in a conflict situation as if it were a game in which each player aims to maximize the opponent's losses) and showed how people in a society tend, during time, to involve themselves in the public decision-making process in such ways, and to such degrees, as seem likely to them to pay off, less in the satisfaction that comes from exercising civic duty than in the material benefits of the

public decisions that they can expect to gain for themselves or their friends. Persons tend not to invest their time and money in the political process unless they expect to profit from that investment. Decisions that have large benefits or costs for some persons cause those persons to become involved in influencing those decisions, whereas those persons for whom the benefits or costs are small do not have a sufficient incentive to invest their influence in ways that affect such decisions. Therefore, a small faction can gain a large benefit by contriving decisions that do so by imposing only small costs on the general population, at a level below the threshold that triggers their involvement. This makes the political process a channel for what is called “rent-seeking behavior,” which is the diversion of wealth from producers to persons who invest not in production but rather in the processes of politics and government.

In seeking to avoid excessive or unbalanced concentrations of power in the public sector, the Founders neglected to provide for the emergence in the private sector of giant corporate entities that can accrue power that can challenge that of governments and come to exercise undue influence over government. This sector has emerged in many forms: banks and financial institutions, especially those that lend money to government to support its operations; contractors, especially in the defense industry; labor unions; trade associations; eleemosynary (supported by charity) institutions; political party organizations; lobbying groups; and large media organizations. These tend to seek to exercise control by either getting their people appointed or elected to key positions at all levels of key departments or having handlers for every key position who may assume a position of influence in which their official cannot or will not make a decision contrary to the handlers’ wishes. Thus the handlers come to function as the real decision makers, in a kind of shadow government that is parallel to the legal government.

This pattern can be more clearly seen in a parliamentary system such as that of Britain, where the majority party appoints the official ministers of government but where the party out of power designates shadow ministers for every department, who may exercise more real influence than the official minis-

ters over the lower-level civil servants of the ministry, who may have been appointed by that party out of power and might expect to be promoted if it regains power. Thus, a party that has appointed most of the bureaucrats might expect to continue in real power even if it loses an election. The same applies to special interests that function as parties unto themselves.

Since the adoption of a civil service system, the United States has had a similar problem with shadow governance because, although the reform was intended to replace political appointees lacking merit with nonpartisan professionals, what has actually happened is only to make it more difficult for a party that wins elections after a period of dominance by another party to actually govern and implement its policies. The civil service protections have also allowed bureaucracies to become power centers themselves, a constituency often uniquely situated to protect its own interests. The internal politics of organizations is just as contentious as the external politics that we see in elections and referenda, and much more difficult to expose and hold accountable.

The problem for leadership in a constitutional republic is to assemble and sustain a winning coalition on an issue while avoiding opposition from veto blocks.

—Jon Roland

See also Congressional Leadership; Jefferson, Thomas; Politics; Presidential Leadership, U.S.; Washington, George

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UPWARD INFLUENCE

Leadership is a process that is usually based on a person's influence over followers to achieve mutual goals. However, an important part is played by followers who can exert influence, especially through information, on a leader. Influence and power are not the same, though the terms are sometimes used as if synonymous. Psychologists Timothy Hinkin and Chester Schriesheim (1990) found behaviors associated with them to be distinct from one another, but in given circumstances they may be intertwined. Influence is usually more dependent upon persuasion than upon explicit or implicit coercion. Two-way

influence helps to provide a balance and more rounded approach to addressing the needs and tasks of the organization. In the organizational world, the formal leadership that a leader exerts is seen to be legitimate authority, with little comparable legitimacy granted to followers in their exercise of such an authority. However, the reality remains that leadership and followership are related in an interdependent system. Much depends, however, on culture and its shared expectations. In that vein, management expert Geert Hofstede (1980) used the concept of power distance to refer to the degree to which a more powerful person will be distant from those of lesser power in an organizational hierarchy. In relationships with greater power distance, the subordinate is more likely to accept the direction and autocratic behavior of a superior. As with other dimensions he studied, Hofstede's cross-national research among managers showed considerable variation across cultures, in this case with limitations to follower upward influence.

A common example of upward influence is the technique of ingratiation, which is calculated to bring benefits to those in less-powerful positions. Psychologist Edward Jones (1964) identified several means used to accomplish ingratiation: compliments, signs of agreement, and a generally favorable presentation of one's self, as the sociologist Erving Goffman put it. In short this technique is strategic interaction using impression management to gain benefits from a person in power.

In 1961, sociologist George Homans stated that a leader who wants to be influential will find it helpful to be willing to be influenced. Therefore, reciprocal influence produces a benefit to the leader in maintaining followership. Also, psychologists Daniel Katz and Robert Kahn asserted that organizational leadership is "the influential increment over and above mechanical compliance with the routine directives of the organization. Such an influential increment derives from the fact that human beings rather than computers are in positions of authority and power" (Katz & Kahn 1966, 302). Accordingly, influence can flow both ways as part of strengthening organizational functioning. An important component of the leader-follower relationship is the per-

ceived competence of the leader. Indeed, the amount of leader incompetence has been estimated by David DeVries (1992) to be at least 50 percent. Robert Hogan and his colleagues (1990) found that organizational climate studies from the mid-1950s onward showed 60 percent to 70 percent of organizational respondents reported that their immediate supervisor was the worst or most stressful aspect of their job. Apart from incompetence, there is the basic tension that social psychologist Michael Argyle and psychiatrist Monica Henderson have identified:

... the superior-subordinate relationship at work is seen by most people as full of conflict and as providing little satisfaction. On the other hand, supervisors can have a considerable effect on health and satisfaction, if the right skills are used. (Argyle & Henderson 1985, 262)

The tendency to emphasize power over others has obscured the place of two other kinds of power: power to, as well as power from, which are important to greater participation and influence of followers (Hollander & Offermann, 1990). Resistance to such follower input is nonetheless seen, and needs to be recognized as an impediment to successful leadership.

Two classic studies on the influence of subordinate performance on leader behavior are those by psychologists Aaron Lowin and James Craig (1968) and psychologists George Farris and Francis Lim (1969). Both studies showed the possibility of influence of subordinates on leader behavior using laboratory procedures. The former studied subjects who were hired for a supervisory position in an office. The subjects were observed to respond to workers who were directed to behave either as conscientious-competent or as unconscientious-incompetent. Similarly, in the latter study, "leaders" were found to be influenced by whether they were told that their groups were either among the ten best performing groups or the ten worst performing groups in the company. One finding, for example, was that this information made the leader behave in a more considerate way toward the high-, versus the low-, performing groups. Other experiments by psychologist William Haythorn and associates (1956) and psychologist B. J. Crowe and associates (1972) found

that such designated leaders behaved more consistently in line with the preferred leadership style of subordinates, whether autocratic or democratic.

GUIDELINES

Drawing from several sources, especially the work of psychologist David Kipnis (1976) and his colleagues, psychologist Gary Yukl (2002) summarizes guidelines on how to influence leaders. These guidelines deal with how to improve the relationship, resist improper influence, provide advice and coaching, and challenge flawed plans and policies. Yukl highlights maintaining credibility and trust, taking responsibility for one's own life, and remaining true to one's own values and convictions.

A comparison of influence effects from a leader's source of authority was undertaken in a series of laboratory experiments using problem-solving tasks (Hollander & Julian, 1970). The researchers found that elected leaders had more influence on the group rankings than did appointed leaders. Furthermore, in a different feedback condition the group was told they had done poorly. With this "failure feedback" group, there first was an increase of the influence of elected leaders but not appointed leaders. This effect was interpreted as the group initially "rallying around" the elected leader. In the group given positive feedback, with no crisis, group members acted out of a greater security in their own judgments, and the leader did not gain that benefit. When the group was studied for still another phase, however, the elected leader in the "failure feedback" condition showed a distinct loss of status. Clearly a leader's source of legitimacy was found to matter in the way that followers reacted to that leader. This conclusion was further confirmed in research on follower reactions to an appointed leader's or elected leader's responsiveness to follower needs, interest in the group task, and competence (Ben-Yoav, Hollander, & Carnevale, 1983).

To look further at the way leaders react to followers under appointment of election conditions, psychologists Donna Elgie, Edwin Hollander, and Robert Rice (1988) did an experiment on leader evaluations of followers displaying each of four

types of behavior. These four types were the combinations of either positive or negative subordinate feedback with either high or low task activity. Subjects, twenty female and twenty-six male, were randomly placed in the appointed or elected conditions of leader legitimacy and told they were leading four same-sex followers in a group problem-solving task. The dependent measure was a composite score of leader attributes made up of ten ratings from each follower. The interaction of the variables supported the prediction that elected leaders and appointed leaders would respond differently to high- and low-activity followers, especially under the negative feedback condition. In general, elected leaders were more positive than appointed leaders in judgments of their followers in the manner predicted.

The main thread running through these results is the difference between support and involvement that was manifest in the two leader legitimacy conditions of appointment or election. Both conditions may involve a give and take process, which may be more evident in leader-follower relations when the leader is elected. However, it also is present with appointed leaders, as seen in the work of psychologist George Graen and others (Graen, 1975; Dienesch & Liden, 1986).

In a broader vein, Graen and psychologist Terri Scandura (1987) dealt with the importance of the leader-member exchange model (LMX), which focuses on the development of norms regarding the behavior in a given situation encompassing the leader and particular followers. In this model, leaders are considered to have followers who are either in close or more distant circles, with a recognition that there may be added costs associated with such closeness. Because a leader is usually considered responsible for the acts of followers given authority by that leader, if that person fails the leader may be seen to have failed as well. Psychologists Richard Dienesch and Robert Liden (1986) have extended this and other points in their critique and elaboration of the LMX model.

STRATEGIES

Another important line of thinking is represented in the work on strategies of upward influence by Kip-

nis and his colleagues (Kipnis, Schmidt, & Wilkinson, 1980). They identify influence strategies used by subordinates. Among the factors that seem to determine which strategies are used include the person's level in the organization and qualities of the person to whom the influence is directed. For instance, the gender of the person may be relevant to whether reasoning is used, as psychologists Lynn Offermann and Celeste Kearney (1988) have found. The strategies used may also be affected by the target person's apprehension about power (Offermann & Schrier, 1985), his or her need for power and years of experience (Mowday, 1979), and his or her perceived power (Kipnis, Schmidt, Swaffin-Smith, & Wilkinson, 1984). Psychologist Mahfooz Ansari and Alka Kapoor (1987) found that those people desiring personal benefits tended to use ingratiation, whereas those people seeking organizational goals tended to use persuasion and upward influence. Psychologists Gary Yukl and Bruce Tracey (1992) did a questionnaire study of how 128 managers used nine influence tactics on each of their subordinates, peers, and boss. Results regarding criteria of task commitment and manager effectiveness showed rational persuasion, inspirational appeal, and consultation to be most effective. Ingratiation and exchange were not as effective with superiors, as with subordinates and peers.

A further contribution to understanding upward influence is the model proposed by psychologists Victor Vroom and Phillip Yetton (1973) and elaborated by Vroom and Arthur Jago (1988). It deals with leader decision making and the extent to which a leader consults followers and allows participation in the decision-making process. Consultation varies considerably as a function of such factors as the favorability of leader-member relations, the pressure of a deadline, and the degree to which information is readily shared with followers. All of these factors contribute to the manner in which the leader invites follower participation and therefore is subject to their influence. A major feature of this model is the emphasis on leader flexibility in behaving differently as a function of these contingencies. Psychologists Fred Fiedler, Martin Chemers, and Linda Mahar (1974) present a similar point regarding the need for

leaders to adjust their behavior to the favorableness of the situation for them.

With these factors in mind, it becomes evident that upward influence depends upon many considerations regarding qualities of leaders and followers and the situation and its demands. For instance, to rely on a simple notion of "leader style" omits the range of behaviors that the situation may demand and how variability of style is shaped by them. Although a characteristic style usually fits a leader's relationship with followers, as noted here, it may be dependent upon which followers are involved, with what needs, and within which situational demands and constraints. The success of upward influence is therefore a function of many variables, which need to be identified.

—Edwin P. Hollander

See also Follower-Oriented Leadership; Followership; Leader-Follower Relationships; Learning Organization

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UTOPIAN LEADERS

Theories about ideal communities (also known as utopias, after Utopia, the name of the land created by the sixteenth-century British statesman and author Thomas More in his book of the same name) and actual experiments in utopian communities inevitably consider the leadership necessary to produce or maintain an ideal social order. Both utopian literature and the history of utopianism provide examples of diverse forms of utopian leadership. In the literature, these forms range from democratic self-rule to charismatic dictatorship; in practice, they can range from anarchy to tyranny. Utopian leadership is often charismatic, that is, assumed by an individual with conspicuous ability, although sometimes it is institutional, assumed according to the community's organizing principles.

ANCIENT CONCEPTS OF UTOPIAN LEADERSHIP

Western notions of an ideal social order and of the qualities of leadership necessary to maintain that order occur in Classical literature and in the sacred texts of the People of the Book (that is, Jews, Christians, and Muslims). In *The Republic* of Plato (c. 428–348 BCE), Socrates posited the utopian leadership of philosopher kings, guardians of the state who are neither democratic nor tyrannical. They rule over soldiers and workers, although all three classes

demonstrate temperance and restraint. Philosopher kings are concerned not simply with practical applications of justice but with an intimate knowledge of the essence of justice—its philosophy. Plato saw society is a macrocosm of the human individual and viewed philosopher kings as the rational faculty of human community, comparing them to captains guiding a ship or charioteers reining horses.

While the People of the Book imagined an ideal society at the beginning of human history (the Garden of Eden) and an ideal condition at its end (Paradise or heaven), their scriptures also described the conditions of a godly human society and its leadership during the interim. Over the past two and a half millennia, followers of the three faiths have attempted to institute utopian theocracies (governments based on religious laws). For example, the Jewish concept of kingship differed from that of its Middle Eastern neighbors in that the Hebrew king was not considered a divine being (although he was seen as divinely anointed or ordained). Instead, he was a human expected to live within the laws of holiness; he was to serve as the exemplar. God, rather than the king, was understood as the source of law, and even the king was subject to the law. More important, as savior of his people, the Hebrew king was to be a special advocate for the poor, aliens, widows, and orphans.

According to their national mythos, after the death of Joshua, the Hebrew people initially resisted kingly leadership in favor of judges who would guide the people by interpreting its covenant with the one God, Yahweh. Eventually instituting kingly rule, the Hebrew people viewed the king as a paragon of holiness and justice; according to Deuteronomy 17: 14–20, the king was not to possess great wealth or military might; he was to be guided by the covenant's code of law rather than being above the law.

The earliest Christians were Jews who followed Jesus of Nazareth, an itinerant rabbi who established a new model of leadership based on the servant prophecies of Isaiah 40–55. If Jesus taught the imminent reign of God, the early Christians began to teach that Jesus was the messianic fulfillment of prophecy and to view themselves as an ideal community, characterized by common property and the erasure of



S^R THOMAS MORE.

A modern engraved portrait of Sir Thomas More, author of Utopia, which offers a model for a communal and peaceful society.

Source: Corbis; used with permission.

Jewish and Hellenistic cultic and social divisions. The Acts of the Apostles and the apostolic epistles of the Christian scriptures describe exemplary leadership and specific qualities of leadership, particularly holiness, orthodoxy, wisdom, and love. According to the New Testament, the Christian community was to view itself as one body with diverse members, each equally important; its leaders were to be metaphoric shepherds, irreproachable, good managers of their own households, and respected by non-Christians.

Islam similarly imagined a new social order in which holiness and justice were held as the preeminent virtues of all believers, leaders included. For Muslims, righteousness consists in piety and in social and economic justice (particularly to the poor, to orphans, to captives, and to exiles). Riches and power are no sign of righteousness, indeed, are often signs of the opposite; believers and their leaders are to care for the lowly.

Likewise in Asia, an important wisdom tradition emerged around the figure of Confucius (551–499 BCE), whose collection of teachings about the right order of society, in which the ruler's virtue and the

people's common values ensure stability and prosperity, was a template for harmonious society for centuries before its rejection by Mao Zedong (1893–1976) and the other creators of the People's Republic of China in the twentieth century. The teachings of Confucius were collected and amplified by his followers, eventually taking written form by the second century BCE. A perfect society, according to Confucianism, could only be achieved when both the ruler and the people are virtuous, virtue consisting of respect for elders, moderation, and truth (both honesty and fidelity to one's word).

MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE UTOPIAN LEADERSHIP

The rapid Christianization of the Roman empire beginning in the late fourth century resulted in the suspension of utopian idealism and the establishment of Christendom, Byzantine Catholic in the East and Roman Catholic in the West. The Church assimilated the administrative structures of the failing empire and established itself throughout Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East. However, many Christians still sought communities of shared property and common life, which found expression in monasticism. Typically presided over by an abbot (in communities of men) or an abbess (in communities of women) or either in the rare cases of communities of both men and women (such as Fontevault in France), monasteries developed rules for the leadership of the men and women who had retreated from the world in order to live in poverty (foreswearing the ownership of property or possessions), chastity (foreswearing marriage and particular friendships), and obedience (foreswearing autonomy).

The most influential monastic rule was that devised by St. Benedict of Nursia (480?–547?), whose followers, the Benedictine order, proliferated throughout medieval Europe by establishing a network of monasteries devoted to *ora et labora* (prayer and work). If the New Testament lays out the principles of monastic life, monastic rules such as the *Rule of St. Benedict* is its legislation, the practical application of Gospel principles. According to the *Rule of St. Benedict*, the abbot is to be a father (*abbas*) and a

shepherd who will be held accountable on Judgment Day for the condition of his family and flock. His rule is to be characterized by holy words and holy deeds. He is to show no favoritism, either personal or social; that is, he will not advance those whom he personally likes or those who come from a higher social station in the secular world. In important matters, the abbot is to convene the entire monastery to listen to their advice; on less important matters, he is to consult the senior members. The abbot is to be elected from among the community; his leadership should be characterized by love rather than fear, by moderation and discernment rather than perfectionism. While monasticism had begun as a utopian reform movement intended to restore Christian communitarianism, it eventually produced a clerical culture that excluded the laity and was itself susceptible to the corruption of the secular world. Throughout the Middle Ages, reform movements renewed the monastic ideal until the Protestant Reformation and later secular revolutions curtailed or dissolved the monasteries.

One theme of the Protestant Reformation was its insistence upon the leadership role of the laity and, in some instances, the development of millennialist utopian communities among those who believed that they lived in the end times prior to the Second Coming of Christ. Particularly in Germany, England, and the British colonies of North America, a variety of utopian theocracies blossomed, each with its own style of utopian leadership, which was usually charismatic rather than institutional.

The radical German Protestant Thomas Müntzer (1489?–1525) founded the revolutionary League of the Elect and supported the German peasants in their war against the aristocrats by preaching a militant millenarianism. Using his pulpit (both by preaching and by writing tracts) as the platform for a revolutionary agenda, which included the Elect's violent eradication of sinners (including aristocratic tyrants) and the establishment of an agrarian common society (restoring the original commonwealth in Eden), Müntzer capitalized on social discontent among the peasants. His legacy was to be found in communal experiments among the Anabaptists (many of whose sects emigrated to North America) and in the

hagiography of Marxists, starting with Friedrich Engels (1820–1895).

The English Revolution (or, as it is more commonly known, the English Civil War, 1642–1648) witnessed not only the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a Puritan Commonwealth (England's first and only republic) under Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658), but in its aftermath the establishment of many utopian communities, some anarchistic (such as the Levelers and Ranters) and others communistic (such as the Diggers).

Among these were the Society of Friends. George Fox (1624–1691) became associated with the Seekers, a religious community that eschewed religious ritual, church, and clergy, as well as holding to the equality of all persons regardless of social station. Fox's organizational knack and his ability to compromise by choosing practical solutions made it possible for his Society of Friends (derisively called the Quakers) to flourish, eventually settling in large numbers in Pennsylvania, a refuge for religious non-conformists. Despite the Society of Friends' repudiation of clergy and sacraments, Fox developed a record-keeping system whereby Meetings (Sunday gatherings for introspective worship) could record births and marriages. To this day, Quakers are known for their democratic self-governance as well as for their utopian values of pacifism and social reform.

MODERN UTOPIAN LEADERSHIP

Reformation utopianism led to a variety of experimental communities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, whose leaders were guided either by religious or secular principles.

Mother Ann Lee (1736–1784) began her spiritual leadership in England among a particularly fervent community of Quakers (known by the apparent tautology "Shaking Quakers"), who observed sexual abstinence and practiced ecstatic worship. Although she was married, Lee retained her maiden name, and she began preaching the imminent Second Coming, her followers eventually believing Lee herself to be the second incarnation of Christ. Harassed in England (including by imprisonment), she led a small band of disciples to New York, where she established

a community in Watervliet, officially known as the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing, but more commonly as the Shakers. Lee's vision of communal life, gender equality, and sexual abstinence, as well as her legendary tenderness and compassion, began to attract adherents. Eventually, Shaker communities were established throughout the eastern United States. They were notable for their technical innovations (such as the washing machine, the flat broom, and the clothes pin) as well as their elegantly simple furnishings. After Lee's death, leadership passed to James Whitaker and then to Joseph Meacham, who established the sect's organizational structure (called "gatherings") and who passed leadership on to Lucy Wright, as the Shakers believed that one could be leader regardless of one's sex.

In varying degrees, the U.S. and French revolutions of the late eighteenth century disrupted the old social, economic, and political orders and proposed a *novus ordo saeculorum* (a "new order of the ages," as the U.S. one-dollar bill proclaims) with new forms of leadership.

While it is true that the primary goal of the American Revolution (1775–1783) was political independence from Great Britain, its revolutionary leaders and later constitutional founders imagined new forms of social and economic relations, based in part on principles spelled out by the philosophers John Locke (1632–1704) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778). Many of the revolutionaries, including Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), adopted the agrarian ideal of previous utopian movements. Property ownership had been a principle of Puritan religious and political freedom in New England (how can one be spiritually and socially free if one works another man's land?), although Southern plantation owners enjoyed a monopolistic ownership of land. Many of the early republic's leaders, including George Washington (1732–1799), James Madison (1751–1836), and Jefferson, were gentlemen farmers who disdained urban life. These founders were sufficiently pragmatic, however, to understand the need to balance competing interests by establishing constitutional (rather than aristocratic, charismatic, or anarchical) leadership with separate executive, legislative,

and judicial branches, a bicameral legislature balancing the competing claims of large and small states, and a balance of power between federal and state interests. Washington's greatest contribution as a leader was his declining a lifelong presidency. It was perhaps these leaders' refusal of federal executive power that accounted for the moderate success of many of their utopian goals.

The leadership of the French Revolution (1789–1799) attempted even more sweeping changes in their pursuit of a utopian vision. Initially the effort of new classes of industrial workers and an independent bourgeoisie, the revolution resulted in King Louis XVI's recognition of the Constituent Assembly, which issued a Declaration of the Rights of Man that established a constitutional monarchy, disestablished the Roman Catholic Church and nationalized its properties, restructured the calendar, reorganized the nation's administrative districts, and rationalized weights and measures. Ensuing conflicts with other European monarchies resulted in the rise of more radical elements within the assembly. With France at war with virtually every other European country, the radicals dissolved the monarchy (and executed the monarchs), did away with feudal property, and established the Committee of Public Safety, led by Maximilien de Robespierre (1758–1794), who established what was essentially a dictatorship. The excesses of this leadership earned its period the designation "The Reign of Terror" and eventually led to its leader's execution and the establishment of the Directory, whose incompetence produced the dictatorship of Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821). Given France's history of centralized royal power, it is not surprising that the revolution's leaders took the same prerogatives upon themselves, at the expense of the utopian goals of human rights and freedoms, while effectively modernizing the nation's organization.

Although nineteenth-century utopian leaders continued to rely either on charismatic or institutional legitimacy and to follow programs attributed to revelation or rationalism, the most influential theorists for modern utopian leadership were Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Friedrich Engels. Their *Communist Manifesto* (1848) was published in a revolution-

ary period, and it announced the historical inevitability of the rising up of the workers (the proletariat) against the business and industrial owners (the bourgeoisie). This manifesto acknowledged the role of the bourgeoisie in demystifying the concepts of social class and professions by demonstrating that social mobility was a product of economics rather than aristocratic pedigree and in making material advances through industrialization. In so doing, however, the bourgeoisie had armed the class that it created, the workers, who were now poised to exert their power as they transformed their class into a political party. Marx and Engels proposed the Communist as the proletarian par excellence, dedicated to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the abolition of private property, the establishment of social education, and the eradication of national identities. In order to effect this revolution, they postulated, the proletarians would have to become—temporarily—despotic, oppressive rulers, a stage that was supposed to lead ultimately to a classless society.

The actual application of Marxism, however, produced more despotic states than classless utopias. For example, in Russia Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924) identified the Communist Party as the vanguard of the proletarians and asserted the long-term necessity of a strong central government led by the party. His successor, Joseph Stalin (1879–1953), infamously refined this centralized power of the Communist Party and its tyranny over the proletarians. In China, Mao Zedong adapted Leninism, centralizing political and military leadership under the Communist Party, and asserted the necessity of rectification movements, such as the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), to rid the party and society of creeping bourgeois tendencies.

Fascism, an ideological alternative to Marxism, was equally utopian in its claims. The Third Reich of Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) was a mirror of Marx's third stage in the development of history. Combining Romantic nationalism with rationalist race theories, European fascists aspired to an ordered society maintained by authoritarian rule. Unlike Marxist leadership, however, in which charismatic but ruthless leaders like Lenin, Stalin, or Mao were followed by institutional successors, fascism's charismatic author-

itarians seemed unable to effect their own succession so that their military defeats (in the case of Hitler and Italy's Benito Mussolini in 1945) or death (in the case of Spain's Francisco Franco in 1975) brought about the end of fascist rule.

FUTURE PROSPECTS

During the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, most intellectuals dismissed the notion that religious utopianism would ever again evince itself on a mass scale and endorsed the belief that secular ideologies (Communism, fascism, or liberal democracy) would prevail. Ironically, fascism and Communism were largely repudiated within the same century that saw their rise, and liberal democracy imagines itself, in the formulation of Francis Fukuyama, as the end of history. But classical liberal utopian leadership has its competitors.

Charismatic Islamic leaders (ayatollahs and imams) in the Middle East and Asia have been conspicuous in advocating theocratic utopias. A long-standing Islamic tradition anticipates the need for a *mujaddid* ("renewer") to reform Moslem society every century. The dismantling of the Ottoman Empire in the early twentieth century and the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine at its midpoint intensified the desire for this charismatic leader. The 1979 Iranian revolution led by the *mujaddid* Ayatollah Khomeini (1900–1989) was prompted by the corruption of the Iranian monarchy and by the desire to establish an Islamic theocracy free of Western influences. The concept of jihad (religious struggle; often translated as holy war) popularized by the terrorist leader Osama bin Laden (b. 1957) has as one of its goals the establishment of Islamic utopias. What remains to be seen is whether or not the charismatic leadership of the first generation can be succeeded by institutional leadership in subsequent generations. Iranian politics at the start of the twenty-first century, for example, reveals rifts between religious and political leaders, with Khomeini's successors insisting on a strict conformity to the principles of theocracy while reformist politicians and student demonstrators seek liberalization and détente with the West.

In place of the grand theories espoused by Marx-

ists and other ideologues, local and provisional utopian communities are likely to flourish in the future. Western consumer civilization and its discontents are likely to produce disenchanting people who seek alternatives to voracious materialism and the homogenization of the world's cultures caused by global commerce and multinational corporations. Leaders resisting world trade have ranged from anarchists to tribalists, many of whom share the use of information technologies (such as cell phones and the Internet) as a means of creating virtual communities in cyberspace and provisional communities through local direct action.

—Thomas L. Long

See also Buddha; Goldman, Emma; Jonestown Mass Suicide; Lee, Ann; Moses; Muhammad; Nichiren; Religion; Religious Studies; Whitefield, George; Young, Brigham

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VERTICAL DYAD LINKAGE (VDL) MODEL

See Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) Theory

VISIONARY LEADERSHIP THEORY

How do some leaders attract followers and inspire them to pursue a shared goal, achieving beyond ordinary expectations? Visionary leadership theory seeks to answer this question by studying leaders who inspire extraordinary levels of achievement in their followers through an inspiring vision and through other behaviors.

Visionary leaders can be found in every facet of society, whether business, government, social change movements, religious organizations, community groups, or sports teams. Visionary leadership exists in all cultures, across gender lines, and at all organizational levels. However, the phenomenon of leadership has been studied for thousands of years, it was not until the late 1970s that formal visionary leadership theories were developed.

WHAT IS A VISION?

In the business world, a vision is a leader's ideological statement of a desired, long-term future for an organi-

zation. A vision describes the ideal future that the leader wants to create; it is articulated in what is referred to as a vision statement. Most vision statements are not intended to be fully achievable on a planned-out timetable; rather, they are intended to be pursued or worked toward on a daily basis over the long term. The vision often is communicated through concrete examples, stories, or analogies that vividly describe the desired long-term state. For example, one flower shop's vision statement is "We don't sell flowers, we sell beauty" (Peters 1987). To take another example, Giro Sport Design, a manufacturer of bicycle helmets, includes the following as part of its longer vision statement (from Collins & Porras, 1991):

The best riders in the world will be using our products in world-class competition. Winners of the Tour de France, the World Championships, and the Olympic Gold Medal will win while wearing Giro helmets. We will receive unsolicited phone calls and letters from customers who say, "Thank you for being in business; one of your helmets saved my life." Our employees will feel that this is the best place they've ever worked. When you ask people to name the top company in the cycling business, the vast majority will say, "Giro."

A vision is sometimes confused with a mission statement, a strategy, a philosophy, or general goals—related, but distinct, concepts. A mission statement is a description of what the organization does. In the case of the flower shop mentioned above, the mission

statement might be “We will sell flowers and provide value to our customers in the form of low prices and reliable delivery.” A strategy typically is considered to be a statement of how the organization will achieve its mission. The flower shop might articulate its strategy in a statement such as “We will sell flowers to customers in the eastern United States through Internet and telephone sales.” Finally, a philosophy states the organization’s principles and values. Part of an organization’s philosophy might be, for example, to treat customers fairly. However, a philosophy does not focus specifically on the organization’s long-term goal. Finally, goals are specific statements of what the organization wishes to achieve, such as “Our goal is to have \$5 million in sales in 2003.”

VISIONARY LEADERSHIP THEORIES

Visionary leadership theory is part of a genre of leadership theory that includes leader visioning behavior as a key leadership behavior. Early ideas on visionary leadership were developed via the sociologist Max Weber’s notions of charisma and the transformational and charismatic leadership theories of the historian James MacGregor Burns and the management scholar Robert House. Other theorists, such as Bernard Bass, Ben Avolio, Warren Bennis, Burt Nanus, Jay Conger, and Rabindra Kanungo also developed theories with vision communication components.

Visionary leadership behaviors beyond vision development and communication vary across leadership theories. Visionary leadership is said to have positive effects on follower outcomes, resulting in high trust in the leader, high commitment to the leader, high levels of performance among followers, and high overall organizational performance.

Developing and Communicating a Vision

Visionary leaders are said to have insight into followers’ needs or values and to develop a vision statement reflecting those needs or values. In addressing why a leader’s visionary behavior improves followers’ outcomes, Robert House and the psychologist Boas Shamir theorize that this happens because

the vision has positive effects on followers’ self-concepts; followers become motivated to achieve the vision because they find it meaningful, identify with it, and believe in the vision and their ability to achieve it.

Although the ideological goals that visionary leaders provide can never fully be achieved in practice, followers can pursue or can act in accordance with the vision statement on a daily basis. For example, a pharmaceutical company’s vision statement might make ideological references to improving health care and saving lives. Other aspects of the vision include statements of confidence in followers’ ability to carry out the vision, especially by working together; vision statements may also make references to the organization’s unique history. The organization’s early principles or experiences, difficulties that have been overcome, or specific markets that it serves often appear in vision statements.

The scholar Marshall Sashkin proposed that to formulate a vision, a leader must have certain personality attributes and cognitive skills. Specifically, the leader must have the ability to think in long time spans. This ability allows the leader to develop a long-range vision of what his or her organization should become in ten, twenty, or more years into the future. The leader also must possess excellent communication skills, as he or she must communicate the vision continually, in new ways, and must tailor the vision to the specific audience.

Another attribute thought to contribute to the ability to develop and communicate a vision is charisma. Charismatic leaders engage in several rhetorical techniques that serve to increase their persuasiveness. These techniques include using metaphors, analogies, stories, and repetition. Charismatic leaders also typically have an animated, confident, and dramatic communication style. Although some leaders may possess rhetorical gifts or a self-confident and dramatic manner of presentation naturally, leaders who do not may be able to develop them through training.

Implementing the Vision

In addition to discussing how visions are formulated and communicated, visionary leadership theories

specify how leaders implement the vision. Below are some of the key implementation behaviors various theorists have discussed.

Role modeling. Visionary leaders model the desired actions required for working toward the vision. They are visible symbols of what they want their followers to be. They set an example through their actions.

Empowerment. The leader's optimism and confidence in followers' abilities empowers them to work toward the vision. Visionary leaders are confident that followers will work toward the common vision rather than their own personal agendas. The leader's high expectations have been found to elicit high performance from followers.

Image building. Visionary leaders consciously build a positive image of themselves for followers. Visionary leaders reflect the vision in their work lives, personal lives, attire, and demeanor. Also, they often rehearse their speeches in order to present the desired image in a dramatic fashion.

Risk taking. Visionary leaders engage in unconventional behavior and may make what the followers perceive to be sacrifices. (From the leader's perspective, a sacrifice may not exist; instead, the leader may be entirely focused on pursuing the vision.) These are not blind risks, however; they are calculated. Visionary leaders carefully evaluate options. Risk-taking behavior serves to promote change and innovation and to challenge existing assumptions.

Supporting. Effective leaders support followers by providing them with individualized consideration. Leaders provide emotional support during difficult times or when followers become frustrated. Support can be provided to groups of followers as well as to specific followers on an individual basis. Further, leaders coach and mentor followers to facilitate their development.

Adapting. Responsiveness to a changing environment is another visionary leadership behavior. Visionary leaders display flexible or versatile problem-solving styles. They are effective at gathering, processing, and distributing information to their organizations so that appropriate responses can be carried out.

Intellectually stimulating. Visionary leaders are said to stimulate followers to challenge assumptions, to see the world in new ways, and to question existing stereotypes or generalizations. The leader's ideas may be different from followers' existing beliefs but a visionary leader can persuade followers of his or her

Never mistake knowledge for wisdom. One helps you make a living; the other helps you make a life.

—Sandra Carey

ideas because of the high trust and commitment that followers of visionary leaders demonstrate.

Developing the organization. Visionary leaders are said to create organizational conditions that allow followers to pursue the vision. They structure the organization so that followers can function efficiently and without unnecessary bureaucracy. They select, train, and acculturate followers who are willing and able to work toward the vision. They also develop reward and punishment systems to motivate followers toward vision pursuit.

RESEARCH

Research on visionary leadership has focused on establishing the relationship between the vision and outcomes such as organizational performance, follower performance, and follower attitudes. At least thirty-five studies have supported the theoretical relationships between leader behavior and follower outcomes. These studies have been conducted across a variety of samples, including students and managers who served as laboratory study participants, military combat and noncombat leaders, middle- and lower-level managers at their place of employment, educational leaders, national leaders, political leaders, and corporate leaders. A variety of research methods were employed, including case studies, longitudinal studies, field studies, interviews, laboratory experiments, and historical analysis of archival information. Taken together, there is strong evidence that a relationship exists between the general set of visionary leadership behaviors and follower and organizational outcomes.

Studies also have supported the importance of communicating the vision through both verbal and written methods and of focusing on the content of the message, regardless of whether a charismatic communication style is used. In a well-controlled experimental study (1989), Jane Howell and Peter John

Where there is no vision, the people perish.

—Proverbs 29:18

Frost observed that charismatic leadership affected followers' performance and attitudes more positively than a structuring or considerate style of leadership.

Despite broad empirical support for visionary leadership theory, the vision formulation process is regarded as somewhat of an art form. A leader's intuition and insight into his or her followers' values and the organization's unique culture and environment affect the vision the leader develops and how effective it is. A 2002 study conducted by Shelley Kirkpatrick, Jerry Wofford, and J. Robert Baum found that an effective vision statement for a public-sector service organization may be very different from an effective vision statement for private-sector manufacturing companies.

APPLICATIONS

Visionary leadership theory applications can be found in skills training programs for managers or leaders. Leaders can attend training that includes hands-on exercises to assist them in thinking about what the future might look like. Exercises may include preparing one's own obituary, writing a magazine article for twenty years in the future describing the accomplishments of one's company, or writing an inspirational speech to be delivered to new employees. One training approach emphasizes communicating the vision in a storytelling style as a way of concretely and descriptively explaining to followers the desired future action. This approach is intended to ensure that the vision provides a sense of meaning and motivation to organization members; it also differentiates the vision from the related concepts discussed earlier.

Another training approach employs a series of systematic steps to identify the organization's products or services and its markets. A series of diagnostic questions and exercises relating to the organization's external environment (for example, questions on the demand for its products or services,

or about its competitors) and internal environment (for example, its culture, values) help identify effective future directions for the organization. Several possible vision statements are developed, and the optimal one is chosen.

CURRENT STATUS OF THE THEORY

There are several areas in which research and theorizing on the topic of visionary leadership theory can continue. First, the process of formulating a vision is not well understood. Some leaders develop a vision statement with no input, while others involve followers from all levels of the organization. Additional research on vision formulation would help improve leader training techniques. Second, many vision statements that generally are regarded as effective do not contain all the characteristics of effective vision statements. Identification of which components are necessary for effective vision statements or of the trade-offs among the components would help leaders create inspiring vision statements. Similarly, investigation of how various vision implementation behaviors interrelate would help researchers identify which behaviors are necessary in given conditions. Finally, empirical testing of House and Shamir's self-concept-based theory would help to refine and advance current theory.

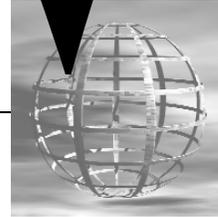
—Shelley A. Kirkpatrick

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W



WAR ON TERRORISM

A war on terrorism was what President George W. Bush launched following the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 that sent airplanes into the twin towers of New York City's World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and a field in rural Pennsylvania. Having come to power after a hotly contested election the previous year, Bush initially shied away from any issues that would weaken his limited support among voters, and foreign policy was secondary to domestic policy in his agenda. The public did not perceive him as a particularly strong leader. The terrorist attacks changed all that. In guiding the nation after the attacks and in launching the war on terrorism, Bush rose in the national esteem to unprecedented heights and was commended for his leadership. When the war on terrorism was carried to Iraq, and as the U.S. economy continued to falter, the U.S. public's support for Bush's leadership became less strong.

REPRESENTING THE NATION IN MOURNING

Following the September 11 attacks, President Bush ordered the nation's flags at half-staff, went on television to address the nation, and led a national prayer service at the Washington Cathedral. Only days later, he went to New York City to see the rubble of the World Trade Center and met with many of the police

and firefighters who had worked to save the victims of the attack. He also went to the Pentagon to view the destruction created there by the terrorist attack and to meet with survivors.

The U.S. public began to view George W. Bush differently during those first few days after the attacks. He had moved quickly to become the center of national attention in responding to the terrorist attacks and consoling the families of the victims. He promised federal monies to compensate them for the loss of their loved ones and promised federal funds to help rebuild the World Trade Center. The leaders of Congress offered support for the president's statements rather than seeking to capture any leadership role themselves. The president was the nation's leader, the nation's representative in time of grief to the families of the victims, and the nation's representative to the world. He represented the nation in mourning as it sought to console itself in grief. The president emerged as a leader by exercising his role as head of state, leading the nation in its time of mourning.

REPRESENTING THE NATION IN ITS RESPONSE TO THE TERRORIST ATTACKS

The role of commander in chief gives presidents special opportunities to exercise leadership. While the role of commander in chief is delineated quite clearly



The War on Terrorism was precipitated by the September 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in northern Virginia. Here a man drapes himself with a modified American flag at the 11 September 2002 tribute to the victims of the attacks.

Source: Stephen G. Donaldson; used with permission.

in the Constitution, how presidents exercise their leadership in that capacity varies widely from administration to administration. Prior to the terrorist attacks, President Bush delegated most decisions regarding military operations to his secretary of defense, Donald Rumsfeld, who had served in the administration of Gerald Ford as secretary of defense, 1975–1977.

Following the terrorist attacks, President Bush became more actively involved in security and defense policy issues. Modeling his creation of a decision team on the war cabinet his father had used during the Persian Gulf War in 1991, he called on his vice president (Richard Cheney), his secretary of state (Colin Powell), his secretary of defense (Donald Rumsfeld), the director of the Central Intelligence Agency (George Tenet), and his national security adviser (Condoleezza Rice).

By creating a team composed of people with whom he had strong relationships, Bush was able to move quickly and with confidence. Nearly every member of the response team had a long relationship with the president or with his father. Vice President Cheney had served as chief of staff during the Ford administration at the same time that the senior Bush had served as director of the Central Intelligence Agency. When the senior Bush became president in 1989, he brought in Cheney as his secretary of

defense. Similarly, Powell had worked in the Reagan administration as national security adviser while the senior Bush had served as vice president, and had also been chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff during the Persian Gulf War. Tenet had become director of the CIA during the administration of Bill Clinton, but had been serving there since the mid-1980s, when the senior Bush was vice president. Condoleezza Rice, a key foreign policy strategist during the 2000 election for George W. Bush, had served on his father's national security council.

Because the decision team consisted of political loyalists and political insiders, Bush knew that he would receive analyses of the situation that were in line with his general worldview. On 12 September, Bush ordered each of the principals of his decision team to prepare a response proposal for him in three days. Had Bush wavered on whom to include in the response team, or wavered in which member of the team was to provide information to him, or when to reconvene, his leadership would have been questioned. His decisiveness was the key to his leadership at this moment.

On 15 September, Bush's decision team reconvened to present their proposals for a response to the terrorist attacks. George Tenet argued that the CIA should be given large sums of money to pay Afghanistan's rebel Northern Alliance and other tribal groups to find and destroy the terrorists, who were linked to Osama bin Laden, leader of the al-Qaeda terrorist network, who was then resident in Afghanistan. Tenet had learned that most of al-Qaeda's members were living and training in Afghanistan.

General Richard Shelton, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, presented military options from the Department of Defense. These options included sending in cruise missiles to bomb known locations of al-Qaeda, sending in bombers to broadly bomb known and possible locations for al-Qaeda, or sending in troops and air power. Secretary of State Powell warned against military action in a sovereign nation unless the United States had multilateral support. By the end of the day, President Bush had decided on the third option presented by General Shelton and on seeking international support for these actions.

The president's decisive response allowed the



Selection from President George W. Bush's Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People, 20 September 2001

Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated.

Americans are asking, why do they hate us? They hate what we see right here in this chamber—a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms—our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other.

They want to overthrow existing governments in many Muslim countries, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan. They want to drive Israel out of the Middle East. They want to drive Christians and Jews out of vast regions of Asia and Africa.

These terrorists kill not merely to end lives, but to disrupt and end a way of life. With every atrocity, they hope that America grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends. They stand against us, because we stand in their way.

We are not deceived by their pretenses to piety. We have seen their kind before. They are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions—by abandoning every value except the will to power—they follow in the path of fascism, and Nazism, and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way, to where it ends: in history's unmarked grave of discarded lies.

Americans are asking: How will we fight and win this war? We will direct every resource at our command—every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war—to the disruption and to the defeat of the global terror network.

This war will not be like the war against Iraq a decade ago, with a decisive liberation of territory and a swift conclusion. It will not look like the air war above Kosovo two years ago, where no ground troops were used and not a single American was lost in combat.

Our response involves far more than instant retaliation and isolated strikes. Americans should not expect one battle, but a lengthy campaign, unlike any other we have ever seen. It may include dramatic strikes, visible on TV, and covert operations, secret even in success. We will starve terrorists of funding, turn them one against another, drive them from place to place, until there is no

refuge or no rest. And we will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. (Applause.) From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime.

Our nation has been put on notice: We are not immune from attack. We will take defensive measures against terrorism to protect Americans. Today, dozens of federal departments and agencies, as well as state and local governments, have responsibilities affecting homeland security. These efforts must be coordinated at the highest level. So tonight I announce the creation of a Cabinet-level position reporting directly to me—the Office of Homeland Security.

This is not, however, just America's fight. And what is at stake is not just America's freedom. This is the world's fight. This is civilization's fight. This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom.

We ask every nation to join us. We will ask, and we will need, the help of police forces, intelligence services, and banking systems around the world. The United States is grateful that many nations and many international organizations have already responded—with sympathy and with support. Nations from Latin America, to Asia, to Africa, to Europe, to the Islamic world. Perhaps the NATO Charter reflects best the attitude of the world: An attack on one is an attack on all.

The civilized world is rallying to America's side. They understand that if this terror goes unpunished, their own cities, their own citizens may be next. Terror, unanswered, can not only bring down buildings, it can threaten the stability of legitimate governments. And you know what—we're not going to allow it.

Americans are asking: What is expected of us? I ask you to live your lives, and hug your children. I know many citizens have fears tonight, and I ask you to be calm and resolute, even in the face of a continuing threat.

I ask you to uphold the values of America, and remember why so many have come here. We are in a fight for our principles, and our first responsibility is to live by them. No one should be singled out for unfair treatment or unkind words because of their ethnic background or religious faith.

military to move forces into Afghanistan quickly. Although some al-Qaeda members, including Osama bin Laden, escaped, U.S. forces overwhelmed both the terrorist organization and the repressive Taliban government that had nurtured it in Afghanistan.

During the next three months, President Bush exercised his role as commander in chief to reduce the power of the al-Qaeda terrorist network significantly. He never wavered in his support of his decision team. He always provided clear and direct instructions and supported his subordinates once options were presented to him.

THE PRESIDENT AS LEADER

The success that President Bush had as commander in chief empowered him to expand the war on terrorism beyond Afghanistan. During 2002, he made plans to topple the government of Iraq, ruled by Saddam Hussein, whom his father had defeated in the Persian Gulf War, but who had remained in power in Iraq. Bush argued that Iraq harbored terrorists and had chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons of mass destruction that could be used against the United States. This argument drew a mixed response in the United States and a decidedly negative response in the rest of the world. Bush's leadership was questioned as he seemed to ignore pleas from both within and outside the United States to allow the United Nations to take the lead on disarming Iraq.

The weakness of the U.S. economy also led to questions regarding the president's leadership. Unemployment rose, the stock market fell, and business and industry reported record losses. In his budget for the 2004 fiscal year, President Bush outlined record deficits—a stark contrast to the surpluses of the previous administration.

In summary, President Bush has been given mixed reviews for his exercise of leadership. He has shown great leadership in his role as head of state, comforting a nation dismayed by the terrorist attacks by demanding a quick response. He was also successful in his role as commander in chief. It should be noted, however, that Afghanistan proved to be a weak adversary for the U.S. military. This allowed

for a short incursion into Afghanistan with few casualties. Had this not been the case, President Bush may have been scrutinized more thoroughly for his leadership. President Bush has not been as successful in his leadership roles in managing the nation's economy or in managing the nation's international relations. Whether history will judge him a leader remains to be seen.

—Shirley Anne Warshaw

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Publisher's Update

Following the success in Afghanistan, the Bush administration changed its focus to Iraq, which with Iran and North Korea is the "axis of evil" identified by Bush in his 2002 State of the Union address. Several arguments were made in support of an attack on Iraq: It harbored weapons of mass destruction, it was in violation of UN resolutions, it supported terrorism, and Saddam Hussein was a disruptive force and a barrier to peace in the Middle East. The administration also set forth a new foreign policy agenda that emphasized preemptive military strikes to disarm enemy nations that might harm the United States. Critics of the decision to attack Iraq argued that an unprovoked war was a violation of international law, that Iraq did not pose an imminent threat to the United States, and that the evidence suggested that Iraq no longer possessed weapons of mass destruction. Critics also noted that there was little credible evidence linking Saddam Hussein to al-Qaeda and

that the two were more likely to be antagonists than allies.

Bush made it clear that while the United States sought the United Nations' support for an assault on Iraq, it would go alone if need be. Of the major powers, only Great Britain supported the United States, while France, Germany, and Russia objected to an invasion of Iraq. Their resistance and that of other nations resulted in the Bush administration abandoning its efforts for a UN resolution. On 19 March 2003, the United States and Great Britain, with support from several dozen small nations, attacked Iraq. On 1 May, President Bush announced that the military phase of the operation had been accomplished and the rebuilding phase was about to begin.

Although the military campaign went smoothly in general, the rebuilding operation was fraught with difficulties. Most significant was guerrilla resistance to the U.S. occupation by a mix of Iraqi forces and Muslims from other nations. Daily attacks on U.S. forces took a mounting toll, and by September, more soldiers had died since the declaration that the mission was accomplished than during the war. In addition, many basic services continued to be unavailable, Iraqis who supported the U.S. presence were attacked by anti-U.S. forces, and it took longer than anticipated to form a provisional government. Additionally, no weapons of mass destruction were found, nor was there any evidence of prewar al-Qaeda activity in Iraq. The International Institute of Strategic Studies concluded that the al-Qaeda was more dangerous after the war than before it.

In autumn 2003, polls in the United States continued to show support for Bush's handling of the war on terrorism, but an erosion of support for his presidency in general. Among concerns were the cost of the Iraq occupation (Bush requested an \$87 billion appropriation for the rebuilding of Iraq), the continuing loss of U.S. lives, lack of support from other nations, and the restrictions on civil liberties contained in the president's Patriot Act, part of the home front initiative in the war on terrorism. The continuing sluggish economy and loss of over 3 million jobs in two years also took their toll. The administration reacted in October 2003 by sticking to its economic plan and the Patriot Act and by opening a public rela-

tions campaign to build support for its plans for Iraq. It also continued to claim, despite the arguments of many critics, that the war on Iraq was a key element in the war on terrorism.

—David Levinson

WASHINGTON, GEORGE (1732–1799)

First U.S. president

Even with all the layers of legend that have accumulated around George Washington both during his lifetime and during the two hundred-plus years since his death, it would be difficult to overestimate his leadership and importance to the United States. As the general responsible for winning independence on the Revolutionary War battlefield and as the first president of the United States under the new Constitution, Washington was called on as few people in history have been to provide two distinctive kinds of leadership. Providing either kind would have been enough to cement his place in history. In fact, his achievements in the Revolutionary War earned him the title “father of his country” long before the job of president was even designed. Later, when he was the first president, Washington's leadership ensured that the nation would survive its first tumultuous decade, and he set official precedents followed by all subsequent holders of the office.

HISTORY

George Washington was born to a relatively prosperous Virginia planter named Augustine Washington and his second wife. Growing up, George received a small amount of formal schooling consisting mainly of reading, writing, mathematics, and geometry. He spent much time outdoors, learning to ride horses, hunting and fishing in the woods, and swimming and sailing in the Rappahannock River, which flowed between his father's farm and the little town of Fredericksburg. In 1740, his older half-brother Lawrence joined the British army during what was known in the U.S. colonies as “King George's War.” George was ten when Lawrence returned and was fascinated



The Washington Monument and the Reflecting Pool at sunrise on The Mall in Washington, D.C., in April 2002.

Source: Stephen G. Donaldson; used with permission.

by him and his adventures. Later, like many young men, Washington joined the Virginia militia. His love of the outdoors also led him to become a skilled surveyor. As such, he spent a great deal of time in the unmapped regions of western Virginia.

Through family connections, Washington got to know the governor of Virginia, Robert Dinwiddie, who was impressed with the young man. When in the early 1750s England and France became increasingly heated rivals over the Ohio River valley, Dinwiddie selected the twenty-one-year-old to lead a small expedition to order the French out of the territory once and for all. The expedition was rough and punctuated by cold, driving rains, snow, ice-clogged rivers, and scheming French officers and their Native American allies. In less than two months, Washington trekked from Williamsburg, Virginia, to Lake Erie and back. Soon his account of the expedition appeared in newspapers throughout the colonies and even in London. In 1754, Washington was back out on the frontier, leading a small company of militia and Native Americans in an attack on what he believed to be a scouting party of French soldiers. When ten of the enemy, including their commander, lay dead at the end of the exchange, Washington hastily constructed a fort and prepared for a counterattack. “Fort Necessity,” as he named it, was quickly overrun by French reinforcements, and Washington was forced to surrender and return in defeat to Virginia. His actions precipitated the French and Indian War.

Somehow—and not for the last time in his military career—the defeat did not attach its stigma to Washington. The following year the Crown decided to send a major expedition to the forks of the Ohio River—the site of modern-day Pittsburgh—to drive out the French. In command was sixty-year-old General Edward Braddock, who, happy to have along someone who had twice ventured far out into the wilds of North America, accepted Washington’s request to take part in the expedition. In July 1755, in dense forest just a day from the French positions, Braddock’s force was attacked by French soldiers and their Native American allies and cut to pieces. Braddock and Washington rode frantically about, shouting, waving their sabers, and trying to restore order to the panicked soldiers. Washington had two horses shot from underneath him, and his coat was repeatedly torn by bullets. Eventually Braddock was hit and fell from his horse, mortally wounded. Washington helped maintain enough order to gather many of the casualties and pull back across a river. Five hundred British troops were dead, but, despite being in the heat of the fight, Washington was one of a few not wounded. He and some of the other officers quickly buried Braddock, and the remnant of the force made its way back to Virginia. In the weeks that followed, many of the expedition’s survivors spoke publicly of Washington’s valor and bravery under fire. His second battlefield defeat had not tarnished his reputation as a solid soldier.

After the war ended in 1763, Washington married and lived the life of a Virginia planter. In 1774, however, with tensions increasing between the colonies and the British government, Washington’s reputation and standing in the colony resulted in his being chosen to represent Virginia in the Continental Congress meeting in Philadelphia. He was one of few prominent men who had seen battle firsthand and whose character and leadership were already highly regarded. His career as a revolutionary leader had begun.

REVOLUTIONARY GENERAL

After fighting between the colonies and the British broke out at Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts in April 1775, and New England militia units

surrounded Boston, the Continental Congress began discussing what steps it should take to ensure that events in Massachusetts did not remain a local uprising. Congress believed that it should adopt the militia encircling the city as the Continental Army. This Congress quickly did and proceeded on to a tougher decision: Who should be commander in chief? They selected George Washington. On the surface, he was an inspired choice for political reasons. Placing a Virginian in command of an army comprised exclusively of New Englanders immediately made the entire affair less regional in appearance.

Perhaps more important, however, were Washington's undeniable assets as a leader. Most visibly to those who did not already know his history, his physical stature came into play. At six-foot-three, Washington towered above most of his contemporaries and possessed tremendous composure, control, and dignity. Many people at the time also remarked on his fine horsemanship and how dignified he looked on horseback. Such attributes may seem far removed from a modern assessment of leadership, but Washington's looking the part of a leader in the uncertain days of revolution inspired men to follow. That he could still get into his Virginia militia officer's uniform and wore it to the meetings of the Congress indicated without words his readiness to serve and to fight.

He had retained his fame from the days of the French and Indian War and was remembered as someone who had led men into battle and who understood British military operations. In accepting command of the Continental Army, Washington the general became the unifying symbol for the entire colonial effort and was soon regarded as the personification of the revolution itself.

Under his leadership, the Continental Army drove the British from Boston. Knowing that this was only the beginning, Washington moved his army south to New York in anticipation of a subsequent attack. Although his army suffered a string of defeats, he kept his men together and his army in the field. Standard military practice of the day assumed that a major battlefield defeat was the prelude to capitulation, and British forces believed that after his army was defeated, Washington would surrender and the

rebellion would collapse. Surely the fall of first New York and then Philadelphia would lead to capitulation. However, Washington understood that the "center of gravity" of the colonial revolutionary effort was neither the colonial cities nor the fields on which the armies fought. Rather, he himself and the army under his command were the symbols and the center of the revolution. As long as he kept the army together, he kept the revolution together.

Keeping the army together was Washington's most important feat and, given the circumstances, his biggest challenge. The losses of major cities were demoralizing. That his army could count only two minor engagements as victories among many more defeats could also have dissolved the effort. Due to supply difficulties, his constant and usually ignored pleadings for material support from Congress could have caused the army to bleed away to nothing. He overcame all of these difficulties. Potential mutinies could have sidetracked the war and later even changed the political makeup of the United States. None of these pitfalls came to pass, however, and that they did not was due almost solely to Washington's leadership. He kept the army together by his own strength of will and determination until ultimate victory in 1781.

POLITICAL LEADER

With the revolution won and independence achieved, Washington retired to his Mount Vernon plantation. Within a few years, however, he found himself again embroiled in the biggest issue of the day. The weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation had become apparent, and the nation was in danger of splitting apart. Several prominent men had called for a meeting to revise the Articles with an eye toward creating a more powerful government, and in December 1786 the Virginia legislature selected Washington as one of Virginia's delegates to just such a meeting scheduled for the summer of 1787. Sentiment for change, however, was far from unanimous. Many people had no desire to erect in the United States a potential tyranny like the one they had just thrown off, and some feared that such tyranny would be the inevitable result. Washington himself even suspected

that a meeting of this type might well be illegal. Nevertheless, he felt that change was absolutely necessary or else independence might be lost.

When a quorum of delegates had arrived in Philadelphia that summer, delegates promptly elected Washington president of the constitutional convention, an act that had tremendous symbolic importance. "Having conducted these states to independence and peace," Georgia delegate William Pierce said of Washington, "he now appears to assist in framing a Government to make the People happy" (Brookhiser 1996, 59). Delegates felt that people should see the convention as having Washington's approval. Whereas the often esoteric debates about balanced government and federal division of power were lost on many citizens, Washington's presence was not. Many were willing to accept whatever changes came along simply because of his involvement. Furthermore, when people heard that the new Constitution had a provision for a single executive, few doubted who that man should be.

PRESIDENT

George Washington took the oath of office as the nation's first president on 30 April 1789. Every elector voted for him. His professed reluctance to assume the job and his doubts that he was up to the job made him appear only more qualified. His public persona had little trace of ambition, something that could not be said for many of his contemporaries. For a people who distrusted the accumulation of power, having at the head of the government a man who showed no inclination to want such power was a great mark in Washington's favor. He, and perhaps he alone, could be trusted with power. Soon he was faced with grave challenges to the unity of his government. His leadership would help the nation weather the storms of its first decade.

Within two years of his inauguration, Washington began to see disunity among his closest advisors. The poisonous spirit of "faction," as political parties were known, was making inroads. Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton and Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson had two different visions for the nation and quickly became the leaders of the fac-

tions. Hamilton envisioned a commercial nation of economic growth with a dynamic and powerful central government. Jefferson, on the other hand, distrusted centralized government—at least one in which Hamilton was going to play a major role—and wanted a nation whose future would remain one of small farmers, craftspeople, and limited government authority. Washington was distraught to see his two closest lieutenants embroiled in a public feud and did his best to keep them at peace while they remained in his cabinet. Nevertheless, he put his influence behind those policies he thought were best for the future.

The outbreak of the French Revolution likewise held danger for the young nation, as many in the nation cheered the French action and hoped that the United States would come to the aid of French revolutionaries in the same way the French had helped the United States against the British. Nevertheless, Washington realized that to plunge the new nation into an increasingly bitter war between revolutionary France and Great Britain would inevitably harm the United States. He insisted on neutrality, even though it was an unpopular position with many U.S. citizens.

George Washington was held in such high regard that respect for him translated into respect for the government of which he was the leader. One would have difficulty imagining any other person holding the nation together in its early years. The Articles of Confederation government had fallen apart; who was to say that this new government could not be cast aside as well? Without Washington at the helm, such a breakdown could have been a possibility. When Washington considered resigning after his first term in office, James Madison of Virginia pleaded with him to remain for another crucial term. The nation was not yet on firm enough ground to endure without Washington.

As the first president, Washington set many precedents for the behavior of those who would later hold the office. Most important, perhaps, was his decision to step aside after a second term and return to private life. Until the twentieth century, no one exceeded Washington's precedent of a two-term limit. In the 1950s, Congress enshrined this limit as a constitutional amendment. What made Washington

most famous among many other world leaders was this willingness to surrender power. He had done so following the successful completion of the revolution. He did so again as president.

LEGACY

George Washington's character above all gave him the authority that made him a true leader. His abilities, his bravery, his determination, and even his image all furthered his achievements. Whether he was leading the Continental Army during the revolution, presiding over a controversial movement to reform the U.S. government, or setting a standard for—and defining—the presidency, Washington inspired people to follow him. His leadership made him, as one historian recently put it, the “indispensable man” of the American Revolution and of the early United States.

—David A. Smith

See also Military Leadership; Presidential Leadership, U.S.; United States Constitution

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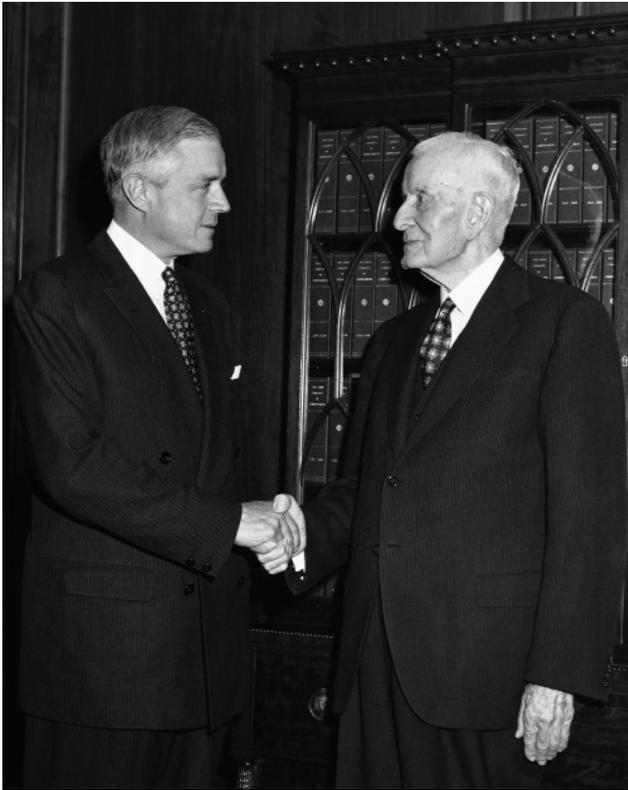


WATSON, THOMAS, JR. (1914–1993)

U.S. business leader

Thomas J. Watson Jr. took over his father's company, International Business Machines (IBM), running it from 1952 to 1971. In that span, he transformed an already strong business into a global monolith. The younger Watson realized the potential of the computer and, against his father's wishes, redirected IBM's efforts toward the new technology. The gamble paid off and the name IBM became synonymous with computers worldwide.

Thomas Watson Sr. was considered one of the world's great entrepreneurs in the first half of the twentieth century. He single-mindedly focused on the success of IBM, ruled his employees with an iron fist, and established a cult-like corporate culture at the company. However, Watson's behavior—though often maniacal—translated into focused action, and success followed, making believers out of his critics. A sales genius, the older Watson recognized the importance of the punch card accounting machine,



Thomas J. Watson Jr. receiving congratulations from his father, Thomas J. Watson, Sr. on being elected CEO of IBM, with the senior Watson staying on as the Chairman of the Board.

Source: Bettmann/Corbis; used with permission.

and then convinced the world's corporations that the new technology would revolutionize their book-keeping procedures.

As the eldest son, Watson Jr. grew up in his father's shadow. Not helping relations between the two fiery personalities was the poor academic performance of the younger man, who took six years to graduate from high school and barely graduated from Brown University. He gained a reputation as a prankster, and was nicknamed "Terrible Tommy"—fonder of partying and women than studying. However, the young man's carefree attitude masked bouts of self-doubt about someday taking over IBM and frustrations derived from the pressure of being Watson Sr.'s oldest son. Reportedly, the youngster even broke into tears when discussing the possibility of joining his father at the company.

Given the time period and the eldest son's responsibilities to his family, entering the business was vir-

tually inevitable. In 1937, after graduating from college, Watson Jr. joined IBM as a salesman. The younger Watson, however, put most of his energy into enjoying the Manhattan nightlife. He also indulged another obsession—flying airplanes. As the founder's son, Watson had to live up to public expectations, so his managers floated him easy deals to ensure the young man met his yearly quota.

WORLD WAR II

Like so many other men of his generation, Watson's personal turning point came when the United States entered World War II. He parlayed his interest in airplanes to promoting the use of flight simulators in training American airmen. His work attracted the attention of Major General Follett Bradley, the inspector general of the army's air force. Watson served as Bradley's personal pilot, flying him around Asia, Africa, and the Pacific region.

Under Bradley's tutelage, Watson proved to be not only an outstanding pilot, but also a valuable member of his strategic staff. After the war, Watson had little interest in returning to IBM. He planned to become a pilot at United Air Lines. Perhaps more importantly, the war matured Watson and he gave up his playboy ways.

One day when Watson discussed his career choice with the general, Bradley questioned his decision. He told the young man that he assumed that Watson would return to New York to take over IBM. In amazement, Watson asked Bradley if he felt that he had the ability to run the company. Bradley said that he believed the younger Watson could run IBM, which bolstered his confidence and turned his life around.

IBM ENTERS THE COMPUTER AGE

Watson Jr. returned to IBM a new, more confident man. After his experiences during World War II, the younger Watson was not willing to defer automatically to his father. Now Watson Jr., a more strategic and analytical thinker, realized that new computer technology would make IBM's tabulating products obsolete. His iron-willed father, however, thought

only a handful of computers would be needed in the entire country. The battle between the two men about the future of computers signified a changing of the guard. After years of being needled about electronics, the older man finally relented. Watson Jr. quickly doubled the research and development budget and hired hundreds of engineers to build IBM's first computers. The two Watsons spent a decade working together. The father passed along his sales secrets, while the son took on more leadership tasks. Both men shared a quick, explosive temper. The legendary shouting matches between the two became part of company folklore.

WATSON'S LEADERSHIP

Watson Jr. became president of IBM in 1952 and CEO in 1956, just six weeks before Watson Sr. passed away. Becoming more like his father, the son instituted a highly competitive corporate culture among the highest-ranking executives. Watson pushed his managers and scientists to constantly be at the cutting edge of technological innovation.

IBM developed into more than just another powerful blue-chip company. Under both Watsons' rule, IBM defined American corporate culture in the 1950s and 1960s. Men had to be clean-shaven and wore crisp white dress shirts with dark suits—no one deviated from the norm. The notion of the hard-charging, highly stressed “organization man,” made famous by William H. Whyte in the *Exploding Metropolis*, epitomized IBM executives. Sloan Wilson's novel *Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* (1955) about aggressive corporate climbers is another work that captured the mood of the 1950s, when IBM dominated the business world.

Watson Jr. was an instinctive leader and demanded quick decisions. His leadership style set the tone for the relentless innovation required in the computer industry. He drove his employees to be decisive and to take risks. Watson purposely hired and promoted outspoken, competitive managers, against the grain of corporate “yes men” who surrounded many executives.

Despite the ultra-competitive environment that he fostered among managers and executives, Watson

treated rank-and-file workers paternally. IBM offered outstanding compensation and benefits and basically guaranteed lifetime employment. The company doled out generous stock options and many employees who bought stock became “IBM millionaires,” long before the term would become trendy again during the dot.com boom of the 1990s.

A GAMBLE LEADS TO DOMINATION

By the early 1960s, IBM clearly dominated the burgeoning computer industry, but this position did not satisfy Watson. Rather than resting on his laurels, Watson authorized \$5 billion to be spent developing a new line of computers that would make all others obsolete—including IBM's own. The staggering sum was almost three times IBM's revenues and an audacious gamble. Watson directed company researchers to work on a family of small computers rather than large, outmoded machines. Since the computers would be designed to solve a company's every need, it was dubbed the System/360, after the circumference of a circle. The risk Watson took with the System/360 turned IBM into a pressure cooker. When the project, run by Watson's younger brother Dick, slid off schedule, Watson Jr. demoted his brother, which essentially ended his career. The move shamed Watson Jr., but he was determined that IBM would thrive.

Ultimately, the System/360 was a hit around the globe—the gamble paid off for IBM. The company ruled the computer industry, controlling about 70 percent of the world's computer sales. IBM had 35,000 installed computers in 1970, a significant increase from 11,000 of 1964. The System/360 doubled revenues, reaching \$7.5 billion in 1970, while the company's market value jumped from \$14 billion to \$36 billion.

IBM's early domination of the computer market enabled the company to develop other systems that would soon define the computer age. In 1981, IBM introduced the first personal computer (PC), which was a turning point in computer technology. IBM's new PC required a software operating system so that users could experience the full power of the computer. Microsoft, led by Bill Gates and Paul Allen,

developed the programming language and the operating system, thus beginning the next phase of the technology revolution.

AFTER IBM

In 1971, Watson retired from active management of IBM after suffering a heart attack. He was only fifty-seven years old at the time. Despite his illness, Watson stayed incredibly active after leaving IBM, mixing a kind of swashbuckling life with a great deal of public service. During his retirement, Watson continued to fly jets and other planes. One of Watson's major adventures was retracing a flight he took across Siberia during the war. He also yachted around Antarctica and other dangerous areas.

President Jimmy Carter tapped the executive to serve as ambassador to Moscow, a position he filled for two years from 1979 to 1981. The ambassadorship was controversial as Watson was a large Democratic contributor. These years encompassed the heated exchanges over the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan. In addition, Watson took an active interest in nuclear weapons disarmament and chaired a U.S. arms-control commission. Watson enjoyed two decades of public life and adventure after retiring from IBM. Watson shared his management strategy and detailed his combative relationship with his father in the memoir, *Father, Son & Co: My Life at IBM and Beyond* (1990), which became a *New York Times* bestseller. Watson died in Connecticut in 1993.

Under Watson's reign, IBM was the greatest corporate success story of the post-World War II era and created incredible wealth for shareholders, among the best in business history. As a result of Watson's decision to push IBM into computers and the resulting achievement, *Fortune* magazine called Watson "arguably the greatest capitalist who ever lived." By concentrating on computers, IBM paved the way for the information age.

—Bob Batchelor

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WELCH, JACK (b. 1935)

Chief executive officer of
General Electric Company

Jack Welch was the seventh CEO of General Electric Company (GE) and, in terms of shareholder wealth created (over \$300 billion), its greatest. Welch was born in Peabody, Massachusetts, the only child of a railroad conductor who did not finish high school and a very religious mother with a strong sense of justice. According to Welch, his mother was the most important influence in his life. She saw reality in clear terms and communicated honestly. She had unlimited confidence in her son, but she was quick to punish him if he misbehaved. Welch was self-conscious about a speech impediment (stuttering), but she persuaded him that the reason he stuttered was that his brain worked too fast—thereby turning an apparent handicap into a sign of talent.

Welch was an enthusiastic participant in competitive sports, especially baseball, basketball, and hockey, for which he was team captain in high school. During high school, he worked at several part-time jobs, including caddying and delivering newspapers. A high school literary magazine reported his desire "to make a million." He was a good student, especially in mathematics and chemistry, and his mother urged him to go to college. Failing to get an ROTC scholarship that could have sent him to MIT, he entered the University of Massachusetts, where he majored in chemical engineering. Despite being active in a sports-oriented fraternity, he achieved high grades every year and graduated in 1957 near the top of his class. He went on to receive a master's degree in chemical engineering in 1958 and a doctorate in 1960, both from the University of Illinois. The most important thing he learned from his doctoral research was tenacity; he learned not to give up when his experiments did not go as planned. Welch married in 1959, had four

children, and was divorced in 1987. He remarried in 1989; in 2002, his second wife filed for divorce amid press reports linking him with the editor of a prestigious business magazine.

WELCH AT GENERAL ELECTRIC: THE EARLY YEARS

After receiving his doctorate, Welch was hired by the plastics division of GE in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. He almost quit a year later when he received an insufficient raise, but a prescient GE executive flew in and convinced him to stay, with the promise of better rewards to come. Welch rose quickly within the plastics division, developing methods of decision making—focus on the facts, not emotion; no holds barred debate—that he would use throughout his career at GE.

Through brilliant and aggressive marketing of the new plastics that the division developed, Welch grew sales by over 30 percent year after year, a rate of growth that far exceeded growth in other GE divisions. In 1968, at age thirty-three, he became the youngest general manager for chemical development at GE. Further promotions quickly followed: general manager of the chemical and metallurgical division (1971), vice president (1972), vice president and group executive of components and materials group (1973). The GE corporate office did not know what to make of him so they basically left him alone, free from the huge GE bureaucracy. He did not approve of GE's staid and cautious hierarchy; he wanted to be free to make his own decisions and take risks. Finally, in 1977 CEO Reginald Jones transferred Welch to the head office at Fairfield, Connecticut, mainly to ensure that he would be in the running for the job as successor to Jones. At Fairfield, Welch built up the medical division and GE's credit division, both destined to become critical components of the new GE. Welch was seen as a kind of wild maverick by the GE bureaucrats, but Jones loved his energy, intellect, and entrepreneurial spirit. Initially there were nineteen finalists to succeed Jones as CEO, but after a long search process, Welch won the job in 1981. At age forty-five, he was the youngest CEO in GE's history.

WELCH'S FIRST DECADE AS CEO

During his first several years at the helm, Welch focused mainly on deciding what businesses GE should be in and what businesses it should sell off. He was not thinking of the present, where GE was making a reasonable profit, but rather in terms of what would be growth businesses in the future.

He chose to keep only those businesses that were number one or number two in their industries or those that could readily become so. Realizing that GE was grossly overstaffed, Welch reduced GE's workforce from 400,000 to 230,000 employees. (In later years new employees were added.) At the same time, he removed layers of hierarchy from the organization, reducing the number of levels from twenty-nine to six. He had seen only too clearly in his earlier years how hierarchy could stifle creativity and change. He pushed heavily for cost cutting through downsizing and productivity improvement in every business. He came to be called "Neutron Jack"—a label he disliked—because, just as a neutron bomb can eliminate people but leave buildings standing, he was able to eliminate employees but leave the company intact.

Welch decided that GE would consist of three sectors. First was the core, comprising lighting, major appliances, motors, transportation, and turbines; second was the technology sector, comprising industrial electronics, medical systems, materials, and aircraft engines; and third was the services sector, comprising financial, consulting, nuclear, and information services. He caused a huge outcry by selling consumer electronics (housewares), but he saw it as a commodity business in which GE could not compete effectively. His selling of the consumer electronics business and building up of the medical systems business was part of his push towards globalization. In 1985, he bought RCA, mainly to acquire the broadcasting network NBC, which he liked because it was free from foreign competition. By 1997, NBC was seven times more profitable than its nearest rival network.

Welch's successes include GE's credit division, which provided the biggest source of GE's profits for most of his tenure. He also pushed GE further into the services business (for example, manufacturing

airplane engines and power plants), which had higher profit margins than manufacturing.

During his first ten years as CEO, GE revenues increased 24 percent a year, with net income increasing by 29 percent a year. But more was yet to come. In 1989, he started pushing a series of companywide initiatives that continued through the 1990s. The first was known as the Work-Out program. Work-Out sessions, which were guided by outside consultants, were designed to help improve communication between organizational levels and to get subordinates more involved in decision making. During the session, subordinates would make suggestions for improvements, which managers would have to approve or veto on the spot—or ask for more information with a thirty-day follow-up deadline. The program led to many valuable suggestions that saved the company millions of dollars and helped the culture to become less bureaucratic and less hierarchical. Another initiative was the Corporate Excellence Council. The council held quarterly meetings at which leaders of all the GE businesses shared discoveries, ideas, and information. This led to important synergies between business units (for example, the medical systems division's innovations in remote monitoring and repair were utilized by the aircraft engines, locomotives, and power systems divisions).

BEST PRACTICES, SIX SIGMA, AND GLOBALIZATION

About the same time as the Work-Out program started, Welch had his staff examine the best practices of leading companies throughout the world. The findings from this study (which stressed such practices as process focus, benchmarking, constant improvement, customer satisfaction, quality, and suppliers as partners) were communicated at “GE University” at Crotonville, New York, which had been founded by a previous CEO, Ralph Cordiner, in 1956, as a place where future GE managers could be trained and developed. Welch revitalized Crotonville and appeared there regularly to talk about the company and his principles of leadership. Welch looked for four core qualities in GE leaders: energy; the ability to energize and excite others; edge (competi-

tiveness, speed, confidence, competence); and execution (getting results). He also wanted integrity, curiosity, teamwork, and continual learning. Like Work-Out, the best practices ideas saved the company many millions of dollars.

Another major companywide initiative that Welch pushed was Six Sigma, a quality measurement standard pioneered in the U.S. by Motorola. The decision to adopt Six Sigma at GE was spurred in part by subordinates and customers who had seen GE quality slipping and partly by former GE executive Larry Bossidy, who was CEO of Allied Signal and who decided to adopt it there. GE adopted Six Sigma in 1995; the goal was to reduce defects to 3.4 parts per million and to cut costs. GE hired three thousand new people to do the training, and Welch made 40 percent of his vice presidents' bonuses based on progress in training people to use Six Sigma principles. Results were measured quantitatively (there had to be measurable improvements in customer satisfaction and supplier quality, for example, and measurable declines in the defect rate). Within three years, there were eleven thousand Six Sigma programs under way, and the company already had reaped \$1.5 billion from a \$450,000 investment. By 1998, Six Sigma was regularly used to design new products.

Welch brought the same focus on quality to the development of personnel. He spent a substantial portion of his time evaluating his top several hundred managers. His goal was to have as many “A” players as possible, to develop “B” players into “A” players, and to continuously rid the company of “C” players. Welch made constant use of stretch goals. People were evaluated, however, not only on making the profit numbers but also on embracing company initiatives and GE's core values, which included integrity, excellence, openness to new ideas, high quality and low cost, self-confidence, clear vision, energy, and the ability to energize others, seeking change and global focus.

As noted earlier, Welch also stressed globalization during his tenure as CEO. In 1997, 40 percent of the company's revenues came from foreign sales. GE now does business in close to a hundred different countries. In 1999, Welch began pushing

e-business, with every GE business having a website at which customers could place orders. Progress on this was slow but steady. In 2000, Welch pressed for digitization (computerization) of all processes. Like other initiatives Welch championed, globalization was designed to save the company money and gain it sales.

DEALING WITH ADVERSITY

GE did face difficult situations under Welch, though some would argue that there were not many, given the size of the company. In 1983, two hundred miles along the Hudson River were designated a federal toxic Superfund site due to contamination with polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs); the federal government deemed GE financially responsible for the cleanup. In 1999, the company agreed to pay for the cleanup of the Housatonic River in Pittsfield, which had also been contaminated with PCBs. Welch argued that the scientific evidence showed that dragging the river bottoms to remove PCBs would be more harmful, due to releasing them into the water, than leaving the PCBs where they were, although the courts disagreed. GE's 1986 purchase of Kidder Peabody, an investment house, seemed like a disaster a few months later, when an executive from Kidder was arrested for insider trading, and even more so in 1994, when a bond dealer was discovered to have hidden huge losses behind paper profits. At that point, Welch sold Kidder's assets to PaineWebber, taking a loss but gaining a stake in PaineWebber that eventually bore financial fruit in 2000, when PaineWebber was sold to the financial services company USB.

WELCH'S PHILOSOPHY

Welch's philosophy certainly played an important role in his success as a CEO. Its key tenets are: Face reality as it is, not as you would like to be; control your own destiny rather than let someone else control it; change before you have to; and compete to win. Equally important were Welch's personal traits, which include honesty and integrity (especially with respect to giving people just rewards); dynamism (energy and his passionate love of his job); willingness to tolerate

confrontation and disagreement; insatiable curiosity; unwillingness to tolerate incompetence (never putting personal friendship or feelings ahead of what was best for the business); the ability to size up a business rapidly and to discriminate between businesses that were going to be able to grow and those that were not; and an ability to take complexity and simplify it—that is, to look at the facts and extract a few core principles that will be clear to followers and will make the business operate successfully.

Welch's twenty-year legacy at GE was that of a wealth creator without peer. Under his leadership, the company's revenue grew from \$27 billion in 1981 to well over \$100 billion by 2001. Earnings went from \$1.6 billion to over \$10 billion; GE's market value increased by \$15 billion a year; return on investment grew by over 20 percent a year; and GE doubled the rate of return of the S&P 500. This feat was especially remarkable because GE was already a very large organization when Welch became CEO, and growing a large company is more difficult than growing a small one.

It may be a long time before a business achievement the size of Welch's is repeated. One can study and emulate his personal traits and his principles, but this will not make everyone a Welch.

—Edwin A. Locke

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 **WELLS-BARNETT, IDA B.**
 (1862–1931)
U.S. journalist and activist

Journalist and speaker Ida B. Wells-Barnett is best known for leading the fight against the lynching of African-Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The “mother of clubwomen,”

she also helped form the first national organization of black women in the United States.

Born to former slaves, Ida Bell Wells began life on July 16, 1862, in Holly Springs, Mississippi. Both parents succumbed to a yellow fever epidemic in 1878, forcing Wells to drop out of Shaw University (later Rust College) to support her five younger siblings. She taught in a rural school until she accepted an aunt's invitation in 1881 to move the family to Memphis, Tennessee. She eventually secured a teaching position in the Memphis public schools.

RESISTANCE TO RACISM

A fiery woman unafraid to challenge authority, Wells began her activist career by defying the segregationist conventions of her day. On September 15, 1883, she refused to move to the segregated section of a railroad car. Dragged off the Chesapeake, Ohio, and Southwestern Railway after biting the conductor who tried to evict her, Wells won a lawsuit against the railroad in the lower courts only to see the Tennessee Supreme Court overturn the verdict in 1887. A request to write about this episode for a local Baptist weekly, the *Living Way*, launched her journalism career.

Using the pen name "Iola," Wells wrote articles on politics and race for black newspapers across the nation. She also became a co-owner of the Memphis militant weekly *Free Speech and Headlight* in 1889. Two years later, Wells lost her teaching position—her main source of income—for criticizing the local school system for its inadequate facilities and its tolerance of instances of exploitative sexual relations between black female teachers and white board members.

THE FIRST ANTI-LYNCHING LEADER

Already established as a respected voice in the African-American community in Memphis, Wells risked everything when a close friend died, along with two other black men, at the hands of a lynch mob in 1892. Much more than a murder, a lynching was an organized attack by a mob of whites upon an individual or group of African-Americans, often

with the complicity of local and state law enforcement agencies. As Wells grasped, the true purpose of a lynching was to intimidate an entire African-American community. Faced with white support for lynching and a dearth of black male leadership on the matter, Wells publicly counseled grassroots resistance in Memphis. She advised blacks to arm themselves for self-defense and used her newspaper to strongly encourage African-Americans to abandon Memphis for the newly opened territory of Oklahoma.

This episode transformed Wells into one of the nation's earliest investigative reporters. Conventional wisdom held that lynchings came in response to assaults by black men upon white women. Determined to end these brutal killings, Wells combed through newspaper accounts, visited death sites, and interviewed witnesses to determine that most lynchings were motivated by economic competition and racial control rather than a defense of southern white womanhood. In 1892, she published an editorial that revealed that most "rapes" were in fact consensual liaisons between black men and white women, writing "White men lynch the offending Afro-American, not because he is a despoiler of virtue, but because he succumbs to the smiles of white women." In response to the article, an angry mob of whites demolished Wells's newspaper office. Anticipating possible trouble, Wells had left Memphis before the offending editorial appeared in print. Warned of the probability that she would be lynched if she returned, she settled in New York City.

In the North, Wells continued her anti-lynching activism. Besides writing articles for the *New York Age*, she penned *Southern Horrors* (1892). The pamphlet's title mocks Southern honor as the commonly cited justification for lynching while documenting that only a third of the 728 lynching victims between 1884 and 1892 were even accused of rape. To spread her message, Wells took to the podium to denounce lynching.

A PUBLIC WOMAN

In the late Victorian era, women rarely ventured into the male public sphere. Wells changed this by spear-



Excerpt from *Southern Horrors*

In this excerpt from her pamphlet Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases (1892), Ida B. Wells-Barnett describes how and why a lynching occurs in Memphis, Tennessee.

On March 9th, 1882, there were lynched in this same city [Memphis] three of the best specimens of young since-the-war Afro-American manhood. They were peaceful, law-abiding citizens and energetic businessmen.

They believed the problem was to be solved by eschewing politics and putting money in the purse. They owned a flourishing grocery business in a thickly populated suburb of Memphis, and a white man named Barrett had one on the opposite corner. After a personal difficulty which Barrett sought by going into the "People's Grocery" drawing a pistol and was thrashed by Calvin McDowell, he [Barrett] threatened to "clean them out." These men were a mile beyond the city limits and police protection; hearing that Barrett's crowd was coming to attack them Saturday night, they mustered forces and prepared to defend themselves against the attack.

When Barrett came he led a *posse* of officers, twelve in number, who afterward claimed to be hunting a man for whom they had a warrant. That twelve men in citizen's clothes should think it necessary to go in the night to hunt one man who had never before been arrested, or made any record as a criminal has never been explained. When they entered the back door the young men thought the threatened attack was on, and fired into them. Three of the officers were wounded, and when the *defending* party found it was officers of the law upon whom they had fired,

they ceased and got away.

Thirty-one men were arrested and thrown in jail as "conspirators," although they all declared more than once they did not know they were firing on officers. Excitement was at fever heat until the morning papers, two days after, announced that the wounded deputy sheriffs were out of danger. This hindered rather than helped the plans of the whites. There was no law on the statute books which would execute an Afro-American for wounding a white man, but the "unwritten law" did. Three of these men, the president, the manager and clerk of the grocery—"the leaders of the conspiracy"—were secretly taken from jail and lynched in a shockingly brutal manner. "The Negroes are getting too independent," they say, "we must teach them a lesson."

What lesson? The lesson of subordination. "Kill the leaders and it will cow the Negro who dares to shoot a white man, even in self defense."

Although the race was wild over the outrage, the mockery of law and justice which alarmed men and locked them up in jails where they could be easily and safely reached by the mob—the Afro-American ministers, newspapers and leaders counselled obedience to the law which did not protect them.

Their counsel was heeded and not a hand was uplifted to resent the outrage; following the advice of the "Free Speech," people left the city in great numbers.

Source: Ida B. Wells. (1892). *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases*. Reprinted in Jacqueline Jones Royster (Ed.), *Southern Horrors and Other Writings: The Anti-Lynching Campaign of Ida B. Wells, 1892-1900*. Boston: Bedford Books, 1997. Retrieved October 16, 2003, from <http://womhist.binghamton.edu/aswpl/doc3.htm>

heading the black women's club movement. To publish *Southern Horrors*, African-American women in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia held fundraising testimonials on Wells's behalf, thereby laying the groundwork for further organization. Meanwhile, in an attempt to apply international pressure upon the United States, Wells gave speeches in Europe about lynching. In response, a white editor in Little Rock, Arkansas, warned that no one should believe an African-American woman, since all black women were liars and prostitutes. In 1896, a furious Wells prompted the formation of the first nationwide black women's organization, the National Association of

Colored Women (NACW), with a speech that challenged the women of the race to fight the widely reported claims of this bigoted editor. Later, in 1913, Wells would help organize the Alpha Suffrage Club, Illinois's first black woman's suffrage organization, to agitate for tangible political power for women.

Wells married prominent Chicago attorney Ferdinand L. Barnett in 1895 and made the unusual choice to maintain her strenuous schedule. Although the births of her four children necessitated periodic withdrawals from public life, Wells-Barnett became one of the very few working mother activists of her time.

While she made lynching a political issue and

established the groundwork for the eventual abolition of the practice in the mid-twentieth century, Wells-Barnett could not maintain effective leadership within the black community. Accustomed to battling for attention, she forged ahead with her own agenda and methods at the expense of relationships with her peers. In 1899, she left the NACW when she lost an election for president of the group. In 1909, she helped found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People but ended her stormy relationship with the organization in the following year. By the 1920s, Wells-Barnett found herself and her vision of agitation out of favor among African-American reformers. She died of a kidney ailment on March 25, 1931, in Chicago.

During Wells-Barnett's lifetime, lynchings did not stop, but they did become a national source of shame as the result of her reporting. By exposing the white lies fabricated to justify murder and by organizing black resistance to racism, Wells served as a herald of the coming U.S. civil rights movement. The radical and outspoken qualities that made Wells into a successful crusading journalist did not make her a successful leader. Unable to compromise with others who shared her ultimate goal of a just nation, she is remembered chiefly for exposing the horrors of black life in the United States.

—Caryn E. Neumann

See also Civil Rights Movement; Women's Suffrage

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WHITEFIELD, GEORGE

(1714–1770)

English evangelist

Known as the “Grand Itinerant,” George Whitefield was the most renowned preacher and revivalist of his age. His voice was reported to carry for a mile, and his sermons were marked by an unprecedented emotional intensity. Throughout his professional life, he maintained a rigorous speaking schedule, often preaching twice a day to audiences that would sometimes exceed thirty thousand people, and traveled frequently between England, Scotland, and the U.S. colonies. Whitefield possessed strong organizational skills and fundamentally changed the way in which revivals were conducted. Previously, they had been communal events, restricted to their own localities. Through his own preaching and his use of print media to advertise his efforts and to establish cooperation between sympathetic clergymen throughout the English-speaking world, Whitefield made the revival a sustained, international event. The system he built and maintained established revivalism as a permanent fixture of religious life.

BACKGROUND AND EDUCATION

George Whitefield was born in Gloucester, England, the youngest of seven children in a family of declining fortune. His great-grandfather was the rector of Rockhampton and a graduate of Oxford University, and his grandfather an independent gentleman. Whitefield's father, however, owned and operated an inn, and, after his early death, the family was forced to continue in reduced circumstances.

From an early age, Whitefield manifested a pronounced talent for acting and mimicry and was reportedly able to perfectly imitate pulpit stories and dramatic performances he had heard. Whitefield's mother, Elizabeth, was determined that George would achieve social standing and enrolled him in the St. Mary de Crypt parish school in preparation for a college education and an eventual place in the Church. Whitefield excelled at elocution and declamation but had difficulty with Greek and Latin. At one point, he withdrew from school altogether, poor

grades and continued family financial pressures convincing him that attending college would be impossible. However, a growing sense of religious mission, coupled with his mother's discovery that he would be able to attend Oxford as a "servitor"—excused from tuition in exchange for serving other students and teachers—encouraged him to continue his preparation. With a renewed sense of purpose, he completed his schooling and also commenced upon a series of spiritual exercises, including regular prayer, fasting, and devotional readings.

Whitefield entered Pembroke College in 1732 and came in contact with John and Charles Wesley, and a group of Methodist students known as the "Holy Club." Methodism at that time was an evangelical and pietistic movement within the Church of England. It was not intended to challenge the authority of the Anglican Church but rather to provide religious instruction for the poor and laboring classes who were no longer being served by the parish system. Methodism stressed the individual's spiritual growth in the context of small groups, who would meet regularly for prayer and Bible study. These groups saw themselves as opposed to the worldliness of Oxford and devoted themselves to prayer, devotional reading, spiritual meditation, and good works. Methodists during this period also tended to shun classical learning as unnecessary to the life of piety. Whitefield became so enmeshed in these religious and charitable duties that his health declined, and he neglected his studies altogether. He was compelled to take a temporary leave of absence, and he returned to Gloucester. During the time away from university, however, he experienced an inward conviction of God's grace—the "New Birth"—which relieved many of his spiritual anxieties. He also began to preach publicly at the Gloucester County Jail. This preaching provided him with an emotional outlet that aided his physical and psychological recovery. Restored, he returned to Oxford and completed his degree in 1736.

EARLY PREACHING AND THE ANGLICAN ESTABLISHMENT

After being ordained as a deacon in 1736, Whitefield was approached by English religious leader John

Wesley to participate in a mission to Georgia. Although he was eager to accept, his departure was delayed for a year. He spent that time preaching in London and there developed the distinctive characteristics that marked his ministry. His first sermons were distinguished by an unprecedented emotional intensity. He typically concentrated on the theme of the New Birth. However, rather than emphasize theological aspects of this event, as was usual at the time, Whitefield would dramatize it as a personal experience: He would act it out, using pathos, tears, consolation, and example to convey the affective component of his discourse and lead his audience to inner transformation. By using his dramatic talents to make the audience imagine and feel the weight of sin, Christ's sacrifice, and God's redemption, Whitefield was able to transform the pulpit into a kind of theater for the promulgation of religion. As he became more confident in his delivery Whitefield abandoned notes altogether and spoke extemporaneously, freeing him to establish a more profound emotional connection with his audience.

At this time, Whitefield also became adept at using the press to promote his preaching. He published many of his sermons and also circulated accounts of his past performances and the effects that they had on congregations. When he came into dispute with the Anglican church over his self-promotion and his incursions into the parishes of other ministers, he used this occasion to portray himself as a youthful victim, persecuted by an envious and uncaring religious establishment. This in turn increased interest in his ministry and attendance at his services.

Whitefield arrived in Georgia in 1738 to find that the Methodist initiatives in that area had largely failed. Georgia at this time was a new settlement, lacking the concentrated urban centers that Whitefield had used to advantage previously. The population of the region was also heterodox. However, Whitefield made strong efforts to win support. He began visiting houses, gathering worshipers together, and dispensing food, clothing, and devotional literature. Unlike the Wesleys, who had visited the colony earlier, Whitefield also adapted to the local customs, supporting demands for the legalization of slavery in the state and also recognizing the legitimacy of



Selection from George Whitefield's Sermon "Christians, Temples of the Living God"

Isaiah, speaking of the glory of gospel days, said, "Men have not heard nor perceived by the ear, neither hath the eye seen, O God, besides thee, what he hath prepared for him that waiteth for him." Chap. 64.4 Could a world lying in the wicked one, be really convinced of this, they would need no other motive to induce them to renounce themselves, take up their cross, and follow Jesus Christ. And had believers this truth always deeply impressed upon their souls, they could not but abstain from every evil, be continually aspiring after every good; and in a word, use all diligence to walk worthy of Him who hath called them to his kingdom and glory. If I mistake not, that is the end purposed by the apostle Paul, in the words of the text, "Ye are the temple of the living God." Words originally directed to the church of Corinth, but which equally belong to us, and to our children, and to as many as the Lord our God shall call. To give you the true meaning of, and then practically to improve them, shall be my endeavor in the following discourse.

It is thus that Christians are "the temple of the living God," of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; they who once held a consultation to create, are all equally concerned in making preparations for, and effectually bringing about the redemption of man. The Father creates, the Son redeems, and the Holy Ghost sanctifies all the elect people of God. Being loved from eternity, they are effectually called in time, they are chosen out of the world, and not only by an external formal dedication at baptism, or at the Lord's supper, but by a free, voluntary, unconstrained oblation, they devote themselves, spirit, soul, and body, to the entire service of Him, who hath loved and given himself for them.

This is true and undefiled religion before God our heavenly Father: This is the real Christian's reasonable service, or, as some think the word imports, this is the service required of us in the word of God. It implies no less than a total renunciation of the world; in short, turns the Christian's whole life into one continued sacrifice of love to God; so that, "whether he eats or drinks, he does all to his glory." Not that I would hereby insinuate, that to be Christians, or to keep to the words of our text, in order to be temples of the living God, we must become hermits, or shut ourselves up in nunneries or cloysters; this be far from me! No. The religion, which this bible in my hand prescribes, is a social religion, a religion equally practicable by high and low, rich and poor, and which absolutely requires a due discharge of all relative duties, in whatsoever state of life God shall be pleased to place and continue us.

Source: *Selected Sermons of George Whitefield* by George Whitefield. Christian Classics Ethereal Library at Calvin College. Retrieved October 16, 2003, from <http://www.ccel.org/w/whitefield/sermons>

non-Anglican liturgical (relating to the rites prescribed for public worship) forms. He also began to organize the building of churches and schools and became involved with plans for the construction of a large orphanage in Bethesda, Georgia, which was intended to serve the needs of both England and the United States. He proposed this orphanage to the Georgia trustees, assuming responsibility for its

financial operation, and received their endorsement.

Whitefield returned to England in December 1738 and was ordained an Anglican priest on 14 January 1739. He requested and was granted an assignment to Georgia, being responsible for the orphanage and the surrounding parish. This assignment was fortuitous because it provided him with a larger purpose for his revival work. The need to raise funds for the orphanage provided Whitefield a rationale for requesting entrance into London churches. When such entrance was denied, he could then hold meetings in open fields, where he again was able to command large audiences. As before, he would often deliberately use such opposition to publicize his evangelical efforts and position himself as the champion of the working people against an uncaring Anglican establishment.

Whitefield charted a six-week campaign of evangelical preaching, beginning in Kingswood, an impoverished mining district noted for its violence. After being refused permission to preach in the church, he held a service in a field, and, although the attendance was small, the event was considered successful. Whitefield's effective performance, combined with published accounts of the services, the controversy surrounding his disputes with

the Anglican establishment, and spreading word of mouth, soon generated unprecedentedly large crowds. By the time he reached London, he would address gatherings he estimated to be more than thirty thousand. He also raised more than one thousand pounds for the Georgia mission—roughly the equivalent of the yearly salary of a London priest.

During this period, Whitefield exhibited the

energy that characterized his ministry. Within six weeks he delivered forty sermons and published twenty of them. He also wrote hundreds of letters to friends and colleges in Scotland and the United States, promoting the revivals by establishing connections between like-minded individuals.

WHITEFIELD AND THE GREAT AWAKENING

Whitefield returned to the United States in October 1739. His success in England led him to embark on a much larger and more ambitious project: a transatlantic and, although Calvinist, transdenominational revival throughout England, Scotland, and the United States. He landed in Philadelphia; news of his successes in London had preceded him, and he was greeted enthusiastically by record crowds. In many ways, the United States constituted an ideal venue for Whitefield's ministry: It had periodically experienced local revivals or "awakenings" throughout its history; furthermore, like Whitefield himself, U.S. citizens were suspicious of English authority. From Philadelphia, he embarked on a popular speaking campaign, taking him to New York City and back to Philadelphia. He next traveled overland to Georgia to oversee construction of the orphanage, returning to Philadelphia in April 1740. In June, he commenced a successful preaching tour of Charleston, South Carolina, and in September began a series of speaking engagements in New England, beginning in Newport and working his way up to Boston before moving on to western Massachusetts and the Connecticut River Valley. Again, he achieved unprecedented attendance, which often exceeded the populations of the towns he was visiting; he also raised three thousand pounds of Massachusetts currency and six hundred pounds Sterling for his orphanage, exceeding the totals from London and Philadelphia. Throughout the tour, he maintained his usual grueling pace, routinely delivering two sermons a day while constantly traveling.

During these tours, Whitefield made a number of key alliances with influential supporters throughout the United States who were pledged to the success of the Great Awakening (a religious movement among U.S. colonial Protestants in the 1730s). Most prominent among these were Josiah Smith in Charleston;

William and Gilbert Tennant in Philadelphia; Thomas Noble in New York; Benjamin Coleman, the senior pastor in Boston; and Jonathan Edwards, the author of *A Narrative of Surprising Conversions* (1734) and the most prominent and able theologian connected with the revival movements. Whitefield's method of promoting his revivals through quarrels with the religious establishment, however, had unfortunate consequences that were beginning to become apparent. In the South, he attacked both the Anglican clergy for their opposition to his revivals and Southern slave owners for their physical and spiritual neglect of African-Americans. He continued this practice in New England, criticizing ministers whom he considered to be unconverted, and attacking the curriculum at Harvard College as not providing true spiritual instruction. Many of the preachers who followed Whitefield on the revival trail repeated and in some cases greatly exaggerated his accusations, worsening tensions. Although these confrontations added to the popularity of the revivals, churches became divided over the question of the validity of the Great Awakening: The Presbyterians split into "New Side" and "Old Side" factions, and the Congregationalists into the "New Lights" and "Old Lights." In both cases, moreover, these splits persisted into the nineteenth century.

THE EXPANSION AND NORMALIZATION OF REVIVALISM

After concluding his New England tour, Whitefield undertook a tour of Scotland, seeking to extend his revivalist base. This tour was also successful: Whitefield again preached to record crowds, forged alliances with local pastors such as John Erskine and John Gillies, and raised more funds for his Georgia orphanage. He also built a tabernacle at Moorfields to serve as his base in England. In addition, Whitefield began to make more systematic use of print media to promote his revivals. In April 1741, he took over *The Weekly History*, and it was soon joined by other publications, including *The Glasgow Weekly History* and *The Monthly Weekly History*, both in Scotland, and *Christian History* in the United States. All published news of revivals and

accounts from participants, further cementing relationships between distant communities.

As Whitefield's ministry grew, however, so did opposition to it. Violent mobs would often attack revivalist services in England, in some instances killing ministers and participants. In the United States, the excesses of the Great Awakening caused many individuals who were initially supportive to question its validity. Whitefield made strong efforts to surmount these difficulties. In England, he won a pivotal court case against the ringleaders of a mob who had attacked one of his services and initiated a pamphlet campaign to establish the legitimacy of outdoor services. Later in the United States, he made efforts to heal breaches with the churches, distancing himself from the more outrageous revivalist incidents and apologizing for earlier intemperate remarks. Although he was not able to win full acceptance for his activities, he nonetheless reassured his earlier supporters and established a network of churches and individuals upon whom he could depend.

Through these efforts, Whitefield normalized the interdenominational revival movement as an established religious institution in its own right. In later life, he settled into a regular pattern, preaching in England in the winter and summer and in Scotland in the spring and autumn, returning to the United States periodically. Although his later tours did not arouse the raw enthusiasm of his first tours, they were consistently well attended. He died in Newburyport, Massachusetts, during his seventh trip to the United States and in the midst of a preaching tour of New England. In accordance with his wishes, he was buried before the pulpit of the Old South Presbyterian Church in that city.

—James Hewitson

See also Charismatic Theory; Religion

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WILSON, WOODROW (1856–1924)

U.S. president

Woodrow Wilson, president of the United States and world statesman, illustrated how presidential leadership could remake U.S. politics and launch a vision of a world organization—the League of Nations—to keep the peace. Then, Wilson's personality defects and his limits as a leader combined to frustrate his dream and make the League of Nations only a shadow of what he had proposed.

Woodrow Wilson pursued careers in academics and politics. Born in Virginia, he was educated at Princeton University and then studied law at the University of Virginia. Deciding on an academic life, he received a Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University and wrote a well-received book on congressional government. He taught at Wesleyan and Bryn Mawr before joining the Princeton faculty in 1890. A dozen years later, he became the president of Princeton. He launched exciting programs to revive teaching and make the university a national leader in education. As time passed, however, opposition to his ideas grew among the alumni, especially when he attacked the exclusive eating clubs at Princeton, and by 1910 his position as president had deteriorated.

Long interested in politics, Wilson had thought about seeking the presidency in 1908. Two years later, Democrats in New Jersey asked him to run for governor. With the state's Republicans divided internally, Wilson won the nomination and then the election. He proved to be a reformer in office, pushing through some legislation to curb the power of corporations. Wilson was soon being mentioned as a possible Democratic presidential candidate in 1912. With a southern background and a northern base, he had the potential to unite the often-fractured Democrats.

Winning the nomination was not easy. Wilson won a number of primaries but trailed in the dele-

gate count when the Democratic National Convention was held in Baltimore in late June 1912. Wilson was the most reformist or “progressive” candidate in the race, and he was the second choice of most of the delegates who were not already committed to him. As a result, he won the nomination on the forty-sixth ballot. The Republicans had split between Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft, and so a Democratic victory seemed assured.

During the campaign, Wilson articulated a reform program that he called “the New Freedom” to distinguish it from Theodore Roosevelt’s agenda of activism that Roosevelt called “the New Nationalism.” Drawn up in consultation with attorney Louis Brandeis, the New Freedom sought to break up monopolistic corporations through enforcement of antitrust laws and to restore business enterprise. At this stage of his career, Wilson did not favor using the government as a way to achieve social justice through national legislation on child labor, woman suffrage, or agricultural problems. The united Democrats rolled to a decisive victory behind Wilson, who did not win a majority of the popular vote but won a landslide in the electoral college.

Once in office, Wilson demonstrated that a Democratic president could unite his party and use the executive power to push through an ambitious legislative program. He made a crucial innovation in presidential-congressional relations when he delivered his message on behalf of tariff revision to Congress in person. Not since Thomas Jefferson had abandoned the practice in 1801 had a president appeared in person in Congress to make his views known.

NEW FREEDOM AGENDA

Wilson’s firm command of national power enabled the Democrats to enact the Underwood Tariff, which lowered customs duties on products imported into the United States and imposed an income tax. Wilson followed up that achievement by addressing the pressing need for reform in the nation’s banking system. To function as a modern, industrial economy the United States needed an effective central bank. Wilson and the Democrats in 1913 enacted the Federal Reserve Law, which

established a central bank and a number of regional banks to conduct the nation’s monetary policy. Finally, Wilson fulfilled another campaign promise when he persuaded Congress to enact the Clayton Antitrust Act and the Federal Trade Commission Act to give the government a means of regulating the behavior of large corporations. The New Freedom agenda had been implemented.

Despite these accomplishments, the Democrats faced the prospect of losses in the 1914 congressional elections. The outbreak of World War I changed the political landscape and confronted Wilson with another major test of his skill as a leader. As Europe divided into warring camps, Wilson asked the U.S. people to remain neutral between Great Britain, France, and Russia, known as “the Allies,” and Germany, Austria-Hungary, and eventually Turkey, known as “the Central Powers.” Wilson felt more sympathy for the Allies, but he kept the United States on a course that was fair to both sides. Meanwhile, the Democrats used the argument that the president was preserving the peace as a keynote for the 1914 congressional elections. The Republicans picked up many House seats, but the Democrats added five seats in the Senate. Perhaps, the Democrats felt, they could do well in 1916 on the basis of neutrality and additional progressive change.

During the next two years, Wilson crafted a platform of peace, prosperity, and reform as the basis for his reelection campaign in 1916. In domestic policy, Wilson lost his earlier suspicion of government activism and pushed for regulation of child labor, a program of farm credits for agriculture, and support for organized labor. The appointment of reformer Louis D. Brandeis to the Supreme Court provided another powerful symbol of Wilson’s progressive credentials. As Theodore Roosevelt’s Progressive Party broke up, many of its members came out in support of Wilson’s second term.

The war brought orders for munitions and food from the Allies, and the stimulus that these orders supplied to the economy brought good times to key sectors. As U.S. citizens grew more prosperous, confidence in Wilson’s leadership mounted. Economic ties to the anti-German nations increased



Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points Speech to Congress on 8 January 1918

We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secure once for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us. The programme of the world's peace, therefore, is our programme; and that programme, the only possible programme, as we see it, is this:

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have

equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be

sympathy for that side in the fighting, even as German-Americans and Irish-Americans remained cool to any alliance with the British.

Wilson had the most difficulty in maintaining neutrality because both sides tested his resolve. The British, with their command of the seas, imposed restrictions on trade that often irritated Washington. The Germans, on the other hand, facing a blockade directed from London, turned to a new weapon, the submarine, to break the stranglehold that the British

Navy had imposed. Submarine warfare, which required stealth and a lack of concern for passengers on torpedoed ships, seemed barbaric and cruel to a generation not yet accustomed to the terrors that the twentieth century would bring to war. Wilson grappled with the problem of how to curb the submarine weapon and yet remain neutral.

The sinking of the British liner *Lusitania* on 7 May 1915, off the coast of Ireland, dramatized the challenge that confronted Wilson. Because 128 U.S.

accorded the freest opportunity to autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the governments and peoples associated together against the Imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end.

Source: Baker, Ray S. (1922). *Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement*. New York: Doubleday & Co., pp. 42–45.

citizens had died among the more than 1,000 killed in the sinking, many people in the United States clamored for war. Wilson resisted this clamor and sought negotiations with the Germans. During the next nineteen months, Wilson sought through pressure and diplomacy to preserve U.S. rights without triggering a war with Germany. Although many Republicans in the East, such as Roosevelt, labeled Wilson's policy cowardly, the broad mass of the U.S. people preferred peace to war.

REELECTION

Wilson's stance paid off for him in the 1916 election. At the Democratic National Convention, the theme that Wilson had kept the nation out of the war dominated the proceedings. The Republicans nominated Charles Evans Hughes, a Supreme Court justice, but he was never able to dent Wilson's campaign appeal. Wilson told the voters that electing Hughes would mean an early entrance into the war. That claim was barely enough to win Wilson a second term. Wilson eked out a narrow victory over his challenger.

Keeping the peace proved impossible, however, when the Germans announced a policy of all-out submarine warfare in late January 1917. Until then, Wilson had hoped that he might mediate a settlement among the warring powers and create a league of nations that could preserve international order. The two warring coalitions rejected Wilson's mediation efforts, and then the new German policy pushed the United States along the road to war. In April 1917, the United States became an active belligerent on the Allied side. Wilson put forward a proposal he called his "Fourteen Points" as the basis of an equitable conclusion to the war.

The United States, behind Wilson's leadership, made a crucial contribution to Allied victory in November 1918. U.S. troops in France forced the Germans to seek an armistice on the basis of the Fourteen Points. At home, however, Wilson saw his political base erode as the war continued. He failed to give Republicans a meaningful role in the government; persecution of antiwar dissenters alienated liberals; and the growth of government power caused an anti-Democratic backlash. By the autumn of 1918, the Democrats were in trouble as the congressional elections neared. Wilson issued an appeal on 15 October 1918, for the election of Democrats to help him win the peace. Instead, voters gave the Republicans control of the House and a narrow working majority in the Senate.

Wilson's dream had been to establish a world organization that could prevent future wars. He decided that he would have to attend the peace conference in Paris—a break with the tradition that kept presidents in the United States during their term in

office. In shaping the delegation that went with him overseas, Wilson did not include any prominent Republicans. The Senate, led by Republican Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, who hated Wilson, eyed Wilson's actions with suspicion. Because Wilson would need Republican votes to get the two-thirds vote needed to approve any peace treaty, conciliation of the opposition was necessary but, for Wilson, improbable.

The negotiations at Paris eventually produced a peace treaty that included the League of Nations. One provision, Article X, bound each nation to take action if a member state were the victim of aggression. The league aroused resentment in the U.S. Senate, where opponents, some of whom styled themselves "Irreconcilables," pressed Wilson for changes to ensure that U.S. sovereignty would be preserved. Wilson did not want any substantive changes in the treaty he had framed.

When opposition seemed too strong to be overcome by normal negotiations, Wilson decided to appeal to the U.S. people. He made a speaking tour of the West in September 1919 in which he pleaded for approval of the treaty. Wilson's concept of leadership now included appealing over the heads of senators directly to their constituents. Before a test of Wilson's bold campaign could occur, his health broke, and he had to return to Washington. Early in October he suffered a crippling stroke that left him an invalid. In the months that followed, a reclusive, feeble Wilson stood against any changes in the peace treaty or the League of Nations. Voting in November 1919 and again in March 1920, the Senate failed to approve the Treaty of Versailles, and the League of Nations, as far as the United States was concerned, was a dead issue.

Whether a more conciliatory Wilson might have achieved U.S. entry into the League remains a controversial question. Wilson himself briefly toyed with the improbable idea of running for a third term, but Democratic leaders told him that his health made such an idea impossible. Wilson served out the remainder of his presidency as a sick, broken man. He left office in March 1921 discredited and unpopular. His administration had ended in apparent failure, and his leadership had been repudiated.

The League of Nations failed to prevent World

War II. Wilson himself was responsible for the sad outcome. Able to lead with skill and courage in the early years of his presidency, he lost his flexibility and political insight during his second term. Error after error proved that a man who had once been a brilliant statesman in a democratic society had become obsessed with a vision of world peace. In pursuit of that vision Wilson let rigidity and stubbornness take over, and his crusade ended in disaster. Woodrow Wilson thus sums up in a single tumultuous career how leadership can lift a society and how a failure to master the art of commanding a democratic nation can lead to political defeat and personal tragedy.

—Lewis L. Gould

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WINFREY, OPRAH (b. 1954)

U.S. talk show host and television producer

Born to unwed parents in Kosciusko, Mississippi, in 1954, Oprah Winfrey was raised by her maternal

grandmother, who taught her how to read and nourished her lifelong love of public speaking." She still lives by the philosophy she learned growing up in a small farming community in a house without electricity or running water: "You're good, but you could be better." As a *Biography* documentary on Winfrey noted, "Oprah's growing-up years were stormy, difficult, and marked by abuse. Yet she somehow managed not just to survive but to excel" ("Oprah Winfrey" 2002).

It is hard to overstate the importance of Oprah Winfrey as a business and cultural force over the past ten years. Perhaps better than any other American, Oprah Winfrey symbolizes a brand celebrity whose opinions shape which authors make the best-seller list and which products come to be seen as "must buys" by the public. One magazine article stated that Winfrey has "more influence on the culture than any university president, politician, political, or religious leader except the pope" (*Vanity Fair*).

The fact that her talk show is watched by more than 22 million people every week, that she is the first African-American woman (the second person of African-American origin after Robert Johnson, the founder of Black Entertainment Television) to make it to *Forbes* magazine's list of billionaires, and that *Time* magazine named her one of the hundred most influential people of the twentieth century overshadows the important impact of her multifaceted leadership style on the American private and public landscape. While no one disputes her status as a talk show host or as an entertainment business executive, it is arguably her leadership that will be the lens through which history books examine her life. She may be the only self-made billionaire who "happily admits that she cannot read a balance sheet" and has declined invitations to serve on the corporate boards of AT&T, Ralph Lauren, and Intel because she was not sure what she would be doing as a board member (Sellers 2002).

MAKING A CULTURAL AND BUSINESS ICON

Oprah Winfrey began her broadcasting career in Nashville, Tennessee, while she was still in high school. At the age of nineteen, she became the

youngest person and the first African-American woman to anchor television news in Nashville. As a host of television talk shows, Winfrey moved in 1976 to Baltimore and relocated to Chicago eight years later. By 1986, the Oprah Winfrey Show was launched as a nationally syndicated show with an annual revenue of \$125 million and an initial viewing audience of 10 million people. Her show is watched by an estimated 22 million viewers a week in the U.S. and is broadcast in 105 countries. It is the highest-rated talk show in television history and has remained the number-one talk show for sixteen years. The power of her talk show is reflected not only in numbers like these, but also in the prestige of those who feel compelled to appear on her talk show. During the 2000 presidential elections, then-governor George W. Bush appeared on her program and planted a big, surprising kiss on her cheek.

Her impact has been felt far beyond the television medium. Her acting debut in 1985 as Sofia in Steven Spielberg's *The Color Purple* garnered her Academy Award and Golden Globe nominations. The Oprah Book Club, which began in 1996, is an on-air reading club designed to get the country excited about reading books. Each of the books selected for her book club, including the works of Toni Morrison, Joyce Carol Oates, Andre Dubus, and others, has become a national bestseller. An unrivaled star on television, Winfrey also received the National Book Foundation's fiftieth anniversary Gold Medal for her contributions to reading and books. She is only the third American woman to own her own production company (her company name, Harpo, is Oprah spelled backward); she was preceded by the silent movie star Mary Pickford and the comedy queen Lucille Ball.

She has a unique ability to understand and connect with the tens of million people that make up her viewing public. She has managed over the years to remain a deeply revered public figure amidst her struggles to lose weight, her admission of childhood abuse, and her entrance into the Marine Corps Marathon under the scrutiny of the often-unforgiving public. A 1998 article in *Time* magazine by a popular psychologist attempted to explain Winfrey's popularity by arguing that "women, especially, listen to

Winfrey because they feel as if she's a friend. Girls' and women's friendships are often built on trading secrets. Winfrey's power is that she tells her own, divulging that she once ate a package of hot-dog buns drenched in maple syrup, that she smoked cocaine, even that she had been raped as a child. She turned the focus (of talk shows) from experts to ordinary people talking about personal issues" (Tannen 1998, 198).

THE LEADERSHIP MOSAIC: PRINCIPLED, REFLECTIVE, AND TRANSFORMATIVE

Examining the importance of leadership is not new to Oprah Winfrey. She was appointed an adjunct professor of management and strategy at Northwestern University's Kellogg Graduate School of Management and co-taught a course called "The Dynamics of Leadership" in the fall semesters of 1999 and 2000. With the goal of positioning students "as leaders in charge of their own destinies, empowering them to more effectively lead others," the leadership course had a guest speaker list that would be the envy of any business course, including Amazon.com founder Jeff Bezos, ABC/Disney President Bob Iger, Henry Kissinger, and by satellite, Coretta Scott King.

While almost everyone would agree that Winfrey has remarkable insights into leadership, describing and analyzing her leadership style is a challenging task. Her leadership style can be best described as a mosaic, an overlapping blend of principled, reflective, and transforming leadership qualities. The first quality can be described as principled because Winfrey's leadership emphasizes the important impact individuals can make to improve the society at large. For example, launched in 1997, Oprah's Angel Network has raised over \$12 million, \$5.1 million from viewer donations and an additional \$7 million from sponsors and celebrity contributions. Although many wealthy public figures establish charitable organizations, the focus of many of these groups tends to be on the disbursement of money. But Winfrey does much more than give money. She broadcasts the work of individuals who, through their charitable organizations, are actively working to improve the lives of the less for-

unate. It is not a coincidence that one of her charitable programs under the Angel Network umbrella is called the "Use Your Life Awards" (rather than, say, "win a million dollars for a good cause").

The second quality is the way Winfrey expresses her leadership. While taking action is not discouraged, there is a premium placed on taking stock and reflecting on one's life before embarking on any plan of action. In this context, leadership is not necessarily about establishing or meeting goals, but rather about taking time to know who you are. Leadership is less about doing something out there and more about understanding who you are and your ability to grow as an individual. As Cashman (1998) suggests in his book, "We will not analyze the external act of leadership into a formula of 'ten easy to follow' quick tips. Rather, we will take a reflective journey to foster the personal awakening needed to enhance our leadership effectiveness" (15). In an interview with *Fortune* magazine (Sellers 2002), Winfrey underscored the importance of knowing oneself in the way she expresses her leadership when she noted that "my message is, 'you are responsible for your own life.'" After all, it is difficult to lead or be expected to be a leader when you are not sure who you are or want to be as a person.

The third leadership quality that can be seen in Winfrey is what James MacGregor Burns calls "transforming." "Transforming leadership" differs from the more common "transactional leadership," by emphasizing radical if not revolutionary change. Winfrey seems to have a visceral and instinctive way of predicting what actions are likely to lead to revolutionary positive change in society. For example, the Oprah Winfrey Leadership Academy for Girls South Africa, which she opened in the winter of 2002, has a radical goal. With an initial investment of \$10 million, the leadership academy aims to educate female students who are academically talented and exhibit leadership skills in their community, but whose families cannot support their educations.

Winfrey, who has donated at least 10 percent of her vast annual income to charity, goes beyond just exhorting people to become leaders and is herself willing to spend the necessary time, energy, and



Oprah Winfrey on Creating a Vision for Life

In 1997, Oprah Winfrey addressed the graduating class of Wellesley College, imparting the key life lessons she had learned. Toward the end of the address, she relayed one final lesson summed up as follows: "Hold the highest vision possible for your life and it can come true." Below are excerpts from the address.

Create the highest, grandest vision possible for your life because you become what you believe. When I was a little girl in Mississippi, growing up on the farm, only Buckwheat as a role model, watching my grandmother boil clothes in a big iron pot through the screen door, because we didn't have a washing machine and made everything we had. I watched her and realized somehow inside myself, in the spirit of myself, that although this was segregated Mississippi and I was "colored" and female, that my life could be bigger, greater than what I saw. I remember being four or five years old, I certainly couldn't articulate it, but it was a feeling and a feeling that I allowed myself to follow. I allowed myself to follow it because if you were to ask me what is the secret to my success, it is because I understand that there is a power greater than myself, that rules my life and in life if you can be still long enough in all of your endeavors, the good times, the hard times, to connect yourself to the source, I call it God, you can call it whatever you want to, the force, nature, Allah, the power. If you can connect yourself to the source and allow the energy that is your personality, your life force to be connected to the greater force, anything is possible for you. I am proof of that. I think that my life, the fact that I was born where I was born, and the time that I was and have been able to do what I have done speaks to the possibility. Not that I am special, but that it could be done. Hold the highest, grandest vision for yourself.

Just recently we followed Tina Turner around the country because I wanted to be Tina. So I had me a nice little wig made and I followed Tina Turner because that is what I can do and one of the reasons I wanted to do that is Tina Turner is one of those women who have overcome great obstacles, was battered in her life, and like a phoenix rose out of that to have great legs and a great sense of herself. I wanted to honor other women who had over-

come obstacles and to say that Tina's life, although she is this great stage performer, Tina's life is a mirror of your life because it proves that you can overcome.

Every life speaks to the power of what can be done. So I wanted to honor women all over the country and celebrate their dreams and Tina's tour was called the Wildest Dreams Tour. I asked women to write me their wildest dreams and tell me what their wildest dreams were. Our intention was to fulfill their wildest dreams. We got 77,000 letters, 77,000. To our disappointment we found that the deeper the wound the smaller the dreams. So many women had such small visions, such small dreams for their lives that we had a difficult time coming up with dreams to fulfill. So we did fulfill some. We paid off all the college debt, hmmm, for a young woman whose mother had died and she put her sisters and brothers through school. We paid off all the bills for a woman who had been battered and managed to put herself through college and her daughter through college. We sent a woman to Egypt who was dying of cancer and her lifetime dream was to sit on a camel and use a cell phone. We bought a house for another woman whose dream had always been to have her own home but because she was battered and had to flee with her children one night, had to leave the home seventeen years ago. And then we brought the other women who said we just wanted to see you, Oprah, and meet Tina. That was their dream! Imagine when we paid off the debt, gave the house, gave the trip to Egypt, the attitudes we got from the women who said, "I just want to see you." And some of them afterwards were crying to me saying that "we didn't know, we didn't know, and this is unfair," and I said, that is the lesson: you needed to dream a bigger dream for yourself. That is the lesson. Hold the highest vision possible for your life and it can come true.

Source: Winfrey, Oprah. (1997, May 30). *Commencement Address at Wellesley College* Retrieved August 28, 2003, from <http://www.wellesley.edu/PublicAffairs/PAhomepage/winfrey.html>

financial resources to invest in leadership in society at large. She does this most notably by focusing on the three causes she cares most deeply about: women, children, and education. As she herself put it in a 2002 article in *Fortune* magazine, "When you educate a woman, you set her free. . . . Had I not had

books and education in Mississippi, I would have believed that's all there was." As the author of the *Fortune* article noted, "She can obviously bring a lot of personal perspective to these issues since she spent her early years in a house in Mississippi without electricity or running water" (Sellers 2002).

TRANSFORMING TELEVISION INTO A PERSONAL LEADERSHIP TOOL

Winfrey's rise from her humble beginnings in Mississippi to her current status as a global cultural and business icon can be seen as a powerful reminder of the rags-to-riches metaphor that remains so powerful in American society. What gets overlooked is her drive and determination to reawaken the latent personal leadership that exists in all of us to understand, to act, and perhaps most importantly, to help improve society. Television, her instrument of leadership instruction, has been known mainly as the source of several negative side effects including sedentary lifestyle and obesity in children. But when it is in the hands of a dynamic and charismatic magician like Winfrey, the medium becomes much more than an impersonal electronic box that invites passivity.

While some people have accused the talk show of being too preachy in recent years, Winfrey fundamentally understands that her 22 million viewers want not only to be entertained but also to be informed if not transformed into better people. The key to Winfrey's success is her ability to instill leadership skills without labeling the process leadership training. Anyone who watches her television talk show cannot help but be impressed at how the audience members appear to view Winfrey as a friend and a mentor they can enjoy at least one hour a day by watching her talk show. The true genius of Winfrey is recognizing television's true power: to blend the public and private toward personal empowerment. As noted in a *Time* magazine profile of Winfrey (Tannen 1998, 198):

While it links strangers and conveys information over public airwaves, TV is often viewed in the privacy of our homes. Grasping this paradox, Oprah exhorts viewers to improve their lives and the world. She makes people care because she cares. That is Winfrey's genius, and will be her legacy, as the changes she has wrought in the talk show continue to permeate our culture and shape our lives.

—*Jacob Park*

See also Women and Business Leadership; Women and Social Change Leadership

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WOMEN AND BUSINESS LEADERSHIP

When asked to name a successful business leader, most people think of Jack Welch (General Electric), Bill Gates (Microsoft), or Michael Eisner (Disney). Often the first image one has of a business leader is a man. Over the past thirty years, many women have become successful business leaders. Leaders like Meg Whitman (CEO of eBay), Betsy Holden (CEO of Kraft Foods), and Carly Fiorina (CEO of Hewlett Packard) are also successful business leaders and have made a significant impact on the U.S. economy.

At the same time that women have progressed in business leadership and entrepreneurship, a debate has risen in research and the popular press as to whether gender matters in leadership.

- Are women less assertive?
- Are men more decisive?
- Are men better at numbers and women better at managing people?
- Can women make the "tough" decisions?

Answers to these questions are varied, depending on one's perspective: whether one believes that men and women are more similar in their leadership, or that women lead differently. Following a general definition of leadership as an ability to inspire and influence beliefs, attitudes, and behavior of others,

(Kotter 1990) this entry explores these two perspectives about women in business leadership.

WOMEN IN BUSINESS LEADERSHIP—THE PHENOMENON

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, since 1960, the percentage of women in the workforce rose from 38 percent to 60 percent in 2000. As increasing numbers of women have entered the workforce, many have moved into executive positions across all industry sectors, either by founding their own growing venture or by rising through the ranks. Approximately 25 percent of women working in U.S. corporations serve in middle-management positions of Fortune 1000 companies. The percentage of women working in executive, administrative, or management positions rose from 4.6 percent of the total in 1972 to 14.2 percent in 1999, compared to 11.5 percent and 15.0 percent for men. Similarly, in 1980, 52 percent of women participated in the labor force, and by 2000, this number rose to 60 percent.

For the first time, more than half of Fortune 500 companies have one or more female corporate officers (377), which is a 20 percent increase since 1997, reports Catalyst, an organization that advances the role of women in business. Between 1993 and 1998, the percentage of corporate board seats on Fortune 500 companies held by women rose from 8.3 percent to 11.1 percent (to 671 of 6,064), while 86 percent of Fortune 500 companies (429) have one or more women directors, up 69 percent since 1993. By 2002, there were 986 women serving on corporate boards of Fortune 1000 companies (986).

Similar trends are apparent for women entrepreneurs. Between 1987 and 1999, the number of women-owned firms in the United States increased by 103 percent—more than the 48 percent of the total posted by all businesses. The number of women-owned sole proprietorships increased from 5.6 million in 1990 (33.5 percent of the total) to 7.1 million (36.8 percent of the total) in 1998. Even more striking, the growth of larger businesses led by women (more than 100 employees) rose by 18 percent. Until 2000, data showed that women own 9.1 million firms, which is 38 percent of all

businesses, these firms employing 27.5 million people and generating more than \$3.6 trillion in sales annually.

In fact, in 2001, the U.S. Census changed the methodology by which it classified women-owned businesses. Figures recently released by the U.S. Census report lower numbers for 1997 that reflect the adoption of new qualifying criteria. To be considered “women-owned” under the new definition requires 51% ownership, \$1,000 minimum annual revenues (up from the previous criterion of \$500), and that the business be privately held. The new criteria exclude many high-growth ventures that are publicly held and at the upper end of the revenue continuum. The change in definition results in depressing the reported contribution of women-owned businesses. Whichever data are used, the growth and contribution of women-owned business is indisputable.

FACTORS INFLUENCING WOMEN'S RISE IN BUSINESS LEADERSHIP

What accounts for the tremendous growth in participation of women in business leadership positions? There is no single answer, but at a broad level, the environment for women's participation in business management is more acceptable today than twenty years ago because of regulatory changes, educational progress and shifting roles of women in family and society.

Legislative Changes

Legislative changes such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Affirmative Action Act of 1978 were pioneering efforts to address some of the challenges that women faced in rising to the top of corporations. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act prohibited discrimination against women based on sex, and, in 1978, this act was amended to make it clear that discrimination based on pregnancy is prohibited as well. This act also provides for a process by which complaints may be filed with the Equal Opportunity Commission (EEOC). Under Title VII, an employer cannot intentionally deprive women of any of the benefits of



Martha Stewart, one of the most successful and prominent businesswomen of the twentieth century, with Joanne Lipman at the Matrix Awards, sponsored by New York Women in Communication on 23 April 2001.

Source: Gregory Pace/Corbis; used with permission.

employment because of their gender, including promotions, health coverage, perks, or other benefits. This includes women's participation in competitive sports at the college level where schools must provide equal opportunity for women's sports teams. The Equal Pay Act of 1963 prohibits employers from discriminating on the basis of sex by paying wages to employees that are lower than those it pays to someone of the opposite sex for the same work, requiring the same skills and responsibility and carried out under the same working conditions. In addition, the Family Medical Leave Act (FMLA) of 1993 required that workers be allowed to take time off for bearing or adopting children or taking care of seri-

ously ill family members. The combined effect of these legislative changes helped remove barriers that inhibited women's progress by giving them an equal chance at all occupations that they might be qualified for, and making it possible for them to have both a family and career should they so choose.

For women entrepreneurs, the Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1975 was a landmark because it permitted them to acquire loans and credit in their own name. Likewise, baseline data on their participation as business owners were first made available in *The Bottom Line* (1979). Ten years later, passage of the Women's Business Ownership Act provided set-asides for women business owners, created the National Women's Business Council, called for additional data collection, and established new federal capacities to guarantee loans to women-owned businesses. The Small Business Administration (SBA)'s preferential procurement program (known as section 8[a]), which provides government contracts and other assistance to small businesses owned by socially and economically disadvantaged persons, makes it easier for women to obtain government contracts. In addition, the SBA's microloan program (the "7 M" program) and the Women's Pre-Qualification Loan Program make it easier for qualified women entrepreneurs to access start-up capital. These programs and initiatives have greatly encouraged and facilitated women's ability to start and grow their own businesses.

Educational Progress

Today, more women have a business education than in the past, which better qualifies them for leadership roles. The AACSB reports that approximately 48 percent of all undergraduate business degrees are awarded to women, and nearly 40 percent of all MBA students are female. Similarly, the percentage of women receiving MBAs is now 35 percent.

When it comes to entrepreneurship, many options for entrepreneurial training exist as more than 700 schools offer entrepreneurship courses at the MBA and undergraduate levels. More than 35 percent of the students taking these classes are women. In addition, the U.S. Small Business Administration offers

specialized resources that target women, for instance, W.NET, the Women's Network for Entrepreneurial Training.

SHIFTING ROLES OF WOMEN IN THE FAMILY AND SOCIETY

In the years following World War II, the woman's role was to care for house and family, while the man was the major income provider. As educational and legislative changes created opportunities for women to develop business expertise, family and social norms similarly shifted.

The rise of dual-career couples and the subsequent greater participation of working fathers in child care has made it easier and more acceptable for women to assume the role of CEO or president. Trade networks, social clubs, and business after-hours meetings once primarily held for men slowly accepted women. Likewise, new women's organizations such as the Committee of 200, the National Association for Women's Business Owners (NAWBO), National Association of Female Executives (NAFE), and a multitude of other groups provide business and networking support. Publications providing specialized information for women such as *Working Woman*—as well as an increase by major business publications such as *Entrepreneur*, the *Wall Street Journal*, or *Fortune* of feature stories about companies led by women—increase visibility of successful women and provides role models.

ARE THERE GENDER DIFFERENCES IN BUSINESS LEADERSHIP?

When the number of women in leadership positions increased, debates followed. Do men and women lead differently? Almost everyone has an opinion on this, depending on where they have worked, attended school, or learned from experience. Yet, the degree to which women business leaders are similar or different on these dimensions has an historical overlay that is based on explicit assumptions about men and women (Maier 1992). In the early 1950s and 1960s, "masculinism" (sexism) assumed that women were essentially different from men, made different con-

tributions to society, and were excluded from management. The 1970s brought "feminism," some theories of which assumed that women and men were essentially the "same," and therefore should or could assimilate in to a masculine role. Women could contribute in the same way as their male counterparts. A "feminine-ism" view rising in the 1980s assumed that men and women were essentially different, sought sex-based inclusion, and celebrated the differences and unique contributions of women. More recently, "transformative feminism" moves toward role-based inclusion, and moves towards androgyny and diversity. All these views still exist in management thinking, and the assumptions provide the basis for debates about gender similarities and differences. The two most prevalent views are that "women lead like men" (there are no differences) and "women lead differently." To explore these perspectives, we will consider the theoretical roots of these views, and discuss them across general leadership dimensions. Although there are volumes written about the traits, behaviors, and the types of leaders, there is some consensus that leadership is generally characterized by vision, interpersonal communication, style, power, task orientation, and decision making (Bennis & Nanus 1985).

Women Lead Like Men

Liberal feminism seeks to eliminate explicit legal and institutional barriers to women's participation in society and the economy. The view assumes that men and women are equal, autonomous individuals. When women achieve less, the solution is to remove barriers (legal regulations, laws and policies) so that men and women as free individuals can move forward based on their own skills, talents and willingness to work. The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Affirmative Action Act of 1978, and Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1975 removed significant legal barriers for women's progress to the executive suite and as entrepreneurial leaders. These acts were intended to ensure that leaders of any sort would be successful based on their accomplishments and individual differences not based on their sex.

Research shows that as women move up the corpo-



World Summit for Women Entrepreneurs

NEW YORK (ANS)—If a convention on technology, the global economy and emerging markets conjures up images of men in sober three-piece suits, rerun the frame. The World Summit of Young Entrepreneurs held here recently was a sea of women in dresses, saris and chadors.

Those attending the World Trade Center conference, and thousands more participating online through Internet portals and Web site hookups in their homelands, were networking and acquiring the skills needed to compete in the emerging national and global markets.

The summit, sponsored by the U.N. Development Fund for Women, the Institute for Leadership Development and the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development, was staged for young business owners in the developing world, and especially for women.

Among those gaining exposure to new ideas and new markets was Assilah Al-Harthy, the 30 year-old chief executive of Oman's only female-headed real estate firm. When Al-Harthy joined her father's real estate business nine years ago, she was the first woman in Oman to take on such a role. Today, she says, it is more routine for Omani businessmen to allow their daughters to work alongside them.

Still, women in business have a ways to go.

"Being a woman in the business world in Oman is best described as a double-edged sword," said Al-Harthy. "If you are successful, you are a star, and if you do a bad job, you are a loser. There is no third option."

After nearly a decade in the business, Al-Harthy is using her hard-earned expertise to diversify her company, a move she thinks is vital to remaining competitive in the changing global economy.

"Information technology is where the future for Oman's economic growth lies," she explained as she described her next business plan: opening computer software training institutes in Oman, Egypt and Jordan, a service for which she

believes many women will gladly pay and that will, in turn, make them more marketable.

And because of the difficulties she has encountered—problems obtaining seed money, gaining the expertise needed to run a company and a general lack of confidence in women's abilities—she is also busy organizing the Business Woman Forum, which she plans to hold in Oman. She's bringing in businesswomen from around the world to meet with Omani women to encourage them to consider a career in business.

Another summit attendee was Sherazade Saadi, who traveled from Algeria. At age 29 she is the successful manager of Frigo Nord, a fishing and ice-manufacturing company that she founded in Annaba last year. A hands-on manager, Saadi meets with her employees at least once a month to discuss activities and problems as they arise. She is often the only businesswoman walking among the piers and docks that litter the crowded industrial port of Annaba.

Saadi's business is situated on Algeria's eastern Mediterranean coast—Italy is her most important export market—and one of her biggest challenges is maintaining international quality standards that will attract global buyers. Saadi hopes to meet this challenge by investing in larger ice storage facilities and increasing the size of her fishing vessels.

But she also knows there are other things she must do to be viewed as a successful businesswoman—and a role model for other women. While she is pleased to be contributing to the growth of Algeria's fishing industry, she also hopes to do more for women in business, and to inspire other women to enter the fishing industry.

"I hope that Frigo Nord will be a very important fishing enterprise and that I will help other businesswomen get employment in my country and in the Mediterranean region," she said.

The two women's commitment, not only to making their

rate ladder, they identify with a male model of success that is described as command and control style and task oriented (Grant 1988). Other research shows few interpersonal communication differences between male and female managers (Eagly & Johnson 1990). Other studies show few sex differences in task approach, along with findings that men and women did not differ significantly in their effectiveness as leaders, and that neither group was more effective overall.

This perspective asserts that the critical factors affecting leadership effectiveness have more to do

with organizational setting and leader role. It is argued that effective leadership requires a combination of traditionally masculine (transactional, highly logical, or authoritarian) behaviors and traditionally feminine (nurturing, democratic, and relational) behaviors, as well as sex-neutral dimensions (inspirational, motivational, charismatic) (Powell & Graves, 2003). For example: Some leader roles require more interpersonal communications, visibility, and external interactions (e.g., a publicly traded company selling consumer goods); other leader roles

own businesses successful but to improve the lot of other women, is a common one, said Noeleen Heyzer, executive director of the U.N. Development Fund for Women.

"We have long recognized the major role women play as agents of change, both as business and as social entrepreneurs," Heyzer said.

For instance, these new players in the world of business are organizing to improve their economic condition by pressuring governments and international financial institutions to expand the benefits of microfinance programs. Rather than simply asking for loans, Heyzer said, women entrepreneurs are pressing for training and technical assistance, as well as woman-controlled sales outlets, greater participation in international trade shows and fair market regulations that benefit small woman-owned businesses.

"More people will benefit from globalization if women are active in setting agendas and reshaping global economic rules," Heyzer explained.

To help young businesswomen like Saadi and Al-Harthy, the summit offered training and business education at the World Trade Center, as well as the opportunity for real and virtual participants to formulate joint ventures and business deals on the spot through a program called "Let's Make A Deal."

At the conclusion of the conference, 15 women were honored for their success in running small businesses, helping other women expand their businesses and engaging and benefiting other members of their communities and villages. Among those receiving achievement awards were Al-Harthy, recognized for applying principles of gender equity in business, such as employing women and providing decent work and benefits, and Saadi, who was honored for her perseverance in sustaining her business despite difficult personal circumstances and for inspiring other women.

—Miriam H. Zoll

Source: "Women Entrepreneurs Swap Tips, War Stories at Summit." American News Service, September 7, 2000.

may require more contingent reward or decision-making capabilities (e.g., a private technology company that is downsizing).

Women Lead Differently

Social feminism argues that men and women have different experiential backgrounds that influences their way of perceiving and thinking. From birth, they encounter a variety of social experiences that shape quite differently beliefs that men and women

come to have. While sex is the biological difference, gender is socially constructed. The impact of work experience, family, and economic roles shapes the perspectives women and men have leading to differences in their approach to leadership. In contrast to liberal feminism, which seeks equality and androgyny, social feminism seeks to acquire proper recognition and appreciation for women's achievements and values, where the genders are equal but different (Carter & Williams 2003).

Significant research investigates possible differences in male and female leaders. Early research was done by Margaret Henning and Anne Jardim in their landmark book *The Managerial Woman* (1977). For the first time, questions about the leadership and management skills of businesswomen were studied relative to their socialization. The women in their study tended to be flexible, eager learners, and cooperative within the context of male-dominated hierarchical organizations. Other studies soon emerged. Sally Helgesen (1990) replicated a study done on men, by Henry Mintzberg in 1973, by examining the "work" of women leaders. In contrast to Mintzberg's study that showed executives working at an unrelenting pace, controlling information, and being task oriented, Helgesen found that women were intuitive in decision making, shared information, emphasized inclusion and cooperation, and had a networking rather than authoritarian style. Building on this work, Judith Rosener posited that men and women tend toward different styles. She described women as being more transformational, in that they were more inspirationally motivating, shared information, and were holistic in approach, while men tended toward a more transactional style described as task oriented and contingent.

Other research shows that men are more associated with autocratic leadership stereotypes with a greater tendency toward dominance and control, while a democratic style emphasizing involvement and cooperation is more associated with the feminine stereotype. Research on gender stereotypes shows that women tend to be higher on interpersonal styles than men, although this difference is significant only in laboratory experiments and does not appear in samples of managers. A study about motivation

showing that men tend to manage by punishment and women by rewards concluded this was a result of women being socialized to manage people and relationships in the home and transferring this approach to the workplace. Similarly, women are less likely to manage by exception, and more often temper criticism with positive feedback. Women are observed to be more sensitive to emotional and verbal responses of their subordinates, and to respond to feelings of a group, while men focus on disseminating information and demonstrating competence. Finally, a study of vision of women entrepreneurs and executives found that women entrepreneurs and executives tended to be more similar to than different from men in the length of time the vision was held, the degree to which it was shared, or the length of time it extended into the future. But, compared to a similar study of men executives and entrepreneurs, women scored lower on vision formulation (analysis, planning) and higher on innovative realism (Bird and Brush, 2002).

Studies of women entrepreneurs show that they practice shared control and participation in decision making, develop policies that encourage learning and employee well-being, seek cooperation and participation in strategy, and facilitate development of policies that helped everyone to balance family and work (Bird & Brush 2002). On the other hand, another study of women entrepreneurs showed that women used controlling behavior more than men, and were more likely to engage in human resource management and internal communication (Envick 1998).

THE FUTURE

Women continue to rise in their roles as business leaders. Despite the debates about similarities and differences of leadership, the environments of organizations and institutions tend to be more “masculinized,” a characteristic that creates obstacles for women. Although these obstacles have decreased since the 1980s, those that remain reflect the way that leaders are recruited and selected (through personal networks), and evaluated (using policies rooted in male norms such as task accomplishment, authoritarian control). These obstacles in effect man-

ifest a subtle “glass ceiling,” which is reflected by the comparatively small number and slow progress of women reaching the corporate boardroom and executive suite of Fortune 500 companies. As noted at the beginning of this entry, only 11 percent of corporate board seats (671 out of more than 6,000) are held by women. This glass ceiling, which is defined as preconceptions, stereotypes, or assumptions held by those in power about women and their abilities and/or commitment to careers (Smith 2000), inhibits progress. This is an invisible barrier, not tangible in the sense that it is a written law or policy, but a closely held belief that influences how women are viewed by others. For instance, men are frequently the power brokers and decision makers who determine whether women are considered for promotion in a company. If it is perceived that a fast-track young woman is likely to become pregnant, she may be passed over for a promotion. On the other hand, a woman who leads a fast-growth, high-technology company may be perceived as an individual less capable of making tough hiring decisions, and therefore not receive needed equity financing to grow her venture. To date, less than 5 percent of all the investments in U.S. businesses were women-led ventures, and, in part, this is a result of perceptions about women’s leadership capabilities.

Thus for progress to continue, these perceptions, stereotypes, and views must be eliminated. The number and strength of women business leaders and entrepreneurs is expected to increase in the twenty-first century and the aggregate impact of women on business and society will continue to grow.

—Candida G. Brush

See also Body Shop, The; Business; Chanel, Coco; Enron Scandal; Film Industry; King, Billie Jean; Patriarchy; Winfrey, Oprah; Women’s Movement

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WOMEN AND MEN AS LEADERS

In 2003, the elections in Finland received worldwide attention when Anneli Jäätteenmäki became prime minister. She was the first woman to attain this office in Finland, whose citizens had elected another woman, Tarja Halonen, as president in 2000. With women occupying over one-third of parliamentary seats and being well respected in the cabinet, Finland is notable for the prominence of its female political leaders. The extended news coverage of these Finnish elections shows that in most nations women remain a rarity in elite leadership roles, despite the entry of large numbers of women into lower and middle managerial positions in many countries. In the United States, for instance, women now make up 47 percent of executives, managers, and administrators, and Hungary, Italy, New Zealand, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, and Sweden report 50 percent or more women in this occupational category. However, with lower percentages in much of western Europe (e.g., 10 percent in France, 9 percent in Germany) as well as in Japan (9 percent), gains for women as managers are uneven across industrialized nations.

In all nations, women remain underrepresented in the highest ranks of management. In recognition of this situation, the metaphor of the glass ceiling has become popular to suggest subtle prejudicial barriers that prevent women from rising above a certain level in organizations. The dearth of women is especially dramatic for high-level positions in large corporations. For example, in the companies of the Fortune 500, women constitute only 5 percent of top corporate officers and 1 percent of chief executive officers.

Women's inroads into political leadership are somewhat greater, with a growing number of women holding parliamentary seats in most industrialized nations and occupying ministerial, nonelective positions. Nonetheless, even in sectors of the economy where more women than men are employed, such as health care and education, men have outnumbered women in top leadership roles, giving rise to the metaphor of a glass escalator that speeds men's rise to high positions.

In view of women's uneven progress toward equal representation as leaders, one of the debates that has captured the interest of social scientists and the general public is whether women's ways of leading differ from those of men.

DIFFERENCES IN THE LEADERSHIP STYLES OF WOMEN AND MEN

One possible explanation of the gender gap in leadership is that women are deficient in the characteristics and behaviors that are crucial to effective leadership. However, contrary to the idea that women are less suited to leadership than men, trade book authors such as Judith Rosener have described female leaders as having cooperative, interactive, and facilitative leadership styles that are more attuned to the needs of modern organizations than are the leadership styles that are typical of men. Empirical research has examined such claims about the typical leadership styles of men and women.

To determine whether men and women differ in leadership styles, social psychologists Alice Eagly and Blair Johnson carried out a meta-analysis of 162 studies that were conducted between 1961 and 1987. (A meta-analysis is a research review that represents studies in terms of a standard metric of effect sizes and then quantitatively integrates and aggregates the effect sizes across the available studies.) Most of these studies distinguished between task-oriented leadership, a style that emphasizes inducing subordinates to follow rules and procedures, maintaining high standards of performance, and making roles explicit, and interpersonally oriented leadership, a style that emphasizes helping subordinates, looking out for their welfare, explaining procedures, and

being friendly and available. In addition, some studies distinguished between leaders who behave democratically and invite subordinates to participate in decision making, termed "participative" or "democratic" leadership, and leaders who behave autocratically and discourage subordinates from participating in decision making, termed "directive" or "autocratic" leadership.

Eagly and Johnson's meta-analysis found that the leadership styles of women and men were somewhat stereotypical on the basis of gender in laboratory experiments using student participants and in assessment studies using participants not selected for occupancy of leadership roles (e.g., samples of employees or students in business programs in universities). In these laboratory and assessment studies, women, more than men, tended to manifest relatively interpersonally oriented styles, and men, more than women, tended to display relatively task-oriented styles. In contrast, gender differences in task and interpersonal style were negligible among leaders occupying managerial roles in organizations. These findings were consistent with the principle that gender differences are diminished among managers because male and female managers are selected by similar criteria and subjected to similar organizational socialization. However, in all three types of studies, one difference did consistently appear: Women displayed a somewhat more democratic or participative style and a less autocratic or directive style than men did. In the available twenty-three studies comparing men and women on the democratic versus autocratic dimension, 92 percent went in the direction of a more democratic and participative style among women. Yet, because the effectiveness of autocratic and democratic leadership styles depends on the context, this gender difference would not in general constitute an advantage or disadvantage for either gender.

In the 1980s and 1990s, a substantial number of researchers shifted their attention to studying leadership styles that, according to many organizational experts, are especially attuned to the conditions faced by contemporary organizations. Researchers delineated a type of leadership style that is commonly known as "transformational leadership,"

which is similar to contemporary models of leadership known as “visionary,” “charismatic,” “inspirational,” and “postheroic.” The emphasis of these models is on the ability of leaders to inspire, stimulate, and motivate followers and to nurture their ability to contribute creatively to organizational goals. Transformational leadership differs from transactional leadership, which is a more conventional style that stresses clarifying subordinate responsibilities and using rewards and punishments to induce subordinates to meet objectives. Also identified by some researchers is a *laissez-faire* style that is characterized by a general failure to take responsibility for managing.

To determine whether male and female leaders differ when evaluated in terms of these new distinctions about ways of leading, Eagly, along with social psychologists Mary Johannesen-Schmidt and Marloes van Engen, carried out a meta-analysis of forty-five studies that compared male and female managers on measures of transformational, transactional, and *laissez-faire* leadership. These studies assessed organizational leaders, mainly from business and educational organizations. The meta-analysis revealed that female leaders were more transformational than male leaders and also exceeded male leaders on one component of transactional leadership—namely, contingent reward behaviors, which consist of rewarding subordinates for doing a good job. Women particularly exceeded men on the transformational dimension of individualized consideration, which pertains to developing and mentoring followers. In contrast, men were more likely than women to display two other aspects of transactional leadership: active management by exception, which is attending to followers’ mistakes and failures to meet standards, and passive management by exception, which is waiting until problems become severe before attending to them. Men, more than women, also displayed *laissez-faire* leadership, which entails being absent and uninvolved during critical junctures.

These differences between male and female leaders were small, showing that gender is only a weak predictor of the behavior of individual leaders. Nonetheless, the differences obtained were consistent across various ways of analyzing the data. In

fact, in 82 percent of the available comparisons, women proved to be more transformational than men. The favorable implications of these findings for female leaders are shown by an earlier meta-analysis conducted by organizational behavior experts Kevin Lowe, Galen Kroeck, and Nagaraj Sivasubramaniam examining the effectiveness of these leadership styles. The styles that were positively related to effectiveness (transformational leadership and the contingent reward aspect of transactional leadership) were found by Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, and van Engen to be manifested relatively more by female leaders than male leaders, whereas the styles that were unrelated or negatively related to effectiveness (active and passive management-by-exception and *laissez-faire* leadership) were found to be manifested relatively more by male leaders than female leaders.

In summary, research has established some small gender differences in the behavior of male and female leaders. Specifically, women tend to be more democratic and less autocratic than men, a difference that probably does not yield an overall advantage for either gender. More consequential for effectiveness are women’s tendencies to engage in more behaviors deemed transformational and to deliver more rewards for followers’ good performance. These behaviors have been associated with enhanced effectiveness across a wide variety of settings. Consequently, empirical research does not support the idea that the leadership styles of women account for their lesser success in rising into higher-level leadership positions.

Also potentially relevant to women’s lesser occupancy of elite leadership roles are gender differences in human capital investments, such as education, training, and work experience. Traditionally social scientists argued that women’s lesser human capital in terms of lower levels of education, training, and work experience produced their lesser access to workplace authority and higher wages. However, sharp increases in women’s human capital investments in industrialized nations, especially in education, have lessened these differences, although not eliminated them. In any event, human capital differences are insufficient to explain women’s lesser ascendance in view of findings showing that women receive substantially smaller gains in workplace



Hopkins v. Price Waterhouse (490 U.S. 228)

A court case showed that a woman of unquestioned task competence was denied partnership in an accounting firm essentially on the basis of her non-conformity to the female gender role. In 1982, Ann Hopkins was proposed for promotion to the rank of partner at Price Waterhouse, one of the largest accounting firms in the United States, along with eighty-eight male candidates. As indicated by Susan Fiske, Donald Bersoff, Eugene Borgida, Kay Deaux, and Madeline Heilman in their article on the case, "She had more billable hours than any other person proposed for partner that year, she had brought in business worth \$25 million, her clients praised her, and her supporters recommended her as driven, hard working, and exacting." Instead of being promoted for her accomplishments, she was denied partnership because "she had interpersonal skills problems," "overcompensated for being a woman," and needed a "course at charm school." Although Hopkins may have shown all of the behaviors that are required of a successful partner in this firm, exactly these behaviors caused trouble because they violated gender-role prescriptions of feminine niceness and passivity. The amicus curiae (friend of the court) brief submitted by Fiske and the others helped Hopkins to win her *Hopkins v. Price Waterhouse* court case.

Source: Fiske, S. T., Bersoff, D. N., Borgida, E., D. K., & Heilman, M. E. (1991). Social science research on trial: Use of sex stereotyping research in *Hopkins v. Price Waterhouse*. *American Psychologist*, 46, 1049–1060.

authority than men do for similar human capital investments, as established in a review by sociologist Ryan Smith.

PREJUDICE AGAINST FEMALE LEADERS

Prejudice against women as leaders is at least partially responsible for the lack of women in higher-level leadership positions. Prejudice arises because people's general ideas about what a manager or a leader is like do not fit their ideas about women as well as they fit their ideas about men. This inconsistency can be analyzed in terms of social roles of women, men, and leaders, when *roles* are defined as "socially shared expectations regarding the typical

behaviors of members of social class or group. These role expectations are called "descriptive" because they indicate what behaviors members of a particular social category might exhibit. Role expectations are also called "injunctive" because they incorporate consensual expectations about what group members ideally should do.

Gender roles are socially shared beliefs about the typical attributes of women and men. According to social role theory (as presented by Eagly and social psychologists Wendy Wood and Amanda Diekmann), these roles emerge from the societal division of labor between the genders—that is, from the typical social roles of the genders. The underlying principle is that perceivers infer that people's actions tend to correspond to their inner dispositions, a cognitive process that has been labeled "correspondent inference" or "correspondence bias." Specifically, the communal, nurturing behaviors required by women's domestic and child-care roles and by many female-dominated occupational roles favor inferences that women do possess and should possess communal traits. Similarly, the assertive, task-oriented activities required by many male-dominated occupations and the breadwinner family role produce expectations that men do possess and should possess agentic traits, such as unselfishness, concern for others, and expressiveness, as well as traits such as masterfulness, self-assuredness, and instrumental competency.

In general, prejudice in the workplace may arise from the inconsistencies people perceive between particular workplace roles and the attributes ascribed to individuals based on their group membership. Most leadership roles are characterized primarily by agentic attributes and are therefore incongruent with the predominantly communal characteristics ascribed to women. Although it might seem that gender should be irrelevant in the workplace, it spills over to affect perceptions of employees. The resulting incongruity of the female gender role and leadership roles leads not only to decreased expectations that women can be successful leaders, as shown in management expert Virginia Schein's research, but also to less favorable evaluations of leadership when it is enacted by a woman compared with a man, as

shown in many studies that were summarized by Eagly and social psychologist Steven Karau in 2002.

Several types of research have shown that women have lesser access to leadership roles than do men. For example, economist Joyce Jacobsen's review showed that most studies of actual wages and promotion supported the claim of discrimination against women in general and female managers in particular, albeit on a decreasing basis over the years. As shown in a meta-analysis by industrial/organizational psychologists Heather Davison and Michael Burke, experiments in which participants evaluated female and male job applicants who were experimentally equated supported the narrower claim of prejudice as a disadvantage for women in relation to male gender-typed positions, which would include most leadership roles. Other studies, such as those by sociologist Martha Foschi, showed that women usually have to meet a higher standard to be judged as being competent and possessing leadership ability and that agentic behavior tends not to produce as much liking or influence for women as for men, without special circumstances (e.g., adding communal behavior to an agentic repertoire, as shown by social psychologist Linda Carli). In addition, Eagly and Karau's 1991 meta-analysis demonstrated that it is generally less likely that women emerge as leaders in groups, especially if the group's task is not particularly demanding of interpersonal skill or is otherwise relatively masculine.

Research also has substantiated the prediction that women have more obstacles to overcome in becoming successful in leadership roles. Specifically, as demonstrated in a meta-analysis by Alice Eagly, Steven Karau, and social psychologist Mona Makhijani, studies of leaders' effectiveness showed that leaders performed less effectively when the leader role that they occupied was incongruent with their gender role. Women suffered diminished outcomes in roles given especially masculine definitions, and men suffered somewhat diminished outcomes in roles given more feminine definitions. As shown in a meta-analysis by Alice Eagly, Mona Makhijani, and social psychologist Bruce Klonsky, more definitive support emerged in an experimental research paradigm that removed possible differences in the lead-

ership behavior of women and men by equating this behavior. More definitive support emerged in an experimental research framework that removed possible differences in the leadership behavior of women and men by equating this behavior. These studies can make a stronger case that prejudice—not other factors—produces disadvantages for women in leadership roles. In these studies women fared slightly less well than men did. More important, just as in studies on leaders' effectiveness, women fared less well than men did when leader roles were male dominated or given especially masculine definitions and when men served as evaluators. Also lending plausibility to the role-incongruity theory of prejudice are the particulars of sex discrimination cases that have been brought to trial.

In summary, threats to female leaders come from two directions: Conforming closely to their gender role would produce a failure to meet the requirements of their leader role, and conforming closely to their leader role would produce a failure to meet the requirements of their gender role. The latter threat can result in the prejudicial outcome of receiving lesser rewards for appropriate leader behavior than an equivalent man would receive. In this sense female leaders face challenges not encountered by male leaders, especially in leadership roles that are defined in relatively masculine terms.

PROSPECTS FOR WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP

Despite prejudice, women are rising into elite leadership roles around the world. Although the pace of the rise has been slow, there is discernible acceleration. For example, as management expert Nancy Adler documented, the majority of the women who have ever served as presidents or prime ministers of nations came into office since 1990, and women are leading some large corporations such as Hewlett-Packard in the United States and Pearson in the United Kingdom. Thus, unmistakably women are rising, not merely into lower and midlevel managerial roles but also into leadership roles at the tops of organizations and governments.

What changes have enabled some women to rise into leadership roles that women have rarely occupied



Female Heads of State in the Twentieth Century

Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Sri Lanka Prime Minister, 1960–1965, 1970–1977, 1994–2000	Corazon Aquino, Philippines President, 1986–1992	Susanne Camelia-Romer, Netherlands Antilles Prime Minister, 1993, 1998–
Indira Gandhi, India Prime Minister, 1966–1977, 1980–1984	Benazir Bhutto, Pakistan Prime Minister, 1988–1990, 1993–1996	Tansu Çiller, Turkey Prime Minister, 1993–1995
Golda Meir, Israel Prime Minister, 1969–1974	Kazimiera Danuta Prunskiena, Lithuania Prime Minister, 1990–1991	Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunge, Sri Lanka Prime Minister, 1994, President, 1994–
Isabel Peron, Argentina President, 1974–1976	Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, Nicaragua Prime Minister, 1990–1996	Reneta Indzhova, Bulgaria Interim Prime Minister, 1994–1995
Elisabeth Domitien, Central African Republic Prime Minister, 1975–1976	Mary Robinson, Ireland President, 1990–1997	Claudette Werleigh, Haiti Prime Minister, 1995–1996
Margaret Thatcher, Great Britain Prime Minister, 1979–1990	Ertha Pascal Trouillot, Haiti Interim President, 1990–1991	Sheikh Hasina Wajed, Bangladesh Prime Minister, 1996–
Maria da Lourdes Pintasilgo, Portugal Prime Minister, 1979–1980	Sabine Bergmann-Pohl, German Democratic Republic President, 1990	Mary McAleese, Ireland President, 1997–
Lidia Gueiler Tejada, Bolivia Prime Minister, 1979–1980	Aung San Suu Kyi, Myanmar (Burma) Her party won 80 percent of the seats in a democratic election in 1990, but the military government refused to recognize the results.	Pamela Gordon, Bermuda Prime Minister, 1997–1998
Dame Eugenia Charles, Dominica Prime Minister, 1980–1995	Khaleda Zia, Bangladesh Prime Minister, 1991–1996	Janet Jagan, Guyana Prime Minister, 1997, President, 1997–1999
Vigdís Finnbogadóttir, Iceland President, 1980–1996	Edith Cresson, France Prime Minister, 1991–1992	Jenny Shipley, New Zealand Prime Minister, 1997–1999
Gro Harlem Brundtland, Norway Prime Minister, 1981, 1986–1989, 1990–1996	Hanna Suchocka, Poland Prime Minister, 1992–1993	Ruth Dreifuss, Switzerland President, 1999–2000
Soong Ching-Ling, People's Republic of China Honorary President, 1981	Kim Campbell, Canada Prime Minister, 1993	Jennifer Smith, Bermuda Prime Minister, 1998–
Milka Planinc, Yugoslavia Federal Prime Minister, 1982–1986	Sylvie Kinigi, Burundi Prime Minister, 1993–1994	Nyam-Osoriyn Tuyaa, Mongolia Acting Prime Minister, July 1999
Agatha Barbara, Malta President, 1982–1987	Agathe Uwilingiyimana, Rwanda Prime Minister, 1993–1994	Helen Clark, New Zealand Prime Minister, 1999–
Maria Liberia-Peters, Netherlands Antilles Prime Minister, 1984–1986, 1988–1993		Mireya Elisa Moscoso de Arias, Panama President, 1999–
		Vaira Vike-Freiberga, Latvia President, 1999–

during other historical periods? Consistent with the idea that prejudice arises from incongruity between the female gender role and leader roles, three reasons are proposed for women's increasing presence in leadership roles at the highest levels. First, evidence indicates that gender differences in a number of psy-

chological variables relevant to workplace roles have declined together with the rise of female labor participation. More specifically, as women have shifted a large portion of their domestic labor to paid labor, they assume characteristics required to succeed in these new roles. As summarized by Eagly and Linda

Carli, research conducted primarily in the United States has documented the erosion of gender differences in, for example, career aspirations, assertiveness, risky behavior, the tendency to merge as leaders, and values placed on job attributes. Second, leadership roles have become defined somewhat more in terms of stereotypical feminine characteristics than was the case some decades ago. Leadership roles have been feminized in the sense that managerial experts emphasize employee empowerment, participatory decision making, and team-based leadership skills that are consistent with the communal attributes typically ascribed to women. This new emphasis reflects organizational environments that are increasingly confronted with rapid technological changes, diversity in the workforce, and weakening of geopolitical boundaries. Third, women leaders have found ways to lead that finesse the remaining incongruity between leader roles and the female gender role. Consistent with reasoning presented by social psychologist Janice Yoder, transformational leadership—a style that is neither particularly feminine nor particularly masculine, yet highly appropriate for leaders—may be especially advantageous for female leaders because it does not elicit the resistance that women tend to encounter when they proceed with behavior more typical of men.

In conclusion, the outlook for women's participation in leadership in the twenty-first century is promising as more women enter leadership roles in industrialized nations and thereby reduce the mismatch between people's beliefs about women and about leaders. Furthermore, organizations gain from giving women equal access to leader roles, not only because evidence shows that women are at least as effective as men, but also because gender fairness increases the pool of potential candidates from which leaders are chosen.

—Alice H. Eagly and Marloes L. van Engen

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WOMEN AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

“If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice, or representation,” wrote Abigail Adams (1744–1818) to her husband, John (1735–1826), when he was attending the Second Continental Congress in 1776. Her admonition went unheeded, however, and women today still lack equal representation in most local, state, or national governments. This absence of women in political leadership roles also extends around the world.

DEFINING WOMEN’S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Perhaps the most prevalent definition of political leadership is offered by James MacGregor Burns. In Burns’s opinion, political leadership is defined by the power a leader exercises through his or her relationships. The people with whom the political leader interacts, and how he or she interacts with those people, become essential in defining the strengths and weaknesses of any political leader.

Admittedly, Burns’s definition is a nebulous one, but political leaders play an identifiable role in society. They include elected officials from mayors to senators, and non-elected officials such as interest group officers and party activists; they are often stereotyped as out-of-touch, middle-aged, white men. Until recently, cultural mores perpetuated this stereotype by holding women subservient to men. Women were unwelcome in the boardroom and the legislature alike, and were thus unable to build the necessary relationships to accrue the power to lead in American society. Only since the 1960s have women political leaders been able to create social change from within American governmental institutions.

FIRST EFFORTS AT POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

The first women political leaders got their start during the antislavery movement. In spite of traditional ideologies that frowned on women holding public

office, let alone speaking in public, the Grimké sisters in the South and Northern Quakers including Lucretia Mott (1793–1880), publicly denounced the evils of slavery. In fact, when Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815–1902) traveled to England with their husbands in 1840 to attend a meeting of the World Anti-Slavery Society, they were shocked when they could not participate as delegates. Instead, banished to the balcony, they reflected on their status vis-à-vis the slaves they were trying to free and vowed to hold a convention to address women’s unequal treatment in all spheres of life.

When this meeting was finally held in 1848 in Stanton’s hometown of Seneca Falls, New York, over 240 women responded to their call. This convention, which has come to be known as the Seneca Falls Convention, yielded a Declaration of Sentiments modeled after the Declaration of Independence and a series of resolutions demanding greater social, religious, and civil rights for women. One of the rights the delegates to the Seneca Falls Convention viewed as most important was the franchise. Without the right to vote, the delegates realized, women’s voices would never be heard in the halls of government.

The meeting at Seneca Falls and the subsequent formation of groups such as the National American Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association, which ultimately joined forces to become the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) in 1890, immensely broadened opportunities for women’s political leadership. These events also led to the creation of a new cadre of women political leaders, including Stanton and Susan B. Anthony (1820–1906), who led the women’s movement through the rest of the nineteenth century.

BATTLE FOR SUFFRAGE

By the early 1900s, women on both sides of the Atlantic began to press for the right to vote in earnest. In Great Britain, the move for suffrage was led by Emmeline Pankhurst (1858–1928) and her daughters Sylvia (1882–1960) and Christabel (1880–1958). Because of Britain’s unitary system of

government, the British suffrage movement was able to target a single source of political power, the Parliament, in seeking the franchise.

In the United States, with its federal system, however, at least until around 1915, the drive for woman suffrage was focused largely on winning the right to vote in each of the individual states. Because the suffragettes were better organized on the national level, they found the state-by-state battle to be a challenge; in the United States, well-organized, visible interests such as the Roman Catholic Church were mobilized to try to stop the efforts of women's rights activists.

Around 1915, leaders of the American suffrage movement shifted their focus. Spurred on by Alice Paul (1885–1977), who had recently returned from a stint working in the nationally focused British movement, the NAWSA began to demand a federal constitutional amendment to enfranchise women. Around the same time, the General Federation of Women's Clubs endorsed woman suffrage, recognizing that the widespread reforms inspired by the progressive movement would be far easier to attain if women had the political clout of the franchise. These women, however, rarely spoke of the need for women political leaders, and instead wanted suffrage more to do good for society than to increase opportunities for women.

AFTER SUFFRAGE

The ratification of the Nineteenth or Susan B. Anthony Amendment, which gave women the right to vote in the 1920 state and national elections, was a hard-won victory for a generation of women political leaders. Following this victory, however, the



President Barbie

(ANS)—The two major political parties may not have taken her bid for the nomination seriously, but that hasn't dissuaded promoters of Barbie for President from thinking their cause isn't good or just. Introduced a few months ago by the toy manufacturer Mattel, Barbie President 2000 aims to teach girls that anything is possible—it just may take a little while longer.

"Although a woman is not on the GOP's presidential ticket, more female leaders than ever before were part of the conversation on potential vice-presidential candidates," said Marie Wilson, president of the White House Project, a nonpartisan group working to promote women as leaders.

The group partnered with Mattel to develop and publicize the new doll. It's an odd marriage between those advocating for women's rights and a company that has made a fortune manufacturing what many feminists have come to view as the most sexually stereotypical doll ever to grace a toy counter. But project members say their action is simply pragmatic in light of the dolls' historic popularity.

"Girls nationwide own an average of eight Barbies," Wilson pointed out. "Since Barbie is such a large part of girls' lives, we want to be there with a message that encourages them to become tomorrow's leaders."

Since her inception in 1959, Barbie has had 75 careers, including World Cup soccer player, surgeon, diplomat, racecar driver and astronaut—all complete with matching outfits, of course.

President Barbie comes dressed in a blue suit but also has a red evening dress and matching shoes to wear to those White House state dinners. Also included in the package is a Girls' Action Agenda, with ideas for parents on supporting their daughter's leadership development, and a copy of the Girls' Bill of Rights.

The doll is part of the group's Pipeline to the Presidency initiative, which also involves a women's history curriculum, "Welcome to the White House, Ms. President!" and research into the barriers and opportunities confronting female political leaders.

"With the presidential election on the front pages, the timing couldn't be better to start a dialogue between girls and their parents about women's leadership," said Wilson.

Source: "President Barbie," American News Service, August 3, 2000.

leaders of NAWSA were left with no cause to advocate. In an attempt to broaden the political power of women in America, many of NAWSA's leaders founded the League of Women Voters, a nonpartisan, good-government organization. A major task of the league was to encourage voter turnout and provide the electorate with the information they needed to make informed electoral choices.

Despite the league's encouragement, few women rushed to become active participants in American democracy. This is likely because women, who had been denied political power for more than three



Actor and activist Susan Sarandon speaking to the crowd at an anti-war rally in New York City's Central Park in October 2002.

Source: Stephen G. Donaldson; used with permission.

hundred years, simply were not socialized to vote or run for public office. Interviews with women non-voters in 1923 prove this theory, as many women stated that it was not their civic duty to vote. More than 10 percent of those surveyed believed women should not vote at all.

Moreover, once public opinion polling became common in the 1930s, it was clear that the road for women seeking political power would be a difficult one. At a time when only a handful of women held elective office, 60 percent of those polled rejected the notion that “we need more women in politics” (McGlen and O’Connor 1983, 84). More than half were opposed to the idea of a woman governor or senator. And, when asked in 1937 if they would vote for a qualified woman for president, only 27 percent of men and 40 percent of women answered affirmatively.

The public was not opposed to all forms of women’s political leadership. Nearly half of those polled during the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s said a woman would be preferred to a man as the head of the local Red Cross chapter or Parent Teacher Association. The public supported women in these positions because they were extensions of women’s primary roles as mother and homemaker.

Still, some women held elective office during the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. The most common route to these positions was a practice known as “over his dead body,” where widows were appointed to serve the remainder of their husband’s terms, usually in state or federal legislatures. However, a small num-

ber of women, including actresses Helen Gahagan Douglas (1900–1980) and Clare Booth Luce (1903–1987) won seats in the U.S. House of Representatives. Their actions paved the way for other women to run in their own right.

THE WOMEN’S MOVEMENT

Just as a generation of women became politically active during the antislavery movement, the U.S. civil rights movement of the 1960s created a new generation of women political leaders. Although these women still were not regarded as equal participants in American life, the women of the 1960s had greater liberties than their predecessors. For example, access to more reliable contraceptives, including birth control pills, freed these women from the fear and consequences of unplanned pregnancies as well as many of the childcare responsibilities that women growing up in earlier eras had experienced.

Spurred on by their greater freedom, as well as other events, including the publication of Betty Friedan’s *Feminine Mystique*, the release of President John F. Kennedy’s Commission on the Status of Women’s report *American Women*, and the passage of the Equal Pay Act in 1963, women began to become politically active. Society, too, became aware of the pervasive discrimination women faced in all walks of life, and the women’s movement of the 1960s officially began with the founding of the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966.

Newly liberated women who were interested in politics also began to become involved in political party activities. Although these women largely performed mundane tasks such as coordinating political mailings, their support during an era of declining political machines allowed women to create the relationships necessary to run for local, state, and national office.

The increase in politically active women becomes evident when we examine the growth in the number of women legislators. In 1969, only 4 percent of all elected legislators were women. However, a change in attitudes about women in political leadership roles, especially among the educated elite, occurred

between 1967 and 1975. By 1985, 15 percent of all legislators were women.

WOMEN FORM POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

Some of the dramatic change in the attitudes toward women in political leadership roles can also be attributed to the growth of organizations dedicated to increasing the number of women in elected and appointive positions of political leadership. For example, one of the first African-American women to serve in Congress, Shirley Chisholm (1924–), joined forces with Gloria Steinem (1934–), Betty Friedan (1921–), and Representative Bella Abzug (1920–1988), to form the nonpartisan National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) in 1971. The caucus's major goals included increasing support for women running for positions of political leadership, reforming political party structures to ensure equitable representation of women, publicizing women's issues at stake in local, state, and national elections, and monitoring the selection of women as delegates to presidential nominating conventions. Although nonpartisan, the caucus immediately created Democratic and Republican Task Forces to press the parties for better treatment of women in the political process. Later, the NWPC also joined an ad hoc coalition of women's groups to press President Jimmy Carter (and subsequent presidents) to appoint more women to leadership positions.

WOMEN BEGIN TO RUN FOR OFFICE

The women elected to the House of Representatives in the late 1960s and early 1970s were among the first to run as women. They "did not derive their public authority through the instrumentality of a man. Neither were they social mothers, as public women of the early twentieth century had (largely) been" (Witt, Paget, and Matthews 1994, 48). Although there were only fourteen women in the House in 1973, many of these women, including Patricia Schroeder (1940–), Elizabeth Holtzman (1941–), and Margaret Heckler (1931–), quickly took the lead in advancing women's issues. In fact, shortly after the election of President Carter, in 1977, women in the U.S. House of Representatives, bowing to pressure from

If you just set out to be liked, you would be prepared to compromise on anything at any time, and you would achieve nothing.

—Margaret Thatcher

women's groups including NOW and the NWPC, formed the bipartisan Congressional Women's Caucus. Fearing that some of the older women in the House might be reluctant to join, its founders agreed that the caucus would take no positions on any issues for which there was not unanimous agreement.

Women in several state legislatures also began to organize into bipartisan caucuses. This cadre of women, along with the newly elected women in the House during the 1970s and 1980s, provided young women with new role models. The creation of caucuses also helped bridge the gap between descriptive (simply being a woman) and substantive (representing women's interests) representation. These women not only became political leaders but also took the lead in advancing women's issues in state and the national legislatures.

CHANGES IN PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS

It was not until 1992, however, that women made significant inroads into national positions of political leadership. In what became known as the Year of the Woman, the number of women members of the U.S. Congress increased from 29 in 1991 to 48 in 1993. Since then, the number of women serving in the U.S. Congress has continued to increase each year.

In addition to a continuing revolution in public attitudes toward women in political office, the gains of the Year of the Woman were prompted by several events. First, the end of the Cold War led to a shift in national attention from foreign to domestic concerns, such as education and health, which long had been considered the domains of women. In addition, a congressional banking scandal forced many male members of Congress to retire, resulting in elections without incumbents, which are often easier for women candidates to win. Perhaps most importantly, the confirmation hearings in the early 1990s



Female Power in Ancient Okinawa

The following extract of text from a study of religion on Okinawa indicates that, in the past, women on this island may have had more power than women in almost any other society in history.

The political significance of the female religious specialist in Okinawan culture shows an interesting parallel to that in early Japan. Until Haneji's tenure as prime minister (1666–1696), when he reduced the chief priestesses to a rank below that of the queen, the ruler and chief priestess were at least coequal in rank. There are indications, however, from early history, religious songs, and accounts of Chinese and Japanese visitors that the female religious specialist may once have ranked above her male counterpart. Sakima, who investigated a number of these early sources, expresses the belief that the ultimate authority regarding control of the state rested with the chief priestess and that the male ruler merely exercised control in her behalf. He notes that a Chinese visitor to Okinawa in 1606 stated that in ancient Okinawa the chief priestess stood above the king in rank. Apparently, troops were sent to battle in the name of the chief priestess, not that of the king. There is evidence also that matters of justice were often entrusted to these women. A Buddhist monk from Satsuma who stayed on Okinawa for six years sometime during the period 1573–1592 observed that the power to decide and punish crimes was held by priestesses and related that on one occasion they employed a poisonous snake to dispatch a robber whom they had convicted. It was apparently this state of affairs that led a Chinese traveler in 1683 to assume that there were no courts of law, since he observed no male judges. Sakima recalls that, until recent years, in the more isolated areas of Okinawa the *nuru* was asked to

determine a man's guilt by lifting the *bijuru* stone; if it felt heavy, he was declared guilty, if light, not guilty. Taich also stated that the priestesses were the guardians against crime and that they meted out justice with a vengeance. Some feeling that the *nuru* held a sacro-temporal power still persists; several aged informants likened her role to that of a policeman and stated that it was the practice of gentry officials to confer with her whenever there was crime or disorder in the village. Sakima sees the priestesses of early Okinawa as possessed of an unlimited spirit power (*reiriki*, the same characters which

The history of Okinawa, particularly from the sixteenth or seventeenth century, reveals a steady reduction of the powers once held by these women. Undoubtedly, contact with China, which became regular from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, brought the influence of Confucianism and its stress on the superiority of males, and the penetration of Japanese Buddhism (dating from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries), emphasizing the ancestral cult through the male line, contributed significantly toward establishing a political climate favorable to curbing the power of the priestesses. Thus, in 1650 Haneji wrote in the *Chuzan Seikan* that a government based on a religious belief which left its direction to females would be in disorder; when he subsequently became prime minister, a number of measures were instituted toward curtailing their powers and disassociating them from active participation in political affairs.

Source: Lebra, William P. (1966). *Okinawan Religion: Belief, Ritual, and Social Structure*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, pp. 102–103.

for Supreme Court Associate Justice Clarence Thomas (1948–) reminded Americans of the discrimination women faced in society. When law professor Anita Hill (1956–), a former employee, charged that Thomas had sexually harassed her, the entire nation watched a very hostile, all-male Senate Judiciary Committee grill Hill. Women were especially outraged, and many began to work toward electing more women to positions of political leadership. EMILY's List, a prochoice Democratic women's political action committee, which was founded in 1986 after Geraldine Ferraro's unsuccessful bid for the vice presidency, experienced an

extraordinary increase in contributions. This new money allowed EMILY's List to train more potential candidates and campaign workers in 1992.

The efforts of EMILY's List and other candidate training programs have increased the number of women in positions of legislative leadership in the United States. However, the disparity between men and women in other sectors of government is more severe. This problem is especially significant within the executive branch of state governments, since four of the last five presidents were elected after serving as governor.

One group working to increase the number of

women in executive leadership positions is The White House Project. This non-partisan group was first conceived at a 1997 dinner party hosted by Boston philanthropist Barbara Lee. At the time of this party, which was themed “Why Not a Woman,” many other democracies, including Britain, India, and Israel, already had elected women prime ministers or presidents. America’s failure to elect a woman president struck Lee, who joined forces with Marie Wilson, head of the Ms. Foundation for Women, and Laura Liswood (1950–), founder of the Council of Women World Leaders, to formally launch the Project in June 1998.

The White House Project began to promote the idea of a woman president almost immediately. The most visible example of the project’s work occurred in concert with the 2000 presidential election. The White House Project worked with national media outlets including *Parade* and *Glamour* to allow Americans to vote for potential woman presidential candidates from a list of twenty qualified women. Although this election was not real, it helped to socialize women to the idea of running for positions of political leadership. And, at least in the short run, the project’s efforts seem to be achieving positive results. Record numbers of women ran for governorships in the 2002 elections and more were elected than ever before.

The White House Project and EMILY’s List are also urging scholars and politicians to explore the effect of electoral structures on the representation of women in elected leadership positions. Proportional representation and system-wide quotas, such as France’s 50-percent law and Argentina’s requirement that at least 30 percent of all party candidates be women, are being explored as solutions to the underrepresentation of American women in the most visible political leadership roles.

The need for more women in positions of political leadership has also been noted by the United Nations. At the Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995, 189 governments agreed to take measures to ensure women’s full access “to power structures and decision making to increase women’s capacity for decision making and leadership” (The White House Project 2003, 27).

CONSEQUENCES OF WOMEN IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Beyond the simple question of gender equality, we must ask what women political leaders bring to governance that their male counterparts cannot. Though this answer is controversial at best, political science research has shown that having women in positions of power improves the substantive representation of women and women’s issues. And, while some may disagree with the assertion that women speak “in a different voice,” this view is strongly supported by researchers, who have found that women are more likely to use power for a desired end as opposed to gaining power for power’s sake.

WOMEN AS POLITICAL LEADERS IN STATE AND NATIONAL LEGISLATURES: A CASE STUDY

Significant research by political scientists indicates that the presence of women political leaders in legislatures makes a significant difference not only in what gets discussed, but also in what kinds of legislation are advanced. These findings make a powerful case for the difference women could make in other branches of government.

Generally speaking, women in legislatures are more willing than their male counterparts to work in a bipartisan fashion. Women in leadership roles also utilize a more integrative leadership style, characterized by a tendency to reach out to others, make collaborative decisions, and educate colleagues. For example, when women chair committees, they generally attempt to facilitate interaction between committee members, witnesses, and others in attendance. In contrast, men are more likely to be aggregative leaders, who have a strong belief in majority rule and a self-interested citizenry. When a male member chairs a committee, he is often the dominant and controlling force in the room.

Integrative leadership also tends to translate into greater success for women legislators. For example, bills sponsored by women or indicated to be a priority among women tend to have a slightly higher pass rate than other legislation. Women also conceptual-

ize problems differently than men, making them more likely to offer solutions their predecessors have not considered.

PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

If our society wants to continue increasing the number of women in positions of political leadership, we must socialize young women to become active participants in society and government. Moreover, existing women leaders must work to change the pervasive perception that political leaders are exclusively old, white men.

The recent election of Representative Nancy Pelosi (D-CA, 1940–) to the position of House Minority Leader is an encouraging step toward reducing the barriers that have prevented women from becoming political leaders. However, this success should not disguise the amount of work that remains before all women are able to build the relationships essential to the exercise of power and effective leadership.

—Karen O'Connor and Alixandra B. Yanus

See also Elizabeth I; Congressional Leadership; Green Parties; Patriarchy; Roosevelt, Eleanor; Women's Movement; Women's Suffrage

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WOMEN AND SOCIAL CHANGE LEADERSHIP

Women have often been in the vanguard of peace and social justice movements. Across cultures and throughout history, women have experienced ongoing systemic oppression; and they have responded with progressive movements of protest and creative alternatives: Harriet Tubman in the fight against slavery; Fannie Lou Hamer for voting rights; Ella Baker and Mary White Ovington in the civil rights movement; Rosa Luxemburg in the German socialist movement; Winnie Mandela in the anti-apartheid movement; Puerto Rican independence leader and poet Lolita Lebron; and American Indian movement activists Anna Mae Aquash, Ingrid Washinawatok, and Winona LaDuke. Women have pioneered in movements for labor rights, prison reform, reproductive rights and health, education, affordable housing, affirmative action and equal rights, human rights, and environmental safety: Mother Jones, Angela Davis, Vandana Shiva, Jane Addams, Dolores Huerta, Bella Abzug, Emma Goldman, Eleanor Roosevelt, Rachel Carson, Leslie Cagan, Wilma Mankiller, and Helen Rodriguez Trias, among others. These women's leadership styles span a range from soft to harsh, from wielding individual, hierarchical power to possessing a commitment to collectivism, and from identifying as "woman as caretaker of life" to woman as requiring and utilizing equal power to man. There is no one characteristic that applies to all women as social change leaders.

In the United States and the majority of other countries, a woman has never been president; men still dominate the economy. These factual sociological, economic and political conditions have a direct impact on what projects women organize and lead.

WOMEN'S ISSUES

Women have often organized as women, pushing to the forefront issues commonly identified as women's issues or feminist issues, always encased by the realities of class, race, and individual identity. For example, access to water, an issue for women in one part of the world, is not always considered as such among a different class group where the defining question for women might be identified as equal pay/equal rights, affirmative action, or reproductive choice.

There are those who are known publicly, who have written, spoken, been written about, named here and elsewhere, but it is always the unnamed many who make leadership and change real: the women working day in and day out, in the midnight hours after the children have been fed, or not fed, put to bed, the laundry done, as writer Tillie Olsen spoke of—writing at the ironing board. Most are never heard of publicly, yet they take unimaginable risks and redefine the world, just doing what they feel they must, breaking down walls, walking through dangerous fires, overcoming mighty physical, economic, social, and emotional obstacles to "fix the world," as a child described the globe she carried that needed patching, at the 15 February 2003 peace demonstration in New York City.

Ultimately, any obstacle to the fair treatment of women and girls—access to water, health, and safety—is a woman's issue and a human rights issue. Increasingly, any challenges to social and economic justice are understood as connected by the women's movements for peace and human rights. Some movements focus exclusively on issues directly affecting women. Since gender comes first in their analysis, they are primarily feminist or "womanist" in their actions and priorities. Women who have led in the arena of women's issues first include Gloria Steinem, Flo Kennedy, Margaret Sanger, and Nawal Sadawi of Egypt. These issues include reproductive rights, equal rights (ERA/U.S.), and domestic and gender violence.

There has always been the challenge of developing a truly race- and class-inclusive movement of women, which would by definition address gender *and* race *and* class, and pay full attention to the different realities faced by women from different

ethnic, cultural and economic backgrounds. It is the leadership of women of color and some “white” women that has consistently broadened the understanding of women’s struggles to embrace pragmatically and in spirit the challenges faced by women who have lived racism and poverty.

In many places around the world, where people are struggling for national liberation from brutal dictatorships and occupations, there is continuous debate about the level of priority of gender, or women’s rights, in the context of the national struggle for freedom, human rights, and equality. Putting aside the debate on the priority of gender rights in these struggles, the key fact in the discussion is that women and girls, who make up more than half the world population, continue to be threatened by systemic forms of violence and oppression every day, in every part of the world.

NEW PARADIGMS FOR LEADERSHIP

There are women who have worked for equal rights. Their struggle was based not on a quest for a different set of values and approaches, but on access to what had historically been denied women. Then, women who question the status quo male power in the dominant culture, and the way that power works believe that women must redefine power and create new paradigms for leadership toward different outcomes. These questions run through any historical discussion about women’s leadership and movements:

- What is a women’s movement?
- What is “feminist” or “womanist,” and does feminism speak to the needs of all women?
- What role does a women’s movement play in a national progressive movement for economic justice, equality, peace, and human rights?
- What are the characteristics of women’s leadership that contribute to a more whole perspective on social change?

At the United Nations, women have successfully campaigned for the principle that women’s rights are human rights, as are civil rights. This is not a new

post–Cold War effort. Fannie Lou Hamer, who led a campaign for voting rights for African-Americans in the 1950s and 1960s, is remembered as saying: “I don’t want no equal rights. I want HUMAN rights!” Thus, women have historically insisted on the unity of civil rights, human rights, women’s rights, and the struggle for economic justice has been defined by women’s influence and leadership.

Phrases like “the personal is the political” and “everything is connected” emerged from the women’s movement of the 1970s, when women leaders insisted that the needs and wants of the whole person in society be reflected in public policy and introduced the concept of wholeness and the common good. The ongoing contribution of women to global, national, and community politics and the embrace of connectedness as a worldview represent one of the most significant victories in the transformation of the struggle for human rights worldwide. Women have created new language for social justice movements and public conversation.

As we contemplate the twenty-first century, we are emboldened by a powerful international movement of nongovernmental organizations confronting governments and established ruling classes. The recognition of women’s rights as human rights effectively gained credibility at the international level at the UN World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, 1993, due largely to the work led by Charlotte Bunch of the Center For Women’s Global Leadership at Rutgers University in the United States, and including the leadership of Betty Murungi of Kenya; Magalys Arocha, Cuba; Myrna Cunningham, Nicaragua; Tarcila Rivera, Peru; Viviana Figueroa, Argentina; Lepa Miedjenovic, Serbia; Loune Viaud, Haiti; Vivian Stromberg of MADRE, United States; Lucy Mullenkei, Kenya; Gladys Acosta, Peru; Pam Spees, United States; Rhonda Copelon of the City University of New York Law Center; and the late Bella Abzug. These advocates, attorneys, and scholars have successfully campaigned on many issues, for example, that rape and violence against women be recognized as war crimes.

Throughout history, movements of women or led by women have sprung up organically and urgently in response to crises. Lois Gibbs, a working-class

housewife and mother, led the struggle to clean up Love Canal because of the danger to her children's health. Karen Silkwood, a worker at a nuclear facility, brought the danger of low-level radiation to a dramatically new level of consciousness. She was killed as she drove to meet a reporter with information she dared to release. It was Crystal Lee Sutton who led the union struggle at J. P. Stevens, outraged by her own experience of inequality and abusive working conditions. It was Rosa Parks who sat in the front of a bus, sparking a new phase in the freedom movement in the United States in the early 1960s.

In the beginning of the twenty-first century, in New York City, it is predominantly young women who work to end sweatshop labor in lower Manhattan, nearly a century after the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire, because they are still subjected to brutal working conditions.

In Argentina, El Salvador, South Africa, Israel, Palestine, and throughout the world, mothers have often been the most powerful advocates for peace and human rights driven by a basic, poignant demand for their children who have "disappeared," or been tortured or killed, appealing to the moral conscience of the world. During the Vietnam War, it was Women Strike for Peace, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the Gold Star Mothers who pierced the propaganda and spoke to Americans about the horror of the war.

In the United States, slave revolts were led by family members and especially by mothers and daughters. Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman were the most famous but not the only heroes of slave resistance. Today, the mothers of "disappeared" chil-



Take the Lead! Summit

SOUTH HADLEY, Mass. (ANS)—When 33 teen-age girls from high schools around the country meet this weekend to work on solutions to social issues, they won't be shrinking from some hard challenges. On the agenda are problems including police brutality in New York City, low voter turnout, homophobia, racial segregation in the New Orleans public school system, recycling on the Hawaiian island of Maui and streetlight pollution in the Rocky Mountains.

And that's only a partial list.

The 33 young women meeting Oct. 12 through 15 at Mount Holyoke College were chosen to participate in the Take the Lead! Summit from a pool of 600 nominees and 300 applicants from around the country.

They were selected on the basis of their potential for leadership as demonstrated by their academic, extracurricular and community involvement, as well as their insight and motivation, said Patricia Vandenberg, director of the summit. "These are women who are interested in being agents of change in our society," said Vandenberg.

Teen-agers attending the Take the Lead! Summit will work on creating an action plan to solve a community problem of their choice. "We want to teach and inspire them," Vandenberg said. "They will have mentors and will feel part of a network of women who are making a difference in the world."

The three-day workshop aims to build leadership skills among these junior high school women and help them develop a plan to bring home that will help them tackle a social problem. Workshops and exercises, ranging from negotiating skills to publicity, public speaking and fund raising, are designed to give students the skills they need to make their project a reality.

Each student will have a mentor, a college-age woman who has received training from Mount Holyoke's Weismann Center for Leadership, and remain in touch with her mentor throughout the duration of the project, which could last six months or more. The college will award \$500 to three completed action projects.

The importance of the workshop, Vandenberg pointed out, is catching young women with an inclination to leadership before they lose confidence in themselves, a common phenomenon among junior high and high school young women. "We hope to make this an annual event so we can hone these women's abilities and concepts of themselves as being powerful agents of change in the world," she said.

Source: "Summit Builds Leadership Skills for Teen-age Girls," American News Service, October 12, 2000.

dren and mothers against police violence and state tyranny lead the way to new movements for justice.

It would be a serious mistake to characterize the contribution and leadership of women in social change movements as based solely on the "moral power of mothers." Historically, women leaders for progressive social change have combined scholarship, analytic depth, and strategic and creative power with

Let us labor to acquire knowledge, to break down the barriers of prejudice and oppression, believing, that if not for us, for another generation, there is a brighter day in store. . . .

—Charlotte Forten

the willingness and ability to recognize and connect with moral and emotional vision and choices.

One profound characterization of women's leadership is illuminated by the words of poet Alexis De Veaux (SUNY, Buffalo), who said when speaking of the women's human rights organization MADRE: "Being a mother is not simply the organic process of giving birth to a child. It is a way of looking at the world."

It is important to recognize that sexism is still prevalent within male-dominated movements for peace, justice, and human rights. When women are critical to efforts that are not strictly identified as "women's issues," we still have to struggle with male counterparts for our place and recognition of our leadership.

In her essay "Life After Lebanon" (Jordan 2002, 193), the African-American writer and activist June Jordan wrote about what she described as "the new woman," which, in some sense, was her description of the "new" woman leader.

Here and in South Africa and in Nicaragua and in Amsterdam and in England I see a new Woman: She frequently wears a uniform. She often carries a gun. She puts down her body to block missiles and bullets alike. She grieves for the dead but she fights back, to honor the dead. She learns self-defense. She runs for public office. She earns positions of enormous political power. And she is not calm. She is very excited and very busy making over this place into a safe place for us all, including white men.

The American Jewish pacifist writer Grace Paley gave an address in which she discussed the responsibility of the writer to society:

It is the responsibility of society to let the poet be a poet. . . . It is the responsibility of the poet to be a woman. . . . It is the responsibility of the male poet to be a woman. . . . It is the responsibility to say many

times there is no freedom without justice and this means economic justice and love justice. . . . It is the responsibility to learn the truth from the powerless. . . . It is the responsibility of the poet to be a woman to keep an eye on this world and cry out like Cassandra, but be listened to this time. (American Poetry Review Conference on Poetry and the Writer's Responsibility to Society, Spring, 1984).

In her poem titled "Kathe Kollwitz," the American Jewish writer Muriel Rukeyser said: "What would happen if one woman told the truth about her life? The world would split open."

Above all, women have learned "the truth from the powerless" (Paley 1984). Women have been powerless and are not afraid of the powerless. Having always had to struggle for power, we question its very meaning and character, and ask what kind of power we want. As we work for the "brighter day" Charlotte Forten described, we "keep an eye on the world"—as mother to the world—and cry out, imagine, demand, create change, tell the stories of our lives, driven by the courage to dream and the faith that we have the power to make dreams real.

—Kathy Engel

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See also Anthony, Susan B.; Birth Control; Body Shop, The; Brighton Declaration; Friedan, Betty; Goldman, Emma; Green Parties; King, Billie Jean; Mead, Margaret; Mother Teresa; Patriarchy; Roosevelt, Eleanor; Sanger, Margaret; Wells-Barnett, Ida; Winfrey, Oprah; Women's Movement; Women's Olympics; Women's Suffrage

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WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The women's movement has strongly influenced ideas about leadership throughout its history. The women's movement spans from approximately the early 1800s to the present time. The first wave of the women's movement began in the 1800s and tapered off during the 1940s as industrialized countries granted women the vote, which was one of the early goals of the movement. A revival of the women's movement termed the "second wave" began during the mid to late 1960s, focusing on the status of women in society. As this struggle continued and positive changes occurred, a younger generation of women emerged during the 1990s with a different perspective and their generation is considered the "third wave" of the women's movement. This wave coexists with the organizations and goals of second-wave feminists. During the first wave, the fact that women took leadership roles to fight for women's suffrage and other rights was significant, because it meant that women became leaders in the public sphere. While this continued to be true to some extent during the second wave, it is also true that during the second wave women challenged traditional notions of leadership. Currently, in the third wave, some organizations within the women's movement are offering feminist leadership training.

THE FIRST WAVE: WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

Women first became leaders in the women's movement during the battle for women's suffrage. New Zealand was the first country to grant women suffrage, doing so in 1893. Kate Sheppard (1847–1934) of New Zealand's Women's Christian Temperance Union was instrumental in the fight for suffrage, as were Harriet Morison (c. 1862–1925), Marion Hutton (1835–1905), and Helen Nicol (1854–1932),

who organized the first Women's Franchise League. Meri Te Tai Mangakahia (1868–1920) successfully fought for the inclusion of Maori women. (The Maori are New Zealand's indigenous population.) New Zealand women's early victory in gaining the vote inspired leaders of the women's suffrage movement all over the world.

The fight for suffrage and other women's rights was international. The International Council of Women (ICW) was founded in 1887, with Ishbel Aberdeen (1857–1939), from the United Kingdom, as its first president. The International Women's Suffrage Alliance (IWSA) was formed in 1904, with Carrie Chapman Catt (1859–1947), from the United States, as its president. Many women were influential in their own countries as well as in the international struggle for suffrage. In Japan, Ichikawa Fusae (1893–1981) was one of the founders of Fusen Kakutoku Domei (Women's Suffrage League). She led the women's suffrage movement in Japan, which granted suffrage for women, the right to be a candidate and to attend political meetings in 1945. Subsequent to these victories, Fusae was elected to Parliament five separate times between the years of 1953 and 1980. Huda Shaarawi (1879–1947) founded the Egyptian Feminist Union in 1923 and was its president for twenty-four years. The EFU fought for women's suffrage, advances in education, and legal reforms for women. Shaarawi was the Vice President of the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship in 1935.

Connections with Other Movements

The women's movement in the first wave not only was international but also addressed issues of race and class oppression. Feminist leaders were strengthened by their ties to other movements, even when controversy and disagreement arose between leaders of these movements. Many U.S. women had been brought to an understanding of women's position in society during their fight for the abolition of slavery. In the United States, Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815–1902) met Lucretia Mott (1793–1880) at an antislavery convention in 1840. As a result of this meeting, they organized the Women's Rights

Convention in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. Susan B. Anthony (1820–1906) met Elizabeth Cady Stanton at an abolitionist meeting in 1851 and they began a partnership of shared leadership. Together they formed the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) in 1869. Sojourner Truth (1797–1883), a former slave, became a leader in both the antislavery movement and the feminist movement and is best known for her speech “Ain’t I a Woman,” given at the Women’s Rights Convention in Akron, Ohio, in 1851. Many women were involved in the struggle for women’s rights and the right of labor to organize and were leaders in both of these areas. Kate Mullany (1845–1906) is an example of a woman who was both a feminist and a labor leader. She worked with Susan B. Anthony and others suffragists on the needs of women workers, and in 1864 formed the Collar Laundry Union, the first female union in the United States.

Leadership Differences

Splits in leadership during the first wave of feminism occurred over whether to embrace a liberal, single-issue agenda or a more far-reaching, multi-issue agenda. In the United States this split is evident in the fact that there were two suffrage organizations, the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), fighting for a wide range of women’s rights, and the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), founded the same year as the NWSA, 1869, by Lucy Stone (1818–1893), who felt that suffrage for women should be the only priority. In 1890 these two organizations resolved their differences and merged to become the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA).

Leadership styles differed not only over philosophical ideas but also over whether to use moderate or militant tactics. For instance, although not all women and men in the suffrage movement in Britain embraced militancy, British suffragists were known for their militant leadership. While the president of Britain’s National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies (NUWSS), Millicent Garrett Fawcett (1847–1929), favored a means of change through legal reform within the existing political system.

Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst (1858–1928; 1880–1958), mother and daughter suffragists who were prominent leaders of the more militant branch of suffragists, favored direct action by way of lawful and unlawful protests. Their organization, the Women’s Social and Political Union (WSPU), began utilizing destruction of property as a more militant tactic beginning in 1908, including breaking windows of government buildings and forcing entrance into the House of Commons. Once arrested for these tactics, the women initiated hunger strikes in further protest. Some members left the WSPU when leaders decided on arson as a tactic; more arrests ensued after some buildings were destroyed. The same split between moderates and militants emerged in the U.S. women’s suffrage movement as well, when Alice Paul (1885–1977), a young radical American woman influenced by the British suffragists, left the NWSA and founded the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage in 1914. The latter utilized such direct action tactics as strikes, demonstrations, and parades. Paul later founded the National Woman’s Party in 1916 and is credited with helping pass the Nineteenth Amendment (granting women the vote) to the U.S. Constitution in 1920. She subsequently turned her leadership skills toward passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, which was introduced to Congress in 1923.

THE SECOND WAVE

As in the first wave of the women’s movement, the second wave was divided between those with a reform orientation and those favoring more radical approaches. Reform organizations tended to be more bureaucratically structured, with designated leaders holding appointed offices. The goals of these organizations were usually various political reforms. The leaders were generally expected to be spokespersons and to oversee the direction of the organization. The more radical branches of the movement utilized collective leadership, rotated leadership, or rejected the idea of leadership altogether. The goals of the radical branches included the creation of an alternative women’s culture through the development of independent women’s presses, recording companies,

bookstores, music festivals, and coffeehouses. Women involved in forming a viable alternative women's culture tended to use terms such as *organizer* or *cultural worker* rather than *leader*. Many of the organizations, both moderate and radical, created during the second wave still exist, and some aspects of the women's alternative culture have even been adopted by the mainstream culture.

Nonhierarchical Leadership

One distinct form of leadership that emerged from the second wave of the women's movement was non-hierarchical leadership, which was embraced to varying extents by both moderate and radical groups. At least ideologically, this leadership style existed in the leftist organizations of the 1960s, in which many women had been involved before becoming involved in the women's movement. Nonhierarchical leadership runs counter to many common ideas and theories concerning leaders: The usual definition is that a nonhierarchical leader persuades others to become followers based on the leader's personal characteristics, such as a charismatic personality. The followers agree to give the leader authority and adopt the leader's vision.

The women's movement redefined leadership because of the feminist conception of power. For women fighting male domination, the concept of having power over another person was unacceptable. Therefore, rather than seeking power over others, the leaders of the women's movement wanted to empower one another to share leadership. Consciousness-raising (CR) groups of the 1960s and 1970s fostered this type of collective sharing of leadership. Because the purpose of CR groups was to share personal feelings, no woman was felt to be able to speak for another woman. The CR groups became a model of shared leadership. The absence of formal leadership was not without its detractors, however, who argued that the lack of structure made it possible for women who were more outgoing or more opinionated to dominate, despite the ideal of power sharing.

The nonhierarchical, shared leadership style of the women's movement has influenced other organ-

izations, including those in the business world, which have begun to move away from the idea of a single, charismatic leader who issues top-down directives and toward a less hierarchical model, as exemplified by concepts such as team leadership.

Media Representation of the Second Wave

Few women would claim to be leaders of a group within the women's movement, let alone the entire women's movement. But this lack of a single leader have been hard for those outside the women's movement to accept. The mainstream media in particular have pressured organizations within the movement to produce a leader; when they don't, the media will designate someone as leader. In the United States, several women have been dubbed the leaders of the women's movement by the media, and the media has relied on them to speak for the movement. This was useful for furthering the movement's causes, but it also distorted the idea of leadership in the movement.

Gloria Steinem (b. 1934) is one the most prominent media spokespersons for the women's movement in the United States. She is the cofounder and first editor of *Ms.*, a national feminist magazine that began publication in 1972. Throughout the 1970s, Steinem joined the lawyer Florynce (Flo) Kennedy (1916–2000) on the lecture circuit. Flo Kennedy was a feminist and civil rights activist known for her outspoken style and coalition building. In 1971, she founded the Feminist Party, which nominated the first African-American congresswoman, Shirley Chisholm (b. 1924), for president. In 1973, Kennedy cofounded the National Black Feminist Organization. Other visible spokespersons for the women's movement include Betty Friedan (b. 1921), who wrote *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), a book that described the dilemma of the middle-class housewife. Friedan was one of the founders and the first president of the National Organization for Women (NOW), an organization of feminist activists founded in 1966. Bella Abzug (1920–1998) was a feminist congresswoman who cofounded the Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO) in 1990. Eleanor Smeal (b. 1939) became president of NOW during the second-wave

fight for the slightly reworded Equal Rights Amendment of 1923; Smeal remains a spokesperson and lobbyist for NOW and cofounded the Feminist Majority Foundation in 1987.

Divisions and Challenges in Leadership of the Women's Movement in the United States

The development of “media stars” created a rift in viewpoints about feminist leadership. Prominent feminists were highly criticized by others in the movement for taking on such leadership roles, which were seen as self-serving “power trips.” That strong criticism led some women to withhold their skills and abilities and to downplay any charismatic tendencies so as not to appear to be taking on leadership roles. It also resulted in a counter critique, as some designated leaders felt that “trashing”—the slang term used for criticizing women for taking leadership roles—was creating weakness within the movement.

The fact that most of the well-known feminists in the United States were white and middle-class led to a sometimes divisive and misinformed view of the leadership, goals, and demography of the women's movement. Actual racism and classism encountered within the women's movement was also problematic. However, women of color such as Gloria Anzaldúa (b. 1942) and Cherríe Moraga (b. 1952), both Chicana feminists, and Barbara Smith (b. 1946), an African-American feminist, challenged the women's movement to expand its analysis to include the intersection of race, class, and gender. Because of the ongoing work of these and other women of color, awareness was raised, resulting in more diverse theory and practice within the women's movement.

Another divisive leadership issue that occurred early in the second wave was reaction to the increasing visibility of lesbians as leaders within the women's movement. Afraid that the visible presence of lesbians would discredit the movement, during the early 1970s, the National Organization for Women disavowed lesbians within the organization and the movement, labeling them “The Lavender Menace.” This in turn mobilized lesbian feminist leaders to organize for lesbian rights within the

women's movement and the larger culture. This challenge in the long run encouraged the leaders of NOW to become more inclusive of women regardless of their sexual orientation.

International Scope

During the second wave, the women's movement grew internationally. Several important forums and organizations served as a way for feminists to create worldwide coalitions. Perhaps the most visible forums for women worldwide have been the official UN world conferences and the parallel conferences for nongovernmental organizations. The first UN conference for women was the World Conference of the International Women's Year, held in Mexico City in 1975. Following this in 1980, the World Conference of the UN Decade for Women was held in Copenhagen, Denmark. The World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the UN Decade of Women was held in Nairobi, Kenya, in 1985. Some of the early international issues concerning women were equal rights, property gains, gains in political and economic power, violence against women, recognition of the importance of unpaid work, and improvements in paid work for women. The Fourth World Conference on Women was held in Beijing, China in 1995. More than 30,000 women from more than 180 countries took part in the Beijing conference, and women leaders developed the Platform for Action, arrived at by consensus over twelve days of negotiations, that addressed concerns of women worldwide. Women leaders from nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) organized independent conferences to be held simultaneously. The NGO forums were important because they were more inclusive than the delegations sent by nations to the official UN conference. The Beijing conference was the largest gathering of women in history thus far.

At present, women from around the world who are fighting for human rights, environmental concerns, land use, and sovereignty rights have become influential leaders in the international women's movement and in their own nations. These women are pressing the international women's movement to

adopt priorities that go beyond individual rights and the agendas of developed countries. In much of the world, women are involved in agriculture or are low-paid factory workers and therefore directly affected by development efforts and globalization. At Beijing, Vandana Shiva, scientist, author, ecofeminist, and founder of the Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Ecology, spoke on gender justice and development issues. Winona LaDuke, co-chair and one of the founders of the Indigenous Women's Network, presented concerns over land stewardship and sovereignty rights. Human rights, land, and the environment have become important issues for the women's movement.

THE THIRD WAVE AND THE FUTURE OF FEMINISM

As the second wave continued to organize, the daughters of second-wave feminists and a generation of younger women emerged to form a new perspective of feminism that they describe as the "third wave" of the women's movement. In the United States, most third-wave feminist leaders have grown up with the gains achieved by members of the second wave and have been exposed to feminist ideas, organizations, and culture growing up. The establishment of women's studies departments on university campuses during the second wave has meant that there is now a cohort of young women and men who have been taught the theories of the women's movement in the classroom. Curricula at the primary and secondary level have changed as well, with today's young students being exposed to women leaders throughout history. Within the third wave of feminism, there is a shift in attitude about leadership that is evident in the development of formal leadership



"Ain't I a Woman?": Sojourner Truth's Speech Delivered at the Women's Rights Convention in Akron, Ohio in December 1851

Well, children, where there is so much racket there must be something out of kilter. I think that 'twixt the negroes of the South and the women at the North, all talking about rights, the white men will be in a fix pretty soon. But what's all this here talking about?

That man over there says that women need to be helped into carriages, and lifted over ditches, and to have the best place everywhere. Nobody ever helps me into carriages, or over mud-puddles, or gives me any best place! And ain't I a woman? Look at me! Look at my arm! I have ploughed and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could head me! And ain't I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man—when I could get it—and bear the lash as well! And ain't I a woman? I have borne thirteen children, and seen most all sold off to slavery, and when I cried out with my mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me! And ain't I a woman?

Then they talk about this thing in the head; what's this they call it? [member of audience whispers, "intellect!"] That's it, honey. What's that got to do with women's rights or negroes' rights? If my cup won't hold but a pint, and yours holds a quart, wouldn't you be mean not to let me have my little half measure full?

Then that little man in black there, he says women can't have as much rights as men, 'cause Christ wasn't a woman! Where did your Christ come from? Where did your Christ come from? From God and a woman! Man had nothing to do with Him.

If the first woman God ever made was strong enough to turn the world upside down all alone, these women together ought to be able to turn it back, and get it right side up again! And now they is asking to do it, the men better let them.

Obliged to you for hearing me, and now old Sojourner ain't got nothing more to say.

training. The Feminist Majority Foundation began offering a feminist leader campus program in 1994. Currently the Feminist Majority Leadership Alliances are student-run campus groups that focus on issues as diverse as body image and international feminism. They receive guidance from campus organizers, information online regarding starting and maintaining a group, and specific leadership skills such as public speaking and dealing with the press. In turn, one of their programs of outreach to the community is to mentor high school girls. The Third Wave Foundation is an organization that is run by girls and women from ages fifteen to thirty and offers support and grants for young women organizers. The foundation emphasizes coalition building, as

evidenced in their program Reaching Out Across Movements (ROAM). This organization was cofounded in 1995 by Rebecca Walker, Amy Richards, Catherine Gund, and Dawn Lundy Martin.

Besides the benefit of formal training in leadership and early exposure to feminist ideas, third-wave feminists also have access to new forms of communication, such as the Internet, which they can use for organizing. Third-wave feminists have distributed their messages through music, events, and publications including independent magazines online and in print usually referred to as “zines.” While they forge a twenty-first-century vision of feminism, with new theories and methods of action, they are also involved in protecting some of the rights that they grew up with, such as reproductive freedom. The leaders of the third wave of the women’s movement are currently shaping the future through their words and actions and continuing the fight for women’s rights.

—Diane Rodgers

See also Anthony, Susan B.; Birth Control; Body Shop, The; Brighton Declaration; Friedan, Betty; Goldman, Emma; Green Parties; King, Billie Jean; Mead, Margaret; Patriarchy; Roosevelt, Eleanor; Sanger, Margaret; Wells-Barnett, Ida B.; Winfrey, Oprah; Women and Business Leadership; Women and Political Leadership; Women and Social Change Leadership; Women’s Olympics; Women’s Suffrage

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WOMEN'S OLYMPICS

Ralph Waldo Emerson asserted that every institution is the lengthened shadow of a great man. If one substitutes “woman” for “man,” Emerson’s assertion holds true for Alice Million Milliat (1884–1957) and the Fédération Sportive Féminine Internationale

(FSFI), the organization that staged four successive Olympiques Féminins in the years 1922 through 1934.

The platform from which Milliat launched her remarkable career as a sports administrator was Fémina Sport, a Parisian club founded in 1911 to encourage sports among upper-class women. (Her own favorite sport was rowing.) In 1917, Fémina Sport joined a number of other clubs to form the Fédération des Sociétés Féminines Sportives de France (FSFSF). Although all of the clubs in the FSFSF were led by men, Milliat was named the federation's treasurer. Early married, early widowed, and childless, Milliat had the time, the energy, and the material resources to dedicate herself wholeheartedly to women's sports. In 1918, she became the FSFSF secretary-general. A year later, she was elected president by a unanimous vote. A year after that, all the officers of the FSFSF were female.

After the FSFSF staged France's first track-and-field championships for women in 1917, Milliat worked hard to organize additional national championships in soccer, basketball, field hockey, and swimming. It is likely, although not certain, that it was also Milliat who arranged, in 1918, for two Fémina Sport teams to play a game of soccer as a curtain-raiser to a match between the French and Belgian national teams. In 1920, a women's team formed from nine French sports clubs crossed the Channel to Lancashire to play a series of four matches against Dick, Kerr's Ladies, a soccer team formed by employees of the engineering firm Dick, Kerr & Co. The expedition was arranged by Alice Milliat.

It was, however, women's track-and-field sports, not soccer, that became the focus of Milliat's efforts. Although a number of historians have asserted that Milliat was the organizer of the Olympiade Féminine that was staged in Monte Carlo in the summer of 1921, that honor belonged to Camille Blanc, mayor of Beaulieu and president of the socially exclusive International Sporting Club of Monaco. On 31 October 1921, only five months after the games at Monte Carlo proved the viability of international competitions for women, Milliat was among the seven delegates who met in Paris, at 14 Boulevard des Italiens, to create the Fédération Sportive Féminine Internationale (FSFI). By all rights, Milliat should have

been named president of the organization, but Émile Antoine insisted that women lacked the aura of authority necessary to assume leadership of an international organization. A year later, it was obvious that Milliat had the necessary aura as well as a full measure of administrative talent. She became and remained president of the FSFI.

The success of the first Jeux Internationaux Féminins testified to Milliat's ability to lead. These games, which some contemporary journalists referred to as the Jeux Olympiques Féminins, were held in Paris on 10 August 1922. Over 20,000 spectators crowded Le Stade-Pershing to watch athletes from five nations compete in the eleven-event program, which included a 1,000-meter race, a distance then considered to be an enormous challenge for a young woman.

OPPOSITION AND SUCCESS

Although the French press was generally enthusiastic about these women's games, there was some adverse commentary from conservatives scandalized by the sight of young women running races in shorts and T-shirts. Milliat was not deterred. Responding to critics in *Le Miroir des Sports* (March 1925), she described female athletes as *une caste* that had to stand firm against opposition. While Milliat acknowledged the appeals of traditional femininity, she argued that a woman's strength, endurance, and speed were as socially desirable as charm, poise, and grace. Unlike more conventional advocates of women's sports, she seems to have had no qualms about muscular development. (As a fully committed feminist, she also fought for the right of women to vote.)

The most serious opposition to the Jeux Olympiques Féminins came from the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF). To appease the IOC, Milliat agreed to renounce all use of the word "Olympique." Although the Swedish president of the IAAF, Sigfrid Edström, was extremely unhappy about Milliat's challenge, he eventually opted for compromise and persuaded her, in 1926, to accept IAAF rules and regulations (revised for women when necessary). The IAAF then persuaded the

International Olympic Committee to include women's track and field in the program for the 1928 games in Amsterdam.

As the *Jeux Féminins Mondiaux*, the second FSFI-sponsored games took place in Göteborg, Sweden, in 1926. They were another resounding success. France's Marguerite Radieau ran 100 yards in 11.8 seconds, but the sensation of the games was nineteen-year-old Kinue Hitomi, the first Japanese woman to represent her people in an international sports competition. She won gold medals in the standing and the running long jump, a silver medal in the discus, and a bronze medal in the 100-yard dash. (Göteborg was also the site for an international conference on women's sports, one of nine over which Milliat presided.)

The compromise with the IAAF left Milliat unsatisfied. At the Amsterdam games, women's track and field was limited to a mere five events: the 100-meter and 800-meter races, the high jump, the discus, and the 4 x 100-meter relay. The future of women's participation was endangered by the IOC's hysterical reaction to the sight of women who were exhausted by the 800-meter race. The panicky members voted in 1929 to eliminate women's track and field. At the Olympic Congress convened in Berlin in 1930, Milliat asked the IOC to reverse itself. Thanks in part to assistance from Avery Brundage and Gustavus T. Kirby of the United States, both major figures in the IAAF, she did manage to persuade the IOC to change its collective mind and keep women's track and field on the program for the 1932 games in Los Angeles. The vote was seventeen to one.

The third Women's International Games took place in Prague in 1930. The program was expanded to include not only track-and-field contests but also four team-sport tournaments—in soccer, basketball, barette (similar to rugby), and hazena (similar to team handball). Two hundred fourteen athletes from seventeen countries gathered for the three-day event in Letna Stadium. The brightest star was Poland's Stanislava Walaciewicz, subsequently known in the United States as Stella Walsh. She won three gold medals for races over 60, 100, and 200 meters.

The fourth Women's World Games took place in

London in 1934. Nineteen teams competed, but the German women were so overwhelmingly superior that they garnered more points than the next three countries combined.

JOINING THE OLYMPICS AT LAST

Meeting during the Berlin Olympics of 1936, the IAAF voted (fifteen to four with five abstentions) to sponsor rather than simply to recognize women's events, to accept the FSFI's records as official, and to recommend the expansion of women's Olympic track and field from six to nine events. These were among Milliat's goals, but the price she paid was the end of the FSFI as an independent organization. The last of the FSFI's quadrennial sports festivals, held in Vienna in 1938, was officially sponsored by the IAAF, but it was downgraded to the level of a European championship. Milliat, now over fifty, retired from the international stage and lived the rest of her life in undeserved obscurity.

In a 1974 interview, Germaine Gagneux-Bisson, FSFI secretary-treasurer, described Milliat as a willful person who sometimes antagonized her male colleagues—who were not accustomed to forceful women. Avery Brundage, who served with Milliat on many IAAF committees, was among those antagonized by her perseverance: "She was active for years and she demanded more and more. She made quite a nuisance of herself" (Guttman 2003, 171). Another way to explain her achievements and to assess her personality and style of leadership is to say that she was canny enough to understand that nice girls finish last.

—Allen Guttman

See also Modern Olympics Movement

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WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

Women in the United States, beginning in 1848, fought for three-quarters of a century to gain the right to vote. Women's suffrage, along with abolition of slavery and reform of labor, was one of the three greatest reforms in U.S. society. The suffrage movement was born from female activism led by women such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, who brought women across the nation into the movement and helped pave the road to equality for future generations of women. Anthony, Stanton, and others proved to be inspirational to women interested in the vote and equal rights for women. The outstanding leadership of early suffragists like Anthony and Stanton sparked the interest of future generations who joined the national crusade as leaders and participants in the women's suffrage movement.

Women historically have proven to be model leaders and have engaged in a wide array of reform movements. As it turns out, many of the reform movements of the nineteenth century occurred simultaneously and were led by women who counted among their primary goals the vote for women. The women's suffrage movement was not an isolated event; rather, it stemmed from the abolition movement and other reform movements that came about through the moral reforms proposed by evangelical Protestantism during the 1830s. Acting on moral principles and church dogma, men and women alike sought to reform an ailing society riddled with social injustices that included slavery and intemperance. Some women participated in the public sphere as abolition agents and as public speakers for emancipation of slaves. Others worked for a temperate society under the leadership of moral reform groups such as the Women's Christian Temperance Society. Temperance societies believed that curtailing alcohol consumption would help alleviate violence in society, control domestic strife, and eradicate child abuse

and neglect. Women often worked harmoniously among male reformers, and many women accepted their gendered space within the hierarchy of a male-dominated society. However, as more women became exposed to public activism and public speaking, many began to reject the restrictions placed on them by church leaders, male officials, and dominating husbands and fathers. Conflicting views regarding women's roles in public activism led to heated debates and splits within various churches.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE DURING THE PRE-CIVIL WAR ERA

Churches in the United States during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries promoted clearly defined roles for men and women in society. Most of the United States exercised a system of separate spheres in which women were expected to be keepers of the home and morality. As a result, women had relatively little activity in the public sphere, thus making the private sphere of motherhood and housewifery their lot in life. Women were to be of pure heart, chaste, pious, and, above all else, submissive to their husbands and God. Men, on the other hand, were allowed to exercise their authority in both the home and in public. Masculine privilege during the colonial period until the late nineteenth century included controlling property in marriage, having sole custody of children if divorce occurred, and having the right to serve in public office and the right to vote. Religious ideology brought from England and other countries kept the notion of separate spheres in place. However, church rhetoric was occasionally redefined by progressive religions in a way that afforded women the opportunity for greater autonomy and equality in the United States. For example, religious sects such as the Quakers held strong egalitarian principles, and because of conflicts over slavery and other issues that denied basic human morality, splits in the sect occurred. One progressive Quaker group, the Hicksites, believed that slavery was morally wrong on all levels. Likewise, the Hicksites allowed women a fuller range of activism, including public speaking. It is no coincidence that many of the most outspoken leaders for women's suffrage were



A women's suffrage poster.

Source: David J. and Janice L. Frent Collection/Corbis; used with permission.

Quaker women such as Lucretia Mott and Susan B. Anthony. However, other churches did not allow female leadership in church or public life. Many churches supported slavery and restricted the lives of women. These churches exercised a hierarchy based on traditional patriarchy and embellishments or misinterpretations of the Bible in order to support gender oppression and racial superiority.

In spite of restrictions on their lives, many women refused to be silent and passive in a male-dominated society. By the 1840s, many reform movements outgrew their religious origins and became increasingly secularized. The secularization of reform movements created conflict between church leaders and

women of the movements. Women such as the sisters Angelina and Sarah Grimké took to task clergymen who sought to contain the outspoken leadership of women. Men such as William Lloyd Garrison added to the anticlerical agitation with their secularized views, which gained a stronghold during the 1840s. Garrison proposed the immediate release of slaves in bondage and argued for the common humanity of both blacks and whites. Paramount to Garrison's rhetoric was the belief that a revolution in people's ideas must precede and underlie institutional and legal reform. Garrison put many clergy in an uproar over his notions of equality. Prior to Garrison's declarations, the clergy controlled women's moral energy, thus containing the public activism of zealous female leaders. The abolition movement during the 1840s was the catalyst for women leaders such as the Grimke sisters, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, and later Susan B. Anthony in advocating a society that supported equal rights for women. Societies emerging from the Northeast to Indiana and Ohio all had a common goal—equal rights for women, with suffrage as the main goal.

SENECA FALLS AND THE WOMEN QUESTION

As reform movements became secularized, women such as Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton emerged as some of the most tenacious leaders. Garrisonian rhetoric of immediatism, which proposed the complete emancipation of slaves, was utilized within the suffrage movement and called for the swift and complete enfranchisement of women, thus the demand for total equality became fundamental to the women's rights movement. Initially, women leaders sought to reform property laws for married women, divorce laws, and child custody laws. Some historians have suggested that women's suffrage stemmed from Garrison's abolition rhetoric; however, given the overall upheaval in U.S. society, advocating suffrage may have been a natural inclination for disgruntled and disenfranchised women. In 1848, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott organized the first women's rights convention, which was held in Seneca Falls, New York, with more than five hun-

dred women attending. Stanton modeled the convention's Declaration of Sentiments after the preamble of the Declaration of Independence, and at the top of the list of grievances was the lack of the vote for women. Stanton, Mott, and other participants realized that the vote would give women access to the public arena and help them fight inequalities protected by unfair laws. Although the Seneca Falls convention captured national attention, and women swelled the ranks of suffragists, equal voting rights for women would not be gained until 1920. Nonetheless, the seeds of discontent had been sown.

EARLY LEADERS

The women's suffrage movement did not emerge as a monolithic event during the nineteenth century. As education for women improved and religious mores became less restrictive, women emerged as determined advocates of suffrage. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony deserve their accolades; however, the women's suffrage movement was led by many women. Like Stanton and Anthony, these women found their motivation for suffrage activism in other arenas of social reform. The early feminists, beginning before the Civil War, gradually moved into the public sphere of activism. The notion of separate spheres for men and women continued to exist in the United States in the mid-nineteenth century, and misogynistic rhetoric continued through social and family customs, church teachings, and restrictive genders laws.

Among the early suffrage leaders were Angelina and Sarah Grimké. At first glance the Grimké sisters would not have appeared to be likely social reformers. They were born in South Carolina, the daughters of a prominent slaveholder. Their emergence, as southern women, into the public sphere of social reform during the 1830s was unusual. Both sisters, after experiencing the horrors of slavery first hand, worked for the abolition of slavery. Their personal convictions came at great personal cost: They were cut off from family wealth and severed their southern ties permanently. By 1836 the Grimké sisters had become outspoken members of the Garrisonian society, speaking out against slavery and for

women's rights. Although their public speaking earned them much scorn, they refused to be cowed by ministers who spoke out against women's public activism and advocated slavery. Women such as the Grimké sisters began to absorb the anticlerical message of Garrison and emerged as leaders for women's rights and suffrage. Sarah argued that men and women were created equal in God's eyes and that virtue is not a particular attribute of one gender over the other. Some male abolitionists sought to contain the outspoken sisters, but their message had already been heard and their leadership established. As a result, the Grimké sisters were followed by other women who took an anticlerical stance and applied those principles to their lives and used them in the fight for equality.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY

Of all the prewar activists, Susan B. Anthony was likely the most committed in her leadership. Anthony simply would not settle for less than the complete dedication of her peers to enfranchisement of women. Between the years of 1854 and 1860, Anthony canvassed New York seeking new members for the women's suffrage movement. Her efforts for "the cause" led many small-town suffragettes to lead small groups of feminists to fight for the vote. Likewise, Lucy Stone and many others, including men, continued to encourage disgruntled women to take a stance against the inequalities of their male-dominated society. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, fully enmeshed in a life of domesticity and motherhood, continued to contribute to the movement when she could. However, the suffrage movement grew slowly and was stifled by the Civil War. Many feminists put their energies into the war effort—making bandages and clothing, caring for the sick and wounded, alleviating the suffering of runaway slaves, and continuing to fight for abolition. Not until after the war and passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments granting African-Americans citizenship and black males voting rights did women reemerge as determined suffragists. After the war in 1865, enfranchisement was thrust to the forefront of the women's rights movement, creating schisms within the move-



The "Natural Differences" Argument Against Women's Suffrage

The view that men and women are different and suited for different work was regularly advanced by opponents of women's suffrage. In the following text, the argument is made by the Roman Catholic priest Joseph P. Machebeuf in a speech given in Denver on 6 February 1877.

Though strong-minded women who are not satisfied with the disposition of Providence and who wish to go beyond the condition of their sex, profess no doubt to be Christians, do they consult the Bible?—do they follow the Bible? I fear not. Had God intended to create a companion for man, capable of following the same pursuits, able to undertake the same labors, he would have created another man; but he created a woman, and she fell. . . . The class of women wanting suffrage are battalions of old maids disappointed in love—women separated from their husbands or divorced by men from their sacred obligations—women who, though married, wish to hold the reins of the family government, for there never was a woman happy in her home who wished for female suffrage. Who will take charge of those young children (if they consent to have any) while mothers as surgeons are operating indiscriminately upon the victims of a terrible railway disaster? . . . No kind husband will refuse to nurse the baby on Sunday (when every kind of business is stopped) in order to let his wife attend church; but even then, as it is not his natural duty, he will soon be tired of it and perhaps get impatient waiting for the mother, chiefly when the baby is crying.

Source: Joseph Projectus Machebeuf, "Woman's Suffrage: A Lecture Delivered in the Catholic Church of Denver, Colorado," February 6, 1877. Reprinted in *History of Woman Suffrage*, Volume III, ed. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage (Rochester: Charles Mann Printing Co., 1886); pp. 720–721.

ment regarding enfranchisement of black men and the continuing disenfranchisement of all women.

POSTWAR SUFFRAGE STRATEGIES AND STRIFE

By 1869, two women's suffrage organizations emerged from the American Equal Rights Association that had formerly been led by Elizabeth Cady

Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. The two groups had conflicting views over voting rights for black males that resulted from the passing of the Fifteenth Amendment. The women of the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) believed that women should have been awarded the franchise before black men. The NWSA was led exclusively by women and sought legal recourse through federal legislation. The organization became more radical, resulting in a large array of feminist agendas. The NWSA attracted numerous charismatic members such as Fannie Wright and Victoria Woodhull, both of whom supported women's suffrage but also had personal agendas under the umbrella of women's rights. Numerous utopian movements and radical reform movements became a part of the rapidly changing landscape of postwar United States. The free love movement proposed by Victoria Woodhull, Fannie Wright, and others proved shocking to conservative citizens and was rejected in many circles. Radical reforms such as vegetarianism and spiritualism were short lived or rejected by mainstream society. Overall, the alternative cultures that emerged during the latter half of the nineteenth century demonstrate that the nation was progressing toward modernity and that the fight for women's enfranchisement would not be stifled. Nineteenth-century women continued to fight for the vote along with the most radical reformers who held personal liberty as the truest form of freedom. Members of the NWSA held to the anticlerical views adopted early in the movement and refused to use exclusionary tactics.

As a result of the conflict over the Fifteenth Amendment, a second organization—a conservative branch of the women's suffrage movement—emerged and became known as the American Women's Suffrage Association (AWSA). AWSA was led by Lucy Stone and her husband, Henry Blackwell, and unlike NWSA, had both male and female members and leaders. A longtime comrade of Anthony and Stanton, Stone broke away from NWSA over the Fifteenth Amendment. Stone was responsible for the 1869 schism that set feminists at odds with each other. AWSA rejected the radical position of the NWSA and rejected inclusion of members such as Woodhull. The strategies utilized

by Stone, Blackwell, and other members included appealing to state legislatures to gradually gain women enfranchisement over time. As time passed, the two organizations realized that their strength would be greater united, and the two groups merged in 1890 as the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA).

A NEW GENERATION OF SUFFRAGETTES

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Lucy Stone led the newly emerged NAWSA. Anthony was elected president and retained the leadership until 1900. After Stanton published *The Women's Bible* (a critical look at the Bible) in 1895, NAWSA considered her too radical, and the organization distanced itself from her. Leaders of NAWSA continued to demand a constitutional amendment but also realized that the support of individual states was vital to the success of the movement and put more emphasis on state victories.

The NAWSA felt the support of Southern women was crucial, and the organization tolerated segregation in its state affiliates. This practice came to a head at a historic Washington, D.C., suffrage march in 1913, when activist Ida B. Wells-Barnett was told by NAWSA officials that she and other African-American women would not be allowed to march with their state affiliates, and instead would have to stay together as a group at the back of the parade. In reaction to racism within the women's suffrage movement and in order to focus on educating African-American women on the need for all women to obtain the vote, a number of black women's suffrage organizations emerged, led by Wells-Barnett, Mary Church Terrell, and others.

PROGRESSIVISM AND THE VOTE

Around 1900, progressive reforms swept the nation in response to wide-scale poverty, vice, and overall social upheaval brought about by the Industrial Revolution, unfair economic and regulatory practices, and an increasingly corrupt political system. Labor organizers and social reformers fought for relief, and the Progressive Era ushered in corresponding legis-

lation to alleviate political and social problems. Unlike in early reform movements, all classes of society became part of the progressive reform movement, and as a result suffragists gained a wider audience. Leaders such as Alice Paul created the National Women's Party, and Carrie Chapman Catt created a "winning plan." During World War I, Catt encouraged state suffrage leaders to appeal to national representatives and to drop suffrage work in support of the war. Catt's goal was for the movement to appear patriotic to President Wilson, who could send suffrage legislation through Congress. Catt's plan worked, and Wilson submitted to Congress the Women's Suffrage Amendment, which was passed on to the states in 1919. In spite of the political resistance of the anti-suffragists, on 26 August 1920, three-fourths of the state legislatures ratified the Nineteenth Amendment, giving women full voting rights. By the summer of 1920 women had gained the right to vote in a special session arranged by President Wilson in Nashville, Tennessee. Through the hard work and leadership of several generations of women, the moment of victory had finally arrived.

—Denise R. Johnson

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women place on relationships and being connected to others. This value orientation is played out in a number of areas. In cognitive development, a woman's interest in making more personal connections and having a relationship with her subject is called connected knowing. This relationship value is found in the importance women place on putting events in their context in order to understand them more fully. The emphasis on context leads them away from universal applications across different situations.

In leadership studies, women often relate their struggle with traditional forms of hierarchical leadership. Their fear is that being at the top of an organization will isolate them and cause them to become disconnected from others in their team. This concern has led many women to seek different models of leadership such as leadership alongside, shared leadership, collaborative leadership, and invisible leadership.

The theme of relationships continues in the field of identity development, where research has found that a woman's identity is affected by her relationships with her parents and loved ones, and her relationship with herself. Therefore it should be no surprise that women would lead from the perspective of connecting with people in their organizations. Language such as *the web of inclusion*, *empowerment*, *coaching*, and *team builders* have described some of the assets that women bring to leadership. These strengths flow from their primary orientation to and valuing of relationships.

The orientation toward relationships is also revealed in women's focus on connections. Women often make connections with others and between people and ideas, structures, processes, and communities. It may be the commonly held process orientation, but many women have developed a facility for seeing patterns of connections within organizations.

This relationship orientation is also reinforced by recent biological and body chemistry studies on sex differences (as discussed in Blum 1997 and Hales 1999). One theory is that the higher level of estrogen in a woman's body chemically reinforces a woman's orientation toward relationships. So this orientation appears to be both social and physiological. Relationships shape other core value orientations. This theme mutually shapes the way a woman communi-

cates, uses power, leads, interprets information, and analyzes systems.

ORIENTATION TO ETHICS OF CARE

Carol Gilligan's research on moral development found that women developed their moral judgments through an ethic of care, while men were more likely to see moral decisions through an ethic of justice. While both men and women value fairness, the criteria they use to define it are different. The value themes of care and the interest in developing and empowering others as well as expressing both their own voices and the voices of others suggest that there may be a gender-related ethic of care that is at the base of their orientation. Women will take the context and their care of others into consideration when working through ethical dilemmas. The value of caring is reflected in the language of feelings that is found in women's organizations. When working in coeducational environments, one often hears "What did you think of this proposal?" but in women's organizations this question is supplemented by questions of "How are you feeling?" or "Did she seem hurt by what was said?" The caring orientation opens up the domain of emotions and time is spent reflecting on the emotional content of the message and the feelings of individuals in the organization.

ORIENTATION TO PROCESS

Women place a high value the process or way groups get to their end product. For them, both the means and the ends are important. The kinds of processes that are valued include collaboration, mutual writing of scripts, and co-creation, done in an environment where openness, care, feelings, challenges, and human development is valued. While the product is important, women believe that success should also result in increased levels of self-confidence and competence. While a focus on activity has diminished or overrun the voices of women, over time the emphasis on process has reinforced the value women place on giving everyone a voice, creating ways to increase equity and participation, and ensuring that everyone understands

zational learning are critical. Women's valuing of both sharing and learning together will be a strength in the organizations of the future, where optimizing the collective wisdom of individuals in a team will be the way intellectual capital will be leveraged.

ORIENTATION TO ASSOCIATIVE THINKING

A friend described his first meeting in a predominantly women's organization. He sat at the leadership team meeting and watched the other members progress through the agenda. The discussion went on numerous tangents. He had trouble following logic of the conversation and could not understand why the other members talked about so many different things on their way to accomplishing the agenda. The women in the room did not see their conversation as being off the topic. What he later understood was that in a women's organization, this associative thinking pattern was revealed in a way he had not experienced before in other organizations. He had just had a significant dose of associative thinking.

Brain research had found that women have more connections between the left and right hemispheres of the brain. This is one of the reasons why their conversations seem to take tangents. They are not really tangents to women, who see many connections; they are a way of seeing relationships between many variables. This awareness of the multiplicity of connection can cause puzzlement and frustration in people who do not think this way. However, think how frustrating it would be for a woman if a conversation proceeded in a straight line, with no detours, when she saw many variables and pieces of information that were relevant to the decision.

This thinking pattern also reveals itself in how women come to decisions. A seemingly unrelated topic can inform a decision. Coupled with a communication pattern that uses the rhetoric of understanding rather than debate, decisions can be hard to spot. The same man who found the thinking process different also did not think anything was actually decided at the meeting. But when the next meeting arrived, he realized that everyone else had understood what was being asked, had proceeded to accomplish their tasks, and were ready to communi-

cate their progress back to the group. As time went on, he learned not only to spot the decisions but to also see the tangents as relevant to the topic. It is a legitimate and different way of getting through an agenda.

This associative thinking orientation shows up in friendship conversations between women. Often the larger context is shared like a story with many subplots. Other women enjoy the details and richness of the surrounding story lines. This value women place on sharing details as a form of connection along with a brain structure that is wired differently than men lead to associative thinking patterns as a frame of reference.

The implications that this thinking pattern has for leadership is significant. Associative thinking is a perfect complement to the complexity in the interdependent systems we experience in our workplaces and world today. The developmental challenge for women is to identify the relevant variables in the many connections they might see. Otherwise a woman focused too closely only on connections (without seeing their relevance) might experience the kind of information overload that can get in the way of taking action.

CHANGE

Women's bodies are always changing. They go through change on a monthly cycle, major shifts in hormones are ongoing over the course of their life, and their bodies change shape significantly during pregnancy. The challenges a mother faces raising her children, and the continual seeking out of personal and professional development indicate that women value learning and change on both cognitive and psychological levels. This physical and psychological experience of change prepares them for the flexibility necessary to adapt to changing external environments.

Like other value orientations, the way women engage in change is mutually shaped by other values already discussed. They see change as a process that unfolds in the context of relationships. Making connections with people, finding agreement, and ensuring diverse participation drive their change process. They use their personal power to influence change and their capacity to empower others to create

change. Creating change is second nature to women, in part, because it is a natural activity in their lives.

IMPLICATIONS FOR LEADERSHIP

Leadership in the twenty-first century will be practiced in a context of connectivity and integrated networks as well as within a dynamic environment of on going change. Leadership will require ongoing learning on individual, group, and organizational levels and the ability to adapt to a changing environment through increased flexibility and capacity to live with ambiguity. Finally, it will be practiced within an increasing complex environment requiring synthesis as well as analysis.

A relationship orientation can be an asset in a connected world. As the workplace becomes more networked, women's orientation toward seeing the world through its relationships can enhance her leadership capacity. The values women place on relationships can enhance their ability to work with others, encourage, motivate, develop, and inspire them. However, women's orientation also presents a key developmental challenge. The developmental challenge for women is to develop a sense of boundaries in order to not be subsumed by the connectivity. For example, they need to know themselves as a separate individual. Sometimes the loss of one's individual identity can cause women to forget to include themselves as one of the people they need to care about. This is about optimizing the tensions between boundaries and connection.

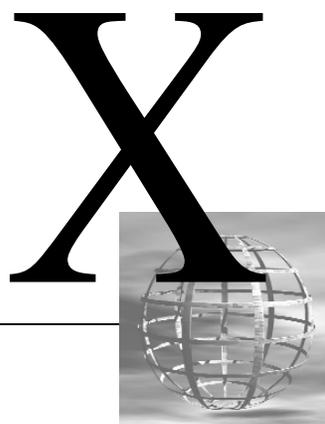
Women's values orientations will bring many assets to the practice of leadership in this kind of environment. Their relationship orientation will help them in two ways. First, it will help women develop strong networks through the power of their relationships and care. Second, their focus on process will help facilitate and create ways to involve people to solve increasing complex problems. Third, their associative thinking will help them see relationships between variables and think in more integrative ways about systems. Fourth, their values for equity and care will facilitate the empowering of traditionally excluded populations and enhance the diversity of

perspectives at the table. Finally, their capacity to see learning as a sharing and connecting activity will facilitate the creation of generative knowledge that can be leveraged through the combining of individual intelligences into collective or shared wisdom. When this deeper knowledge and wisdom is reinvested in the organization, the organization becomes stronger in adapting to the changing external environment.

—Kathleen E. Allen

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XIAN INCIDENT

On 12 December 1936, a trusted top general kidnapped the leader of China to force the leader to bend to the general's demands and then accompanied the leader to the capital and turned himself over to police, receiving a sentence of house arrest for fifty years. The Xian Incident affected who would rule one of the largest, most populated countries in the modern world.

BACKGROUND

After completing military training with the Japanese Army, the Chinese general and politician Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975) returned to China in 1911 and took part in the revolution against the Manchu dynasty. Chiang was active in attempts to overthrow the government of Yuan Shih-kai from 1913 to 1916, and when the Chinese statesman and revolutionary leader Sun Yat-sen established the Guangzhou government in 1917, Chiang served as his military aide. In 1923, Sun sent Chiang to the Soviet Union to study military organization and to seek aid for the Guangzhou government. On Chiang's return he was appointed commandant of the newly established Whampoa Military Academy. He grew even more prominent in China's middle-class revolutionary party, the Kuomintang (KMT), after the death of Sun

in 1925. The KMT was established in 1912 and originally called for parliamentary democracy and moderate socialism.

In 1926, Chiang launched the Northern Expedition with the intention of defeating their longtime rival Japan, leading the Nationalist (holding the idea of a cohesive, unified Chinese people and culture primarily under Chinese rule) army into Hankou and Nanjing. Chiang followed Sun's policy of cooperation with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and acceptance of Russian aid until 1927, when he dramatically reversed himself and initiated the long civil war between the KMT and the Communists.

In March 1927, Chiang and his revolutionary army easily took over Shanghai, China's industrial and commercial hub. Chiang's forces, an unconventional alliance of the CCP and the KMT, now controlled most of the country. By the end of the year, Chiang controlled the KMT, and in 1928, he became head of the Nationalist government at Nanjing and general of all Chinese Nationalist forces. After the Shanghai victory, Chiang swiftly moved his troops against the trade unions, purged the Communists from the KMT, banned the CCP, established the Nationalist government, and made himself president of China.

Only Manchuria, ruled by warlord Chang Tso-lin, remained outside Chiang's power. Chang Tso-lin, known as the "Old Marshal," was assassinated in 1928 by the Japanese, and his son, Chang Xue-liang

(later to be known as “Peter Chang”) (1898–2001), took Chang Tso-lin’s place as military governor of Manchuria. The younger Chang became known as the “Young Marshal” and was one of the most powerful military figures in China.

As leader of the Manchurian army, Chang realized that even with hundreds of thousands of soldiers under his command his army was still too weak to fight the Japanese alone. In 1928, he decided to submit to the Nationalist government under Chiang’s leadership and unite the divided military forces under the command of warlords in different parts of China. Chang supported Chiang against a rebellious northern army from 1929 to 1930 and was made deputy commander in chief of the Chinese armed forces and a member of the central political council.

Throughout the 1930s, Chiang firmly believed that the principal threat to China came not from Japanese aggression but rather from the tiny Communist movement in China. When Japanese troops began a gradual invasion of China in 1931, Chiang adopted a nonresistance policy to not provoke Japan further and to keep his troops available to fight the Communists.

When the Japanese invaded Manchuria in 1931, they drove out Chang and his men. Chiang refused to aid Chang’s army when the Japanese attacked and instead arranged to have Chang and his army transferred to northwest China, far from Japanese influence. When popular protests to the nonresistance policy broke out in China, the Japanese found pretexts to launch punishing military attacks on major cities, such as Shanghai, and they created a new independent state in Manchuria, called “Manchukuo,” with the last of the Manchu emperors appointed as king.

Chiang was reserving his military force to fight the Communists, whereas Chang regarded the Japanese as the real enemy. In 1934, Chiang ordered Chang to attack the Communists. During battles the Manchurian army suffered heavy losses and many defeats, and Chang became convinced that Chiang’s strategy would end in disaster for China. Chang felt that unification with the CCP was the only way to stop the imminent Japanese invasion, whereas Chiang’s strategy was to annihilate the Communists and

then focus his efforts on the Japanese. Chang ultimately refused to follow orders from Chiang to attack the Communists in northern Shannxi Province.

KIDNAPPED

On 12 December 1936, Chiang flew to the city of Xian to meet with Chang, who took the opportunity to try to coerce Chiang to change his strategy. Chang kidnapped Chiang with the help of the Communists and KMT Gen. Yang Hu-cheng to attempt to compel Chiang to develop cooperation between the KMT and the CCP so that together they could declare war against Japan. Chang had also invited the CCP diplomat Chou En-lai to come negotiate an all-China alliance with Chiang. Thirteen days later Chang escorted Chiang back to the capital of Nanjing. Chang, who then surrendered, was tried and sentenced for his part in the kidnapping.

The Japanese launched their all-out invasion of China in July 1937, World War II in Asia began, and the Nationalist government was driven out of Nanjing by the Japanese into the remote southwestern city of Chongqing. During this period, the CCP started building peasant support from its northern base in Yan’an, while the Nationalists were being bombed by the Japanese. Even as the Chinese Nationalists were attacked by the Japanese, the agreement between Nationalists and Communists soon broke down. Although the Nationalist government spared Chang’s life, it placed him under house arrest immediately after the Xian Incident. After being defeated by Communists in China in 1949, Chiang Kai-shek, the Nationalist government, and more than one million followers fled to Taiwan. Chang was brought to Taiwan as well, where he remained under house arrest until President Lee Teng-hui began Taiwan’s democratization process in the late 1980s. Chang was reported to have rejected offers from Communist Chinese authorities to live in China and, instead, moved to Taiwan when the Republic of China (ROC) government relocated to the island of Taiwan in 1949 after losing a civil war with the Communists. In 1990, Chang was finally granted his freedom, although the ROC government had long ceased treating him like a prisoner. In 1995, he flew to Honolulu, Hawaii,

with his third wife, Edith Chang (1912–2000), the daughter of a senior official who left her family while still in her teens to become his companion.

Historians had hoped that Chang would write a record of the Xian Incident and fill in many of the gaps in their knowledge of the event, particularly with regards to his relationship with Chiang during the two-week kidnapping. Chang, however, died in 2001 without having written such an in-depth record. Chang did, however, grant an extensive series of interviews that covered many topics, including the Xian Incident. The interviews can be read at Columbia University, which also is the central repository for the Changs' extensive papers and correspondence.

CONSEQUENCES

When news of Chiang's kidnapping spread, both Russia and China clamored for his release because the rulers of both countries feared that China could be split over the incident. Although the split in China did not occur, the incident may have caused other significant events to take place in China.

Chiang was forced to compromise with the CCP and to fight Japan. Many historians believe that the incident and these compromises dealt a blow to the Nationalist cause of defeating the Communists. They argue that the Red Army was given a chance to expand and eventually overtake the entire mainland. Perhaps an uninterrupted offensive against the Communists would have eventually led to the defeat of the Communist movement in China, but the Communists might have, in turn, been defeated by the Japanese.

The CCP was also forced to make concessions. It had to distance itself from the Soviet government, affirm its commitment to Sun Yat-sen's three principles (nationalism, democracy, and livelihood),



Peter Chang Oral History Materials

The Oral History Research Office at Columbia University is home to a lengthy and comprehensive interview with Peter Chang. The interview, totaling more than 4,800 pages, was conducted in Taiwan beginning in 1991 and was concluded in 1993. The oral history also includes portions of transcribed testimony from his wife, Edith Chang. The oral history is transcribed in Chinese characters, and includes an index in Chinese and English. A second, shorter interview with Mr. Chang conducted by Columbia University in 1990 has also been opened and an index of that interview is also available. The extensive interview was donated to Columbia in 1995 and, according to donor agreement, was released on what would have been Mr. Chang's 100th birthday.

The interviews include extensive material on the crucial events of the Xian Incident, scattered throughout the interviews. Other themes consist of Chang's relations with his family and the history of Manchuria in the early part of this century; Chang's relations with other Chinese warlords in the period leading up to the Xian Incident and his relations with the Chinese Communist Party, Chiang Kai-shek, and the Nationalist Party before and after the Xian Incident; discussions of Chang's personal political, philosophical, and religious beliefs and his education and how these were affected by his trip to Europe as a young man; his later years under house arrest and how it influenced his written work; speculation by Chang concerning recent developments in Chinese history; and comments about his family and personal habits, as well as discussion of the nature of modern Chinese studies in the United States.

Interested scholars may contact the Rare Book and Manuscript Manuscript Library at Columbia University, and make an appointment to read the interview. (Appointments may be made by calling 212-854-5590.)

Source: Peter H. L. Chang (Zhang Xueliang) Oral History Materials. Retrieved September 30, 2003, from <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/oral/zhangll.html>

abandon armed opposition to the KMT, end forced confiscation of landlords' property, and reorganize the Red Army as a component of national government.

Although it had to make concessions after the Xian Incident, China's Communist regime extolled Chang's move as an act of patriotism, and the Chinese government holds high-profile celebrations annually on his birthday in his native Manchuria. Not unexpectedly, the right-wing Chinese Nationalists have always condemned Chang for helping Communism to flourish.

Chang's bold move remains a controversial episode in modern Chinese history. Many believe that Chang acted out of self-interest to protect his armies in Manchuria and to avenge the death of his

father, whereas others praise Chang for his patriotism, stressing that there was nothing wrong with Chang's opposition to an internal war with the Communists in the face of external enemies.

TYPES OF LEADERSHIP

Both Chang and Chiang can be seen as leaders even after the Xian Incident. Chang held to his views, and whereas some say he had selfish motives for the kidnapping, most scholars would say that he put his life in jeopardy for what he felt was best for his country both by kidnapping Chiang and then by accompanying him back to the capital and turning himself in. Chang also showed his leadership skills by choosing to serve out his time under house arrest by the Nationalists, when he could have lived a relatively privileged life under the Communists.

Chiang's decisions regarding his nonresistance policy toward the Japanese led to a kidnapping that may have changed the course of history for China. Chiang also showed leadership by placing Chang under house arrest rather than imprisoning or even executing him. Chiang was also doing what he felt was best for his country, and, perhaps if his strategy to fight the Communists before the Japanese had been followed, China would not have been taken over by the Communists.

Interpretations of the Xian Incident vary widely from the perspectives of the KMT, the Communists,

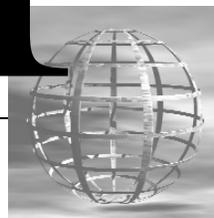
and independent scholars, but all agree that Chang's actions during the Xian Incident had a lasting effect on his country. Regardless of whether one believes Chang was a traitor or a patriot, he showed himself to be a leader who was willing to accept the consequences of his actions.

—Amy J. Benavides

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Y



YOUNG, BRIGHAM (1801–1877)

Mormon leader and colonizer of Utah

As successor to Joseph Smith Jr., Brigham Young became the second president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the first territorial governor of Utah. His strong, pragmatic leadership despite widespread hostility ensured the survival of the church and the prosperity of the Mormon colony.

Born in Whitingham, Vermont, Young moved with his family to New York at age three. His father tried to support his wife and eleven children by working a succession of small farms in the vicinity of Genoa, New York. Subsistence was difficult, and Brigham and his five brothers were often hired out to neighbors. His formal education consisted of only a few days in a neighborhood school.

Brigham grew up in the “burned over district” of upstate New York, where millennialist fervor, revival meetings, and itinerant preachers were commonplace. His father was a devout Methodist who raised his children in a well-disciplined household.

In 1815, Brigham’s mother Nabby Young died and two years later, when his father remarried, sixteen-year-old Brigham left home for Auburn, New York, where he was apprenticed to a carpenter. In 1824, he married Angeline Works, and five years later the couple moved to Mendon, New York, where Young ran a sawmill and made furniture.

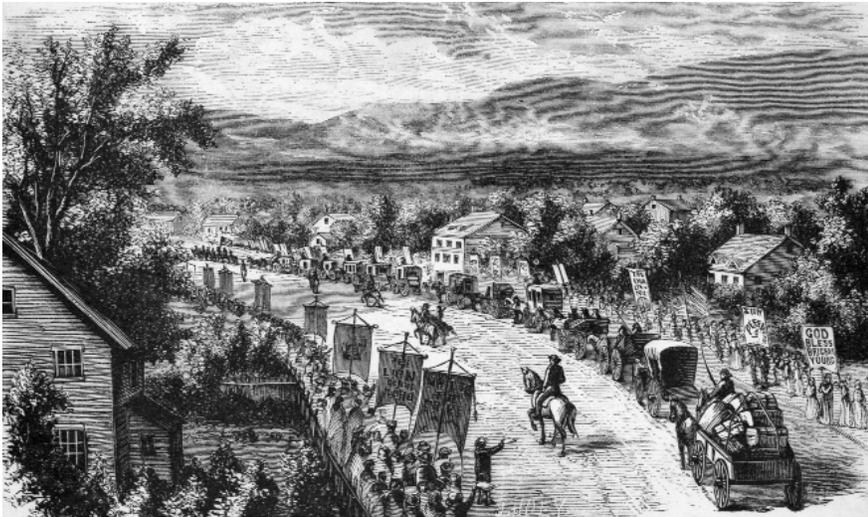
Young’s religious vocation developed slowly. Although raised in a Methodist household, he found camp meetings and revivals too emotional and unstructured. It was not until 1826 that he and his wife joined Mendon’s Methodist Episcopal Reform Church.

BECOMING A MORMON

In 1830, Joseph Smith Jr., of nearby Palmyra, New York, came forward with *The Book of Mormon*. Several members of Young’s family embraced the new religion, and in January 1832, Brigham Young and four others traveled to Columbia, Pennsylvania, to spend a week in a Mormon settlement. On 15 April 1832, he was baptized into the faith in the stream that ran beside his mill. On the same day, he was ordained an elder in the Mormon Church.

Four months later his wife died, leaving Brigham with two children. Shortly thereafter, he visited the Mormon enclave at Kirtland, Ohio, where he met Joseph Smith for the first time. In fall 1833, Young persuaded several friends and extended family members to move with him to Kirtland.

Still some time away from accepting polygamy, Young remarried in 1834 and joined Smith in leading a force to defend the Mormon colony at Zion, Missouri, then under attack by enraged settlers. In 1837, beset by creditors, Young and Smith, followed by a



This illustration shows Brigham Young leading a convoy of followers west out of Illinois. The banners carried by the followers read "God bless Brigham Young," "The Lion of the Land."
Source: Corbis; used with permission.

thousand Mormons from Ohio, returned to make a permanent home in Missouri. There they clashed violently with anti-Mormon forces. Amidst increasing bloodshed, the Prophet (as Joseph Smith was called by his followers) was briefly jailed, and the Saints (a term the Mormons used to refer to themselves) were driven from the state.

Young's influence in church matters had increased during the turbulent months in Missouri, and he led the Mormons to their new home in Nauvoo, Illinois. In late 1839, Smith dispatched him to England for two years of missionary work. When he returned home he was assigned to oversee the church's meager finances.

In 1844, Smith, whose behavior was growing ever more alarming, announced his candidacy for the White House, and Young campaigned tirelessly on the Prophet's behalf. In late June, while Young was speaking in New England, Smith was murdered by a mob in Carthage, Illinois. Young immediately left for Nauvoo to assume leadership of the church.

Young's succession came at a fortuitous time, for the Saints, having been driven from three states, were disorganized and close to despair. Since its inception, the church's widest appeal had come from among the most vulnerable, the poor, hard-scrabble frontiersmen and -women living on the

edge of dispossession. Young's brand of leadership was ideally suited to them because his single-minded dictatorship provided a sense of certainty to those whose lives often seemed out of control. He tolerated no disagreement, and dissenters were met with excommunication or violent reprisal. He masterfully exploited the siege mentality of his congregation and, by insisting on unity of purpose, was able to build a strong sense of community among Mormons, whose church had been close to dissolution in the last days of Smith's stewardship.

LEADING THE EXODUS AND FORMING A STATE

In 1846 and 1847, hoping that the desolation of the Salt Lake Valley would ensure their isolation, Young led the Mormon exodus to Deseret (later named Utah by Congress). In this endeavor he earned his place in history by bringing order from chaos.

Whether in religion or in colonizing, Young had no patience with theory. He was a practical man, and, borrowing heavily on the ideas of others, he combined the force of his own personality with the doctrine of necessity to carve an oasis in the Utah wilderness. Whether dispatching settlers to the most fertile spots of the valley, implementing plans for an irrigation system, or recruiting emigrants from eastern cities, Young's hand could be seen in every detail of this massive undertaking. His overbearing style of command was well suited to both his people and the harshness of the environment because his singular vision never faltered. As he saw it, Deseret was to be a cooperative, wholly self-sufficient Mormon community. He inculcated the value of hard work and the need for education in practical subjects, especially scientific farming.

The California Gold Rush of 1848 and the organization of the Utah Territory two years later ended

Mormon dreams of isolation and forced them into greater conformity with the American political mainstream. Anti-Mormon sentiment remained strong throughout the nation and in 1857 President James Buchanan sent troops to Utah to remove Young as territorial governor. Although warfare appeared inevitable, a settlement was reached and Young capitulated in 1858.

Political losses did little to diminish Young's power. He continued to rule through a succession of surrogate governors and the heavy stamp of his leadership was felt for the remainder of his life. He died on 29 August 1877, in the presence of his multiple wives and many children. Although several of his religious and political aspirations remained unfulfilled, his most enduring legacy was the strong, self-sufficient church he left behind.

—William F. Hanna

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YOUTH LEADERSHIP

The field of leadership studies is empowering thousands of college students each year through graduate and undergraduate degrees, minors, and extracurricular programming. In schools and communities across the United States, youth benefit from youth leader-

ship programs that cater to their emotional, physical, social, cognitive, and moral growth. Leadership theory and curricula can be a powerful resource when they are adapted and applied to designing and developing effective youth leadership programs.

DEFINING YOUTH LEADERSHIP

Over the years, youth leadership programs have been classified and delivered under many auspices, including youth development, civic engagement, community-based learning, service learning, student government, and youth empowerment. Whatever the rubric, these programs empower youth to lead change within themselves and the community. Additionally, youth experience leadership within the informal domains of peer relationships, family, and participation in community organizations.

For the purposes of this entry, youth are defined as individuals between the ages of nine and twenty-four years. Youth are exposed to the leadership process when they are involved in experiences that challenge them to innovate, take risks, and communicate effectively to work toward a shared vision. With youth defined by such a large age range, it is critical that leadership development programs take into account the development needs of each particular age group of participants. The needs of eleven- and twelve-year-olds are extremely different from the needs of high school students or students in college.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

The idea that young people can act as leaders to solve community problems and shape civic life emerged in the United States as a result of the youth movement of the 1950s–1970s. During that period, in addition to the call for civil rights, women's rights, and an end to the Vietnam War, a movement for youth rights also emerged. Across the country, large numbers of young people participated in the broader social movements of their time and advocated for change in policies that affected youth specifically. Youth activism was focused around issues such as the right to vote, education reform and students' rights, access to birth control, and stopping the draft.

During this period, national organizations such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), formed in 1960 in Raleigh, North Carolina, and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), established in 1959 in Ann Arbor, Michigan, became loud and respected voices in the national dialogue on race, sex, and democracy.

As a result of the youth movement, schools across the country enacted curricular reforms and became more responsive to student needs. For example, some universities became more liberal in their core requirements (e.g., letting students choose from a range of courses to fulfill a math or science requirement rather than dictating that a specific introductory course be taken), and courses focusing on ethnic studies and feminism (deemed by students to be more relevant to their lives) were introduced. High schools allowed more freedom in dress and sought more student input on school decision making. Courts reformed the juvenile justice system and recognized that students have a constitutional right to free speech in the landmark case *Tinker v. Des Moines School District* (1969). But even more significant than these substantive reforms was the transformation of societal perceptions about young people. Youth were finally taken seriously as people who were actively involved in their communities, heavily invested in the future of the country, and inherently worthy of respect and many of the rights afforded to adults.

The contributions of young people to the United States' social and political landscape during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s demonstrated just how vital youth were to the nation's progress. The emergence of youth leadership is a reflection of the belief that all members of a society have something to contribute. The young founders of Students for a Democratic Society and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee understood they had much to lose if they just sat on the sidelines. They innovated, took risks, and communicated effectively in order to achieve visionary goals for the country. Young leaders today do the same to empower themselves and others and to shape the United States' present and future.

While the social unrest of the mid-twentieth century has died down, the concept of youth leadership lives on. Young people are no longer seen merely as

objects to be shaped and molded. Indeed, society now acknowledges youth's potential as a source of new ideas and perspectives for the community and their role as shapers of civic vision. As a result, an extensive network of organizations and institutions that develop and support young leaders has blossomed since the 1960s.

YOUTH LEADERSHIP ORGANIZATIONS

At the local level, many schools and communities have after-school programs and initiatives that involve youth. One of the oldest national organizations is Hugh O'Brian Youth Leadership (HOBY), founded by the actor Hugh O'Brian in 1958. HOBY has hosted leadership training workshops and conferences for over 200,000 young people in its mission to nurture the next generation of U.S. civic and corporate leadership.

Another institution, America's Promise, was founded after the Presidents' Summit for America's Future in 1997. At the summit, Bill Clinton, at that time president of the United States, joined with former presidents George Bush, Jimmy Carter, and Gerald Ford, as well as Nancy Reagan (wife of former president Ronald Reagan), and Colin Powell, who became the chairman of America's Promise, to challenge the nation to promise young people five important things: caring adults, safe places, a healthy start, marketable skills, and opportunities to serve. Young people who wish to avail themselves of the fifth promise are supported by the alliance of national and local organizations that partner with America's Promise. Those organizations include the Boys and Girls Clubs of America, Junior Achievement, and the National 4-H Council.

Do Something is a prime example of a school-based youth leadership program. Founded in 1993, Do Something serves more than 4 million students and 15,000 educators in 20,000 schools in urban, rural, and suburban communities in every state and Congressional district in the nation each year. Educators, called community coaches, help young people develop ties to their communities and encourage them to take responsibility for social issues. Focusing on kindergarten through twelfth grade, Do



School Officials and Community Values

In his study of an alleged gang sexual assault in a New Jersey suburb, Bernard Lefkowitz focused on the role of adults in setting community values. Here, he describes the three adult leaders of the high school.

The center of command in the school was embodied in the two men standing there in the vestibule, waiting to greet the jaded returnees and the fumbling newcomers. They were the principal and the vice-principal. Both men had strong ties to the wide world of sports in Glen Ridge.

James Buckley, the principal since 1969, had been an assistant to the legendary football coach Bill Horey. During his long tenure in the town, Buckley had earned a reputation as a brilliant chemistry and physics teacher and a sensitive administrator who was reticent about meting out harsh punishment to misbehaving students. He was also known to cast a charitable eye on the shenanigans of rambunctious jocks.

John "Jack" Curtis, the assistant principal, had been the basketball coach at the high school. Curtis was a tall, beefy man with a ruddy complexion and the watchful eyes of a veteran detective. Which is how the sports crowd in the school sometimes viewed his job. For Curtis's primary task was maintaining discipline at Glen Ridge High. And one way he accomplished that was by functioning as school truant officer. The scariest sight in the world for some kid who decided to cut a few classes was the long shadow of John Curtis slanting across his front door.

The third member of the governing troika was, of course, Bill Horey himself. Horey, no longer football

coach by 1985, served as athletic director. He was in the twilight of an enviable career, but his moral and athletic judgments were still influential. An athlete who crossed the line would receive appropriate judgment, but if Horey believed that one of his "boys" was falsely accused or that his misconduct was exaggerated, Horey would defend him to the last bullet.

These men had known each other for so long, worked so closely together, that they seemed joined at the waist. If a student angered one of them, or won praise from another, the news would flash instantly through the chain of command in the school.

These were the caretakers of *all* the students in the school, both boys *and* girls. Nevertheless, those young women seeking assertive role models—seeking a responsive and comprehending school elder to whom they might whisper an intimate confidence about how young women were treated by certain male classmates, would not find that confidant in the old-boy administration of the school. To recall a female authority figure in their school lives, they would have to think back to elementary school four years ago, a past life as time is measured in preadolescence. In the middle and high schools, there were no women at the top. In high school there were only three middle-aged males, all former coaches.

Source: Lefkowitz, Bernard. (1997). *Our Guys: The Glen Ridge Rape and the Secret Life of the Perfect Suburb*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp. 105–106.

Something believes in continuous engagement, youth-owned participation, and youth-adult partnerships. Do Something links service to civic engagement and encourages young people to build leadership skills that will last a lifetime.

GLOBAL YOUTH PROGRAMS

Many U.S. youth organizations have exported the idea of youth programs to other countries. Successful examples include Big Brothers Big Sisters, which has programs in 32 countries; Quest, which is run through a partnership with the Lions Clubs International in 33 countries; and Junior Achievement, which is active in 112 countries.

However, exporting U.S. youth programs to other countries is challenging because of cultural differences. On the one hand, many countries are suspicious of U.S.-based ideas and programs because of a lack of confidence that the U.S.-designed youth programs are appropriate for the unique needs of their country's students. On the other hand, the United States has been the leader in encouraging youth mentorship and youth as volunteers, and in many countries U.S.-developed programs have been adapted to fit the culture and have become quite popular. For example, when the Quest program came to the Netherlands, which has more liberal drug laws than the United States, the focus shifted from a "just say no to drugs" stance to one that encourages good deci-

sion making and risk taking. Similarly, in Zambia a girl's empowerment program was adapted by removing any mention of birth control.

Technology has been a valuable platform in sharing youth leadership practices across cultures. More than twenty thousand youth leaders from more than 225 countries participate in the Taking It Global network, which provides a portal for youth to communicate, share resources, and learn from each other. Globally, many practitioners and youth educators subscribe to listservs and monthly e-newsletters to continually update their information on leadership.

TRENDS IN YOUTH LEADERSHIP

Traditional arenas for youth leadership have included positions in student government, athletics, clubs, and youth groups. In these contexts student leaders may be elected by their peers or selected by teachers or staff. Parental influence also plays a role.

In many cases, these leadership positions are assumed by students who perform well academically and are involved in a multitude of activities. But leadership development is beneficial for students of all abilities. Many educators would assert that it is most important that underserved youth at risk participate in leadership activities. Youth Leadership organizations like EnVision Leadership, the National Youth Leadership Council, and Project Adventure design programs and curricula for youth of all backgrounds and abilities.

The term *youth* has been expanded to include young adults up to age twenty-four. In many countries many policies extend educational, medical, transportation, and housing benefits to young people up to the age of twenty-six. This extension of the age range does not imply that young adults in their twenties are not ready to make adult decisions; rather, it recognizes that many people do not live independently until that age.

Service learning is another major trend in providing youth with leadership opportunities. The National Service-Learning Cooperative defines service learning as a teaching and learning method that connects meaningful community service experiences with academic learning, personal growth, and civic responsibility. Service learning represents a

collaborative effort between schools and communities and involves site learning that can be used with young people from elementary school through college. The National Youth Leadership Council helps school districts implement service learning, and Youth Service America offers student groups grants to implement service events annually. There is a growing pressure on schools to provide learning opportunities and to let students apply their abilities in contexts beyond the classroom. In quality service-learning programs students are expected to think critically, collaborate with others, integrate their learning from traditional classroom subjects, and connect with an increasingly diverse community.

FUTURE OF YOUTH LEADERSHIP

In the United States, youth are playing a more instrumental role in organizations at the local and national level. Political officials and community groups often contact local youth for their opinions when decisions will directly affect youth and their quality of life. Many school districts have youth representatives who attend school board meetings and report student opinions on a weekly basis.

Traditionally, board positions in nonprofit organizations have been limited to adults, but many youth-driven organizations are recognizing the value of youth representation. Some nonprofits have empowered youth as decision makers by involving them in leadership roles at the board level. As members of the board of directors of nonprofits, youth are responsible to guard the mission of the organization, engage in fiscal decisions, advocate and fundraise for the nonprofit, and make policy for the organization.

Youth are also serving in a philanthropic role and controlling resources. A few foundations that offer grants to organizations involve youth on the committees that review funding proposals. The most progressive foundations have empowered youth as board members who make the final decisions on awarding grants. Foundations like Do Something and Youth Ventures allocate grant money directly to youth for youth-led projects.

Another emerging trend in youth leadership is a focus on social enterprise and entrepreneurship. The

Youth Employment Summit (YES), which is a project of the Educational Development Center, encourages youth in more than sixty countries to create their own enterprises and opportunities. YES creates support networks and organizes global conferences to develop the leadership skills of youth. Youth are serving as activists and change agents when it comes to issues surrounding HIV/AIDS, the environment, fair trade policies, and education. In many cases it is hard to distinguish between youth leadership and activism and service because fighting for these social causes provide youth with a rewarding context in which to exercise their leadership ability.

The field of youth leadership education will continue to grow as more practitioners collaborate with academics to discuss the applications of leadership theory to youth. Youth development programs can be improved with a stronger emphasis on research and evaluation. The improvement of youth leadership development and the creation of new opportunities that are available to students of all backgrounds will empower greater numbers of students to exercise their leadership ability.

—Nnennia Ejebe and John P. Renehan

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Appendix 1

Bibliography of Significant Books on Leadership



The Further Reading sections at the end of each article provide citations to what the authors of the articles consider the key publications on the topic. These include journal articles, chapters in books, dissertations, conference papers, edited works, dictionaries and handbooks, and books. The authors were encouraged to provide at least some citations to works (especially books) that are available to the general reader. All together, about 7,500 works are cited in the Further Reading sections. The works of some authors such as Burns, Bass, Bennis, Avolio, Conger, Chemers, Yukl, Ciulla, and H. Gardner are cited over a dozen times and those of many other authors are cited more than once. Still, though, about 6,000 works are cited in this encyclopedia at least once.

The select bibliography that follows provides references to several hundred key books in leadership studies selected from the works cited throughout this encyclopedia. Leadership studies is defined broadly, and

books listed below include older classics, recent books that are likely to become classics, books on leadership in general, books on specific aspects of leadership, books on related topics such as management and motivation, and books by and about famous or exemplary leaders and significant leadership events and situations. The citations are categorized into ones that focus on leadership in general, leaders and leadership events, specific aspects of leadership, and other topics relevant to leadership. The books included here are all ones that will provide the general reader a quick entry into the field of leadership studies. Inclusion of books in this list does not mean that the book is the “best” or even the “most important” book on the topic—although some are clearly the best or most important. Rather, it means that the book is a good place to begin one’s exploration of what we know about leadership and leadership studies.



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Appendix 2

Directory of Leadership Programs



There are nearly 1,000 leadership programs in the United States and many others in other nations. There is no one central directory for these programs, and maintaining one would be extremely difficult as new programs appear almost every day. This Directory of Leadership Programs lists some 250 programs that had active websites as of 23 October 2003. (However, because we found that a number of program websites changed just during the period in which we prepared this list, we have chosen not to include the websites. Putting the program name into a search engine will yield the most current URL.) Included here are some general programs and those aimed at specific domains including education, youth, community, sports, executives, nonprofits, environment, health, science, criminal justice, women, minority, and the arts. Many leadership programs and courses operate within larger MBA and MPA programs. A good website with links to these programs is America's Best Graduate Schools 2004 Premium Online Edition (www.usnews.com). In addition, www.gradschools.com provides an extensive list of MPA programs.

AAJA: Asian American Journalists Association: Executive Leadership Program

Mission Statement: To develop a keen understanding of the corporate environment as applied to your newsroom, to help gain valuable skills in identifying newsroom dynamics and boosting your leadership skills and performance.

Asian American Journalists Association, 1182 Market Street Suite 320, San Francisco, CA, 94102

The Abshire-Inamori Leadership Academy

Mission Statement: To promote creativity and character as fundamental aspects of leadership, to expand the understanding of leadership through dialogue and communication, to provide practical training and experiential learning to aspiring leaders, to explore the intersection of leadership and international policy.

The Abshire-Inamori Leadership Academy, Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1800 K Street NW, Suite 400, Washington, DC, 20006

Academic Emphasis Areas, Clemson University

Mission Statement: To focus our talents, energies, and resources on eight broad "emphasis areas" that foster collaboration and promote the integration of teaching, research, and service.

Clemson University, Clemson, SC, 29634

Academy Leadership

Mission Statement: To energize people, effectively communicate organizational goals, and instill smart work strategies throughout the company to achieve tangible results.

Academy Leadership, 1000 Valley Forge Circle, Suite 120, King of Prussia, PA, 19406

ACCE Certified Chamber Executive

Mission Statement: To assess the applicant's knowledge of the four core chamber management areas—leadership, planning, development and finance, and administration.

American Chamber of Commerce Executives, 4875 Eisenhower Avenue, Suite 250, Alexandria, VA, 22304

Acterra: Environmental Leadership Programs

Mission Statement: To help youth to grow into leaders by allowing them to create their own campaigns and projects and to encourage environmental leadership among businesses and young nonprofits.

Acterra, 3921 East Bayshore Road, Palo Alto, CA, 94303-4303

ADEA American Dental Education Association

Mission Statement: To develop the nation's most promising dental faculty to become future leaders in dental and higher education.

American Dental Education Association, Center for Educational Policy and Research, Leadership Institute, 1625 Massachusetts Ave., Suite 600, Washington, DC, 20036-2212

Advanced Agricultural Leadership Program

Mission Statement: To develop leadership skills, an increased knowledge of the agri-food system and perspectives on critical issues in the industry in order to help shape the future of the agriculture and food sectors in Ontario

1 Stone Road West, Room 440, Guelph, Ontario, Canada, N1G 4Y2

Adventure Quest USA: Leadership Programs

Mission Statement: To challenge participants to think, act and lead more creatively, to help transfer their new leadership skills to their businesses, to build a creative culture that thinks outside the box, to willingly take responsible risks, and emphasize all the key managerial constituencies and leadership from managers at all levels to deliver measurable business results.

Adventure Quest-USA-LLC, 8 River Road, Bowdoinham, ME, 04008

Advocacy Institute

Mission Statement: To strengthen the ability of a particular group of social change leaders (generally 10-15 people) to effectively tackle social problems.

1629 K St., NW, Suite 200, Washington, DC, 20006-1629

Advocates For Youth International Youth Leadership Council

Mission Statement: To educate policy makers, the media, and the American public about the importance of increasing U.S. funding for global HIV/AIDS and inter-

national family planning as well as the need for comprehensive sex education and confidential health care services in the United States and abroad.

2000 M Street, NW, Suite 750, Washington, DC, 20036

Agency-Specific Leadership Development Programs

Mission Statement: To help aspiring leaders learn about their own agency's leadership development programs as well as to facilitate benchmarking by the leadership development planners for each agency.

Air War College Center for Strategic Leadership Studies

Mission Statement: To increase the understanding and effective execution of strategic leadership in the U.S. military establishment by identifying the values, traits, and competencies of successful leadership and the most effective ways to enhance or build those competencies in aspiring strategic leaders.

AWC Center for Strategic Leadership Studies, c/o AWC/DFL, Air War College, 325 Chennault Circle, Maxwell AFB, AL, 36112

The Alpine Club of Canada

Mission Statement: To shape the Canadian way of thinking about mountains and our image as a mountain culture.

P.O. Box 8040, Indian Flats Road, Canmore, Alberta, Canada, T1W 2T8

American Association for the Advancement of Science

Mission Statement: To advance science and innovation throughout the world for the benefit of all people, to foster communication among scientists, engineers and the public; enhance international cooperation in science and its applications; promote the responsible conduct and use of science and technology; foster education in science and technology for everyone; enhance the science and technology workforce and infrastructure; increase public understanding and appreciation of science and technology; and strengthen support for the science and technology enterprise.

American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1200 New York Avenue NW, Washington, DC, 20005

American Association for Higher Education

Mission Statement: To be the organization that best enables

all individuals, institutions, and stakeholders in higher education to learn, organize for learning, and contribute to the common good by building their capacity as learners and leaders and increasing their effectiveness in a complex, interconnected world.

American Association for Higher Education, One Dupont Circle Suite 360, Washington, DC, 20036-1143

American College Personnel Association

Mission Statement: To support and foster college student learning through the generation and dissemination of knowledge, which informs policies, practices and programs for student affairs professionals and the higher education community.

American College Personnel Association, One Dupont Circle, Suite 300, Washington, DC, 20036

American Council on Education

Mission Statement: To provide leadership and a unifying voice on key higher education issues and to influence public policy through advocacy, research, and program initiatives.

American Council on Education, One Dupont Circle NW, Washington, DC, 20036

American Management Association

Mission Statement: To enable managers to continuously enhance their professional and personal development and increase their value to their organizations.

American Management Association, 1601 Broadway, New York, NY, 10019

The Anthony Center for Women's Leadership

Mission Statement: To continue the fight for women's full social, political and economic equality.

Anthony Center for Women's Leadership, University of Rochester, RC Box 270435, Rochester, NY, 14627-0435

Antioch University Ph.D. in Leadership and Change in the Professions

Mission Statement: To enable student learners to continuously reflect on and integrate their professional experience, intellectual learning and methods of inquiry and to emphasize the student learner as the initiator of the learning process and the faculty member as the mentor collaborator in facilitating the reflection.

Ph.D. in Leadership and Change in the Professions, Antioch University, 150 East South College Street, Yellow Springs, OH, 45387

Arab American Institute

Mission Statement: To represent Arab American interests in government and politics, to foster strong relations between the Arab American constituency and members of the U.S. Congress.

1600 K Street NW, Suite 601, Washington, DC, 20006

Arts and Business Council, Inc.

Mission Statement: To "keep the arts in business" by promoting mutually beneficial partnerships between corporations and nonprofit arts groups, bring expertise, resources, and leadership talent from the business world to the arts community.

520 Eighth Avenue, 3rd floor, Suite 319, New York, NY, 10018

Asia-Pacific Centre for Education Leadership and School Quality, Hong Kong Institute of Education

Mission Statement: To become a center of excellence of education leadership and school quality in Hong Kong and the Asia-Pacific region.

Hong Kong Institute of Education, 10 Lo Ping Road, Tai Po, NT, Hong Kong, China

Asian Pacific American Women's Leadership Institute

Mission Statement: To address the challenges facing us and to nurture trusteeship within our communities by expanding leadership capacity, fostering awareness of Asian American and Pacific Island issues, creating a supportive network of Asian American and Pacific Island women, and strengthening community.

89-051 Haleakala Avenue, Waianae, HI, 96792

Athlete Leadership Programs, Special Olympics

Mission Statement: To allow athletes to explore opportunities for participation in roles previously considered "nontraditional."

Special Olympics, 1325 G. Street, NW, Suite 500, Washington, DC, 20005

Bachelor of Science in Organizational Leadership and Supervision, Indiana University East, Purdue University Programs

Mission Statement: To educate and develop graduates who are career-ready for leadership roles in business, industry, and service agencies.

Indiana University East, 2325 Chester Boulevard, Richmond, IN, 47374-1289

The Banff Centre: The Art of Executive Leadership

Mission Statement: To focus on the personal side of leadership—on the personal challenges leaders face when they tackle the complex questions of organizational viability and success, of multiple stakeholders, and of providing benefit in society.

The Banff Centre, 107 Tunnel Mountain Drive, Box 1020, Banff, Alberta, Canada, T1L 1H5

BCLI Bert Conora Leadership Institute

Mission Statement: To be the premier leadership institute for migrant and immigrant populations across the United States and in the Americas by promoting and reinforcing democracy through education and direct participation in the political process.

1500 Farragut St., N.W., Washington, DC, 20011

The Black Women's Leadership Council

Mission Statement: To advance professional development and address issues unique to Black women in the Xerox workplace.

BWLC Foundation c/o Mail Boxes ETC., 6300 Powers Ferry Road, Suite 600, Box 114, Atlanta, GA, 30339

Boston College Centers & Executive Programs

Mission Statement: To connect with corporate entities throughout the world by providing eight different organizations.

Carroll School of Management, Boston College, 140 Commonwealth Ave., Chestnut Hill, MA, 02467

Business Women's Leadership Group, Boulder Chamber of Commerce

Mission Statement: To provide the community of businesswomen with education, leadership, recognition, and business opportunities through informative and professional programs.

Boulder Chamber of Commerce, 2440 Pearl Street, P.O. Box 73, Boulder, CO, 80302

BWOPA Black Women Organized for Political Action

Mission Statement: To activate, motivate, promote, support, and educate African-American women about the political process, encourage involvement, and to affirm our commitment to, and solving of, those problems affecting the African-American community.

449 15th Street, 3rd Floor, Oakland, CA, 94612

California State University, Sacramento: College of Continuing Education

Mission Statement: To identify and develop aspiring leaders in public, private and nonprofit organizations who are preparing for positions of broad responsibility, to equip leaders to address the critical issues impacting their organizations.

California State University, Sacramento: College of Continuing Education, 3000 State University Drive East, Sacramento, CA, 95819

Cambridge International Health Leadership Programme

Mission Statement: To challenge and support senior health sector leaders to become more effective in their efforts to champion continuous performance improvement within their careers, their organizations, their country and the World.

University of Cambridge, Programme for Industry, 1 Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1QA, UK

Centre For Community Leadership, Niagara College

Mission Statement: To contribute to stronger, healthier, more vibrant communities by serving as a one-step resource centre for the voluntary sector.

300 Woodlawn Road, Welland, Ontario, Canada, L3C 7L3

Center For Creative Leadership

Mission Statement: To advance the understanding, practice, and development of leadership for the benefit of society worldwide.

One Leadership Place, P.O. Box 26300, Greensboro, NC 27498-6300

Center for Digital Education

Mission Statement: To provide industry and education leaders with decision support, research, and services to help them effectively incorporate new technologies in the twenty-first century.

100 Blue Ravine Road, Folsom, CA, 95630

Centre for Education Leadership and School Improvement, Canterbury Christ Church University College

Mission Statement: To contribute to school improvement through accredited programs, consultancy and devel-

opmental activities, and through research and publications.

Canterbury Christ Church University College, Canterbury, UK, CT1 1QU

Center for Entrepreneurship and Innovation, University of California at Irvine

Mission Statement: To promote education and understanding about the development of new creative business and social ventures.

Graduate School of Management, University of California, Irvine, Suite 210, MPAA, Irvine, CA, 92697-3130

The Center for Environmental Leadership in Business

Mission Statement: To engage the private sector worldwide in creating solutions to critical global environmental problems in which industry plays a defining role.

The Center for Environmental Leadership in Business Conservation International, 1919 M Street, NW, Suite 600, Washington, DC, 20036

Centre for Excellence in Leadership

Mission Statement: To provide leaders and managers within the learning and skills sector with new and innovative programmes and services to support them in leading their institutions.

Center For Innovative Leadership

Mission Statement: To unite the resources necessary to identify key regional issues, rally regional leaders around those issues, and drive action that produces measurable results.

Center For Jewish Youth Leadership, PANIM: The Institute For Jewish Leadership and Values

Mission Statement: To strengthen Jewish identity through an exposure to Jewish values, fostering an appreciation for responsibility to apply those values to the Jewish community and to the wider world in the form of social action and political advocacy.

6101 Montrose Road, Suite 200, Rockville, MD, 20852

Centre for Leadership Studies

Mission Statement: To offer first-class leadership development, educate the next generation of leadership devel-

opers and assess the value and underlying assumptions of this field in general, get leadership into perspective

University of Exeter, Crossmead, Barley Lane, Exeter, UK, EX41TF

Center for Leadership Studies

Mission Statement: To provide students with opportunities to develop leadership skills in an ethical framework through course work in leadership and ethics, through interaction with successful leaders, through campus leadership roles, and through student chapters of professional organizations.

Center for Leadership Studies, Pamplin College of Business Virginia Tech, 1030 Pamplin Hall (0209), Blacksburg, VA, 24061

Center for Public Leadership, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

Mission Statement: To develop leadership for the common good by serving those in government, nonprofits, and business.

John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 79 John F. Kennedy Street, Cambridge, MA, 02138

Center for Women's Global Leadership

Mission Statement: To develop and facilitate women's leadership for women's human rights and social justice worldwide.

Center for Women's Global Leadership, Douglass College, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 160 Ryders Lane, New Brunswick, NJ, 08901-8555

Center for Women's Leadership

Mission Statement: To learn from the entrepreneurial experiences of successful women who are leaders by promoting leadership diversity in business and providing opportunities for women and men.

Center for Women's Leadership, Babson College, Nichols 100, Babson Park, MA, 02457-0310

Center for Women's Leadership, Cottey College

Mission Statement: To build women's lives through enrichment, leadership development, and education.

Cottey College, 1000 W. Austin, Nevada, MO, 64772

Centers for Learning and Teaching, National Science Foundation

Mission Statement: To encourage the development of new faculty and new materials to boost learning in kinder-

garten through 12th grade as well as prepare graduate students in areas of critical national need to eventually assume leadership roles.

National Science Foundation, 4201 Wilson Boulevard,
Arlington, VA, 22230

Certificate in Leadership Development

Mission Statement: To help participants develop their leadership skills and keep them up-to-date with current thinking and practices in the field of leadership development.

Executive and Professional Development, Saint Mary's University, 8th floor, 1800 Argyle Street, Halifax, NS, Canada, B3J 3N8

The Chief Executive Leadership Institute: Leadership Exchange and Analysis Program

Mission Statement: To provide external perspectives and contextual learning that complement the traditional classroom and corporate training experiences.

The Chief Executive Leadership Institute, Eight Piedmont Center, Suite 100, Atlanta, GA, 30305

China Executive Leadership Programs, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Mission Statement: To provide superior executive education programs for senior managers from Chinese businesses, government agencies, and academic institutions.

University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 910 South 5th Street, Champaign, IL, 61820

Columba 1400

Mission Statement: To enhance understanding, refine skills, reflect on experience and take action with confidence.

Community & International Leadership Centre, Staffin, Isle-of-Skye, Scotland, UK, IV51 9JV

Community Leadership Association

Mission Statement: To enhance the capacity of community leadership programs to strengthen and serve their communities.

108 East Grace Street, Richmond, VA, 23219

Community Leadership Association

Mission Statement: To enhance the capacity of community leadership programs to strengthen and serve their communities.

200 S. Meridian Street, Suite 250, Indianapolis, IN, 46225-1076

Community Leadership Institute

Mission Statement: To build capacity for community leadership among both undergraduate students of Aquinas College and citizens in the greater Grand Rapids area.

Aquinas College, 1607 Robinson Road, Grand Rapids, MI, 49506

Community Leadership Program, Oxfam Community Aid Abroad (Oxfam International)

Mission Statement: To encourage an ongoing process of building effective community involvement in Australia around issues of human rights, international justice, and sustainable development.

102 McDonald Road, Windsor, Queensland, Australia, 4030

Conference Board

Mission Statement: To create and disseminate knowledge about management and the marketplace to help businesses strengthen their performance and better serve society.

845 Third Avenue, New York, NY, 10022

Congressional Youth Leadership Council

Mission Statement: To inspire today's outstanding youth to reach their full leadership potential.

Suite 320, 1110 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC, 20005

Consultants, Companies, and Organizations, National Association of Independent Schools

National Association of Independent Schools, 1620 L Street NW, Suite 1100, Washington, DC, 20036-5695

Core Leadership Programs, University of Virginia

Leadership Development Center, University of Virginia, P.O. Box 400310/400 Ray C. Hunt Drive, Fontaine Research Park, Charlottesville, VA, 22904-4310

Cornell University School of Continuing Education and Summer Sessions Executive Programs: Discovering Leadership 2003

Mission Statement: To help increase awareness of oneself as a leader, including an understanding of one's personal style, behavior, attitudes, and vision, and the impact of those factors on other people; enhance interpersonal

communication skills for increasing one's influence, resolving conflict, and giving and receiving feedback effectively; create greater team effectiveness, based on an understanding of how to build strong teams that really work well together; develop a grasp of the dynamics of change: how to embrace, design, and guide it through each level of transition; and develop an individualized learning plan to support continuous learning and ongoing professional development.

Executive Programs, Cornell University, B20 Day Hall, Ithaca, NY, 14853

The Corporate Environmental Leadership Seminar

Mission Statement: To develop long-term perspectives on the environment and business, to provide a global perspective on important environmental issues and management techniques.

The Corporate Environmental Leadership Seminar, Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies, 205 Prospect Street, New Haven, CT, 06511

Council for Christian Colleges and Universities Executive Leadership Development Institute

Mission Statement: To inform about the ongoing professional development of chief administrative officers within the CCCU.

Executive Leadership Development Institute, Council for Christian Colleges and Universities, 321 Eighth Street, NE, Washington, DC, 20002

Customized Leadership Programs and Counseling, University of Georgia

Mission Statement: To work with companies to identify specific leadership needs and then deliver customized leadership development programs that will improve the organization's performance.

Executive Leadership Series, Institute for Leadership Advancement, Terry College of Business, University of Georgia, 367 Brooks Hall, Athens, GA, 30602

Democratic Leadership Council and Progressive Policy Institute

600 Pennsylvania Ave., SE Suite 400, Washington, DC, 20003

Department of Educational Leadership, University of Nevada at Las Vegas

Mission Statement: To develop individuals for leadership roles at all levels of education and related

business/industry enterprises.

College of Education, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, 4505 Maryland Parkway, Box 453002, Las Vegas, NV, 89154-3002

Department of Leadership and Educational Studies

Mission Statement: To facilitate the learning of a diverse population of traditional and nontraditional students and their continued capacity to assume roles as leaders and educators in the settings of their choosing.

Department of Leadership and Educational Studies, Appalachian State University, Boone, NC, 28608

DirectDegree.com

Mission Statement: To help students, technical professionals, and executives capitalize on the wealth of Internet learning opportunities and degree programs.

Diversity Executive Leadership Program, American Society of Association Executives

Mission Statement: To increase diversity within the field of association management by providing educational and networking opportunities to potential leaders representing diverse populations; to lead candidates into more senior-level association management positions by providing distinctive opportunities to increase exposure and education in association management; to encourage more diverse candidates to assume leadership roles in association management; to provide participants with appropriate mentors who will be able to assist in career guidance and networking opportunities; and to measure the return on investment by conducting an annual survey of candidates to determine advancement within the association industry.

American Society of Association Executives, The ASAE Building, 1575 I Street, NW, Washington, DC, 20005-1103

Earth Voice—The Urban Environmental Leadership Institute

Mission Statement: To educate urban communities about environmental and sustainable development issues and to engage urban communities to better understand and adopt environmental principles and to protect and respect the cultural and historical heritages of all peoples.

Earth Voice—The Urban Environment Leadership Institute, 2100 L Street, NW, Washington, DC, 20037

Education Leadership Institute, Teachers College, Columbia University

Mission Statement: To foster community and trust among education's constituencies and to strengthen the public's commitment to its schools.

Education Leadership Institute, Center for Educational Outreach and Innovation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 525 West 120th Street, Box 132, New York, NY, 10027

Education Leadership Program, University of California at Los Angeles

University of California at Los Angeles, 1029 Moore Hall, Box 951521, Los Angeles, CA, 90095-1521

Education Leadership Resource Library, Center For Leadership and Learning Communities

Education Development Center, Inc., 55 Chapel Street, Newton, MA, 02458

Educational Foundations, Leadership, and Technology, College of Education, Auburn University

Mission Statement: To identify and address educational problems using theoretical frameworks, research, and knowledge from studies and practice in the field; practice effective leadership skills; engage in collaborative leadership; articulate and justify values and beliefs that support equality and excellence for all students; become part of a learning community.

Auburn University, 4036 Haley Center, Auburn, AL, 36849

Educational Leadership Centre, University of Waikato

Mission Statement: To promote excellence in educational leadership in order that better learning and achievement occurs in schools and other educational settings.

School of Education, University of Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand

Educational Leadership Master of Science Degree Program, Florida International University

Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies, Florida International University, Miami, FL, 33199

Educational Leadership Program, Idaho State University College of Education

Idaho State University College of Education, Campus Box 8059, Pocatello, ID, 83209-8059

ELI: Executive Leadership Institute

Mission Statement: To build an international knowledge base defining the impact of technology management on business, through the Global Senior Executive Panel; provide global technology management tools and databases as a needed resource for corporate senior executives to address business challenges; advance Stevens recognition as a center for technology management excellence among senior executives in Global 2000 companies.

Stevens Institute of Technology, Castle Point on Hudson, Hoboken, NJ, 07030

El Pomar Foundation: Nonprofit Leadership Program

Mission Statement: To strengthen the human assets of Colorado's nonprofit sector by providing leadership and educational opportunities to nonprofit executives.

El Pomar Foundation, 10 Lake Circle, Colorado Springs, CO, 80906

Environmental Leadership Collaborative

Mission Statement: To create a vibrant network connecting groups that provide fellowships, leadership training, career development, and other experiential opportunities for environmental activists and professionals from many different backgrounds, to draw increased attention to the training and career development needs of environmental professionals and activists, and articulate new ways for the environmental movement to meet these needs.

Environmental Leadership Collaborative, c/o Environmental Leadership Program, P.O. Box 446, Haydenville, MA, 01039

Environmental Leadership Program

Mission Statement: To transform public understanding of environmental issues by training and supporting a diverse network of visionary, action-oriented emerging leaders.

Environmental Leadership Program, P.O. Box 446, Haydenville, MA, 01039

Environmental Leadership Program at Tufts

Mission Statement: To provide minorities with skills, knowledge and opportunities for lifelong careers in the environmental field, to prepare participants for demanding careers in the public and private sector.

The Environmental Careers Organization, 179 South Street, Boston, MA, 02111

Executive and Continuing Education, University of Pennsylvania

Mission Statement: To offer a number of programs and services to individual educators, schools, and school districts that are designed to improve their capacities for instructional, organizational, and public leadership. Graduate School of Education, University of Pennsylvania, 3700 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, PA, 19104-6216

Executive Education, Harvard Business School

Mission Statement: To immerse the world's most promising managers in a transformational experience that fosters professional, intellectual, and personal development.

Executive Education Programs, Harvard Business School, Soldiers Field, Boston, MA, 02163-9986

Executive Education, Indiana University, Purdue University Indianapolis

Mission Statement: To work with the government, non-profit agencies, and the private sector to prepare leaders and managers to meet today's challenges and anticipate tomorrow's opportunities.

Indiana University, Purdue University Indianapolis, 801 West Michigan Street, Indianapolis, IN, 46202

Executive Education, Northwestern University

Mission Statement: To offer innovative executive education for leading thinkers on today's business concerns and tomorrow's business possibilities.

Kellogg School of Management, Northwestern University, James L. Allen Center, 2169 Campus Drive, Evanston, IL, 60208-2800

Executive Education, Stanford University

Mission Statement: To provide research-based globally relevant frameworks for addressing the issues senior executives face every day.

Office of Executive Education, Stanford School of Business, Stanford University, Stanford, CA, 94305-5015

Executive Education, The William Davidson Institute

Mission Statement: To expose managers to new concepts, enabling them to make high-impact contributions to their organization; to increase organizational effective-

ness by fostering a greater sense of shared mission among managers; to better position firms to compete globally by broadening the outlook of managers; to improve managers' overall commitment to achieving company goals.

William Davidson Institute, 724 East University Avenue, Wyly Hall, First floor, Ann Arbor, MI, 48109-1234

Executive Leadership, Center for Life Calling and Leadership

Center for Life Calling and Leadership, 4201 S. Washington Street, Marion, IN, 46952

Executive Leadership and Management Coaching

Mission Statement: To assist universities or colleges to continue to remain competitive in these challenging times of change by fostering international partnerships which expand degree programs to reach potential new students in diverse locations; assistance with increasing market penetration through new degree and certificate program development; helping offer new, or higher-level continuing education non-credit programs, helping develop new leadership institutes or leadership development centers; providing outcomes-focused faculty, administration, and staff development workshops and retreats; and providing other services to help continued success.

Executive Leadership and Management Coaching, 2 Hillsboro Drive, Orchard Park, NY, 14127

Executive Leadership and Management Program for Academic Department Heads, Pennsylvania State University Teaching and Learning Consortium

Mission Statement: To provide heads and chairs of academic departments with the tools to enhance effectiveness.

The Teaching and Learning Consortium, Pennsylvania State University, 312 Rider II Building, University Park, PA, 16801

Executive Leadership Center, Boston University School of Management

Boston University School of Management, 595 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, MA, 02215

Executive Leadership Development Programs

Mission Statement: To provide different programs to

respond to the need for leadership skills and competencies at different levels.

Brexgata Leadership Academy, The THIERRY Graduate School of Leadership, 13 Square Road, Brussels, Belgium, BE1050

Executive Leadership Institute, Ohio University

Mission Statement: To address the unique challenges faced by the executives of public organizations as they create value for the public.

Ohio University Executive Leadership Institute, Voinovich Center for Leadership and Public Affairs, Ohio University, Building 21, The Ridges, Athens, OH, 45701

Executive Leadership Institute, Portland State University

Mission Statement: To meet the professional development needs of federal, state, and local agencies and officials with public service responsibility.

Executive Leadership Institute, Portland State University, 506 SW Mill Street, Suite 780/P.O. Box 751, Portland, OR, 97207-0751

Executive Leadership Initiative, University of Georgia

College of Education, University of Georgia, River's Crossing, 4th Floor, 850 College Street Road, Athens, GA, 30602

Executive Leadership Institute, Urban Libraries Council

Urban Libraries Council, 1603 Orrington Avenue, Suite 1080, Evanston, IL, 60201

Executive Leadership Seminar, National Rehabilitation Leadership Institute

Mission Statement: To develop and expand the leadership capacity of senior executives in state vocational rehabilitation and tribal rehabilitation agencies.

San Diego State University Interwork Institute, 3590 Camino del Rio North, San Diego, CA, 92108

Executive Leadership Training, Global Automotive Management Council

Mission Statement: To facilitate the globalization of the automotive and related industries through periodic

meetings, seminars, and other educational forums restricted to the key players who are shaping the future.

Global Automotive Management Council, 166 South Industrial, Saline, MI, 48176

Executive Training and Development, Syracuse University

Mission Statement: To provide outstanding educational opportunities for professionals who wish to improve critical management skills, and, at the same time, learn about the innovation, change, and reform that is occurring in management globally.

Maxwell School, Syracuse University, 200 Eggers Hall, Syracuse, NY, 13244

Family and Consumer Sciences Education Leadership Academy, College of Family and Consumer Sciences, Iowa State University

Mission Statement: To provide graduate education at the master's and doctoral levels, forming cohort groups of learners who commit to several weeks of resident experiences at ISU during the summer months.

College of Family and Consumer Sciences, Iowa State University, 1055 Lebaron, Ames, IA, 50011-1120

Federal Executive Institute and Management Development Centers

Mission Statement: To improve performance and enhance leadership through premier interagency residential training, unique customized courses and consulting, and innovative customer-focused service.

Center for Executive Leadership Programs, United States Office of Personnel Management, 1301 Emmet Street, Charlottesville, VA, 22903-4899

Franklin University's Community College Alliance

Mission Statement: To offer an online Bachelor of Science degree through an educational alliance with more than 180 community and technical colleges in the United States and Canada.

Franklin University Community College Alliance, 201 S. Grant Avenue, Columbus, OH, 43215

George Mason University School of Management: Farr Associates, Inc.

Mission Statement: To help hone leadership abilities to inspire motivation and creative problem solving in peo-

ple, devise a specific plan to begin and sustain the development process, teach ways to better manage oneself and to be a more efficient catalyst for change in others, and teach how to manage conflict with better results.

Farr Associates, Inc., 4194 Mendenhall Oaks Parkway,
Suite 101, High Point, NC, 27265

Global Leadership Executive MBA, University of Texas at Dallas

School of Management, University of Texas, Dallas, P.O.
Box 830668, SM 12, Richardson, TX, 75083-0688

Graduate Certificate in Sports Leadership, University of Central Florida

Mission Statement: To enhance leadership and other skills for those who work in participatory sports organizations.

University of Central Florida Graduate Studies, Millican
Hall, Suite 230, 4000 Central Florida Boulevard, P.O.
Box 160112, Orlando, FL, 32816-0112

HACU's 2003 Latino Higher Education Leadership Institute, Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities

Mission Statement: To add to HACU's multi-pronged efforts to promote leadership across HSIs and other 2/4-year institutions; to be a dynamic forum for early, mid, and senior-level administrators/leaders to interact, share experiences/skills, network, and explore strategies for making our institutions more responsive to the needs of underrepresented students.

HACU, 8415 Datapoint Drive, Suite 400, San Antonio,
TX, 78229

Health Education Leadership Program

Mission Statement: To educate area elementary, middle, and high school students about significant health issues, inform the campus of preventive health measures and perform community service, and to establish a scholarship for an incoming freshman whose life has been profoundly affected by a chronic illness.

University of Wisconsin, Madison, 239 Reg Gym,
Madison, WI, 53706

Health Education Leadership Program, Brandeis University

Mission Statement: To promote awareness and education on issues of college health including aspects of social,

academic, spiritual, mental, and physical well-being.

Brandeis University, 415 South Street, Waltham, MA,
02454-9110

Health Systems Group: Physicians Executive- Leadership

Mission Statement: To help physician executives, medical staffs, healthcare teams, and group practices with deepening relationships with physicians, promoting their own identity, and community image and profile.

The Health Systems Group: Leadership Training for
Physicians, 3833 Kirkwood Road, Cleveland Heights,
OH, 44121-1803

Higher Education Leadership and Policy, Peabody College at Vanderbilt University

Mission Statement: To understand and enhance the social and institutional context in which human learning takes place.

Peabody College, Vanderbilt University, 2201 West End
Avenue, Nashville, TN, 37235

HOPE Hispanas Organized for Political Equality

Mission Statement: To ensure political and economic parity for Latinas through leadership, advocacy, and education to benefit all communities and the status of women.

634 South Spring Street, Suite 920, Los Angeles, CA, 90014

HR Leadership: The Next Paradigm, Cornell University

Mission Statement: To take participants beyond concept to reinforce the real connections between a firm's core skills, organizational agility, HR systems, and bottom-line performance excellence.

School of Industrial and Labor Relations, ILR Executive
Education, Cornell University, 187 Ives Hall, Ithaca,
NY, 14853-3901

HTI (Heads, Teachers, and Industry)

Mission Statement: To enhance leadership and management in schools.

University of Warwick Science Park, Herald Court,
Coventry, UK, CV4 7EZ

Human Resources Executive Leadership Program, Western Washington University

Mission Statement: To address the number of vacancies in personnel operations, particularly in leadership roles,

and liabilities related to school district legal issues in human resource activities.

EESP, Western Washington University, MS 5293 WWU.
516 High Street, Bellingham, WA, 98225

Indiana University Bloomington School of Education Educational Leadership Programs

Mission Statement: To work with and provide leadership for several different programs, including the Steering Committee of the Indiana University School Administrators Association (IUSAA), the Indiana Urban Schools Association (IUSA), as well as three school study councils: the Indiana Public School/University Partnership, the Indiana School Executive Leadership Academy, and the Beginning Superintendents' Seminars.

Educational Leadership Programs, Indiana University,
W.W. Wright Education Building, Room 4228,
Bloomington, IN, 47405-1006

INLOGOV: Institute of Local Government Studies

Mission Statement: To enrich practice with academic insight, to be the leading Institute for research in local governance, public policy, and management and a centre of excellence in education and development.

The School of Public Policy, The University of
Birmingham, Edgbaston, UK, B15 2TT

The Institute for Civic Leadership

Mission Statement: To inspire and prepare the next generation of civic leaders to become active and engaged citizens, while building towards a culture of peace in their local and global communities.

166 West 92nd Street, New York, NY, 10024

Institute For Community Leadership

Mission Statement: To empower individuals and organizations to create a vision of a more just nation and world and to develop and sustain within themselves the strength, hope, leadership, relationships, and organizational integrity to bring about that vision.

22410 64th Avenue, South Kent, WA, 98032

Institute For Music Leadership, Eastman School of Music

Mission Statement: To prepare students for a rapidly changing musical culture and an increasingly competitive and diversified marketplace.

Eastman School of Music, 26 Gibbs Street, Rochester,
NY, 14604

Institute for Women's Leadership

Mission Statement: To give women in organizations greater access to their personal power and leadership skills for producing breakthrough results.

P.O. Box 58, Redwood City, CA, 94064-0058

International Executive Programs, Georgetown University

Mission Statement: To provide participants with the expertise to compete effectively in the ever-changing global business environment.

The McDonough School of Business, Georgetown
University, Old North Building, Washington, DC,
20057-1008

International Institute of Criminal Justice Leadership

Mission Statement: To facilitate training and research for leaders in the various disciplines of the criminal justice system both within the State of California and outside the state, including practitioners from foreign countries, to focus on ethical leadership strategies, which will result in the humane and effective delivery of services to all communities.

University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San
Francisco, CA, 94117-1047

International Institute for Education Leadership, University of Lincoln

Mission Statement: To make the most up-to-date thinking about educational leadership from around the world available to students.

University of Lincoln, Brayford Pool, Lincoln, UK, LN6
7TS

International Leadership Centre MBA, University of Hull

Mission Statement: To provide support for organizational improvement through leadership development.

University of Hull, Cottingham Road, Hull, UK, HU6 7RX

James MacGregor Burns Academy of Leadership

Mission Statement: To promote leadership knowledge and practices that empower all those who strive for a just, equitable, and thriving society, particularly those who have been historically underrepresented in leadership.

Academy of Leadership, University of Maryland, College
Park, MD, 20742-7715

John Ben Shepperd Public Leader Institute

Mission Statement: To inspire young Texans to develop leadership qualities, seek fulfillment in community service, and lead the state into the 21st century.

University of Texas of the Permian Basin, 4901 E. University, Odessa, TX, 79762

Johns Hopkins University School of Professional Studies in Business and Education: Public Safety Leadership

Mission Statement: To cultivate and sustain viable communities and organizations by establishing and disseminating educational programs that foster the intellectual, ethical, and social development of current and future leaders in public safety.

The Johns Hopkins University, 103 Shaffer Hall, 3400 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, MD, 21218

Johnson and Wales University, John Hazen White School of Arts & Sciences Center for Leadership Studies

Mission Statement: To develop leadership through experiential opportunities in community service, student life activities, academic courses on leadership theory, and training workshops on leadership topics.

John Hazen White School of Arts & Sciences Center for Leadership Studies, Johnson and Wales University, 8 Abbott Park Place, Providence, RI, 02903

J. W. Fanning Institute for Leadership

Mission Statement: To help people to development leadership within themselves and others by being on the forefront of leadership development, research and education; continuing to identify and serve audiences typically not reached by other providers of leadership development; fostering a quality-centered culture; developing and disseminating products and services that are relevant to a wide range of clients; broadening Institute expertise and resources; and expanding the breadth of partnerships and linkages within the University system and beyond.

Fanning Institute for Leadership, University of Georgia, 1240 S. Lumpkin St., Athens, GA, 30602

Kennedy School of Government Executive Programs "KSG Fridays"

Mission Statement: To help participants improve their leadership effectiveness and their critical managerial competencies.

Enrollment Services, Executive Programs, John F.

Kennedy School of Government, 79 JFK Street, B-218B, Cambridge, MA, 02138

Kerr Hill Executive Leadership Program

Mission Statement: To help VP's, Directors, Executives, CEO's come away with invaluable group shared experiences and information, in-depth custom 360 report, group assessment of participants leadership attributes, organizational leadership profile, and an action plan for implementing changes.

Kerr Hill, 2420 Camino Ramon, Suite 229, San Ramon, CA, 94583

Leadership Canada

Mission Statement: To expand the number of individuals who accept leadership roles in business, government, and not-for-profit organizations to meet future challenges in our communities.

Leadership Waterloo Region, 809 Wellington Street, North Kitchener, Ontario, Canada, N2G 4J6

Leadership Development, The Physician Executive MBA, University of Tennessee

Mission Statement: To help identify personal strengths and areas for improvement through the integration of feedback from numerous assessment activities that will assess strengths and areas for improvement on various leadership competencies.

College of Business Administration, Physician Executive MBA Program, University of Tennessee, 711 Stokely Management Center, Knoxville, TN, 37996-0570

Leadership in Mathematics Education, Graduate School of Education, Bank Street College of Education

Bank Street College of Education, 610 West 112th Street, New York, NY, 10025-1898

Leadership Institute

Mission Statement: To increase the number and effectiveness of conservative public policy leaders.

1101 North Highland Street, Arlington, VA, 22201

Leadership Program, Bristol University Officers Training Corps

Bristol University Officers Training Corps, The Artillery Grounds, Whiteladies Road, Bristol, UK, BS8 2LG

**Leadership Programs,
Frostburg State University**

Mission Statement: Paraprofessional students are available for consultation and advising to help provide information to help organizations make wise decisions.

Department of Student and Community Involvement,
Frostburg State University

**Leadership Studies,
Birmingham-Southern College**

Mission Statement: To address conceptions of leadership critically and ethically; to expand conceptions of leadership beyond the context of position and power; to increase in the historical and cultural understanding of leadership; to explore leadership in relation to individuality, community, cooperation, and collaborative inquiry; to develop a personal understanding of the processes, practices, and purposes of leadership; and to demonstrate leadership through community service.

Leadership Studies, Birmingham-Southern College, 900
Arkadelphia Road, Birmingham, AL, 35254

Leadership Studies, Regent University

Mission Statement: To advance the understanding of leadership in the context of a changing society by establishing and maintaining collaborative relationships with diverse academic, private, and public communities at the state, national and international levels.

School of Leadership Studies, Regent University, 1000
Regent University Drive, Virginia Beach, VA, 23464

**Leadership Training Institute,
Appalachian Mountain Club**

Mission Statement: To teach and promote the best practices in risk management, wilderness first aid, and a range of those hard and soft skills required for excellent outdoor leadership.

AMC Main Office, 5 Joy Street, Boston, MA, 02108

LeadershipTrust

Mission Statement: To enhance leadership across all aspects of society.

Weston-under-Penyard Ross-on-Wye, Herefordshire, UK,
HR9 7YH

**Leader to Leader Institute
(formerly the Drucker Foundation)**

Mission Statement: To strengthen the leadership of the social sector.

320 Park Avenue, 3rd floor, New York, NY 10022

LTIA: Leadership Training Institute of America

Mission Statement: To apply and excel in leadership skills and critical thinking skills, study worldview conflicts and strategies, network with conservative leaders, and pursue careers in influential sectors of society.

P.O. Box 885, Fayetteville, AK, 72701-0885

**Madonna University: Master of Science in
Business Administration: Specialty in
Leadership Studies in Criminal Justice**

Mission Statement: To provide an understanding of the specialized knowledge, skills, and attitudes necessary for the professional and effective performance as a leader in a managerial role in criminal justice, an in-depth understanding of the role of human behavior in the criminal justice organizational environment, etc.

Madonna University, 36600 Schoolcraft Road, Livonia,
MI, 48150

Magee Womancare International

Mission Statement: To encourage and strengthen women's health care leaders so that they can actively inspire others, successfully manage their organizations, and advocate for the cause of better health for women in their communities.

300 Halket Street, Pittsburgh, PA, 15213

**M.A. in Social Science: Leadership Studies,
Azusa Pacific University**

School of Education and Behavioral Studies, Azusa
Pacific University, P.O. Box 7000, 901 East Alosta
Avenue, Azusa, CA, 91702

Management and Leadership, Erickson College

Mission Statement: To define the twenty-first century paradigm for business coaching, innovation, and leadership.

Erickson College, 2021 Columbia Street, Vancouver, BC,
Canada, V5Y 3C9

**The Management Center: Leading Together:
Facilitative Leadership for Executive Directors
and Board Chairs**

Mission Statement: To strengthen the single most crucial relationship in any nonprofit: that between the Executive Director and Board Chair.

The Management Center, Leading Together, 580
California St., Suite 200, San Francisco, CA, 94104

Management, Executive and Leadership Development, University of Texas at Austin

Mission Statement: To provide management-related seminars and programs for managers/supervisors at all levels.

Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas, Austin, 3001 Lake Austin Boulevard, Suite 3.306/P.O. Box Y, 78713-8925, Austin, TX, 78703-4204

Master of Arts in Education Leadership, University of Illinois

University of Illinois at Springfield, PO Box 19243, Springfield, IL, 62794-9243

Master of Arts in Education with a Leadership and Social Change Emphasis, Antioch University

Antioch University Los Angeles, 13274 Fiji Way, Marina del Rey, CA, 90292

Master of Business Administration in Leadership, Franklin Pierce College

Mission Statement: To meet the needs of upwardly mobile professionals in business, government, health, and social services who seek to advance their careers.

Graduate Studies, Franklin Pierce College, 20 College Road, Rindge, NH, 03461-0060

Master of Science in Criminal Justice, University of Central Florida

Mission Statement: To teach students, college graduates and employees of Criminal Justice agencies more about their field and advancing their careers.

Department of Criminal Justice and Legal Studies, University of Central Florida, HPA I, Suite 311, Orlando, Florida, 32816-1600

Master of Science in Executive Leadership, University of San Diego

Mission Statement: To transform high-potential organization members into leaders who maximize the potential of the organization's human assets.

University of San Diego, 5998 Alcalá Park, San Diego, CA, 92110

Master of Science in Leadership and Ethics, John Brown University

Mission Statement: To equip professionals to lead with excellence using biblically based models.

John Brown University, 2000 W. University Street, Siloam Springs, AR, 72761

Master of Science in Organizational Leadership, National University

Mission Statement: To prepare diverse adult learners to become effective, change-oriented leaders in an international society.

Administrative Headquarters, National University, 11255 North Torrey Pines Road, La Jolla, CA, 92037

Masters Degree in Education Leadership, George Mason University

Mission Statement: To prepare candidates for leadership and management positions in a variety of educational settings.

Graduate School of Education, George Mason University, MSN 4B4, 4400 University Drive, Fairfax, VA, 22030-4444

Mathematics or Science Education Leadership, George Mason University

Graduate School of Education, George Mason University, MSN 4B4, 4400 University Drive, Fairfax, VA, 22030-4444

MBA for Executives Program, University of Pennsylvania

Mission Statement: To develop broad-gauge leaders who are prepared to meet today's complex, fast-changing, global business issues.

Wharton School Center for Leadership and Change, University of Pennsylvania, G21 John M. Huntsman Hall, 3730 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, PA, 19104-6340

MBA Leadership Concentration, Lipscomb University

College of Business Administration, Physician Executive MBA Program, Lipscomb University, 3901 Granny White Pike, Nashville, TN, 37204-3951

McCormick Tribute Foundation

Mission Statement: To promote development of effective and farsighted leadership for news organizations.

435 North Michigan Avenue, Suite 770, Chicago, IL, 60611

Midwest Center For Nonprofit Leadership, University of Missouri-Kansas City

Mission Statement: To enhance the performance and effectiveness in the nonprofit sector through high-

quality, community-oriented education, applied research, problem solving, and service.

University of Missouri, Kansas City, Bloch School Room 310, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, MO, 64110

Ministry and Professional Leadership, Unitarian Universalist Association

Mission Statement: To encourage excellence in ministry, religious education, and other forms of professional religious leadership.

Unitarian Universalist Association, 25 Beacon Street, Boston, MA, 02108

Minnesota Active Citizenship Initiative: The Civil Leadership Institute

Mission Statement: To create in partnership with leaders from all sectors of the state, the values, knowledge, and practices needed to generate and sustain a basis for civic leadership in the 21st century.

University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN, 55455

MIT Sloan Management Executive Programs: Leadership Dilemmas and Profitable Growth

Mission Statement: To help senior executives address the complex interplay of the issues that they must face in order to sustain profitable growth.

Office of Executive Programs, 50 Memorial Drive, Cambridge, MA, 02142-1347

Mount Mary College Women's Leadership Initiative

Mission Statement: To develop women who are leaders in their profession, church, and community.

Mount Mary College, 2900 North Menomonee River Parkway, Milwaukee, WI, 53222-4597

Naropa University-MA Environmental Leadership

Mission Statement: To offer a unique and deliberate path to environmental leadership and service by combining contemplative work and deepening experiences with coursework, fieldwork and team projects, and promoting wise, just and compassionate engagement with environmental issues.

MA Environmental Leadership, Naropa University, 2130 Arapahoe Avenue, Boulder, CO, 80302

National Academy for Science and Mathematics Education Leadership

Mission Statement: To enhance the knowledge, skills, and strategies of leaders of science and mathematics education reform, focusing especially on those with one to five years experience.

730 Harrison Street, San Francisco, CA, 94107

National College for School Leadership

Mission Statement: To ensure that school leaders have the skills, recognition, capacity, and ambition to transform the school education system into the best in the world.

National College for School Leadership, Triumph Road, Nottingham, UK, NG8 1DH

National Community for Latino Leadership, Inc.

Mission Statement: To create change and to impact entire communities, to eliminate classism, sexism, ageism, phobias and discrimination against individuals and groups in our society.

1701 K Street NW, Suite 301, Washington, DC, 20006

National Education Leadership Initiative

Mission Statement: To help close the educational achievement gap for Latino students by providing leadership development and networking services for the nation's Latino school board members.

National Forum for Black Public Administrators

Mission Statement: To strengthen the position of Blacks within the field of public administration; to increase the number of Blacks appointed to executive positions in public service organizations; and to groom and prepare younger, aspiring administrators for senior public management posts in the years ahead.

777 North Capitol Street, NE, Suite 807, Washington, DC, 20002

National Indian Youth Leadership Project

Mission Statement: To engage Native youth in challenging activities and meaningful experiences in the community and the natural world, preparing them for healthy lives as capable, contributing members of their family, community, tribe, and nation.

P.O. Box 2140, Gallup, NM, 87301-4711

National Science Education Leadership Association

Mission Statement: To communicate the principles and practices of effective science education leadership, build a community of science education leaders, and influence science education policies and practices.

PO Box 99381, Raleigh, NC, 27624-9381

National Society of Hispanic MBAs

Mission Statement: To foster Hispanic leadership through graduate management education and professional development in order to improve society.

1303 Walnut Hill Lane, Suite 300, Irving, TX, 75038

National Youth Leadership Council

Mission Statement: To build vital, just communities with young people through service-learning.

1677 Snelling Avenue North, St. Paul, MN, 55108

National Youth Leadership Forum

Mission Statement: To bring various professions to life, empowering outstanding young people with confidence to make well-informed career choices.

2020 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC, 20006

National Youth Leadership Network, Oregon Institute on Disability and Development, Oregon Health and Science University

Mission Statement: Promoting leadership development and education in the pursuit of ensuring that all youth with disabilities have the opportunity to attain their maximum, unique, and personal potential.

Oregon Institute on Disability and Development, Oregon Health and Science University, 3608 SE Powell Road, Portland, OR, 97202

NDOL New Democrats Online: The Democratic Leadership Council's Online Community

Mission Statement: To define and galvanize popular support for a new public philosophy built on progressive ideals, mainstream values, and innovative, non-bureaucratic, market-based solutions.

NELI Executive Leadership Exchange

Mission Statement: To enhance participants' personal

leadership strategies, help them gain valuable perspective relative to today's competitive workforce, help them collaborate with other professionals of color representing a variety of different career fields, and to learn the secrets to creating staying power within one's industry.

National Eagle Leadership Institute, 7300 110th Street, 7th Floor, Overland Park, KS, 66210

Notre Dame Executive Integral Leadership Program

Mission Statement: To provide participants with a comprehensive understanding of the increased demands and complexities of leadership and teach them to draw upon their inner resources to reflect on and resolve sophisticated strategic issues participants and their organization face by incorporating this enriched perspective into a multi-dimensional framework will enable participants to formulate strategies—personal and professional—that are truly integrated and can be successfully implemented in the marketplace.

Executive Education, University of Notre Dame, 126 Mendoza College of Business, Notre Dame, IN, 46556

Office of Community College Research and Leadership, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Mission Statement: To offer several advanced degrees within the Higher Education Program.

Office of Community College Research and Leadership, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 51 Gerty Drive, 129 CRC, Champaign, IL, 61820

Office of Women in Higher Education, American Council on Education

Mission Statement: To identify women leaders nationally in higher education, develop women's leadership abilities, encourage women leaders to use their abilities, advance more women into leadership positions, link women to other women and mentors, and support the tenure of mid- and senior-level women administrators and educators.

Office of Women in Higher Education, American Council on Education, One Dupont Circle NW, Washington, DC, 20036

Opera America Arts Education Leadership

Mission Statement: To promote opera as exciting and accessible to individuals from all walks of life.

1156 15th Street, NW, Suite 810, Washington, DC, 20005

Organizational Leadership and Learning, Royal Roads University

Royal Roads University, 2005 Sooke Road, Victoria, BC, Canada, V9B 5Y2

Orlando Science Center Teacher Leadership Center

Mission Statement: To bring educators the best in meaningful activities to enhance your classroom curriculum.
Teacher Leadership Center at Orlando Science Center,
777 East Princeton Street, Orlando, FL, 32803-1291

PANIM: The Institute for Jewish Leadership and Values

Mission Statement: To enhance Jewish identity through exposure to Jewish values and an appreciation of the responsibility of Jews to apply these values to their community and to the wide world; to conduct educational programs and develop materials that strengthen the leadership abilities and potential of American Jews in the arena of Jewish values and civic engagements; to strengthen the links between the Jewish community and the American public interest/public policy arenas, including the many communities and institutions working to bring about peace and justice in the world.
6101 Montrose Road, Suite 200, Rockville, MD, 20852

Paul Ambrose Political Leadership Institute

Mission Statement: To enhance the specific skills of each participant so that he or she can emerge as a community leader, not only in medicine, but also in the politics of health policy.
American Medical Student Association, 1902 Association Drive, Reston, VA, 20191

Ph.D. in Organizational Leadership, College of Continuing Education Advanced Programs, University of Oklahoma

Mission Statement: To prepare students to contribute, through their scholarly work, to the body of knowledge and theoretical foundations of their chosen disciplines and apply this knowledge in the workplace.
The University of Oklahoma, CCE–Advanced Programs,
1610 Asp Avenue, Norman, OK, 73072-6405

Portland State University Executive Leadership Institute

Mission Statement: To assist the Mark O. Hatfield School of Government to improve the quality of democratic

governance by extending its public service education mission to elected officials and career administrators at off-campus locations throughout the region.

Executive Leadership Institute Mark O. Hatfield School of Government, Portland State University, PO Box 751, Portland, OR, 97207-0751

Recreation Leadership Program, SUNY Ulster

Ulster County Community College, Stone Ridge, NY, 12484

Recreation Leadership/Sports Management, Sullivan County Community College

Mission Statement: To develop specialized training and education necessary for individuals seeking careers in any of the many segments of the sport/physical activity industry.

Natural Health and Sciences, Mathematics and Physical Education, Sullivan County Community College, 112 College Road, Loch Sheldrake, NY, 12759

Royal Military College of Canada

Mission Statement: To develop leadership skills and athletic abilities.
Commandment, Royal Military College of Canada, P.O. Box 17000, Station Forces, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, K7K 7B4

Santa Clara University CIO Executive Leadership Program

Mission Statement: To provide CIOs with the skills, tools, strategies, and marketing techniques they can use to improve their perception amongst the senior-level executive team and their peers in the organization and provide CIOs the executive level skills they need to advance their careers, by achieving greater success in their current position or by moving up a level.
CIO Executive Leadership Program, Santa Clara University, 500 El Camino Real, Santa Clara, CA, 95053-1500

School of Education Leadership, Australian Catholic University

Mission Statement: To continue to provide excellence in teaching and research in the areas of Catholic leadership, administration, and organizational development.
Australian Catholic University Limited, ABN 15 050 192 660, 40 Edward Street, North Sydney, NSW, Australia, 2060

Science Leadership Project, Baylor University

Mission Statement: To develop creative science curricula that engages interdisciplinary teams of students and faculty in solving community-based problems requiring scientific expertise.

Baylor University, Waco, TX, 76798

Six Sigma Leadership Workshop, Vanderbilt University

Mission Statement: To guide companies into making fewer mistakes in everything they do.

Owen Graduate School of Management Executive Programs, Vanderbilt University, 401 21st Avenue South, Nashville, TN, 37203

Sky Ranch Seminars & The Montana Institute for Leadership Science

Mission Statement: To help individuals broaden their perceptions and actions to cope successfully with a challenging new world, based upon the principles of the new sciences aligned with the realities of both doing business and living in a web-driven universe.

Sky Ranch Seminars & The Montana Institute for Leadership Science, 201 Elk Ridge Road, Livingston, Montana, 59047

Special Leadership Development Programs, Council for Christian Colleges and Universities

Mission Statement: To help our institutional leaders understand trends, explore new approaches to delivering and financing education, be represented in key national and international forums, learn from cooperative research, and develop positive relationships with church-related entities.

Council for Christian Colleges and Universities, 321 Eighth Street, NE, Washington, DC, 20002

Sports Department Leadership Seminar, American Press Institute

American Press Institute, 11690 Sunrise Valley Drive, Reston, VA, 20191-1498
modeling in children's recreational sports.

Sports Leadership Grants for Rural and Remote Women, Australian Sports Commission

Mission Statement: To provide women with an opportunity to undertake accredited sports leadership training in the areas of coaching, officiating, sports administra-

tion, and sports management.

Australian Sports Commission, Leverrier Crescent Bruce; P.O. Box 176 Belconnen, ACT 2617; ACT2616, Australia

Sports Leadership Program, Ohio State University

Mission Statement: To help those in athletics administration gain a better understanding of business operations.

Fisher College, Ohio State University, 2100 Neil Avenue, Columbus, OH, 43210-1144

Sports Leadership Program, University of Reading

Mission Statement: To develop the skills of leadership, communication, organization, and coaching in preparation for a career in sport, leisure, physical education, or general management.

The University of Reading, Whiteknights, P.O. Box 217, Reading, Berkshire, UK, RG6 6AH

Stanley K. Lacy Leadership Association (SKLLA)

Mission Statement: To offer opportunities for continuing education in leadership and community; to help its members stay connected with each other; to provide unique professional and social networking venues; to provide insights into community issues and needs, and opportunities to get involved.

SKLLA, 615 N. Alabama Street, Suite 119, Indianapolis, IN, 46204

Star Executive

Mission Statement: To provide executive leadership and team building programs, based on Harvard Business School and Olympic fundamentals, to corporate clients.

1234 S. Dixie Highway, # 320, Coral Gables, FL, 33146

State Action for Educational Leadership Project, National Conference of State Legislatures

National Conference of State Legislatures, 444 North Capitol Street, NW, Suite 515, Washington, DC, 20001

Strategic Leadership Workshop for Senior Executives, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Mission Statement: To enhance leadership capabilities for

senior executives in mid-size to large companies in a variety of industries.

The Kenan-Flagler Business School, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Campus Box 3490, McColl Building, Chapel Hill, NC, 27599-3490

Thierry Graduate School of Leadership

Mission Statement: To provide a comprehensive educational response to the growing need for highly trained and experienced leaders in corporations and public organizations.

Off-Campus City Residence Office, Thierry Graduate School of Leadership, 13 Square Robert Goldschmidt, BE 1050, Brussels, Belgium

Thomas C. Sorensen Institute for Political Leadership

Mission Statement: To prepare emerging leaders for entry into public life.

University of Virginia, P.O. Box 400206, Charlottesville, VA, 22904-4206

Tuck School of Business at Dartmouth Executive Education Programs Center for Global Leadership

Mission Statement: To take a leading role in educating high-potential global leaders through four different executive education programs: Tuck Global Leaders Program, Global Leadership 2020, Custom Executive Programs, and Smith-Tuck Global Leadership Program for Women.

William F. Achtmeyer Center for Global Leadership, Tuck School of Business, Dartmouth College, 100 Tuck Hall, Hanover, NH, 03755

UCLA Executive Education Programs

Mission Statement: To offer numerous programs that incorporate the most recent innovations in management education, including custom programs designed to meet organizations' specific business objectives, and open enrollment programs that focus on leadership, general and functional management, and strategic vision.

Collins Center for Executive Education, The Anderson School at UCLA, Box 951464, 110 Westwood Plaza, Ste. A101D, Los Angeles, CA, 90095-1464

University of California, Berkeley, Beahrs Environment Leadership Program

Mission Statement: To offer an exceptional learning

opportunity for mid-career professionals and policy makers to gain expertise, enhance their skills, and broaden their perspectives on sustainable environmental management.

Beahrs ELP, Center for Sustainable Resource Development, University of California, Berkeley, 4 Giannini Hall, Berkeley, CA, 94720-3100

University of Minnesota Office for Business and Community Economic Development

Mission Statement: To advance the University's interests in promoting economic development and employment and training opportunities for historically underserved communities.

Office for Business & Community Economic Development, University of Minnesota, 110 Morrill Hall, 100 Church Street SE, Minneapolis, MN, 55455

University of Pennsylvania Wharton School Center for Leadership and Change Management

Mission Statement: To stimulate basic research and practical application in the area of strategic leadership and change management, enhance our understanding of how to build and develop leadership in and for organizations, and assist the leadership and change agendas of the school and its faculty and affiliates.

Wharton School Center for Leadership and Change, University of Pennsylvania, 3451 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, PA, 19104

University of Southern California Marshall School of Business

Mission Statement: To provide the foundation for a process of lifetime learning and business practice and world-class research and scholarship to prepare students for the future of business.

The Marshall School of Business, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA, 90089

University of Southern Maine Lewiston-Auburn College Leadership Studies

Mission Statement: To help students approach their leadership roles with a sense of social responsibility, a concern for ethics, and a commitment to the public good by opening new doors of thought and analysis by synthesizing knowledge from the humanities,

social sciences, communication, and the natural and environmental sciences.

Office of Graduate Admissions, University of Southern Maine Lewiston-Auburn College, 51 Westminster Street, Lewiston, ME, 04240

University of Texas at Dallas School of Management: Executive Education, Professional Development

Mission Statement: To “grow your organization’s future leaders” by developing individual leadership attributes and capabilities by focusing on improving three critical dimensions of leadership: leadership skills, knowledge and personal motivation.

The University of Texas at Dallas, Dallas, TX

University of Tulsa Center for Executive and Professional Development Leadership Programs

Mission Statement: To provide a variety of different programs for leaders to develop their skills and create a committed project team.

Center for Executive and Professional Development, University of Tulsa, 600 South College, Tulsa, OK, 74104

University of Wisconsin–Madison: Women in Science and Engineering Leadership Institute

Mission Statement: To address a number of impediments to women’s academic advancement by providing an effective and legitimate means of networking women faculty across departments, decreasing isolation, advocating for and mentoring women faculty, and linking women postdoctoral fellows in predominantly male environments with a variety of women faculty.

Women in Science and Engineering, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2640 Engineering Hall, 1415 Engineering Drive, Madison, WI, 53706-1691

U.S.–Japan Leadership Program: U.S.–Japan Foundation

Mission Statement: To create closer ties of communication and understanding among a new generation of young Japanese and American leaders; to create an informed body of leading citizens on each side who will have a trusted network of friends in the other country.

U.S.–Japan Leadership Program, U.S.–Japan Foundation, 145 East 32nd Street, New York, NY, 10016

Vanderbilt University Owen Graduate School of Management Executive Leadership Program

Mission Statement: To help participants more effectively lead the change process within an organization, to teach the key leverage points for connecting with people and building a culture that best fits the organization.

Owen Graduate School of Management Executive Programs, Vanderbilt University, 401 21st Avenue South, Nashville, TN, 37203

Vital Voices Global Partnership

Mission Statement: To expand women’s roles in politics and civil society, increase successful women’s entrepreneurship, and fight trafficking in women and girls and other human rights abuses.

Georgetown University, 1050 Connecticut Ave., NW 10th floor, Washington, DC, 20036

Wallace Foundation

Mission Statement: To enable institutions to expand learning and enrichment opportunities for all people by supporting and sharing effective ideas and practices.

Two Park Avenue, 23rd Floor, New York, NY, 10016

Warren Wilson College Environmental Leadership Center

Mission Statement: To raise awareness of local, national, and global environmental realities and to inspire caring citizens—especially our youth—to reflect, to communicate, and to act as responsible caretakers of the earth by preparing future environmental leaders, creating community awareness and influencing public policy, and connecting people with nature.

Environmental Leadership Center, Warren Wilson College, P.O. Box 9000, Asheville, NC, 28815

Wharton Programs Executive Education

Mission Statement: To offer several programs that help to create and develop leadership, strengthen relationships, identify problems and find the solution, etc.

Aresty Institute of Executive Education, University of Pennsylvania, 255 S. 38th Street, Philadelphia, PA, 19104-6359

Wheelock College Center for International Education, Leadership, and Innovation

Mission Statement: To be the pre-eminent center for preparing individuals to assume important roles as edu-

cators with strong scholarly backgrounds and experiential knowledge.

Wheelock College, 200 The Riverway, Boston, MA, 02215-4076

William Davidson Institute Executive Education Leadership Programs

Mission Statement: To help participants with developing leadership skills and organizational-change and innovation capabilities, creating a change or innovation strategy, turning good ideas into great products, services, and processes, establishing a high-performance culture and work environment, developing a change or innovation process, and gaining buy-in from resisters.

The William Davidson Institute Executive Education, 724 East University Avenue, Wyly Hall, First floor, Ann Arbor, MI, 48109-1234

WLP Women's Learning Partnership

Mission Statement: To advance communication and cooperation among and between the women of the world in order to protect human rights, facilitate sustainable development, and promote peace.

Women's Learning Partnership, 4343 Montgomery Avenue, Suite 201, Bethesda, MD, 20814

Women & Politics Institute

Mission Statement: To enhance women's leadership by fostering the interaction of students with young women leaders, providing leadership training workshops, and awarding students recognition for leadership achievements.

American University, 4400 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, DC, 20016

Women's Executive Development Program, University of Technology, Sydney

Mission Statement: To enhance personal professional development opportunities for senior women to gain appropriate skills and experience for emerging management opportunities, to support the growth of organizational cultures that value diversity and encourage improved representation of women in senior executive positions, to build on the tangible benefits of the collaborative network between ATN universities by providing significant cross-institutional activities for senior women, and to strengthen strategic alliances with other organizations, nationally and internationally.

Australian Technology Network, University of Technology, Sydney, P.O. Box 123, Broadway NSW 2007, Australia

Women's Executive Leadership Summit, University of Wisconsin at Madison

Mission Statement: To provide an atmosphere that examines women's executive leadership and encourages discovery and the development of practices that succeed.

School of Business, Fluno Center for Executive Education, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 601 University Avenue, Madison, WI, 53715

Women's Leadership Development Program

Mission Statement: To provide opportunities for women in public service to improve and develop their leadership skills so they can become more effective in the various roles in which they are involved.

Institute for Public Administration, University of Delaware, 180 Graham Hall, Newark, DE, 19716

Women's Leadership Exchange

Mission Statement: To connect women who own or run growth companies with the knowledge, tools and people they need to crank up the volume and grow.

Women's Leadership Exchange, 14 Wall Street, 20th Floor, New York, NY, 10005

Women's Leadership Initiative

Mission Statement: To provide research, education, mentoring and networking for and about women in the meeting industry, to be an agent of change for women aspiring to leadership through career development, organizational advocacy and networking.

4455 LBJ Freeway Suite 1200, Dallas, TX, 75244-59003

Women's Leadership Institute

Mission Statement: To develop and strengthen leadership skills while exploring a feminist perspective in religion and society, to create a community committed to liberation and transformation.

Hartford Seminary, 77 Sherman Street, Hartford, CT, 06105

Women's Village: Leadership and Women

Mission Statement: To help women achieve greater positions of power and overcome the underutilization of women in virtually every arena.

IMDiversity.com, 909 Poydras Street, 36th Floor, New Orleans, LA, 70112

Yale School of Management Executive Programs: Leadership and Team Effectiveness

Mission Statement: To help senior managers increase their leadership potential by building upon their experience in leadership, decision-making, working effectively within teams, conflict resolution, and interpersonal communication.

Executive Programs, Yale School of Management, 135 Prospect Street, Box 208200, New Haven, CT, 06520-8200

Young Women's Leadership Program, WILD

Mission Statement: To promote human rights through the conscious leadership and action of women and girls.

WILD, 3543 18th Street, #11, San Francisco, CA, 94110

Youth Leadership Academy

Mission Statement: To promote learning, academic performance, and workforce preparation among disadvantaged young people; and to provide adults with the

resources necessary for long-term employability and economic security.

55 John Street, Suite 500, New York, NY, 10038

Youth Leadership Initiative, Center For Politics, University of Virginia

Mission Statement: To rekindle citizen interest and participation in the American democratic process by coupling academic excellence and cutting-edge technology with civic and community participation.

University of Virginia Center For Politics, 2400 Old Ivy Road, P.O. Box 400806, Charlottesville, VA, 22904

YWCA Institute of Public Leadership (IPL)

Mission Statement: To empower women from their initial participation as informed voters to their commitment to leadership.

1015 18th Street, NW, Suite 1100, Washington, DC, 20036

Appendix 3

Primary Sources

Presidential Speeches on Foreign Policy and War



Since the founding of the nation, U.S. presidents have delivered many of their most important leadership speeches when addressing the American people on issues of foreign policy and war. Below are key speeches on these topics from 1796 to 2002. These are

especially timely in 2004, which is a presidential election year when foreign policy and war are hotly debated issues. Read in chronological order, they provide a history of how American foreign policy has evolved since the founding of the nation.



George Washington's Farewell Address, 17 September 1796

In the speech below, George Washington explains his decision to leave office after his second term as president. This speech is remembered as the first comprehensive statement of American foreign policy, setting out ideas that would remain at the forefront for a century.

Friends, and fellow citizens: The period for a new election of a citizen, to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the

relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country, and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety, and am persuaded whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed toward the organization and administration of the Government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me, and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise and as an instructive example in our annals that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead; amidst appearances sometimes dubious; vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging; in situations in which not infrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts and a guaranty of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that the free Constitution which is the work of your hands may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under

the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity to government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and

interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together. The independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South*, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *East*, in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds and, in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest *as one nation*. Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, propor-

tionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government—which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty: in this sense it is that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. 'Tis well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union it occurs as matter of serious concern that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *geographical* discriminations—*Northern* and *Southern*, *Atlantic*, and *Western*—whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You can not shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heartburnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our *Western* country have lately had a useful lesson on this head. They have seen in the negotiation by the Executive and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate of the treaty with Spain,

and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the General Government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties—that with Great Britain and that with Spain—which secure to them everything that they could desire in respect to our foreign relations toward confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute. They must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay by the adoption of a Constitution of Government better calculated than your former for an intimate union and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This Government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the

nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government—destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Toward the preservation of your Government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the Constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what can not be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember especially that for the efficient management of your common interests in a country so extensive as ours a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprise of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual, and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passion. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose; and there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be by force of public opinion to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted

with its administration to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predominates in the human heart is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasion by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern, some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If in the opinion of the people the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness—these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect the national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of free government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric? Promote, then, as an object of primary

importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives; but it is necessary that public opinion should cooperate. To facilitate them the performance of their duty it is essential that you should practically bear in mind that toward the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties), ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the Government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct. And can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period a great nation to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded, and that in place of them just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges toward another an

habitual hatred or an habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation prompted by ill will and resentment sometimes impels to war the government contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject. At other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter without adequate inducements or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country without odium, sometimes even with popularity, gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak toward a great and powerful nation dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter. Against the insidious wiles of foreign influ-

ence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots who may resist the intrigues of the favorite are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world, so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to

public than to private affairs that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand, neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the Government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish, that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude of your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself,

the assurance of my own conscience is that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice and by that of your representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined as far as should depend upon me to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity toward other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of any intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope [that] my country will never cease to view them with indulgence, and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with

pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government, the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

Message of President James Monroe to Congress, 2 December 1823

In his seventh annual message to Congress, President James Monroe set forth American opposition to further European colonization in the Western Hemisphere and emphasized American neutrality in European affairs. It eventually became known as the Monroe Doctrine, principles that formed the foundation for American foreign policy.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

Many important subjects will claim your attention during the present session, of which I shall endeavor to give, in aid of your deliberations, a just idea in this communication. I undertake this duty with diffidence, from the vast extent of the interests on which I have to treat and of their great importance to every portion of our Union. I enter on it with zeal from a thorough conviction that there never was a period since the establishment of our Revolution when, regarding the condition of the civilized world and its bearing upon us, there was greater necessity for devotion in public servants to their respective duties, or for virtue, patriotism, and union in our constituents.

[. . .]

At the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the minister of the United States at St. Petersburg to arrange by amicable negotiation the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent. A similar proposal has been made by his Imperial Majesty to the Government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. The Government of the United States has been desirous by this friendly proceeding of manifesting the great value which they have inevitably attached to the friendship of the Emperor and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with his Government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise and in the arrange-

ments by which they may terminate the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.

[. . .]

It was stated at the commencement of the last session that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people of those countries, and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked that the result has been so far very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe, with which we have so much intercourse and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments; and to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any

other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. In the war between those new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

The late events in Spain and Portugal shew that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact no stronger proof can be adduced than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on any principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed by force in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried, on the same principle, is a question in which all independent powers whose governments differ from theirs are interested, even those most remote, and surely none more so than the United States. Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government *de facto* as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to those continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if [left] to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course.

Abraham Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, 4 March 1861

The South had seceded from the Union by the time Lincoln was inaugurated, and Jefferson Davis had already taken office as president of the Confederacy.

With a war between the North and South looming on the horizon, Lincoln used his inaugural speech as an appeal to keep the Union whole.

Fellow-Citizens of the United States:

In compliance with a custom as old as the Government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President “before he enters on the execution of this office.”

I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican Administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that—

I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.

Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations and had never recanted them; and more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

I now reiterate these sentiments, and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming Administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully

demand, for whatever cause—as cheerfully to one section as to another.

There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the lawgiver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as to any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause “shall be delivered up” their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not with nearly equal unanimity frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?

There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by State authority, but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done. And should anyone in any case be content that his oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to *how* it shall be kept?

Again: In any law upon this subject ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not in any case surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that “the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States”?

I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules; and while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed than to violate any of them trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our National Constitution. During that period fifteen different and greatly distinguished citizens have in succession administered the executive branch of the Government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope of precedent, I now enter upon the same task for the brief constitutional term of four years under great and peculiar difficulty. A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted.

I hold that in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our National Constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again: If the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak—but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?

Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778. And finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was “*to form a more perfect Union.*”

But if destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is *less* perfect than before the Constitution, having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

It follows from these views that no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union; that *resolves* and *ordinances* to that effect are legally void, and that acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

I therefore consider that in view of the Constitution and the laws the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part, and I shall perform it so far as practicable unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it *will* constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States in any interior locality shall be so great and universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the Government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating and so nearly impracticable withal that I deem it better to forego for the time the uses of such offices.

The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper, and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised, according to circumstances actually existing and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events and are glad of any pretext to do it I will neither affirm nor deny; but if there be such, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union may I not speak?

Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes, would it not be wise to ascertain precisely why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any

portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from, will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake?

All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right plainly written in the Constitution has been denied? I think not. Happily, the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might in a moral point of view justify revolution; certainly [it] would if such right were a vital one. But such is not our case. All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guaranties and prohibitions, in the Constitution that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate nor any document of reasonable length contain express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by State authority? The Constitution does not expressly say. *May* Congress prohibit slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. *Must* Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say.

From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities. If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the Government must cease. There is no other alternative, for continuing the Government is acquiescence on one side or the other. If a minority in such case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which in turn will divide and ruin them, for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such minority. For instance, why may not any portion of a new confederacy a year or two hence arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this.

Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new union as to produce harmony only and prevent renewed secession?

Plainly the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy. A majority held in restraint by constitutional

checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does of necessity fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible. The rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.

I do not forget the position assumed by some that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court, nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding in any case upon the parties to a suit as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the Government. And while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice. At the same time, the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the Government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their Government into the hands of that eminent tribunal. Nor is there in this view any assault upon the court or the judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink to decide cases properly brought before them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes.

One section of our country believes slavery is *right* and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is *wrong* and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive-slave clause of the Constitution and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave trade are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, can not be perfectly cured, and it would be worse in both cases *after* the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived without restriction in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

Physically speaking, we can not separate. We can not remove our respective sections from each other nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country can not do this. They can not but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory *after* separation than *before*? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you can not fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions, as to terms of intercourse, are again upon you.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their *constitutional* right of amending it or their *revolutionary* right to dismember or overthrow it. I can not be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the National Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendments, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and I should, under existing circumstances, favor rather than oppose a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. I will venture to add that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others, not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish to either accept or refuse. I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution—which amendment, however, I have not seen—has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.

The Chief Magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have referred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves can do this if also they choose, but the Executive as such has nothing to do with it. His duty is to admin-

ister the present Government as it came to his hands and to transmit it unimpaired by him to his successor.

Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences, is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with His eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal of the American people.

By the frame of the Government under which we live this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have with equal wisdom provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance no Administration by any extreme of wickedness or folly can very seriously injure the Government in the short space of four years.

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and *well* upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to *hurry* any of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take *deliberately*, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new Administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land are still competent to adjust in the best way all our present difficulty.

In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in *mine*, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail *you*. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. *You* have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to “preserve, protect, and defend it.”

I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

Theodore Roosevelt's Annual Message to Congress, 6 December 1904

In what came to be known as the "Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine," President Theodore Roosevelt stated that in keeping with the Monroe Doctrine, the United States might be forced into the "exercise of an international police power" to keep order in the Western Hemisphere. Historians have pointed out the irony of using the Monroe Doctrine—principles intended to prevent European intervention in the Western Hemisphere—as the justification for the United States' own intervention in the Western Hemisphere.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

The Nation continues to enjoy noteworthy prosperity. Such prosperity is of course primarily due to the high individual average of our citizenship, taken together with our great natural resources; but an important factor therein is the working of our long-continued governmental policies. The people have emphatically expressed their approval of the principles underlying these policies, and their desire that these principles be kept substantially unchanged, although of course applied in a progressive spirit to meet changing conditions.

Foreign Policy

In treating of our foreign policy and of the attitude that this great Nation should assume in the world at large, it is absolutely necessary to consider the Army and the Navy, and the Congress, through which the thought of the Nation finds its expression, should keep ever vividly in mind the fundamental fact that it is impossible to treat our foreign policy, whether this policy takes shape in the effort to secure justice for others or justice for ourselves, save as conditioned upon the attitude we are willing to take toward our Army, and especially toward our Navy. It is not merely unwise, it is contemptible, for a nation, as for an individual, to use high-sounding language to proclaim its purposes, or to take positions which are ridiculous if unsupported by potential force, and then to refuse to provide this force. If there is no intention of providing and keeping the force necessary to back up a strong attitude, then it is far better not to assume such an attitude.

The steady aim of this Nation, as of all enlightened nations, should be to strive to bring ever nearer the day when there shall prevail throughout the world the peace of justice. There are kinds of peace which are highly undesirable, which are in the long run as destructive as

any war. Tyrants and oppressors have many times made a wilderness and called it peace. Many times peoples who were slothful or timid or shortsighted, who had been enervated by ease or by luxury, or misled by false teachings, have shrunk in unmanly fashion from doing duty that was stern and that needed self-sacrifice, and have sought to hide from their own minds their shortcomings, their ignoble motives, by calling them love of peace. The peace of tyrannous terror, the peace of craven weakness, the peace of injustice, all these should be shunned as we shun unrighteous war. The goal to set before us as a nation, the goal which should be set before all mankind, is the attainment of the peace of justice, of the peace which comes when each nation is not merely safe-guarded in its own rights, but scrupulously recognizes and performs its duty toward others. Generally peace tells for righteousness; but if there is conflict between the two, then our fealty is due first to the cause of righteousness. Unrighteous wars are common, and unrighteous peace is rare; but both should be shunned. The right of freedom and the responsibility for the exercise of that right can not be divorced. One of our great poets has well and finely said that freedom is not a gift that tarries long in the hands of cowards. Neither does it tarry long in the hands of those too slothful, too dishonest, or too unintelligent to exercise it. The eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty must be exercised, sometimes to guard against outside foes; although of course far more often to guard against our own selfish or thoughtless shortcomings.

If these self-evident truths are kept before us, and only if they are so kept before us, we shall have a clear idea of what our foreign policy in its larger aspects should be. It is our duty to remember that a nation has no more right to do injustice to another nation, strong or weak, than an individual has to do injustice to another individual; that the same moral law applies in one case as in the other. But we must also remember that it is as much the duty of the Nation to guard its own rights and its own interests as it is the duty of the individual so to do. Within the Nation the individual has now delegated this right to the State, that is, to the representative of all the individuals, and it is a maxim of the law that for every wrong there is a remedy. But in international law we have not advanced by any means as far as we have advanced in municipal law. There is as yet no judicial way of enforcing a right in international law. When one nation wrongs another or wrongs many others, there is no tribunal before which

the wrongdoer can be brought. Either it is necessary supinely to acquiesce in the wrong, and thus put a premium upon brutality and aggression, or else it is necessary for the aggrieved nation valiantly to stand up for its rights. Until some method is devised by which there shall be a degree of international control over offending nations, it would be a wicked thing for the most civilized powers, for those with most sense of international obligations and with keenest and most generous appreciation of the difference between right and wrong, to disarm. If the great civilized nations of the present day should completely disarm, the result would mean an immediate recrudescence of barbarism in one form or another. Under any circumstances a sufficient armament would have to be kept up to serve the purposes of international police; and until international cohesion and the sense of international duties and rights are far more advanced than at present, a nation desirous both of securing respect for itself and of doing good to others must have a force adequate for the work which it feels is allotted to it as its part of the general world duty. Therefore it follows that a self-respecting, just, and far-seeing nation should on the one hand endeavor by every means to aid in the development of the various movements which tend to provide substitutes for war, which tend to render nations in their actions toward one another, and indeed toward their own peoples, more responsive to the general sentiment of humane and civilized mankind; and on the other hand that it should keep prepared, while scrupulously avoiding wrongdoing itself, to repel any wrong, and in exceptional cases to take action which in a more advanced stage of international relations would come under the head of the exercise of the international police. A great free people owes it to itself and to all mankind not to sink into helplessness before the powers of evil.

Arbitration Treaties—Second Hague Conference

We are in every way endeavoring to help on, with cordial good will, every movement which will tend to bring us into more friendly relations with the rest of mankind. In pursuance of this policy I shall shortly lay before the Senate treaties of arbitration with all powers which are willing to enter into these treaties with us. It is not possible at this period of the world's development to agree to arbitrate all matters, but there are many matters of possible difference between us and other nations which can be thus arbitrated. Furthermore, at the request of the Interparliamentary Union, an eminent body composed

of practical statesmen from all countries, I have asked the Powers to join with this Government in a second Hague conference, at which it is hoped that the work already so happily begun at The Hague may be carried some steps further toward completion. This carries out the desire expressed by the first Hague conference itself.

Policy Toward Other Nations of the Western Hemisphere

It is not true that the United States feels any land hunger or entertains any projects as regards the other nations of the Western Hemisphere save such as are for their welfare. All that this country desires is to see the neighboring countries stable, orderly, and prosperous. Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count upon our hearty friendship. If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States. Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power. If every country washed by the Caribbean Sea would show the progress in stable and just civilization which with the aid of the Platt Amendment Cuba has shown since our troops left the island, and which so many of the republics in both Americas are constantly and brilliantly showing, all question of interference by this Nation with their affairs would be at an end. Our interests and those of our southern neighbors are in reality identical. They have great natural riches, and if within their borders the reign of law and justice obtains, prosperity is sure to come to them. While they thus obey the primary laws of civilized society they may rest assured that they will be treated by us in a spirit of cordial and helpful sympathy. We would interfere with them only in the last resort, and then only if it became evident that their inability or unwillingness to do justice at home and abroad had violated the rights of the United States or had invited foreign aggression to the detriment of the entire body of American nations. It is a mere truism to say that every nation, whether in America or anywhere else, which desires to maintain its freedom, its independence, must ultimately realize that the right of such independence

can not be separated from the responsibility of making good use of it.

In asserting the Monroe Doctrine, in taking such steps as we have taken in regard to Cuba, Venezuela, and Panama, and in endeavoring to circumscribe the theater of war in the Far East, and to secure the open door in China, we have acted in our own interest as well as in the interest of humanity at large. There are, however, cases in which, while our own interests are not greatly involved, strong appeal is made to our sympathies. Ordinarily it is very much wiser and more useful for us to concern ourselves with striving for our own moral and material betterment here at home than to concern ourselves with trying to better the condition of things in other nations. We have plenty of sins of our own to war against, and under ordinary circumstances we can do more for the general uplifting of humanity by striving with heart and soul to put a stop to civic corruption, to brutal lawlessness and violent race prejudices here at home than by passing resolutions and wrongdoing elsewhere. Nevertheless there are occasional crimes committed on so vast a scale and of such peculiar horror as to make us doubt whether it is not our manifest duty to endeavor at least to show our disapproval of the deed and our sympathy with those who have suffered by it. The cases must be extreme in which such a course is justifiable. There must be no effort made to remove the mote from our brother's eye if we refuse to remove the beam from our own. But in extreme cases action may be justifiable and proper. What form the action shall take must depend upon the circumstances of the case; that is, upon the degree of the atrocity and upon our power to remedy it. The cases in which we could interfere by force of arms as we interfered to put a stop to intolerable conditions in Cuba are necessarily very few. Yet it is not to be expected that a people like ours, which in spite of certain very obvious shortcomings, nevertheless as a whole shows by its consistent practice its belief in the principles of civil and religious liberty and of orderly freedom, a people among whom even the worst crime, like the crime of lynching, is never more than sporadic, so that individuals and not classes are molested in their fundamental rights—it is inevitable that such a nation should desire eagerly to give expression to its horror on an occasion like that of the massacre of the Jews in Kishenev, or when it witnesses such systematic and long-extended cruelty and oppression as the cruelty and oppression of which the Armenians have been the

victims, and which have won for them the indignant pity of the civilized world.

Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points Address, 8 January 1918

This address put forth President Wilson's plan to bring an end to World War I. In an effort to bring peace, Wilson sought to boost Allied morale until the war was over and to assure the German people that the Allied peace terms would not be punitive.

The address of the President of the United States, this day delivered at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress, is as follows:

Gentlemen of the Congress, once more, as repeatedly before, the spokesmen of the Central Empires have indicated their desire to discuss the objects of the war and the possible bases of a general peace. Parleys have been in progress at Brest-Litvosk between Russian representatives and representatives of the Central Powers, to which the attention of all the belligerents has been invited for the purpose of ascertaining whether it may be possible to extend these parleys into a general conference with regard to terms of peace and settlement. The Russian representatives presented not only a perfectly definite statement of the principles upon which they would be willing to conclude peace, but also an equally definite programme of the concrete application of these principles. The representatives of the Central Powers, on their part, presented an outline settlement which, if much less definite, seemed susceptible of liberal interpretation until their specific programme of practical terms was added. That programme proposed no concessions at all either to the sovereignty of Russia or to the preferences of the populations with whose fortunes it dealt, but meant, in a word, that the Central Empires were to keep every foot of territory their armed forces had occupied—every province, every city, every point of vantage—as a permanent addition to their territories and their power. It is a reasonable conjecture that the general principles of settlement which they at first suggested originated with the more liberal statesmen of Germany and Austria, the men who have begun to feel the force of their own peoples' thought and purpose, while the concrete terms of actual settlement came from the military leaders who have no thought but to keep what they have got. The negotiations have been broken off. The Russian representatives were sincere and in earnest.

They cannot entertain such proposals of conquest and domination.

The whole incident is full of significance. It is also full of perplexity. With whom are the Russian representatives dealing? For whom are the representatives of the Central Empires speaking? Are they speaking for the majorities of their respective parliaments or for the minority parties, that military and imperialistic minority which has so far dominated their whole policy and controlled the affairs of Turkey and of the Balkan states which have felt obliged to become their associates in the war? The Russian representatives have insisted, very justly, very wisely, and in the true spirit of modern democracy, that the conferences they have been holding with the Teutonic and Turkish statesmen should be held within open, not closed, doors, and all the world has been audience, as was decided. To whom have we been listening, then? To those who speak the spirit and intention of the Resolutions of the German Reichstag of the ninth of July last, the spirit and intention of the liberal leaders and parties of Germany, or to those who resist and defy that spirit and intention and insist upon conquest and subjugation? Or are we listening, in fact, to both, unreconciled and in open and hopeless contradiction? These are very serious and pregnant questions. Upon the answer to them depends the peace of the world.

But whatever the results of the parleys at Brest-Litvosk, whatever the confusions of counsel and of purpose in the utterances of the spokesmen of the Central Empires, they have again attempted to acquaint the world with their objects in the war and have again challenged their adversaries to say what their objects are and what sort of settlement they would deem just and satisfactory. There is no good reason why that challenge should not be responded to, and responded to with the utmost candor. We did not wait for it. Not once, but again and again, we have laid our whole thought and purpose before the world, not in general terms only, but each time with sufficient definition to make it clear what sort of definitive terms of settlement must necessarily spring out of them. Within the last week Mr. Lloyd George has spoken with admirable candor and in admirable spirit for the people and Government of Great Britain. There is no confusion of counsel among the adversaries of the Central Powers, no uncertainty of principle, no vagueness of detail. The only secrecy of counsel, the only lack of fearless frankness, the only failure to make definite statement of the objects of the war, lies with Germany and her Allies. The issues of life

and death hang upon these definitions. No statesman who has the least conception of his responsibility ought for a moment to permit himself to continue this tragical and appalling outpouring of blood and treasure unless he is sure beyond a peradventure that the objects of the vital sacrifice are part and parcel of the very life of Society, and that the people for whom he speaks think them right and imperative as he does.

There is, moreover, a voice calling for these definitions of principle and of purpose which is, it seems to me, more thrilling and more compelling than any of the many moving voices with which the troubled air of the world is filled. It is the voice of the Russian people. They are prostrate and all but helpless, it would seem, before the grim power of Germany, which has hitherto known no relenting and no pity. Their power, apparently, is shattered. And yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield in either principle or in action. Their conception of what is right, of what is humane and honorable for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind; and they have refused to compound their ideals or desert others that they themselves may be safe. They call to us to say what it is that we desire, in what, if anything, our purpose and our spirit differ from theirs; and I believe that the people of the United States would wish me to respond, with utter simplicity and frankness. Whether their present leaders believe it or not, it is our heartfelt desire and hope that some way may be opened whereby we may be privileged to assist the people of Russia to attain their utmost hope of liberty and ordered peace.

It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular governments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every public man whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone, which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow now or at any other time the objects it has in view.

We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secured once for all against their

recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us. The program of the world's peace, therefore, is our program; and that program, the only possible program, as we see it, is this:

1. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

2. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

3. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

4. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

5. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

6. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distin-

guished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

7. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

8. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly 50 years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

9. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be affected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

10. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

11. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

12. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

13. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

14. A general association of nations must be formed

under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the governments and peoples associated together against the Imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end.

For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight and to continue to fight until they are achieved; but only because we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace such as can be secured only by removing the chief provocations to war, which this program does not remove. We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this program that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of pacific enterprise such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world—the new world in which we now live—instead of a place of mastery.

Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions. But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the Reichstag majority or for the military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination

We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle runs through the whole program I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made its foundation no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle; and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honor, and everything that they possess. The moral climax of this the culminating and final war for human liberty has come, and they are ready to put their own

strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test.

Franklin D. Roosevelt's State of the Union Address, 6 January 1941

In 1941 the United States was coming out of the Great Depression and watching European nations fight a war that America would enter before the year was out. During an address that would come to be known as his "Four Freedoms" speech, President Franklin D. Roosevelt laid out the social and political objectives that Americans deserved to enjoy in a world facing "unprecedented" threats.

Mr. Speaker, members of the 77th Congress:

I address you, the members of this new Congress, at a moment unprecedented in the history of the union. I use the word "unprecedented" because at no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today.

Since the permanent formation of our government under the Constitution in 1789, most of the periods of crisis in our history have related to our domestic affairs. And, fortunately, only one of these—the four-year war between the States—ever threatened our national unity. Today, thank God, 130,000,000 Americans in forty-eight States have forgotten points of the compass in our national unity.

It is true that prior to 1914 the United States often has been disturbed by events in other continents. We have even engaged in two wars with European nations and in a number of undeclared wars in the West Indies, in the Mediterranean and in the Pacific, for the maintenance of American rights and for the Principles of peaceful commerce. But in no case has a serious threat been raised against our national safety or our continued independence.

What I seek to convey is the historic truth that the United States as a nation has at all times maintained opposition—clear, definite opposition—to any attempt to lock us in behind an ancient Chinese wall while the procession of civilization went past. Today, thinking of our children and of their children, we oppose enforced isolation for ourselves or for any other part of the Americas.

That determination of ours, extending over all these years, was proved, for example, in the early days during the quarter century of wars following the French Revolution. While the Napoleonic struggle did threaten inter-

ests of the United States because of the French foothold in the West Indies and in Louisiana, and while we engaged in the War of 1812 to vindicate our right to peaceful trade, it is nevertheless clear that neither France nor Great Britain nor any other nation was aiming at domination of the whole world.

And in like fashion, from 1815 to 1914—ninety-nine years—no single war in Europe or in Asia constituted a real threat against our future or against the future of any other American nation.

Except in the Maximilian interlude in Mexico, no foreign power sought to establish itself in this hemisphere. And the strength of the British fleet in the Atlantic has been a friendly strength; it is still a friendly strength. Even when the World War broke out in 1914 it seemed to contain only small threat of danger to our own American future. But as time went on, as we remember, the American people began to visualize what the downfall of democratic nations might mean to our own democracy.

We need not overemphasize imperfections in the peace of Versailles. We need not harp on failure of the democracies to deal with problems of world reconstruction. We should remember that the peace of 1919 was far less unjust than the kind of pacification which began even before Munich, and which is being carried on under the new order of tyranny that seeks to spread over every continent today. The American people have unalterably set their faces against that tyranny.

I suppose that every realist knows that the democratic way of life is at this moment being directly assailed in every part of the world—assailed either by arms or by secret spreading of poisonous propaganda by those who seek to destroy unity and promote discord in nations that are still at peace.

During sixteen long months this assault has blotted out the whole pattern of democratic life in an appalling number of independent nations, great and small. And the assailants are still on the march, threatening other nations, great and small.

Therefore, as your President, performing my constitutional duty to “give to the Congress information of the state of the union,” I find it unhappily necessary to report that the future and the safety of our country and of our democracy are overwhelmingly involved in events far beyond our borders.

Armed defense of democratic existence is now being gallantly waged in four continents. If that defense fails, all the population and all the resources of Europe and Asia, Africa and Australia will be dominated by con-

querors. And let us remember that the total of those populations in those four continents, the total of those populations and their resources greatly exceeds the sum total of the population and the resources of the whole of the Western Hemisphere—yes, many times over.

In times like these it is immature—and, incidentally, untrue—for anybody to brag that an unprepared America, single-handed and with one hand tied behind its back, can hold off the whole world.

No realistic American can expect from a dictator's peace international generosity, or return of true independence, or world disarmament, or freedom of expression, or freedom of religion—or even good business. Such a peace would bring no security for us or for our neighbors. Those who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety.

As a nation we may take pride in the fact that we are soft-hearted; but we cannot afford to be soft-headed. We must always be wary of those who with sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal preach the ism of appeasement. We must especially beware of that small group of selfish men who would clip the wings of the American eagle in order to feather their own nests. I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo of modern warfare could bring into our very midst the physical attack which we must eventually expect if the dictator nations win this war.

There is much loose talk of our immunity from immediate and direct invasion from across the seas. Obviously, as long as the British Navy retains its power, no such danger exists. Even if there were no British Navy, it is not probable that any enemy would be stupid enough to attack us by landing troops in the United States from across thousands of miles of ocean, until it had acquired strategic bases from which to operate.

But we learn much from the lessons of the past years in Europe—particularly the lesson of Norway, whose essential seaports were captured by treachery and surprise built up over a series of years.

The first phase of the invasion of this hemisphere would not be the landing of regular troops. The necessary strategic points would be occupied by secret agents and by their dupes—and great numbers of them are already here and in Latin America.

As long as the aggressor nations maintain the offensive they, not we, will choose the time and the place and the method of their attack.

And that is why the future of all the American Republics is today in serious danger. That is why this annual message to the Congress is unique in our history.

That is why every member of the executive branch of the government and every member of the Congress face great responsibility—great accountability.

The need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily—almost exclusively—to meeting this foreign peril. For all our domestic problems are now a part of the great emergency. Just as our national policy in internal affairs has been based upon a decent respect for the rights and the dignity of all of our fellow men within our gates, so our national policy in foreign affairs has been based on a decent respect for the rights and the dignity of all nations, large and small. And the justice of morality must and will win in the end.

Our national policy is this :

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to all-inclusive national defense.

Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to full support of all those resolute people everywhere who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our hemisphere. By this support we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail, and we strengthen the defense and the security of our own nation.

Third, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to the proposition that principle of morality and considerations for our own security will never permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers. We know that enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom.

In the recent national election there was no substantial difference between the two great parties in respect to that national policy. No issue was fought out on the line before the American electorate. And today it is abundantly evident that American citizens everywhere are demanding and supporting speedy and complete action in recognition of obvious danger.

Therefore, the immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production. Leaders of industry and labor have responded to our summons. Goals of speed have been set. In some cases these goals are being reached ahead of time. In some cases we are on schedule; in other cases there are slight but not serious delays. And in some cases—and, I am sorry to say, very important cases—we are all concerned by the slowness of the accomplishment of our plans.

The Army and Navy, however, have made substantial

progress during the past year. Actual experience is improving and speeding up our methods of production with every passing day. And today's best is not good enough for tomorrow.

I am not satisfied with the progress thus far made. The men in charge of the program represent the best in training, in ability and in patriotism. They are not satisfied with the progress thus far made. None of us will be satisfied until the job is done.

No matter whether the original goal was set too high or too low, our objective is quicker and better results. To give you two illustrations: We are behind schedule in turning out finished airplanes. We are working day and night to solve the innumerable problems and to catch up.

We are ahead of schedule in building warships, but we are working to get even further ahead of that schedule. To change a whole nation from a basis of peacetime production of implements of peace to a basis of wartime production of implements of war is no small task. The greatest difficulty comes at the beginning of the program, when new tools, new plant facilities, new assembly lines, new shipways must first be constructed before the actual material begins to flow steadily and speedily from them.

The Congress of course, must rightly keep itself informed at all times of the progress of the program. However, there is certain information, as the Congress itself will readily recognize, which, in the interests of our own security and those of the nations that we are supporting, must of needs be kept in confidence. New circumstances are constantly begetting new needs for our safety. I shall ask this Congress for greatly increased new appropriations and authorizations to carry on what we have begun.

I also ask this Congress for authority and for funds sufficient to manufacture additional munitions and war supplies of many kinds, to be turned over to those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations. Our most useful and immediate role is to act as an arsenal for them as well as for ourselves. They do not need manpower, but they do need billions of dollars' worth of the weapons of defense.

The time is near when they will not be able to pay for them all in ready cash. We cannot, and we will not, tell them that they must surrender merely because of present inability to pay for the weapons which we know they must have.

I do not recommend that we make them a loan of dollars with which to pay for these weapons—a loan to be repaid in dollars. I recommend that we make it pos-

sible for those nations to continue to obtain war materials in the United States, fitting their orders into our own program. And nearly all of their material would, if the time ever came, be useful in our own defense.

Taking counsel of expert military and naval authorities, considering what is best for our own security, we are free to decide how much should be kept here and how much should be sent abroad to our friends who, by their determined and heroic resistance, are giving us time in which to make ready our own defense.

For what we send abroad we shall be repaid, repaid within a reasonable time following the close of hostilities, repaid in similar materials, or at our option in other goods of many kinds which they can produce and which we need. Let us say to the democracies: "We Americans are vitally concerned in your defense of freedom. We are putting forth our energies, our resources and our organizing powers to give you the strength to regain and maintain a free world. We shall send you in ever-increasing numbers, ships, planes, tanks, guns. That is our purpose and our pledge."

In fulfillment of this purpose we will not be intimidated by the threats of dictators that they will regard as a breach of international law or as an act of war our aid to the democracies which dare to resist their aggression. Such aid is not an act of war, even if a dictator should unilaterally proclaim it so to be.

And when the dictators—if the dictators—are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part.

They did not wait for Norway or Belgium or the Netherlands to commit an act of war. Their only interest is in a new one-way international law which lacks mutuality in its observance and therefore becomes an instrument of oppression. The happiness of future generations of Americans may well depend on how effective and how immediate we can make our aid felt. No one can tell the exact character of the emergency situations that we may be called upon to meet. The nation's hands must not be tied when the nation's life is in danger.

Yes, and we must prepare, all of us prepare, to make the sacrifices that the emergency—almost as serious as war itself—demands. Whatever stands in the way of speed and efficiency in defense, in defense preparations at any time, must give way to the national need.

A free nation has the right to expect full cooperation from all groups. A free nation has the right to look to the leaders of business, of labor and of agriculture to take the lead in stimulating effort, not among other groups but within their own groups.

The best way of dealing with the few slackers or trouble-makers in our midst is, first, to shame them by patriotic example, and if that fails, to use the sovereignty of government to save government.

As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who man our defenses and those behind them who build our defenses must have the stamina and the courage which come from unshakeable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty action that we are calling for cannot be based on a disregard of all the things worth fighting for.

The nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been done to make its people conscious of their individual stake in the preservation of democratic life in America. Those things have toughened the fiber of our people, have renewed their faith and strengthened their devotion to the institutions we make ready to protect. Certainly this is no time for any of us to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world. For there is nothing mysterious about the foundations of a healthy and strong democracy.

The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are:

- Equality of opportunity for youth and for others.
- Jobs for those who can work.
- Security for those who need it.
- The ending of special privilege for the few.
- The preservation of civil liberties for all.
- The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living.

These are the simple, the basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these expectations. Many subjects connected with our social economy call for immediate improvement. As examples:

- We should bring more citizens under the coverage of old-age pensions and unemployment insurance.
- We should widen the opportunities for adequate medical care.
- We should plan a better system by which persons deserving or needing gainful employment may obtain it.

I have called for personal sacrifice, and I am assured of the willingness of almost all Americans to respond to that call. A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my budget message I will recommend that a greater portion of this great defense program be paid for from taxation than we are paying for today. No person should try, or be allowed to get rich out of the program, and the principle of tax payments in accordance with ability to pay should be constantly before our eyes to guide our legislation.

If the congress maintains these principles the voters, putting patriotism ahead [of] pocketbooks, will give you their applause.

In the future days which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want, which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear, which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.

That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called “new order” of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.

To that new order we oppose the greater conception—the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear. Since the beginning of our American history we have been engaged in change, in a perpetual, peaceful revolution, a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly, adjusting itself to changing conditions without the concentration camp or the quicklime in the ditch. The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society.

This nation has placed its destiny in the hands, heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women, and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our

support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights and keep them. Our strength is our unity of purpose.

To that high concept there can be no end save victory.

Special Message to the Congress on Greece and Turkey by Harry S. Truman, 12 March 1947

In early 1947, the British government announced that it could no longer financially support Greece in fighting off an insurrection by Communist guerillas. At the same time, there were fears that the Soviet Union intended to expand into Turkey. Diplomats were concerned that if Soviet power moved into the Mediterranean, the Middle East would then be at risk of Communist takeover. In an address that put forth a policy that came to be known as the “Truman Doctrine,” President Truman asked Congress for \$400 million to aid Greece and Turkey.

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Congress of the United States:

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress.

The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved.

One aspect of the present situation, which I present to you at this time for your consideration and decision, concerns Greece and Turkey.

The United States has received from the Greek Government an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance. Preliminary reports from the American Economic Mission now in Greece corroborate the statement of the Greek Government that assistance is imperative if Greece is to survive as a free nation.

I do not believe that the American people and the Congress wish to turn a deaf ear to the appeal of the Greek Government.

Greece is not a rich country. Lack of sufficient natural resources has always forced the Greek people to work hard to make both ends meet. Since 1940, this industrious, peace loving country has suffered invasion, four years of cruel enemy occupation, and bitter internal strife.

When forces of liberation entered Greece they found that the retreating Germans had destroyed virtually all the railways, roads, port facilities, communications, and merchant marine. More than a thousand villages had

been burned. Eighty-five percent of the children were tubercular. Livestock, poultry, and draft animals had almost disappeared. Inflation had wiped out practically all savings.

As a result of these tragic conditions, a militant minority, exploiting human want and misery, was able to create political chaos which, until now, has made economic recovery impossible.

Greece is today without funds to finance the importation of those goods which are essential to bare subsistence. Under these circumstances the people of Greece cannot make progress in solving their problems of reconstruction. Greece is in desperate need of financial and economic assistance to enable it to resume purchases of food, clothing, fuel and seeds. These are indispensable for the subsistence of its people and are obtainable only from abroad. Greece must have help to import the goods necessary to restore internal order and security so essential for economic and political recovery.

The Greek Government has also asked for the assistance of experienced American administrators, economists and technicians to insure that the financial and other aid given to Greece shall be used effectively in creating a stable and self-sustaining economy and in improving its public administration.

The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries. A Commission appointed by the United Nations Security Council is at present investigating disturbed conditions in northern Greece and alleged border violations along the frontier between Greece on the one hand and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia on the other.

Meanwhile, the Greek Government is unable to cope with the situation. The Greek army is small and poorly equipped. It needs supplies and equipment if it is to restore authority to the government throughout Greek territory.

Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy.

The United States must supply this assistance. We have already extended to Greece certain types of relief and economic aid but these are inadequate.

There is no other country to which democratic Greece can turn.

No other nation is willing and able to provide the necessary support for a democratic Greek government.

The British Government, which has been helping Greece, can give no further financial or economic aid

after March 31. Great Britain finds itself under the necessity of reducing or liquidating its commitments in several parts of the world, including Greece.

We have considered how the United Nations might assist in this crisis. But the situation is an urgent one requiring immediate action, and the United Nations and its related organizations are not in a position to extend help of the kind that is required.

It is important to note that the Greek Government has asked for our aid in utilizing effectively the financial and other assistance we may give to Greece, and in improving its public administration. It is of the utmost importance that we supervise the use of any funds made available to Greece, in such a manner that each dollar spent will count toward making Greece self-supporting, and will help to build an economy in which a healthy democracy can flourish.

No government is perfect. One of the chief virtues of a democracy, however, is that its defects are always visible and under democratic processes can be pointed out and corrected. The government of Greece is not perfect. Nevertheless it represents 85 percent of the members of the Greek Parliament who were chosen in an election last year. Foreign observers, including 692 Americans, considered this election to be a fair expression of the views of the Greek people.

The Greek Government has been operating in an atmosphere of chaos and extremism. It has made mistakes. The extension of aid by this country does not mean that the United States condones everything the Greek Government has done or will do. We have condemned in the past, and we condemn now, extremist measures of the right or the left. We have in the past advised tolerance, and we advise tolerance now.

Greece's neighbor, Turkey, also deserves our attention.

The future of Turkey as an independent and economically sound state is clearly no less important to the freedom-loving peoples of the world than the future of Greece. The circumstances in which Turkey finds itself today are considerably different from those of Greece. Turkey has been spared the disasters that have beset Greece. And during the war, the United States and Great Britain furnished Turkey with material aid.

Nevertheless, Turkey now needs our support.

Since the war Turkey has sought additional financial assistance from Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of effecting that modernization necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity.

That integrity is essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East.

The British Government has informed us that, owing to its own difficulties, it can no longer extend financial or economic aid to Turkey.

As in the case of Greece, if Turkey is to have the assistance it needs, the United States must supply it. We are the only country able to provide that help.

I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey, and I shall discuss these implications with you at this time.

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations.

To ensure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations. The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members. We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed upon free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta Agreement, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

The world is not static, and the *status quo* is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes in the *status quo* in violation of the Charter of the United Nations by such methods as coercion, or by such subterfuges as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor, Turkey, would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East.

Moreover, the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a profound effect upon those countries in Europe whose people are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedoms and their independence while they repair the damages of war.

It would be an unspeakable tragedy if these countries, which have struggled so long against overwhelming odds, should lose that victory for which they sacrificed so much. Collapse of free institutions and loss of independence would be disastrous not only for them but for the world. Discouragement and possible failure would quickly be the lot of neighboring peoples striving to maintain their freedom and independence.

Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour, the effect will be far reaching to the West as well as to the East.

We must take immediate and resolute action.

I therefore ask the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of \$400,000,000 for the period ending June 30, 1948. In requesting these funds, I have taken into consideration the maximum amount of relief assistance which would be furnished to Greece out of the \$350,000,000 which I recently requested that the Congress authorize for the prevention of starvation and suffering in countries devastated by the war.

In addition to funds, I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of American civilian and military personnel to Greece and Turkey, at the request of those countries, to assist in the tasks of reconstruction, and for the purpose of supervising the use of such financial and material assistance as may be furnished. I recommend that authority also be provided for the instruction and training of selected Greek and Turkish personnel.

Finally, I ask that the Congress provide authority which will permit the speediest and most effective use, in terms of needed commodities, supplies, and equipment, of such funds as may be authorized.

If further funds, or further authority, should be needed for the purposes indicated in this message, I shall not hesitate to bring the situation before the Congress. On this subject the Executive and Legislative branches of Government must work together.

This is a serious course upon which we embark.

I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious.

The United States contributed \$341,000,000,000 toward winning World War II. This is an investment in world freedom and world peace.

The assistance that I am recommending for Greece and Turkey amounts to little more than 1/10 of 1 percent of this investment. It is only common sense that we should safeguard this investment and make sure that it was not in vain.

The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died.

We must keep that hope alive.

The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms.

If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world—and we shall surely endanger the welfare of this Nation.

Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events.

I am confident that the Congress will face these responsibilities squarely.

Dwight D. Eisenhower's Presidential Press Conference, 7 April 1954

By March of 1954, the French were clearly failing to defeat Ho Chi Minh's Communist forces in North Vietnam and appealed to the United States to intervene. Although Eisenhower eventually chose not to allow

U.S. involvement, he did fear that a French defeat would mean that the region known as Indochina (Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam) could fall like a "row of dominoes" to Communist takeover.

Q. Robert Richards, Copley Press: Mr. President, would you mind commenting on the strategic importance of Indochina for the free world? I think there has been, across the country, some lack of understanding on just what it means to us.

The President. You have, of course, both the specific and the general when you talk about such things. First of all, you have the specific value of a locality in its production of materials that the world needs.

Then you have the possibility that many human beings pass under a dictatorship that is inimical to the free world.

Finally, you have broader considerations that might follow what you would call the "falling domino" principle. You have a row of dominoes set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly. So you could have a beginning of a disintegration that would have the most profound influences.

Now, with respect to the first one, two of the items from this particular area that the world uses are tin and tungsten. They are very important. There are others, of course, the rubber plantations and so on.

Then with respect to more people passing under this domination, Asia, after all, has already lost some 450 million of its peoples to the Communist dictatorship, and we simply can't afford greater losses.

But when we come to the possible sequence of events, the loss of Indochina, of Burma, of Thailand, of the Peninsula, and Indonesia following, now you begin to talk about areas that not only multiply the disadvantages that you would suffer through the loss of materials, sources of materials, but now you are talking about millions and millions of people.

Finally, the geographical position achieved thereby does many things. It turns the so-called island defensive chain of Japan, Formosa, of the Philippines and to the southward; it moves in to threaten Australia and New Zealand.

It takes away, in its economic aspects, that region that Japan must have as a trading area or Japan, in turn, will have only one place in the world to go—that is, toward the Communist areas in order to live.

So, the possible consequences of the loss are just incalculable to the free world.

John F. Kennedy's Inaugural Address, 20 January 1961

President John F. Kennedy's memorable inaugural address would set the stage for an administration remembered for its energy and promise. In his speech, President Kennedy addressed his words—and his hopes for the future—not only to Americans but also to his “fellow citizens of the world.”

Vice President Johnson, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice, President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, President Truman, reverend clergy, fellow citizens, we observe today not a victory of party, but a celebration of freedom—symbolizing an end, as well as a beginning—signifying renewal, as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forebears prescribed nearly a century and three quarters ago.

The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe—the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state, but from the hand of God.

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage—and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this Nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

This much we pledge—and more.

To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United, there is little we cannot do in a host of cooperative ventures. Divided, there is little we can do—for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.

To those new States whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always

expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom—and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside.

To those peoples in the huts and villages across the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required—not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge—to convert our good words into good deeds—in a new alliance for progress—to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this Hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support—to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective—to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak—and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run.

Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course—both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war.

So let us begin anew—remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us.

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms—and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations.

Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths, and encourage the arts and commerce.

Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah—to “undo the heavy burdens . . . and to let the oppressed go free.”

And if a beachhead of cooperation may push back the jungle of suspicion, let both sides join in creating a new endeavor, not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.

All this will not be finished in the first 100 days. Nor will it be finished in the first 1,000 days, nor in the life of this Administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than in mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.

Now the trumpet summons us again—not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need; not as a call to battle, though embattled we are—but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, “rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation”—a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself.

Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.

My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God’s work must truly be our own.

“Peace Without Conquest,” an Address by Lyndon Johnson, 7 April 1965

In response to a Vietcong attack on a U.S. Army barracks in Pleiku, North Vietnam, President Lyndon Johnson ordered gradually intensified air strikes on select targets in North Vietnam. Johnson’s speech, delivered at Johns Hopkins University, explains his plan for increasing American military commitments in South Vietnam—a commitment that would grow from 40,000 U.S. soldiers in April 1965 to 365,000 in a year’s time.

Tonight Americans and Asians are dying for a world where each people may choose its own path to change.

This is the principle for which our ancestors fought in the valleys of Pennsylvania. It is the principle for which our sons fight tonight in the jungles of Viet-Nam.

Viet-Nam is far away from this quiet campus. We have no territory there, nor do we seek any. The war is dirty and brutal and difficult. And some 400 young men, born into an America that is bursting with opportunity and promise, have ended their lives on Viet-Nam’s steaming soil.

Why must we take this painful road?

Why must this nation hazard its ease, its interest, and its power for the sake of a people so far away?

We fight because we must fight if we are to live in a world where every country can shape its own destiny, and only in such a world will our own freedom be finally secure.

This kind of world will never be built by bombs or bullets. Yet the infirmities of man are such that force must often precede reason and the waste of war, the works of peace.

We wish this were not so. But we must deal with the world as it is, if it is ever to be as we wish.

The Nature of the Conflict

The world as it is in Asia is not a serene or peaceful place.

The first reality is that North Viet-Nam has attacked the independent nation of South Viet-Nam. Its object is total conquest.

Of course, some of the people of South Viet-Nam are participating in attack on their own government. But trained men and supplies, orders and arms, flow in a constant stream from North to South.

This support is the heartbeat of the war.

And it is a war of unparalleled brutality. Simple farmers are the targets of assassination and kidnapping. Women and children are strangled in the night because their men are loyal to the government. And helpless villagers are ravaged by sneak attacks. Large-scale raids are conducted on towns, and terror strikes in the heart of cities.

The confused nature of this conflict cannot mask the fact that it is the new face of an old enemy.

Over this war—and all Asia—is another reality: the deepening shadow of Communist China. The rulers in Hanoi are urged on by Peking. This is a regime which has destroyed freedom in Tibet, which has attacked India and has been condemned by the United Nations for aggression in Korea. It is a nation which is helping the forces of violence in almost every continent. The contest in Viet-Nam is part of a wider pattern of aggressive purposes.

Why Are We in Viet-Nam?

Why are these realities our concern? Why are we in South Viet-Nam?

We are there because we have a promise to keep. Since 1954 every American President has offered support to the people of South Viet-Nam. We have helped to build, and we have helped to defend. Thus, over many years, we have made a national pledge to help South Viet-Nam defend its independence.

And I intend to keep that promise.

To dishonor that pledge, to abandon this small and brave nation to its enemies, and to the terror that must follow, would be an unforgivable wrong.

We are also there to strengthen world order. Around the globe from Berlin to Thailand are people whose well being rests in part on the belief that they can count on us if they are attacked. To leave Viet-Nam to its fate would shake the confidence of all these people in the value of an American commitment and in the value of America's word. The result would be increased unrest and instability, even wide war.

We are also there because there are great stakes in the balance. Let no one think for a minute that retreat from Viet-Nam would bring an end to the conflict. The battle would be renewed in one country and then another. The central lesson of our time is that the appetite of aggression is never satisfied. To withdraw from one battlefield means only to prepare for the next. We must say in Southeast Asia—as we did in Europe—in the words of the Bible: “Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further.”

There are those who say that all our effort there will be futile—that China's power is such that it is bound to dominate all southeast Asia. But there is no end to that argument until all of the nations of Asia are swallowed up.

There are those who wonder why we have a responsibility there. Well, we have it there for the same reason that we have a responsibility for the defense of Europe. World War II was fought in both Europe and Asia, and when it ended we found ourselves with continued responsibility for the defense of freedom.

Our Objective in Viet-Nam

Our objective is the independence of South Viet-Nam, and its freedom from attack. We want nothing for ourselves—only that the people of South Viet-Nam be allowed to guide their own country in their own way.

We will do everything necessary to reach that objective. And we will do only what is absolutely necessary.

In recent months attacks on South Viet-Nam were stepped up. Thus, it became necessary for us to increase our response and to make attacks by air. This is not a change of purpose. It is a change in what we believe that purpose requires.

We do this in order to slow down aggression.

We do this to increase the confidence of the brave people of South Viet-Nam who have bravely borne this brutal battle for so many years with so many casualties.

And we do this to convince the leaders of North Viet-Nam—and all who seek to share their conquest—of a simple fact:

We will not be defeated.

We will not grow tired.

We will not withdraw, either openly or under the cloak of a meaningless agreement.

We know that air attacks alone will not accomplish all of these purposes. But it is our best and prayerful judgment that they are a necessary part of the surest road to peace.

We hope that peace will come swiftly. But that is in the hands of others besides ourselves. And we must be

prepared for a long continued conflict. It will require patience as well as bravery, the will to endure as well as the will to resist.

I wish it were possible to convince others with words of what we now find it necessary to say with guns and planes: Armed hostility is futile. Our resources are equal to the challenge. Because we fight for values and we fight for principles, rather than territory or colonies, our patience and our determination are unending. . . .

Richard M. Nixon's Second Inaugural Address, 20 January 1973

As America's long involvement in Vietnam War was drawing to a close, President Richard M. Nixon spoke of being on the "threshold of a new era of peace" as the United States neared its 200th birthday. He also encouraged Americans "to turn away from the condescending policies of paternalism—of 'Washington knows best,'" asking for a wider division of responsibility. Nixon's resignation in 1974, in the wake of the Watergate scandal, meant that Gerald Ford—not Nixon—would be president during the bicentennial celebrations of 1976.

Mr. Vice President, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice, Senator Cook, Mrs. Eisenhower, and my fellow citizens of this great and good country we share together:

When we met here four years ago, America was bleak in spirit, depressed by the prospect of seemingly endless war abroad and of destructive conflict at home.

As we meet here today, we stand on the threshold of a new era of peace in the world.

The central question before us is: How shall we use that peace? Let us resolve that this era we are about to enter will not be what other postwar periods have so often been: a time of retreat and isolation that leads to stagnation at home and invites new danger abroad.

Let us resolve that this will be what it can become: a time of great responsibilities greatly borne, in which we renew the spirit and the promise of America as we enter our third century as a nation.

This past year saw far-reaching results from our new policies for peace. By continuing to revitalize our traditional friendships, and by our missions to Peking and to Moscow, we were able to establish the base for a new and more durable pattern of relationships among the nations of the world. Because of America's bold initiatives, 1972 will be long remembered as the year of the

greatest progress since the end of World War II toward a lasting peace in the world.

The peace we seek in the world is not the flimsy peace which is merely an interlude between wars, but a peace which can endure for generations to come.

It is important that we understand both the necessity and the limitations of America's role in maintaining that peace.

Unless we in America work to preserve the peace, there will be no peace.

Unless we in America work to preserve freedom, there will be no freedom.

But let us clearly understand the new nature of America's role, as a result of the new policies we have adopted over these past four years.

We shall respect our treaty commitments.

We shall support vigorously the principle that no country has the right to impose its will or rule on another by force.

We shall continue, in this era of negotiation, to work for the limitation of nuclear arms, and to reduce the danger of confrontation between the great powers.

We shall do our share in defending peace and freedom in the world. But we shall expect others to do their share.

The time has passed when America will make every other nation's conflict our own, or make every other nation's future our responsibility, or presume to tell the people of other nations how to manage their own affairs.

Just as we respect the right of each nation to determine its own future, we also recognize the responsibility of each nation to secure its own future.

Just as America's role is indispensable in preserving the world's peace, so is each nation's role indispensable in preserving its own peace.

Together with the rest of the world, let us resolve to move forward from the beginnings we have made. Let us continue to bring down the walls of hostility which have divided the world for too long, and to build in their place bridges of understanding—so that despite profound differences between systems of government, the people of the world can be friends.

Let us build a structure of peace in the world in which the weak are as safe as the strong—in which each respects the right of the other to live by a different system—in which those who would influence others will do so by the strength of their ideas, and not by the force of their arms.

Let us accept that high responsibility not as a burden,

but gladly—gladly because the chance to build such a peace is the noblest endeavor in which a nation can engage; gladly, also, because only if we act greatly in meeting our responsibilities abroad will we remain a great Nation, and only if we remain a great Nation will we act greatly in meeting our challenges at home.

We have the chance today to do more than ever before in our history to make life better in America—to ensure better education, better health, better housing, better transportation, a cleaner environment—to restore respect for law, to make our communities more livable—and to insure the God-given right of every American to full and equal opportunity.

Because the range of our needs is so great—because the reach of our opportunities is so great—let us be bold in our determination to meet those needs in new ways.

Just as building a structure of peace abroad has required turning away from old policies that failed, so building a new era of progress at home requires turning away from old policies that have failed.

Abroad, the shift from old policies to new has not been a retreat from our responsibilities, but a better way to peace.

And at home, the shift from old policies to new will not be a retreat from our responsibilities, but a better way to progress.

Abroad and at home, the key to those new responsibilities lies in the placing and the division of responsibility. We have lived too long with the consequences of attempting to gather all power and responsibility in Washington.

Abroad and at home, the time has come to turn away from the condescending policies of paternalism—of “Washington knows best.”

A person can be expected to act responsibly only if he has responsibility. This is human nature. So let us encourage individuals at home and nations abroad to do more for themselves, to decide more for themselves. Let us locate responsibility in more places. Let us measure what we will do for others by what they will do for themselves.

That is why today I offer no promise of a purely governmental solution for every problem. We have lived too long with that false promise. In trusting too much in government, we have asked of it more than it can deliver. This leads only to inflated expectations, to reduced individual effort, and to a disappointment and frustration that erode confidence both in what government can do and in what people can do.

Government must learn to take less from people so that people can do more for themselves.

Let us remember that America was built not by government, but by people—not by welfare, but by work—not by shirking responsibility, but by seeking responsibility.

In our own lives, let each of us ask—not just what will government do for me, but what can I do for myself?

In the challenges we face together, let each of us ask—not just how can government help, but how can I help?

Your National Government has a great and vital role to play. And I pledge to you that where this Government should act, we will act boldly and we will lead boldly. But just as important is the role that each and every one of us must play, as an individual and as a member of his own community.

From this day forward, let each of us make a solemn commitment in his own heart: to bear his responsibility, to do his part, to live his ideals—so that together, we can see the dawn of a new age of progress for America, and together, as we celebrate our 200th anniversary as a nation, we can do so proud in the fulfillment of our promise to ourselves and to the world.

As America’s longest and most difficult war comes to an end, let us again learn to debate our differences with civility and decency. And let each of us reach out for that one precious quality government cannot provide—a new level of respect for the rights and feelings of one another, a new level of respect for the individual human dignity which is the cherished birthright of every American.

Above all else, the time has come for us to renew our faith in ourselves and in America.

In recent years, that faith has been challenged.

Our children have been taught to be ashamed of their country, ashamed of their parents, ashamed of America’s record at home and of its role in the world.

At every turn, we have been beset by those who find everything wrong with America and little that is right. But I am confident that this will not be the judgment of history on these remarkable times in which we are privileged to live.

America’s record in this century has been unparalleled in the world’s history for its responsibility, for its generosity, for its creativity and for its progress.

Let us be proud that our system has produced and provided more freedom and more abundance, more widely shared, than any other system in the history of the world.

Let us be proud that in each of the four wars in which

we have been engaged in this century, including the one we are now bringing to an end, we have fought not for our selfish advantage, but to help others resist aggression.

Let us be proud that by our bold, new initiatives, and by our steadfastness for peace with honor, we have made a break-through toward creating in the world what the world has not known before—a structure of peace that can last, not merely for our time, but for generations to come.

We are embarking here today on an era that presents challenges great as those any nation, or any generation, has ever faced.

We shall answer to God, to history, and to our conscience for the way in which we use these years.

As I stand in this place, so hallowed by history, I think of others who have stood here before me. I think of the dreams they had for America, and I think of how each recognized that he needed help far beyond himself in order to make those dreams come true.

Today, I ask your prayers that in the years ahead I may have God's help in making decisions that are right for America, and I pray for your help so that together we may be worthy of our challenge.

Let us pledge together to make these next four years the best four years in America's history, so that on its 200th birthday America will be as young and as vital as when it began, and as bright a beacon of hope for all the world.

Let us go forward from here confident in hope, strong in our faith in one another, sustained by our faith in God who created us, and striving always to serve His purpose.

Jimmy Carter's Speech on His Proposed Energy Policy, 18 April 1977

During 1973 and 1974, an Arab oil embargo caused energy shortages in the United States, forcing long lines at the gas pump and measures like mandated carpooling to conserve gasoline. Although the embargo had been lifted, many policymakers felt the need for a coordinated policy actions that would forestall another "energy crisis." In 1977 President Jimmy Carter spoke to the American people on the energy policy he was proposing to reduce U.S. dependence on foreign oil—an issue that he saw as someday threatening national security.

Tonight I want to have an unpleasant talk with you about a problem unprecedented in our history. With the

exception of preventing war, this is the greatest challenge our country will face during our lifetimes. The energy crisis has not yet overwhelmed us, but it will if we do not act quickly.

It is a problem we will not solve in the next few years, and it is likely to get progressively worse through the rest of this century.

We must not be selfish or timid if we hope to have a decent world for our children and grandchildren.

We simply must balance our demand for energy with our rapidly shrinking resources. By acting now, we can control our future instead of letting the future control us.

Two days from now, I will present my energy proposals to the Congress. Its members will be my partners and they have already given me a great deal of valuable advice. Many of these proposals will be unpopular. Some will cause you to put up with inconveniences and to make sacrifices.

The most important thing about these proposals is that the alternative may be a national catastrophe. Further delay can affect our strength and our power as a nation.

Our decision about energy will test the character of the American people and the ability of the President and the Congress to govern. This difficult effort will be the "moral equivalent of war"—except that we will be uniting our efforts to build and not destroy.

I know that some of you may doubt that we face real energy shortages. The 1973 gasoline lines are gone, and our homes are warm again. But our energy problem is worse tonight than it was in 1973 or a few weeks ago in the dead of winter. It is worse because more waste has occurred, and more time has passed by without our planning for the future. And it will get worse every day until we act.

The oil and natural gas we rely on for 75 percent of our energy are running out. In spite of increased effort, domestic production has been dropping steadily at about six percent a year. Imports have doubled in the last five years. Our nation's independence of economic and political action is becoming increasingly constrained. Unless profound changes are made to lower oil consumption, we now believe that early in the 1980s the world will be demanding more oil than it can produce.

The world now uses about 60 million barrels of oil a day and demand increases each year about 5 percent. This means that just to stay even we need the production of a new Texas every year, an Alaskan North Slope every nine months, or a new Saudi Arabia every three years. Obviously, this cannot continue.

We must look back in history to understand our energy problem. Twice in the last several hundred years there has been a transition in the way people use energy.

The first was about 200 years ago, away from wood—which had provided about 90 percent of all fuel—to coal, which was more efficient. This change became the basis of the Industrial Revolution.

The second change took place in this century, with the growing use of oil and natural gas. They were more convenient and cheaper than coal, and the supply seemed to be almost without limit. They made possible the age of automobile and airplane travel. Nearly everyone who is alive today grew up during this age and we have never known anything different.

Because we are now running out of gas and oil, we must prepare quickly for a third change, to strict conservation and to the use of coal and permanent renewable energy sources, like solar power.

The world has not prepared for the future. During the 1950s, people used twice as much oil as during the 1940s. During the 1960s, we used twice as much as during the 1950s. And in each of those decades, more oil was consumed than in all of mankind's previous history.

World consumption of oil is still going up. If it were possible to keep it rising during the 1970s and 1980s by 5 percent a year as it has in the past, we could use up all the proven reserves of oil in the entire world by the end of the next decade.

I know that many of you have suspected that some supplies of oil and gas are being withheld. You may be right, but suspicions about oil companies cannot change the fact that we are running out of petroleum.

All of us have heard about the large oil fields on Alaska's North Slope. In a few years when the North Slope is producing fully, its total output will be just about equal to two years' increase in our nation's energy demand.

Each new inventory of world oil reserves has been more disturbing than the last. World oil production can probably keep going up for another six or eight years. But some time in the 1980s it can't go up much more. Demand will overtake production. We have no choice about that.

But we do have a choice about how we will spend the next few years. Each American uses the energy equivalent of 60 barrels of oil per person each year. Ours is the most wasteful nation on earth. We waste more energy than we import. With about the same standard of living, we use twice as much energy per person as do other countries like Germany, Japan and Sweden.

One choice is to continue doing what we have been doing before. We can drift along for a few more years.

Our consumption of oil would keep going up every year. Our cars would continue to be too large and inefficient. Three-quarters of them would continue to carry only one person—the driver—while our public transportation system continues to decline. We can delay insulating our houses, and they will continue to lose about 50 percent of their heat in waste.

We can continue using scarce oil and natural to generate electricity, and continue wasting two-thirds of their fuel value in the process.

If we do not act, then by 1985 we will be using 33 percent more energy than we do today.

We can't substantially increase our domestic production, so we would need to import twice as much oil as we do now. Supplies will be uncertain. The cost will keep going up. Six years ago, we paid \$3.7 billion for imported oil. Last year we spent \$37 billion—nearly ten times as much—and this year we may spend over \$45 billion.

Unless we act, we will spend more than \$550 billion for imported oil by 1985—more than \$2,500 a year for every man, woman, and child in America. Along with that money we will continue losing American jobs and becoming increasingly vulnerable to supply interruptions.

Now we have a choice. But if we wait, we will live in fear of embargoes. We could endanger our freedom as a sovereign nation to act in foreign affairs. Within ten years we would not be able to import enough oil—from any country, at any acceptable price.

If we wait, and do not act, then our factories will not be able to keep our people on the job with reduced supplies of fuel. Too few of our utilities will have switched to coal, our most abundant energy source.

We will not be ready to keep our transportation system running with smaller, more efficient cars and a better network of buses, trains and public transportation.

We will feel mounting pressure to plunder the environment. We will have a crash program to build more nuclear plants, strip-mine and burn more coal, and drill more offshore wells than we will need if we begin to conserve now. Inflation will soar, production will go down, people will lose their jobs. Intense competition will build up among nations and among the different regions within our own country.

If we fail to act soon, we will face an economic, social and political crisis that will threaten our free institutions.

But we still have another choice. We can begin to prepare right now. We can decide to act while there is time.

That is the concept of the energy policy we will present on Wednesday. Our national energy plan is based on ten fundamental principles.

The first principle is that we can have an effective and comprehensive energy policy only if the government takes responsibility for it and if the people understand the seriousness of the challenge and are willing to make sacrifices.

The second principle is that healthy economic growth must continue. Only by saving energy can we maintain our standard of living and keep our people at work. An effective conservation program will create hundreds of thousands of new jobs.

The third principle is that we must protect the environment. Our energy problems have the same cause as our environmental problems—wasteful use of resources. Conservation helps us solve both at once.

The fourth principle is that we must reduce our vulnerability to potentially devastating embargoes. We can protect ourselves from uncertain supplies by reducing our demand for oil, making the most of our abundant resources such as coal, and developing a strategic petroleum reserve.

The fifth principle is that we must be fair. Our solutions must ask equal sacrifices from every region, every class of people, every interest group. Industry will have to do its part to conserve, just as the consumers will. The energy producers deserve fair treatment, but we will not let the oil companies profiteer.

The sixth principle, and the cornerstone of our policy, is to reduce the demand through conservation. Our emphasis on conservation is a clear difference between this plan and others which merely encouraged crash production efforts. Conservation is the quickest, cheapest, most practical source of energy. Conservation is the only way we can buy a barrel of oil for a few dollars. It costs about \$13 to waste it.

The seventh principle is that prices should generally reflect the true replacement costs of energy. We are only cheating ourselves if we make energy artificially cheap and use more than we can really afford.

The eighth principle is that government policies must be predictable and certain. Both consumers and producers need policies they can count on so they can plan ahead. This is one reason I am working with the Congress to create a new Department of Energy, to replace more than 50 different agencies that now have some control over energy.

The ninth principle is that we must conserve the fuels that are scarcest and make the most of those that are more plentiful. We can't continue to use oil and gas for 75 percent of our consumption when they make up seven percent of our domestic reserves. We need to shift to plentiful coal while taking care to protect the environment, and to apply stricter safety standards to nuclear energy.

The tenth principle is that we must start now to develop the new, unconventional sources of energy we will rely on in the next century.

These ten principles have guided the development of the policy I would describe to you and the Congress on Wednesday.

Our energy plan will also include a number of specific goals, to measure our progress toward a stable energy system.

These are the goals we set for 1985:

- Reduce the annual growth rate in our energy demand to less than two percent.
- Reduce gasoline consumption by ten percent below its current level.
- Cut in half the portion of United States oil which is imported, from a potential level of 16 million barrels to six million barrels a day.
- Establish a strategic petroleum reserve of one billion barrels, more than six months' supply.
- Increase our coal production by about two thirds to more than 1 billion tons a year.
- Insulate 90 percent of American homes and all new buildings.
- Use solar energy in more than two and one-half million houses.

We will monitor our progress toward these goals year by year. Our plan will call for stricter conservation measures if we fall behind.

I can't tell you that these measures will be easy, nor will they be popular. But I think most of you realize that a policy which does not ask for changes or sacrifices would not be an effective policy.

This plan is essential to protect our jobs, our environment, our standard of living, and our future.

Whether this plan truly makes a difference will be decided not here in Washington, but in every town and every factory, in every home and on every highway and every farm.

I believe this can be a positive challenge. There is something especially American in the kinds of changes we have to make. We have been proud, through our

history of being efficient people.

We have been proud of our leadership in the world. Now we have a chance again to give the world a positive example.

And we have been proud of our vision of the future. We have always wanted to give our children and grandchildren a world richer in possibilities than we've had. They are the ones we must provide for now. They are the ones who will suffer most if we don't act.

I've given you some of the principles of the plan.

I am sure each of you will find something you don't like about the specifics of our proposal. It will demand that we make sacrifices and changes in our lives. To some degree, the sacrifices will be painful—but so is any meaningful sacrifice. It will lead to some higher costs, and to some greater inconveniences for everyone.

But the sacrifices will be gradual, realistic and necessary. Above all, they will be fair. No one will gain an unfair advantage through this plan. No one will be asked to bear an unfair burden. We will monitor the accuracy of data from the oil and natural gas companies, so that we will know their true production, supplies, reserves, and profits.

The citizens who insist on driving large, unnecessarily powerful cars must expect to pay more for that luxury.

We can be sure that all the special interest groups in the country will attack the part of this plan that affects them directly. They will say that sacrifice is fine, as long as other people do it, but that their sacrifice is unreasonable, or unfair, or harmful to the country. If they succeed, then the burden on the ordinary citizen, who is not organized into an interest group, would be crushing.

There should be only one test for this program: whether it will help our country.

Other generation of Americans have faced and mastered great challenges. I have faith that meeting this challenge will make our own lives even richer. If you will join me so that we can work together with patriotism and courage, we will again prove that our great nation can lead the world into an age of peace, independence and freedom.

Ronald Reagan's Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Evangelicals, 8 March 1983.

Known as President Reagan's "evil empire" speech, this talk hit hard on the themes of banning abortions and maintaining the importance of God and religion in America. Reagan then moved into a perennial theme

for conservatives—being watchful of the Soviet Union, which Reagan characterized as an "evil empire."

Those of you in the National Association of Evangelicals are known for your spiritual and humanitarian work. And I would be especially remiss if I didn't discharge right now one personal debt of gratitude. Thank you for your prayers. Nancy and I have felt their presence many times in many years. And believe me, for us they've made all the difference.

The other day in the East Room of the White House at a meeting there, someone asked me whether I was aware of all the people out there who were praying for the President. And I had to say, "Yes, I am. I've felt it. I believe in intercessory prayer." But I couldn't help but say to that questioner after he'd asked the question that—or at least say to them that if sometimes when he was praying he got a busy signal, it was just me in there ahead of him. I think I understand how Abraham Lincoln felt when he said, "I have been driven many times to my knees by the overwhelming conviction that I had nowhere else to go." From the joy and the good feeling of this conference, I go to a political reception. Now, I don't know why, but that bit of scheduling reminds me of a story—which I'll share with you.

An evangelical minister and a politician arrived at Heaven's gate one day together. And St. Peter, after doing all the necessary formalities, took them in hand to show them where their quarters would be. And he took them to a small, single room with a bed, a chair, and a table and said this was for the clergyman. And the politician was a little worried about what might be in store for him. And he couldn't believe it then when St. Peter stopped in front of a beautiful mansion with lovely grounds, many servants, and told him that these would be his quarters.

And he couldn't help but ask, he said, "But wait, how—there's something wrong—how do I get this mansion while that good and holy man only gets a single room?" And St. Peter said, "You have to understand how things are up here. We've got thousands and thousands of clergy. You're the first politician who ever made it."

But I don't want to contribute to a stereotype. So I tell you there are a great many God-fearing, dedicated, noble men and women in public life, present company included. And yes, we need your help to keep us ever mindful of the ideas and the principles that brought us into the public arena in the first place. The basis of those ideals and principles is a commitment to freedom and

personal liberty that, itself, is grounded in the much deeper realization that freedom prospers only where the blessings of God are avidly sought and humbly accepted.

The American experiment in democracy rests on this insight. Its discovery was the great triumph of our Founding Fathers, voiced by William Penn when he said: "If we will not be governed by God, we must be governed by tyrants." Explaining the inalienable rights of men, Jefferson said, "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time." And it was George Washington who said that "of all the disposition and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supporters."

And finally, that shrewdest of all observers of American democracy, Alexis de Tocqueville, put it eloquently after he had gone on a search for the secret of America's greatness and genius—and he said: "Not until I went into the churches of America and heard her pulpits aflame with righteousness did I understand the greatness and the genius of America . . . America is good. And if America ever ceases to be good, America will cease to be great."

Well, I'm pleased to be here today with you who are keeping America great by keeping her good. Only through your work and prayers and those of millions of others can we hope to survive this perilous century and keep alive this experiment in liberty, this last, best hope of man.

I want you to know that this administration is motivated by a political philosophy that sees the greatness of America in you, her people, and in your families, churches, neighborhoods, communities—the institutions that foster and nourish values like concern for others and respect for the rule of law under God.

Now, I don't have to tell you that this puts us in opposition to, or at least out of step with, a prevailing attitude of many who have turned to a modern-day secularism, discarding the tried and time-tested values upon which our very civilization is based. No matter how well intentioned, their value system is radically different from that of most Americans. And while they proclaim that they're freeing us from superstitions of the past, they've taken upon themselves the job of superintending us by government rule and regulation. Sometimes their voices are louder than ours, but they are not yet a majority.

An example of that vocal superiority is evident in a controversy now going on in Washington. And since I'm involved I've been waiting to hear from the parents

of young America. How far are they willing to go in giving to government their prerogatives as parents?

Let me state the case as briefly and simply as I can. An organization of citizens, sincerely motivated and deeply concerned about the increase in illegitimate births and abortions involving girls well below the age of consent, some time ago established a nationwide network of clinics to offer help to these girls and, hopefully, alleviate this situation. Now, again, let me say, I do not fault their intent. However, in their well-intentioned effort, these clinics have decided to provide advice and birth control drugs and devices to underage girls without the knowledge of their parents.

For some years now, the federal government has helped with funds to subsidize these clinics. In providing for this, the Congress decreed that every effort would be made to maximize parental participation. Nevertheless, the drugs and devices are prescribed without getting parental consent or giving notification after they've done so. Girls termed "sexually active"—and that has replaced the word "promiscuous"—are given this help in order to prevent illegitimate birth or abortion.

Well, we have ordered clinics receiving federal funds to notify the parents such help has been given. One of the nation's leading newspapers has created the term "squeal rule" in editorializing against us for doing this, and we're being criticized for violating the privacy of young people. A judge has recently granted an injunction against an enforcement of our rule. I've watched TV panel shows discuss the issue, seen columnists pontificating on our error, but no one seems to mention morality as playing a part in the subject of sex.

Is all of Judeo-Christian tradition wrong? Are we to believe that something so sacred can be looked upon as a purely physical thing with no potential for emotional and psychological harm? And isn't it the parents' right to give counsel and advice to keep their children from making mistakes that may affect their entire lives?

Many of us in government would like to know what parents think about this intrusion in their family by government. We're going to fight in the courts. The right of parents and the rights of family take precedence over those of Washington-based bureaucrats and social engineers.

But the fight against parental notification is really only one example of many attempts to water down traditional values and even abrogate the original terms of American democracy. Freedom prospers when religion is vibrant and the rule of law under God is acknowl-

edged. When our Founding Fathers passed the First Amendment, they sought to protect churches from government interference. They never intended to construct a wall of hostility between government and the concept of religious belief itself.

The evidence of this permeates our history and our government. The Declaration of Independence mentions the Supreme Being no less than four times. "In God We Trust" is engraved on our coinage. The Supreme Court opens its proceedings with a religious invocation. And the members of Congress open their sessions with a prayer. I just happen to believe the schoolchildren of the United States are entitled to the same privileges as Supreme Court justices and congressmen.

Last year, I sent the Congress a constitutional amendment to restore prayer to public schools. Already this session, there's growing bipartisan support for the amendment, and I am calling on the Congress to act speedily to pass it and to let our children pray.

Perhaps some of you read recently about the Lubbock school case, where a judge actually ruled that it was unconstitutional for a school district to give equal treatment to religious and nonreligious student groups, even when the group meetings were being held during the students' own time. The First Amendment never intended to require government to discriminate against religious speech.

Senators Denton and Hatfield have proposed legislation in the Congress on the whole question of prohibiting discrimination against religious forms of student speech. Such legislation could go far to restore freedom of religious speech for public school students. And I hope the Congress considers these bills quickly. And with your help, I think it's possible we could also get the constitutional amendment through the Congress this year.

More than a decade ago, a Supreme Court decision literally wiped off the books of fifty states statutes protecting the rights of unborn children. Abortion on demand now takes the lives of up to one and a half million unborn children a year. Human life legislation ending this tragedy will someday pass the Congress, and you and I must never rest until it does. Unless and until it can be proven that the unborn child is not a living entity, then its right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness must be protected.

You may remember that when abortion on demand began, many, and indeed, I'm sure many of you, warned that the practice would lead to a decline in respect for human life, that the philosophical premises used to jus-

tify abortion on demand would ultimately be used to justify other attacks on the sacredness of human life; infanticide or mercy killing. Tragically enough, those warnings proved all too true. Only last year a court permitted the death by starvation of a handicapped infant.

I have directed the Health and Human Services Department to make clear to every health care facility in the United States that the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 protects all handicapped persons against discrimination based on handicaps, including infants. And we have taken the further step of requiring that each and every recipient of federal funds who provides health care services to infants must post and keep posted in a conspicuous place a notice stating that "discriminatory failure to feed and care for handicapped infants in this facility is prohibited by federal law." It also lists a twenty-four-hour, toll-free number so that nurses and others may report violations in time to save the infant's life.

In addition, recent legislation introduced in the Congress by Representative Henry Hyde of Illinois not only increases restrictions on publicly financed abortions, it also addresses this whole problem of infanticide. I urge the Congress to begin hearings and to adopt legislation that will protect the right of life to all children, including the disabled or handicapped.

Now, I'm sure that you must get discouraged at times, but you've done better than you know, perhaps. There's a great spiritual awakening in America, a renewal of the traditional values that have been the bedrock of America's goodness and greatness.

One recent survey by a Washington-based research council concluded that Americans were far more religious than the people of other nations; 95 percent of those surveyed expressed a belief in God and a huge majority believed the Ten Commandments had real meaning in their lives. And another study has found that an overwhelming majority of Americans disapprove of adultery, teenage sex, pornography, abortion, and hard drugs. And this same study showed a deep reverence for the importance of family ties and religious belief.

I think the items that we've discussed here today must be a key part of the nation's political agenda. For the first time the Congress is openly and seriously debating and dealing with the prayer and abortion issues; and that's enormous progress right there. I repeat: America is in the midst of a spiritual awakening and a moral renewal. And with your biblical keynote, I say today, "Yes, let justice roll on like a river, righteousness like a never-failing stream."

Now, obviously, much of this new political and social consensus I've talked about is based on a positive view of American history, one that takes pride in our country's accomplishments and record. But we must never forget that no government schemes are going to perfect man. We know that living in this world means dealing with what philosophers would call the phenomenology of evil or, as theologians would put it, the doctrine of sin.

There is sin and evil in the world, and we're enjoined by Scripture and the Lord Jesus to oppose it with all our might. Our nation, too, has a legacy of evil with which it must deal. The glory of this land has been its capacity for transcending the moral evils of our past. For example, the long struggle of minority citizens for equal rights, once a source of disunity and civil war, is now a point of pride for all Americans. We must never go back. There is no room for racism, anti-Semitism, or other forms of ethnic and racial hatred in this country.

I know that you've been horrified, as have I, by the resurgence of some hate groups preaching bigotry and prejudice. Use the mighty voice of your pulpits and the powerful standing of your churches to denounce and isolate these hate groups in our midst. The commandment given us is clear and simple: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

But whatever sad episodes exist in our past, any objective observer must hold a positive view of American history, a history that has been the story of hopes fulfilled and dreams made into reality. Especially in this century, America has kept alight the torch of freedom, but not just for ourselves but for millions of others around the world.

And this brings me to my final point today. During my first press conference as president, in answer to a direct question, I pointed out that, as good Marxist-Leninists, the Soviet leaders have openly and publicly declared that the only morality they recognize is that which will further their cause, which is world revolution. I think I should point out I was only quoting Lenin, their guiding spirit, who said in 1920 that they repudiate all morality that proceeds from supernatural ideas—that's their name for religion—or ideas that are outside class conceptions. Morality is entirely subordinate to the interests of class war. And everything is moral that is necessary for the annihilation of the old, exploiting social order and for uniting the proletariat.

Well, I think the refusal of many influential people to accept this elementary fact of Soviet doctrine illustrates a historical reluctance to see totalitarian powers for

what they are. We saw this phenomenon in the 1930s. We see it too often today.

This doesn't mean we should isolate ourselves and refuse to seek an understanding with them. I intend to do everything I can to persuade them of our peaceful intent, to remind them that it was the West that refused to use its nuclear monopoly in the forties and fifties for territorial gain and which now proposes a 50-percent cut in strategic ballistic missiles and the elimination of an entire class of land-based, intermediate-range nuclear missiles.

At the same time, however, they must be made to understand we will never compromise our principles and standards. We will never give away our freedom. We will never abandon our belief in God. And we will never stop searching for a genuine peace. But we can assure none of these things America stands for through the so-called nuclear freeze solutions proposed by some.

The truth is that a freeze now would be a very dangerous fraud, for that is merely the illusion of peace. The reality is that we must find peace through strength.

I would agree to freeze if only we could freeze the Soviets' global desires. A freeze at current levels of weapons would remove any incentive for the Soviets to negotiate seriously in Geneva and virtually end our chances to achieve the major arms reductions which we have proposed. Instead, they would achieve their objectives through the freeze.

A freeze would reward the Soviet Union for its enormous and unparalleled military buildup. It would prevent the essential and long overdue modernization of United States and allied defenses and would leave our aging forces increasingly vulnerable. And an honest freeze would require extensive prior negotiations on the systems and numbers to be limited and on the measures to ensure effective verification and compliance. And the kind of a freeze that has been suggested would be virtually impossible to verify. Such a major effort would divert us completely from our current negotiations on achieving substantial reductions.

A number of years ago, I heard a young father, a very prominent young man in the entertainment world, addressing a tremendous gathering in California. It was during the time of the cold war, and communism and our own way of life were very much on people's minds. And he was speaking to that subject. And suddenly, though, I heard him saying, "I love my little girls more than anything—" And I said to myself, "Oh, no, don't. You can't—don't say that." But I had underestimated

him. He went on: "I would rather see my little girls die now, still believing in God, than have them grow up under communism and one day die no longer believing in God."

There were thousands of young people in that audience. They came to their feet with shouts of joy. They had instantly recognized the profound truth in what he had said, with regard to the physical and the soul and what was truly important.

Yes, let us pray for the salvation of all of those who live in that totalitarian darkness—pray they will discover the joy of knowing God. But until they do, let us be aware that while they preach the supremacy of the state, declare its omnipotence over individual man, and predict its eventual domination of all peoples on the earth, they are the focus of evil in the modern world.

It was C.S. Lewis who, in his unforgettable *Screwtape Letters*, wrote: "The greatest evil is not done now in those sordid 'dens of rime' that Dickens loved to paint. It is not even done in concentration camps and labor camps. In those we see its final result. But it is conceived and ordered (moved, seconded, carried and minuted) in clean, carpeted, warmed, and well-lighted offices, by quiet men with white collars and cut fingernails and smooth-shaven cheeks who do no need to raise their voice."

Well, because these "quiet men" do not "raise their voices," because they sometimes speak in soothing tones of brotherhood and peace, because, like other dictators before them, they're always making "their final territorial demand," some would have us accept them as their word and accommodate ourselves to their aggressive impulses. But if history teaches anything, it teaches that simpleminded appeasement or wishful thinking about our adversaries is folly. It means the betrayal of our past, the squandering of our freedom.

So, I urge you to speak out against those who would place the United States in a position of military and moral inferiority. You know, I've always believed that old *Screwtape* reserved his best efforts for those of you in the church. So, in your discussions of the nuclear freeze proposals, I urge you to beware the temptation of pride—the temptation of blithely declaring yourselves above it all and label both sides equally at fault, to ignore the facts of history and the aggressive impulses of an evil empire, to simply call the arms race a giant misunderstanding and thereby remove yourself from the struggle between right and wrong and good and evil.

I ask you to resist the attempts of those who would have you withhold your support for our efforts, this

administration's efforts, to keep America strong and free, while we negotiate real and verifiable reductions in the world's nuclear arsenals and one day, with God's help, their total elimination.

While America's military strength is important, let me add here that I've always maintained that the struggle now going on for the world will never be decided by bombs or rockets, by armies or military might. The real crisis we face today is a spiritual one; at root, it is a test of moral will and faith.

Whittaker Chambers, the man whose own religious conversation made him a witness to one of the terrible traumas of our time, the Hiss-Chambers case, wrote that the crisis of the Western world exists to the degree in which the West is indifferent to God, the degree to which it collaborates in communism's attempt to make man stand alone without God. And then he said, for Marxism-Leninism is actually the second-oldest faith, first proclaimed in the Garden of Eden with the words of temptation, "Ye shall be as gods."

The Western world can answer this challenge, he wrote, "but only provided that its faith in God and the freedom He enjoins is as great as communism's faith in Man."

I believe we shall rise to the challenge. I believe that communism is another sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages even now are being written. I believe this because the source of our strength in the quest for human freedom is not material, but spiritual. And because it knows no limitation, it must terrify and ultimately triumph over those who would enslave their fellow man. For in the words of Isaiah: "He giveth power to the faint; and to them that have no might He increased strength . . . But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary . . ."

Yes, change your world. One of our Founding Fathers, Thomas Paine, said, "We have it within our power to begin the world over again." We can do it, doing together what no one church could do by itself.

God bless you, and thank you very much.

George Herbert Walker Bush's Address to a Joint Session of Congress, 11 September 1990

As the United States prepared to help Kuwait defend itself against an invading Iraqi army, this speech laid the groundwork for what President George H. W. Bush

termed "a new world order." It was a world where, after the fall of Communism in Eastern Europe, the Russians could now be our partners in peace.

Mr. President and Mr. Speaker and Members of the United States Congress, distinguished guests, fellow Americans, thank you very much for that warm welcome. We gather tonight, witness to events in the Persian Gulf as significant as they are tragic. In the early morning hours of August 2d, following negotiations and promises by Iraq's dictator Saddam Hussein not to use force, a powerful Iraqi army invaded its trusting and much weaker neighbor, Kuwait. Within 3 days, 120,000 Iraqi troops with 850 tanks had poured into Kuwait and moved south to threaten Saudi Arabia. It was then that I decided to act to check that aggression.

At this moment, our brave servicemen and women stand watch in that distant desert and on distant seas, side by side with the forces of more than 20 other nations. They are some of the finest men and women of the United States of America. And they're doing one terrific job. These valiant Americans were ready at a moment's notice to leave their spouses and their children, to serve on the front line halfway around the world. They remind us who keeps America strong: they do. In the trying circumstances of the Gulf, the morale of our service men and women is excellent. In the face of danger, they're brave, they're well-trained, and dedicated.

A soldier, Private First Class Wade Merritt of Knoxville, Tennessee, now stationed in Saudi Arabia, wrote his parents of his worries, his love of family, and his hope for peace. But Wade also wrote, "I am proud of my country and its firm stance against inhumane aggression. I am proud of my army and its men. I am proud to serve my country." Well, let me just say, Wade, America is proud of you and is grateful to every soldier, sailor, marine, and airman serving the cause of peace in the Persian Gulf. I also want to thank the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Powell; the Chiefs here tonight; our commander in the Persian Gulf, General Schwartzkopf; and the men and women of the Department of Defense. What a magnificent job you all are doing. And thank you very, very much from a grateful people. I wish I could say that their work is done. But we all know it's not.

So, if there ever was a time to put country before self and patriotism before party, the time is now. And let me thank all Americans, especially those here in this Chamber tonight, for your support for our armed forces and

for their mission. That support will be even more important in the days to come. So, tonight I want to talk to you about what's at stake—what we must do together to defend civilized values around the world and maintain our economic strength at home.

Our objectives in the Persian Gulf are clear, our goals defined and familiar: Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait completely, immediately, and without condition. Kuwait's legitimate government must be restored. The security and stability of the Persian Gulf must be assured. And American citizens abroad must be protected. These goals are not ours alone. They've been endorsed by the United Nations Security Council five times in as many weeks. Most countries share our concern for principle. And many have a stake in the stability of the Persian Gulf. This is not, as Saddam Hussein would have it, the United States against Iraq. It is Iraq against the world.

As you know, I've just returned from a very productive meeting with Soviet President Gorbachev. And I am pleased that we are working together to build a new relationship. In Helsinki, our joint statement affirmed to the world our shared resolve to counter Iraq's threat to peace. Let me quote: "We are united in the belief that Iraq's aggression must not be tolerated. No peaceful international order is possible if larger states can devour their smaller neighbors." Clearly, no longer can a dictator count on East-West confrontation to stymie concerted United Nations action against aggression. A new partnership of nations has begun.

We stand today at a unique and extraordinary moment. The crisis in the Persian Gulf, as grave as it is, also offers a rare opportunity to move toward an historic period of cooperation. Out of these troubled times, our fifth objective—a new world order—can emerge: a new era—freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, and more secure in the quest for peace. An era in which the nations of the world, East and West, North and South, can prosper and live in harmony. A hundred generations have searched for this elusive path to peace, while a thousand wars raged across the span of human endeavor. Today that new world is struggling to be born, a world quite different from the one we've known. A world where the rule of law supplants the rule of the jungle. A world in which nations recognize the shared responsibility for freedom and justice. A world where the strong respect the rights of the weak. This is the vision that I shared with President Gorbachev in Helsinki. He and other leaders from Europe, the Gulf, and around

the world understand that how we manage this crisis today could shape the future for generations to come.

The test we face is great, and so are the stakes. This is the first assault on the new world that we seek, the first test of our mettle. Had we not responded to this first provocation with clarity of purpose, if we do not continue to demonstrate our determination, it would be a signal to actual and potential despots around the world. America and the world must defend common vital interests—and we will. America and the world must support the rule of law—and we will. America and the world must stand up to aggression—and we will. And one thing more: In the pursuit of these goals America will not be intimidated.

Vital issues of principle are at stake. Saddam Hussein is literally trying to wipe a country off the face of the Earth. We do not exaggerate. Nor do we exaggerate when we say Saddam Hussein will fail. Vital economic interests are at risk as well. Iraq itself controls some 10 percent of the world's proven oil reserves. Iraq plus Kuwait controls twice that. An Iraq permitted to swallow Kuwait would have the economic and military power, as well as the arrogance, to intimidate and coerce its neighbors—neighbors who control the lion's share of the world's remaining oil reserves. We cannot permit a resource so vital to be dominated by one so ruthless. And we won't.

Recent events have surely proven that there is no substitute for American leadership. In the face of tyranny, let no one doubt American credibility and reliability. Let no one doubt our staying power. We will stand by our friends. One way or another, the leader of Iraq must learn this fundamental truth. From the outset, acting hand in hand with others, we've sought to fashion the broadest possible international response to Iraq's aggression. The level of world cooperation and condemnation of Iraq is unprecedented. Armed forces from countries spanning four continents are there at the request of King Fahd of Saudi Arabia to deter and, if need be, to defend against attack. Moslems and non-Moslems, Arabs and non-Arabs, soldiers from many nations stand shoulder to shoulder, resolute against Saddam Hussein's ambitions.

We can now point to five United Nations Security Council resolutions that condemn Iraq's aggression. They call for Iraq's immediate and unconditional withdrawal, the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government, and categorically reject Iraq's cynical and self-serving attempt to annex Kuwait. Finally, the United Nations has demanded the release of all foreign nation-

als held hostage against their will and in contravention of international law. It is a mockery of human decency to call these people "guests." They are hostages, and the whole world knows it.

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, a dependable ally, said it all: "We do not bargain over hostages. We will not stoop to the level of using human beings as bargaining chips ever." Of course, of course, our hearts go out to the hostages and to their families. But our policy cannot change, and it will not change. America and the world will not be blackmailed by this ruthless policy.

We're now in sight of a United Nations that performs as envisioned by its founders. We owe much to the outstanding leadership of Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar. The United Nations is backing up its words with action. The Security Council has imposed mandatory economic sanctions on Iraq, designed to force Iraq to relinquish the spoils of its illegal conquest. The Security Council has also taken the decisive step of authorizing the use of all means necessary to ensure compliance with these sanctions. Together with our friends and allies, ships of the United States Navy are today patrolling Mideast waters. They've already intercepted more than 700 ships to enforce the sanctions. Three regional leaders I spoke with just yesterday told me that these sanctions are working. Iraq is feeling the heat. We continue to hope that Iraq's leaders will recalculate just what their aggression has cost them. They are cut off from world trade, unable to sell their oil. And only a tiny fraction of goods gets through.

The communique with President Gorbachev made mention of what happens when the embargo is so effective that children of Iraq literally need milk or the sick truly need medicine. Then, under strict international supervision that guarantees the proper destination, then food will be permitted.

At home, the material cost of our leadership can be steep. That's why Secretary of State Baker and Treasury Secretary Brady have met with many world leaders to underscore that the burden of this collective effort must be shared. We are prepared to do our share and more to help carry that load; we insist that others do their share as well.

The response of most of our friends and allies has been good. To help defray costs, the leaders of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the UAE—the United Arab Emirates—have pledged to provide our deployed troops with all the food and fuel they need. Generous assistance will also be provided to stalwart front-line nations, such as Turkey and Egypt. I am also heartened to report

that this international response extends to the neediest victims of this conflict—those refugees. For our part, we've contributed \$28 million for relief efforts. This is but a portion of what is needed. I commend, in particular, Saudi Arabia, Japan, and several European nations who have joined us in this purely humanitarian effort.

There's an energy-related cost to be borne as well. Oil-producing nations are already replacing lost Iraqi and Kuwaiti output. More than half of what was lost has been made up. And we're getting superb cooperation. If producers, including the United States, continue steps to expand oil and gas production, we can stabilize prices and guarantee against hardship. Additionally, we and several of our allies always have the option to extract oil from our strategic petroleum reserves if conditions warrant. As I've pointed out before, conservation efforts are essential to keep our energy needs as low as possible. And we must then take advantage of our energy sources across the board: coal, natural gas, hydro, and nuclear. Our failure to do these things has made us more dependent on foreign oil than ever before. Finally, let no one even contemplate profiteering from this crisis. We will not have it.

I cannot predict just how long it will take to convince Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. Sanctions will take time to have their full intended effect. We will continue to review all options with our allies, but let it be clear: we will not let this aggression stand.

Our interest, our involvement in the Gulf is not transitory. It predated Saddam Hussein's aggression and will survive it. Long after all our troops come home—and we all hope it's soon, very soon—there will be a lasting role for the United States in assisting the nations of the Persian Gulf. Our role then: to deter future aggression. Our role is to help our friends in their own self-defense. And something else: to curb the proliferation of chemical, biological, ballistic missile and, above all, nuclear technologies.

Let me also make clear that the United States has no quarrel with the Iraqi people. Our quarrel is with Iraq's dictator and with his aggression. Iraq will not be permitted to annex Kuwait. That's not a threat, that's not a boast, that's just the way it's going to be.

Our ability to function effectively as a great power abroad depends on how we conduct ourselves at home. Our economy, our Armed Forces, our energy dependence, and our cohesion all determine whether we can help our friends and stand up to our foes. For America to lead, America must remain strong and vital. Our world leadership and domestic strength are mutual and

reinforcing; a woven piece, strongly bound as Old Glory. To revitalize our leadership, our leadership capacity, we must address our budget deficit—not after election day, or next year, but now.

Higher oil prices slow our growth, and higher defense costs would only make our fiscal deficit problem worse. That deficit was already greater than it should have been—a projected \$232 billion for the coming year. It must—it will—be reduced.

To my friends in Congress, together we must act this very month—before the next fiscal year begins on October 1st—to get America's economic house in order. The Gulf situation helps us realize we are more economically vulnerable than we ever should be. Americans must never again enter any crisis, economic or military, with an excessive dependence on foreign oil and an excessive burden of Federal debt.

Most Americans are sick and tired of endless battles in the Congress and between the branches over budget matters. It is high time we pulled together and get the job done right. It's up to us to straighten this out. This job has four basic parts. First, the Congress should, this month, within a budget agreement, enact growth-oriented tax measures—to help avoid recession in the short term and to increase savings, investment, productivity, and competitiveness for the longer term. These measures include extending incentives for research and experimentation; expanding the use of IRA's for new homeowners; establishing tax-deferred family savings accounts; creating incentives for the creation of enterprise zones and initiatives to encourage more domestic drilling; and, yes, reducing the tax rate on capital gains.

And second, the Congress should, this month, enact a prudent multiyear defense program, one that reflects not only the improvement in East-West relations but our broader responsibilities to deal with the continuing risks of outlaw action and regional conflict. Even with our obligations in the Gulf, a sound defense budget can have some reduction in real terms; and we're prepared to accept that. But to go beyond such levels, where cutting defense would threaten our vital margin of safety, is something I will never accept. The world is still dangerous. And surely, that is now clear. Stability's not secure. American interests are far reaching. Interdependence has increased. The consequences of regional instability can be global. This is no time to risk America's capacity to protect her vital interests.

And third, the Congress should, this month, enact measures to increase domestic energy production and energy conservation in order to reduce dependence on

foreign oil. These measures should include my proposals to increase incentives for domestic oil and gas exploration, fuel-switching, and to accelerate the development of the Alaskan energy resources without damage to wildlife. As you know, when the oil embargo was imposed in the early 1970's, the United States imported almost 6 million barrels of oil a day. This year, before the Iraqi invasion, U.S. imports had risen to nearly 8 million barrels per day. And we'd moved in the wrong direction. And now we must act to correct that trend.

And fourth, the Congress should, this month, enact a 5-year program to reduce the projected debt and deficits by \$500 billion—that's by half a trillion dollars. And if, with the Congress, we can develop a satisfactory program by the end of the month, we can avoid the ax of sequester—deep across-the-board cuts that would threaten our military capacity and risk substantial domestic disruption. I want to be able to tell the American people that we have truly solved the deficit problem. And for me to do that, a budget agreement must meet these tests: It must include the measures I've recommended to increase economic growth and reduce dependence on foreign oil. It must be fair. All should contribute, but the burden should not be excessive for any one group of programs or people. It must address the growth of government's hidden liabilities. It must reform the budget process and, further, it must be real.

I urge Congress to provide a comprehensive 5-year deficit reduction program to me as a complete legislative package, with measures to assure that it can be fully enforced. America is tired of phony deficit reduction or promise-now, save-later plans. It is time for a program that is credible and real. And finally, to the extent that the deficit reduction program includes new revenue measures, it must avoid any measure that would threaten economic growth or turn us back toward the days of punishing income tax rates. That is one path we should not head down again.

I have been pleased with recent progress, although it has not always seemed so smooth. But now it's time to produce. I hope we can work out a responsible plan. But with or without agreement from the budget summit, I ask both Houses of the Congress to allow a straight up-or-down vote on a complete \$500-billion deficit reduction package not later than September 28. If the Congress cannot get me a budget, then Americans will have to face a tough, mandated sequester. I'm hopeful, in fact, I'm confident that the Congress will do what it should. And I can assure you that we in the executive branch will do our part.

In the final analysis, our ability to meet our responsibilities abroad depends upon political will and consensus at home. This is never easy in democracies, for we govern only with the consent of the governed. And although free people in a free society are bound to have their differences, Americans traditionally come together in times of adversity and challenge.

Once again, Americans have stepped forward to share a tearful goodbye with their families before leaving for a strange and distant shore. At this very moment, they serve together with Arabs, Europeans, Asians, and Africans in defense of principle and the dream of a new world order. That's why they sweat and toil in the sand and the heat and the sun. If they can come together under such adversity, if old adversaries like the Soviet Union and the United States can work in common cause, then surely we who are so fortunate to be in this great Chamber—Democrats, Republicans, liberals, conservatives—can come together to fulfill our responsibilities here. Thank you. Good night. And God bless the United States of America.

William Jefferson Clinton's Address to the National Geographic Society, 11 June 1998

Like the Soviet Union, China had been widely viewed as a post-World War II threat to the security of democratic nations. In the 1990s the push for economic reforms in China led to a new spirit of cooperation between the United States and China. In the speech below, President Clinton talks about how he envisions U.S.-China relations evolving into the twentieth century.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, President Fahey. I don't know what to say about starting the day with this apparition. (Laughter.) But it's probably good practice for our line of work. (Laughter.) I try to read every issue of the National Geographic, and I will certainly look forward to that one.

Chairman Grosvenor, members of Congress, members of the administration, and members of previous administrations who are here and others who care about the national security and national interests of the United States. First let me, once again, thank the National Geographic Society for its hospitality, and for the very important work that it has done for so long now.

As all of you know, I will go to China in two weeks time. It will be the first state visit by an American Pres-

ident this decade. I'm going because I think it's the right thing to do for our country. Today I want to talk with you about our relationship with China and how it fits into our broader concerns for the world of the 21st century and our concerns, in particular, for developments in Asia. That relationship will in large measure help to determine whether the new century is one of security, peace, and prosperity for the American people.

Let me say that, all of you know the dimensions, but I think it is worth repeating a few of the facts about China. It is already the world's most populous nation; it will increase by the size of America's current population every 20 years. Its vast territory borders 15 countries. It has one of the fastest growing economies on Earth. It holds a permanent seat on the National Security Council of the United Nations. Over the past 25 years, it has entered a period of profound change, emerging from isolation, turning a closed economy into an engine for growth, increasing cooperation with the rest of the world, raising the standard of living for hundreds of millions of its citizens.

The role China chooses to play in preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction are encouraging it in combatting or ignoring international crime and drug trafficking; in protecting or degrading the environment; in tearing down or building up trade barriers; in respecting or abusing human rights; in resolving difficult situations in Asia from the Indian subcontinent to the Korean Peninsula or aggravating them. The role China chooses to play will powerfully shape the next century.

A stable, open, prosperous China that assumes its responsibilities for building a more peaceful world is clearly and profoundly in our interests. On that point all Americans agree. But as we all know, there is serious disagreement over how best to encourage the emergence of that kind of China, and how to handle our differences, especially over human rights, in the meantime.

Some Americans believe we should try to isolate and contain China because of its undemocratic system and human rights violation, and in order to retard its capacity to become America's next great enemy. Some believe increased commercial dealings alone will inevitably lead to a more open, more democratic China.

We have chosen a different course that I believe to be both principled and pragmatic: expanding our areas of cooperation with China while dealing forthrightly with our differences. This policy is supported by our key democratic allies in Asia, Japan, South Korea, Australia,

Thailand, the Philippines. It has recently been publicly endorsed by a number of distinguished religious leaders, including Reverend Billy Graham and the Dalai Lama. My trip has been recently supported by political opponents of the current Chinese government, including most recently, Wang Dan.

There is a reason for this. Seeking to isolate China is clearly unworkable. Even our friends and allies around the world do not support us—or would not support us in that. We would succeed instead in isolating ourselves and our own policy.

Most important, choosing isolation over engagement would not make the world safer. It would make it more dangerous. It would undermine rather than strengthen our efforts to foster stability in Asia. It would eliminate, not facilitate cooperation on issues relating to mass destruction. It would hinder, not help the cause of democracy and human rights in China. It would set back, not step up worldwide efforts to protect the environment. It would cut off, not open up one of the world's most important markets. It would encourage the Chinese to turn inward and to act in opposition to our interests and values.

Consider the areas that matter most to America's peace, prosperity and security, and ask yourselves, would our interests and ideals be better served by advancing our work with, or isolating ourselves from China.

First, think about our interests in a stable Asia, an interest that China shares. The nuclear threats—excuse me—the nuclear tests by India and Pakistan are a threat to the stability we seek. They risk a terrible outcome. A miscalculation between two adversaries with large armies would be bad. A miscalculation between two adversaries with nuclear weapons could be catastrophic. These tests were all the more unfortunate because they divert precious resources from countries with unlimited potential.

India is a very great nation, soon to be not only the world's most populous democracy, but its most populous country. It is home to the world's largest middle class already and a remarkable culture that taught the modern world the power of nonviolence. For 50 years Pakistan has been a vibrant Islamic state, and is today a robust democracy. It is important for the world to recognize the remarkable contributions both these countries have made and will continue to make to the community of nations if they can proceed along the path of peace.

It is important for the world to recognize that both India and Pakistan have security concerns that are legitimate. But it is equally important for India and Pakistan

to recognize that developing weapons of mass destruction is the wrong way to define their greatness, to protect their security, or to advance their concerns.

I believe that we now have a self-defeating, dangerous, and costly course underway. I believe that this course, if continued, not moderated and ultimately changed, will make both the people of India and the people of Pakistan poorer, not richer, and less, not more, secure. Resolving this requires us to cooperate with China.

Last week, China chaired a meeting of the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council to forge a common strategy for moving India and Pakistan back from the nuclear arms race edge. It has condemned both countries for conducting nuclear tests. It has joined us in urging them to conduct no more tests, to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, to avoid deploying or testing missiles, to tone down the rhetoric, to work to resolve their differences including over Kashmir through dialogue. Because of its history with both countries, China must be a part of any ultimate resolution of this matter.

On the Korean Peninsula, China has become a force for peace and stability, helping us to convince North Korea to freeze its dangerous nuclear program, playing a constructive role in the four-party peace talks. And China has been a helpful partner in international efforts to stabilize the Asian financial crisis. In resisting the temptation to devalue its currency, China has seen that its own interests lie in preventing another round of competitive devaluations that would have severely damaged prospects for regional recovery. It has also contributed to the rescue packages for affected economies.

Now, for each of these problems we should ask ourselves, are we better off working with China or without it? When I travel to China this month, I will work with President Jiang to advance our Asian security agenda, keeping the pressure on India and Pakistan to curb their nuclear arms race and to commence a dialogue; using the strength of our economies and our influence to bolster Asian economies battered by the economic crisis; and discussing steps we can take to advance peace and security on the Korean Peninsula. I will encourage President Jiang to pursue the cross-strait discussion the PRC recently resumed with Taiwan, and where we have already seen a reduction in tensions.

Second, stopping the spread of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons is clearly one of our most urgent security challenges. As a nuclear power with increasingly sophisticated industrial and technological capabil-

ities, China can choose either to be a part of the problem or a part of the solution.

For years, China stood outside the international arms control regime. In the last decade it has joined the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, the Chemical Weapons Convention, the Biological Weapons Convention, and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, each with clear rules, reporting requirements and inspection systems. In the past, China has been a major exporter of sophisticated weapons-related technologies. That is why in virtually all our high-level contacts with China's leadership, and in my summit meeting with President Jiang last October, nonproliferation has been high on the agenda.

Had we been trying to isolate China rather than work with it, would China have agreed to stop assistance to Iran for its nuclear program? To terminate its assistance to unsafeguarded nuclear facilities such as those in Pakistan? To tighten its export control system, to sell no more anti-ship cruise missiles to Iran? These vital decisions were all in our interest, and they clearly were the fruit of our engagement.

I will continue to press China on proliferation. I will seek stronger controls on the sale of missiles, missile technology, dual-use products, and chemical and biological weapons. I will argue that it is in China's interest, because the spread of weapons and technologies would increasingly destabilize areas near China's own borders.

Third, the United States has a profound stake in combatting international organized crime and drug trafficking. International criminal syndicates threaten to undermine confidence in new but fragile market democracies. They bilk people out of billions of dollars and bring violence and despair to our schools and neighborhoods. These are problems from which none of us are isolated and which, as I said at the United Nations a few days ago, no nation is so big it can fight alone.

With a land mass spanning from Russia in the north to Vietnam and Thailand in the south, from India and Pakistan in the west to Korea and Japan in the east, China has become a transshipment point for drugs and the proceeds of illegal activities. Last month a special liaison group that President Jiang and I established brought together leading Chinese and American law enforcement officials to step up our cooperation against organized crime, alien smuggling, and counterfeiting.

Next month the Drug Enforcement Agency of the United States will open an office in Beijing. Here, too,

pursuing practical cooperation with China is making a difference for America's future.

Fourth, China and the United States share the same global environment, an interest in preserving it for this and future generations. China is experiencing an environmental crisis perhaps greater than any other nation in history at a comparable stage of its development. Every substantial body of water in China is polluted. In many places, water is in short supply. Respiratory illness is the number one health problem for China's people because of air pollution.

Early in the next century, China will surpass the United States as the world's largest emitter of greenhouse gases, which are dangerously warming our planet. This matters profoundly to the American people, because what comes out of a smokestack or goes into a river in China can do grievous harm beyond its borders. It is a fool's errand to believe that we can deal with our present and future global environmental challenges without strong cooperation with China.

A year ago, the Vice President launched a dialogue with the Chinese on the environment to help them pursue growth and protect the environment at the same time. I have to tell you that this is one of the central challenges we face—convincing all developing nations, but especially China, and other very large ones, that it is actually possible to grow their economies in the 21st century without following the pattern of energy use and environmental damages that characterize economic growth in this century. And we need all the help we can to make that case.

In Beijing, I will explore with President Jiang how American clean energy technology can help to improve air quality and bring electricity to more of China's rural residents. We will discuss innovative tools for financing clean energy development that were established under the Kyoto climate change agreement.

Fifth, America clearly benefits from an increasingly free, fair and open global trading system. Over the past six years, trade has generated more than one-third of the remarkable economic growth we have enjoyed. If we are to continue generating 20 percent of the world's wealth with just four percent of its population, we must continue to trade with the other 96 percent of the people with whom we share this small planet.

One in every four people is Chinese. And China boasts a growth rate that has averaged 10 percent for the past 20 years. Over the next 20 years, it is projected that the developing economies will grow at three times the rate of the already developed economies. It is mani-

festly, therefore, in our interest to bring the Chinese people more and more fully into the global trading system to get the benefits and share the responsibilities of emerging economic prosperity.

Already China is one of the fastest growing markets for our goods and services. As we look into the next century, it will clearly support hundreds of thousands of jobs all across our country. But access to China's markets also remains restricted for many of our companies and products. What is the best way to level the playing field? We could erect trade barriers. We could deny China the normal trading status we give to so many other countries with whom we have significant disagreements. But that would only penalize our consumers, invite retaliation from China on \$13 billion in United States exports, and create a self-defeating cycle of protectionism that the world has seen before.

Or we can continue to press China to open its markets—its goods markets, its services markets, its agricultural markets—as it engages in sweeping economic reform. We can work toward China's admission to the WTO on commercially meaningful terms, where it will be subject to international rules of free and fair trade. And we can renew normal trade treatment for China, as every President has done since 1980, strengthening instead of undermining our economic relationship.

In each of these crucial areas, working with China is the best way to advance our interests. But we also know that how China evolves inside its borders will influence how it acts beyond them. We, therefore, have a profound interest in encouraging China to embrace the ideals upon which our nation was founded and which have now been universally embraced—the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; to debate, dissent, associate and worship without state interference. These ideas are now the birthright of people everywhere, a part of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They are part of the fabric of all truly free societies.

We have a fundamental difference with China's leadership over this. The question we Americans must answer is not whether we support human rights in China—surely, all of us do—but, rather, what is the best way to advance them. By integrating China into the community of nations and the global economy, helping its leadership understand that greater freedom profoundly serves China's interests, and standing up for our principles, we can most effectively serve the cause of democracy and human rights within China.

Over time, the more we bring China into the world the more the world will bring freedom to China.

China's remarkable economic growth is making China more and more dependent on other nations for investment, for markets, for energy, for ideas. These ties increase the need for the stronger rule of law, openness, and accountability. And they carry with them powerful agents of change—fax machines and photocopiers, computers and the Internet. Over the past decade the number of mobile phones has jumped from 50,000 to more than 13 million in China, and China is heading from about 400,000 Internet accounts last year to more than 20 million early in the next century. Already, one in five residents in Beijing has access to satellite transmissions. Some of the American satellites China sends into space beam CNN and other independent sources of news and ideas into China.

The licensing of American commercial satellite launches on Chinese rockets was approved by President Reagan, begun by President Bush, continued under my administration, for the simple reason that the demand for American satellites far out-strips America's launch capacity, and because others, including Russian and European nations, can do this job at much less cost.

It is important for every American to understand that there are strict safeguards, including a Department of Defense plan for each launch, to prevent any assistance to China's missile programs. Licensing these launches allows us to meet the demand for American satellites and helps people on every continent share ideas, information, and images, through television, cell phones, and pagers. In the case of China, the policy also furthers our efforts to stop the spread of missile technology by providing China incentives to observe nonproliferation agreements. This policy clearly has served our national interests.

Over time, I believe China's leaders must accept freedom's progress because China can only reach its full potential if its people are free to reach theirs.

In the Information Age, the wealth of any nation, including China, lies in its people—in their capacity to create, to communicate, to innovate. The Chinese people must have the freedom to speak, to publish, to associate, to worship without fear of reprisal. Only then will China reach its full potential for growth and greatness.

I have told President Jiang that when it comes to human rights and religious freedom, China remains on the wrong side of history. Unlike some, I do not believe increased commercial dealings alone will inevitably lead to greater openness and freedom. We must work to speed history's course. Complacency or silence would run counter to everything we stand for as Americans. It

would deny those fighting for human rights and religious freedom inside China the outside support that is a source of strength and comfort. Indeed, one of the most important benefits of our engagement with China is that it gives us an effective means to urge China's leaders publicly and privately to change course.

Our message remains strong and constant: Do not arrest people for their political beliefs. Release those who are in jail for that reason. Renounce coercive population control practices. Resume your dialogue with the Dalai Lama. Allow people to worship when, where, and how they choose. And recognize that our relationship simply cannot reach its full potential so long as Chinese people are denied fundamental human rights.

In support of that message, we are strengthening Radio Free Asia. We are working with China to expand the rule of law and civil society programs in China so that rights already on the books there can become rights in reality.

This principled, pragmatic approach has produced significant results, although still far from enough. Over the past year, China has released from jail two prominent dissidents—Wei Jingsheng and Wang Dan—and Catholic Bishop Zeng. It announced its intention to sign the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which will subject China's human rights practices to regular scrutiny by independent international observers. President Jiang received a delegation of prominent American religious leaders and invited them to visit Tibet.

Seeking to isolate China will not free one more political dissident, will not open one more church to those who wish to worship, will do nothing to encourage China to live by the laws it has written. Instead, it will limit our ability to advance human rights and religious and political freedom.

When I travel to China I will take part in an official greeting ceremony in front of the Great Hall of the People, across from Tiananmen Square. I will do so because that is where the Chinese government receives visiting heads of state and government, including President Chirac of France and, most recently, Prime Minister Netanyahu of Israel. Some have suggested I should refuse to take part in this traditional ceremony, that somehow going there would absolve the Chinese government of its responsibility for the terrible killings at Tiananmen Square nine years ago, or indicate that America is no longer concerned about such conduct. They are wrong.

Protocol and honoring a nation's traditional practices

should not be confused with principle. China's leaders, as I have repeatedly said, can only move beyond the events of June 1989, when they recognize the reality that what the government did was wrong. Sooner or later they must do that. And, perhaps even more important, they must change course on this fundamentally important issue.

In my meetings with President Jiang and other Chinese leaders, and in my discussions with the Chinese people I will press ahead on human rights and religious freedom, urging that China follow through on its intention to sign the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, that it release more individuals in prison for expressing their opinions, that it take concrete steps to preserve Tibet's cultural, linguistic, and religious heritage.

We do not ignore the value of symbols. But, in the end, if the choice is between making a symbolic point and making a real difference, I choose to make the difference. And when it comes to advancing human rights and religious freedom, dealing directly and speaking honestly to the Chinese is clearly the best way to make a difference.

China has known more millennia than the United States has known centuries. But for more than 220 years, we have been conducting a great experiment in democracy. We must never lose confidence in the power of American experience or the strength of our example. The more we share our ideas with the world, the more the world will come to share the ideals that animate America. And they will become the aspirations of people everywhere.

I should also say we should never lose sight of the fact that we have never succeeded in perfectly realizing our ideals here at home. That calls for a little bit of humility and continued efforts on our part on the home front.

China will choose its own destiny, but we can influence that choice by making the right choice ourselves—working with China where we can, dealing directly with our differences where we must. Bringing China into the community of nations rather than trying to shut it out is plainly the best way to advance both our interests and our values. It is the best way to encourage China to follow the path of stability, openness, nonaggression; to embrace free markets, political pluralism, the rule of law; to join us in building a stable international order where free people can make the most of their lives and give vent to their children's dreams.

That kind of China, rather than one turned inward and confrontational, is profoundly in our interests. That

kind of China can help to shape a 21st century that is the most peaceful and prosperous era the world has ever known.

Thank you very much.

George W. Bush's State of the Union Address, 29 January 2002

In his State of the Union address following the September 11th terrorist attacks on the United States, President George W. Bush spoke of his aims for the War on Terrorism. In the speech, he characterized Iraq, Iran, and North Korea as an "axis of evil" that threatened the freedom and security of the world.

Thank you very much. Mr. Speaker, Vice President Cheney, members of Congress, distinguished guests, fellow citizens: As we gather tonight, our nation is at war, our economy is in recession, and the civilized world faces unprecedented dangers. Yet the state of our Union has never been stronger. (Applause.)

We last met in an hour of shock and suffering. In four short months, our nation has comforted the victims, begun to rebuild New York and the Pentagon, rallied a great coalition, captured, arrested, and rid the world of thousands of terrorists, destroyed Afghanistan's terrorist training camps, saved a people from starvation, and freed a country from brutal oppression. (Applause.)

The American flag flies again over our embassy in Kabul. Terrorists who once occupied Afghanistan now occupy cells at Guantanamo Bay. (Applause.) And terrorist leaders who urged followers to sacrifice their lives are running for their own. (Applause.)

America and Afghanistan are now allies against terror. We'll be partners in rebuilding that country. And this evening we welcome the distinguished interim leader of a liberated Afghanistan: Chairman Hamid Karzai. (Applause.)

The last time we met in this chamber, the mothers and daughters of Afghanistan were captives in their own homes, forbidden from working or going to school. Today women are free, and are part of Afghanistan's new government. And we welcome the new Minister of Women's Affairs, Doctor Sima Samar. (Applause.)

Our progress is a tribute to the spirit of the Afghan people, to the resolve of our coalition, and to the might of the United States military. (Applause.) When I called our troops into action, I did so with complete confidence in their courage and skill. And tonight, thanks to

them, we are winning the war on terror. (Applause.) The man and women of our Armed Forces have delivered a message now clear to every enemy of the United States: Even 7,000 miles away, across oceans and continents, on mountaintops and in caves—you will not escape the justice of this nation. (Applause.)

For many Americans, these four months have brought sorrow, and pain that will never completely go away. Every day a retired firefighter returns to Ground Zero, to feel closer to his two sons who died there. At a memorial in New York, a little boy left his football with a note for his lost father: Dear Daddy, please take this to heaven. I don't want to play football until I can play with you again some day.

Last month, at the grave of her husband, Michael, a CIA officer and Marine who died in Mazur-e-Sharif, Shannon Spann said these words of farewell: "Semper Fi, my love." Shannon is with us tonight. (Applause.)

Shannon, I assure you and all who have lost a loved one that our cause is just, and our country will never forget the debt we owe Michael and all who gave their lives for freedom.

Our cause is just, and it continues. Our discoveries in Afghanistan confirmed our worst fears, and showed us the true scope of the task ahead. We have seen the depth of our enemies' hatred in videos, where they laugh about the loss of innocent life. And the depth of their hatred is equaled by the madness of the destruction they design. We have found diagrams of American nuclear power plants and public water facilities, detailed instructions for making chemical weapons, surveillance maps of American cities, and thorough descriptions of landmarks in America and throughout the world.

What we have found in Afghanistan confirms that, far from ending there, our war against terror is only beginning. Most of the 19 men who hijacked planes on September the 11th were trained in Afghanistan's camps, and so were tens of thousands of others. Thousands of dangerous killers, schooled in the methods of murder, often supported by outlaw regimes, are now spread throughout the world like ticking time bombs, set to go off without warning.

Thanks to the work of our law enforcement officials and coalition partners, hundreds of terrorists have been arrested. Yet, tens of thousands of trained terrorists are still at large. These enemies view the entire world as a battlefield, and we must pursue them wherever they are. (Applause.) So long as training camps operate, so long as nations harbor terrorists, freedom is at risk. And America and our allies must not, and will not, allow it. (Applause.)

Our nation will continue to be steadfast and patient and persistent in the pursuit of two great objectives. First, we will shut down terrorist camps, disrupt terrorist plans, and bring terrorists to justice. And, second, we must prevent the terrorists and regimes who seek chemical, biological or nuclear weapons from threatening the United States and the world. (Applause.)

Our military has put the terror training camps of Afghanistan out of business, yet camps still exist in at least a dozen countries. A terrorist underworld—including groups like Hamas, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad, Jaishi-Mohammed—operates in remote jungles and deserts, and hides in the centers of large cities.

While the most visible military action is in Afghanistan, America is acting elsewhere. We now have troops in the Philippines, helping to train that country's armed forces to go after terrorist cells that have executed an American, and still hold hostages. Our soldiers, working with the Bosnian government, seized terrorists who were plotting to bomb our embassy. Our Navy is patrolling the coast of Africa to block the shipment of weapons and the establishment of terrorist camps in Somalia.

My hope is that all nations will heed our call, and eliminate the terrorist parasites who threaten their countries and our own. Many nations are acting forcefully. Pakistan is now cracking down on terror, and I admire the strong leadership of President Musharraf. (Applause.)

But some governments will be timid in the face of terror. And make no mistake about it: If they do not act, America will. (Applause.)

Our second goal is to prevent regimes that sponsor terror from threatening America or our friends and allies with weapons of mass destruction. Some of these regimes have been pretty quiet since September the 11th. But we know their true nature. North Korea is a regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction, while starving its citizens.

Iran aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian people's hope for freedom.

Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax, and nerve gas, and nuclear weapons for over a decade. This is a regime that has already used poison gas to murder thousands of its own citizens—leaving the bodies of mothers huddled over their dead children. This is a regime that agreed to international inspections—then kicked out the inspec-

tors. This is a regime that has something to hide from the civilized world.

States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world. By seeking weapons of mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger. They could provide these arms to terrorists, giving them the means to match their hatred. They could attack our allies or attempt to blackmail the United States. In any of these cases, the price of indifference would be catastrophic.

We will work closely with our coalition to deny terrorists and their state sponsors the materials, technology, and expertise to make and deliver weapons of mass destruction. We will develop and deploy effective missile defenses to protect America and our allies from sudden attack. (Applause.) And all nations should know: America will do what is necessary to ensure our nation's security.

We'll be deliberate, yet time is not on our side. I will not wait on events, while dangers gather. I will not stand by, as peril draws closer and closer. The United States of America will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons. (Applause.)

Our war on terror is well begun, but it is only begun. This campaign may not be finished on our watch—yet it must be and it will be waged on our watch.

We can't stop short. If we stop now—leaving terror camps intact and terror states unchecked—our sense of security would be false and temporary. History has called America and our allies to action, and it is both our responsibility and our privilege to fight freedom's fight. (Applause.)

Our first priority must always be the security of our nation, and that will be reflected in the budget I send to Congress. My budget supports three great goals for America: We will win this war; we'll protect our homeland; and we will revive our economy.

September the 11th brought out the best in America, and the best in this Congress. And I join the American people in applauding your unity and resolve. (Applause.) Now Americans deserve to have this same spirit directed toward addressing problems here at home. I'm a proud member of my party—yet as we act to win the war, protect our people, and create jobs in America, we must act, first and foremost, not as Republicans, not as Democrats, but as Americans. (Applause.)

It costs a lot to fight this war. We have spent more than a billion dollars a month—over \$30 million a day—and we must be prepared for future operations.

Afghanistan proved that expensive precision weapons defeat the enemy and spare innocent lives, and we need more of them. We need to replace aging aircraft and make our military more agile, to put our troops anywhere in the world quickly and safely. Our men and women in uniform deserve the best weapons, the best equipment, the best training—and they also deserve another pay raise. (Applause.)

My budget includes the largest increase in defense spending in two decades—because while the price of freedom and security is high, it is never too high. Whatever it costs to defend our country, we will pay. (Applause.)

The next priority of my budget is to do everything possible to protect our citizens and strengthen our nation against the ongoing threat of another attack. Time and distance from the events of September the 11th will not make us safer unless we act on its lessons. America is no longer protected by vast oceans. We are protected from attack only by vigorous action abroad, and increased vigilance at home.

My budget nearly doubles funding for a sustained strategy of homeland security, focused on four key areas: bioterrorism, emergency response, airport and border security, and improved intelligence. We will develop vaccines to fight anthrax and other deadly diseases. We'll increase funding to help states and communities train and equip our heroic police and firefighters. (Applause.) We will improve intelligence collection and sharing, expand patrols at our borders, strengthen the security of air travel, and use technology to track the arrivals and departures of visitors to the United States. (Applause.)

Homeland security will make America not only stronger, but, in many ways, better. Knowledge gained from bioterrorism research will improve public health. Stronger police and fire departments will mean safer neighborhoods. Stricter border enforcement will help combat illegal drugs. (Applause.) And as government works to better secure our homeland, America will continue to depend on the eyes and ears of alert citizens.

A few days before Christmas, an airline flight attendant spotted a passenger lighting a match. The crew and passengers quickly subdued the man, who had been trained by al Qaeda and was armed with explosives. The people on that plane were alert and, as a result, likely saved nearly 200 lives. And tonight we welcome and thank flight attendants Hermis Moutardier and Christina Jones. (Applause.)

Once we have funded our national security and our

homeland security, the final great priority of my budget is economic security for the American people. (Applause.) To achieve these great national objectives—to win the war, protect the homeland, and revitalize our economy—our budget will run a deficit that will be small and short-term, so long as Congress restrains spending and acts in a fiscally responsible manner. (Applause.) We have clear priorities and we must act at home with the same purpose and resolve we have shown overseas: We'll prevail in the war, and we will defeat this recession. (Applause.)

Americans who have lost their jobs need our help and I support extending unemployment benefits and direct assistance for health care coverage. (Applause.) Yet, American workers want more than unemployment checks—they want a steady paycheck. (Applause.) When America works, America prospers, so my economic security plan can be summed up in one word: jobs. (Applause.)

Good jobs begin with good schools, and here we've made a fine start. (Applause.) Republicans and Democrats worked together to achieve historic education reform so that no child is left behind. I was proud to work with members of both parties: Chairman John Boehner and Congressman George Miller. (Applause.) Senator Judd Gregg. (Applause.) And I was so proud of our work, I even had nice things to say about my friend, Ted Kennedy. (Laughter and applause.) I know the folks at the Crawford coffee shop couldn't believe I'd say such a thing—(laughter)—but our work on this bill shows what is possible if we set aside posturing and focus on results. (Applause.)

There is more to do. We need to prepare our children to read and succeed in school with improved Head Start and early childhood development programs. (Applause.) We must upgrade our teacher colleges and teacher training and launch a major recruiting drive with a great goal for America: a quality teacher in every classroom. (Applause.)

Good jobs also depend on reliable and affordable energy. This Congress must act to encourage conservation, promote technology, build infrastructure, and it must act to increase energy production at home so America is less dependent on foreign oil. (Applause.)

Good jobs depend on expanded trade. Selling into new markets creates new jobs, so I ask Congress to finally approve trade promotion authority. (Applause.) On these two key issues, trade and energy, the House of Representatives has acted to create jobs, and I urge the Senate to pass this legislation. (Applause.)

Good jobs depend on sound tax policy. (Applause.) Last year, some in this hall thought my tax relief plan was too small; some thought it was too big. (Applause.) But when the checks arrived in the mail, most Americans thought tax relief was just about right. (Applause.) Congress listened to the people and responded by reducing tax rates, doubling the child credit, and ending the death tax. For the sake of long-term growth and to help Americans plan for the future, let's make these tax cuts permanent. (Applause.)

The way out of this recession, the way to create jobs, is to grow the economy by encouraging investment in factories and equipment, and by speeding up tax relief so people have more money to spend. For the sake of American workers, let's pass a stimulus package. (Applause.)

Good jobs must be the aim of welfare reform. As we reauthorize these important reforms, we must always remember the goal is to reduce dependency on government and offer every American the dignity of a job. (Applause.)

Americans know economic security can vanish in an instant without health security. I ask Congress to join me this year to enact a patients' bill of rights—(applause)—to give uninsured workers credits to help buy health coverage—(applause)—to approve an historic increase in the spending for veterans' health—(applause)—and to give seniors a sound and modern Medicare system that includes coverage for prescription drugs. (Applause.)

A good job should lead to security in retirement. I ask Congress to enact new safeguards for 401K and pension plans. (Applause.) Employees who have worked hard and saved all their lives should not have to risk losing everything if their company fails. (Applause.) Through stricter accounting standards and tougher disclosure requirements, corporate America must be made more accountable to employees and shareholders and held to the highest standards of conduct. (Applause.)

Retirement security also depends upon keeping the commitments of Social Security, and we will. We must make Social Security financially stable and allow personal retirement accounts for younger workers who choose them. (Applause.)

Members, you and I will work together in the months ahead on other issues: productive farm policy—(applause)—a cleaner environment—(applause)—broader home ownership, especially among minorities—(applause)—and ways to encourage the good

work of charities and faith-based groups. (Applause.) I ask you to join me on these important domestic issues in the same spirit of cooperation we've applied to our war against terrorism. (Applause.)

During these last few months, I've been humbled and privileged to see the true character of this country in a time of testing. Our enemies believed America was weak and materialistic, that we would splinter in fear and selfishness. They were as wrong as they are evil. (Applause.)

The American people have responded magnificently, with courage and compassion, strength and resolve. As I have met the heroes, hugged the families, and looked into the tired faces of rescuers, I have stood in awe of the American people.

And I hope you will join me—I hope you will join me in expressing thanks to one American for the strength and calm and comfort she brings to our nation in crisis, our First Lady, Laura Bush. (Applause.)

None of us would ever wish the evil that was done on September the 11th. Yet after America was attacked, it was as if our entire country looked into a mirror and saw our better selves. We were reminded that we are citizens, with obligations to each other, to our country, and to history. We began to think less of the goods we can accumulate, and more about the good we can do.

For too long our culture has said, "If it feels good, do it." Now America is embracing a new ethic and a new creed: "Let's roll." (Applause.) In the sacrifice of soldiers, the fierce brotherhood of firefighters, and the bravery and generosity of ordinary citizens, we have glimpsed what a new culture of responsibility could look like. We want to be a nation that serves goals larger than self. We've been offered a unique opportunity, and we must not let this moment pass. (Applause.)

My call tonight is for every American to commit at least two years—4,000 hours over the rest of your lifetime—to the service of your neighbors and your nation. (Applause.) Many are already serving, and I thank you. If you aren't sure how to help, I've got a good place to start. To sustain and extend the best that has emerged in America, I invite you to join the new USA Freedom Corps. The Freedom Corps will focus on three areas of need: responding in case of crisis at home; rebuilding our communities; and extending American compassion throughout the world.

One purpose of the USA Freedom Corps will be homeland security. America needs retired doctors and nurses who can be mobilized in major emergencies;

volunteers to help police and fire departments; transportation and utility workers well-trained in spotting danger.

Our country also needs citizens working to rebuild our communities. We need mentors to love children, especially children whose parents are in prison. And we need more talented teachers in troubled schools. USA Freedom Corps will expand and improve the good efforts of AmeriCorps and Senior Corps to recruit more than 200,000 new volunteers.

And America needs citizens to extend the compassion of our country to every part of the world. So we will renew the promise of the Peace Corps, double its volunteers over the next five years—(applause)—and ask it to join a new effort to encourage development and education and opportunity in the Islamic world. (Applause.)

This time of adversity offers a unique moment of opportunity—a moment we must seize to change our culture. Through the gathering momentum of millions of acts of service and decency and kindness, I know we can overcome evil with greater good. (Applause.) And we have a great opportunity during this time of war to lead the world toward the values that will bring lasting peace.

All fathers and mothers, in all societies, want their children to be educated, and live free from poverty and violence. No people on Earth yearn to be oppressed, or aspire to servitude, or eagerly await the midnight knock of the secret police.

If anyone doubts this, let them look to Afghanistan, where the Islamic "street" greeted the fall of tyranny with song and celebration. Let the skeptics look to Islam's own rich history, with its centuries of learning, and tolerance and progress. America will lead by defending liberty and justice because they are right and true and unchanging for all people everywhere. (Applause.)

No nation owns these aspirations, and no nation is exempt from them. We have no intention of imposing our culture. But America will always stand firm for the non-negotiable demands of human dignity: the rule of law; limits on the power of the state; respect for women; private property; free speech; equal justice; and religious tolerance. (Applause.)

America will take the side of brave men and women who advocate these values around the world, including the Islamic world, because we have a greater objective than eliminating threats and containing resentment. We seek a just and peaceful world beyond the war on terror.

In this moment of opportunity, a common danger is erasing old rivalries. America is working with Russia and China and India, in ways we have never before, to achieve peace and prosperity. In every region, free markets and free trade and free societies are proving their power to lift lives. Together with friends and allies from Europe to Asia, and Africa to Latin America, we will demonstrate that the forces of terror cannot stop the momentum of freedom. (Applause.)

The last time I spoke here, I expressed the hope that life would return to normal. In some ways, it has. In others, it never will. Those of us who have lived through these challenging times have been changed by them. We've come to know truths that we will never question: evil is real, and it must be opposed. (Applause.) Beyond all differences of race or creed, we are one country, mourning together and facing danger together. Deep in the American character, there is honor, and it is stronger

than cynicism. And many have discovered again that even in tragedy—especially in tragedy—God is near. (Applause.)

In a single instant, we realized that this will be a decisive decade in the history of liberty, that we've been called to a unique role in human events. Rarely has the world faced a choice more clear or consequential.

Our enemies send other people's children on missions of suicide and murder. They embrace tyranny and death as a cause and a creed. We stand for a different choice, made long ago, on the day of our founding. We affirm it again today. We choose freedom and the dignity of every life. (Applause.)

Steadfast in our purpose, we now press on. We have known freedom's price. We have shown freedom's power. And in this great conflict, my fellow Americans, we will see freedom's victory.

Thank you all. May God bless. (Applause.)

Appendix 4

Primary Sources

Sacred Texts



The excerpts below from the sacred texts of major religions illustrate the role of key leaders and leadership concepts within each religion.

Genesis 22

This is a founding narrative of Judaism, Christian, and Islam—the Abrahamic religions. It may be used as a narrative to explain the virtue of blind obedience to the divine will or the nature of Abraham’s God, who unlike the others does not demand human sacrifice.

- ¹And it came to pass after these things, that God did tempt Abraham, and said unto him, Abraham: and he said, Behold, here I am.
- ²And he said, Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac, whom thou lovest, and get thee into the land of Moriah; and offer him there for a burnt offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of.
- ³And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and saddled his ass, and took two of his young men with him, and Isaac his son, and clave the wood for the burnt offering, and rose up, and went unto the place of which God had told him.
- ⁴Then on the third day Abraham lifted up his eyes, and saw the place afar off.
- ⁵And Abraham said unto his young men, Abide ye here with the ass; and I and the lad will go yonder and worship, and come again to you.
- ⁶And Abraham took the wood of the burnt offering, and laid it upon Isaac his son; and he took the fire in his hand, and a knife; and they went both of them together.
- ⁷And Isaac spake unto Abraham his father, and said, My father: and he said, Here am I, my son. And he said,

Behold the fire and the wood: but where is the lamb for a burnt offering?

- ⁸And Abraham said, My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt offering: so they went both of them together.
- ⁹And they came to the place which God had told him of; and Abraham built an altar there, and laid the wood in order, and bound Isaac his son, and laid him on the altar upon the wood.
- ¹⁰And Abraham stretched forth his hand, and took the knife to slay his son.
- ¹¹And the angel of the LORD called unto him out of heaven, and said, Abraham, Abraham: and he said, Here am I.
- ¹²And he said, Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou any thing unto him: for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son from me.
- ¹³And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and looked, and behold behind him a ram caught in a thicket by his horns: and Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt offering in the stead of his son.
- ¹⁴And Abraham called the name of that place Jehovahjireh: as it is said to this day, In the mount of the LORD it shall be seen.
- ¹⁵And the angel of the LORD called unto Abraham out of heaven the second time,
- ¹⁶And said, By myself have I sworn, saith the LORD, for because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son:
- ¹⁷That in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea shore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies;

¹⁸And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; because thou hast obeyed my voice.

Exodus 3

The verses below are significant as evidence of the call of Moses, and as an illustration of the nature of charismatic leadership and the promise of deliverance.

¹Now Moses kept the flock of Jethro his father in law, the priest of Midian: and he led the flock to the backside of the desert, and came to the mountain of God, even to Horeb.

²And the angel of the LORD appeared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush: and he looked, and, behold, the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed.

³And Moses said, I will now turn aside, and see this great sight, why the bush is not burnt.

⁴And when the LORD saw that he turned aside to see, God called unto him out of the midst of the bush, and said, Moses, Moses. And he said, Here am I.

⁵And he said, Draw not nigh hither: put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.

⁶Moreover he said, I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. And Moses hid his face; for he was afraid to look upon God.

⁷And the LORD said, I have surely seen the affliction of my people which are in Egypt, and have heard their cry by reason of their taskmasters; for I know their sorrows;

⁸And I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land unto a good land and a large, unto a land flowing with milk and honey; unto the place of the Canaanites, and the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites.

The Book of Proverbs

The Book of Proverbs shows a parallel from the Abrahamic traditions to the Eastern traditions.

Proverbs 1

¹The proverbs of Solomon the son of David, king of Israel;

²To know wisdom and instruction; to perceive the words of understanding;

³To receive the instruction of wisdom, justice, and judgment, and equity;

⁴To give subtilty to the simple, to the young man knowledge and discretion.

⁵A wise man will hear, and will increase learning; and a man of understanding shall attain unto wise counsels:

⁶To understand a proverb, and the interpretation; the words of the wise, and their dark sayings.

⁷The fear of the LORD is the beginning of knowledge: but fools despise wisdom and instruction.

Proverbs 4

¹⁰Hear, O my son, and receive my sayings; and the years of thy life shall be many.

¹¹I have taught thee in the way of wisdom; I have led thee in right paths.

¹²When thou goest, thy steps shall not be straitened; and when thou runnest, thou shalt not stumble.

¹³Take fast hold of instruction; let her not go: keep her; for she is thy life.

¹⁴Enter not into the path of the wicked, and go not in the way of evil men.

¹⁵Avoid it, pass not by it, turn from it, and pass away.

¹⁶For they sleep not, except they have done mischief; and their sleep is taken away, unless they cause some to fall.

¹⁷For they eat the bread of wickedness, and drink the wine of violence.

¹⁸But the path of the just is as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.

¹⁹The way of the wicked is as darkness: they know not at what they stumble.

²⁰My son, attend to my words; incline thine ear unto my sayings.

²¹Let them not depart from thine eyes; keep them in the midst of thine heart.

²²For they are life unto those that find them, and health to all their flesh.

²³Keep thy heart with all diligence; for out of it are the issues of life.

²⁴Put away from thee a froward mouth, and perverse lips put far from thee.

²⁵Let thine eyes look right on, and let thine eyelids look straight before thee.

²⁶Ponder the path of thy feet, and let all thy ways be established.

²⁷Turn not to the right hand nor to the left: remove thy foot from evil.

Proverbs 12

¹Whoso loveth instruction loveth knowledge: but he that hateth reproof is brutish.

- ²A good man obtaineth favour of the LORD: but a man of wicked devices will he condemn.
- ³A man shall not be established by wickedness: but the root of the righteous shall not be moved.
- ⁴A virtuous woman is a crown to her husband: but she that maketh ashamed is as rottenness in his bones.
- ⁵The thoughts of the righteous are right: but the counsels of the wicked are deceit.
- ⁶The words of the wicked are to lie in wait for blood: but the mouth of the upright shall deliver them.
- ⁷The wicked are overthrown, and are not: but the house of the righteous shall stand.
- ⁸A man shall be commended according to his wisdom: but he that is of a perverse heart shall be despised.
- ⁹He that is despised, and hath a servant, is better than he that honoureth himself, and lacketh bread.
- ¹⁰A righteous man regardeth the life of his beast: but the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel.
- ¹¹He that tilleth his land shall be satisfied with bread: but he that followeth vain persons is void of understanding.
- ¹²The wicked desireth the net of evil men: but the root of the righteous yieldeth fruit.
- ¹³The wicked is snared by the transgression of his lips: but the just shall come out of trouble.
- ¹⁴A man shall be satisfied with good by the fruit of his mouth: and the recompence of a man's hands shall be rendered unto him.
- ¹⁵The way of a fool is right in his own eyes: but he that hearkeneth unto counsel is wise.
- ¹⁶A fool's wrath is presently known: but a prudent man covereth shame.
- ¹⁷He that speaketh truth sheweth forth righteousness: but a false witness deceit.
- ¹⁸There is that speaketh like the piercings of a sword: but the tongue of the wise is health.
- ¹⁹The lip of truth shall be established for ever: but a lying tongue is but for a moment.
- ²⁰Deceit is in the heart of them that imagine evil: but to the counsellors of peace is joy.
- ²¹There shall no evil happen to the just: but the wicked shall be filled with mischief.
- ²²Lying lips are abomination to the LORD: but they that deal truly are his delight.
- ²³A prudent man concealeth knowledge: but the heart of fools proclaimeth foolishness.
- ²⁴The hand of the diligent shall bear rule: but the slothful shall be under tribute.
- ²⁵Heaviness in the heart of man maketh it stoop: but a good word maketh it glad.
- ²⁶The righteous is more excellent than his neighbour:

but the way of the wicked seduceth them.

²⁷The slothful man roasteth not that which he took in hunting: but the substance of a diligent man is precious.

²⁸In the way of righteousness is life: and in the pathway thereof there is no death.

Daniel 5

Chapter 5 of the Book of Daniel offers an exemplar of speaking truth to power:

¹Belshazzar the king made a great feast to a thousand of his lords, and drank wine before the thousand.

²Belshazzar, while he tasted the wine, commanded to bring the golden and silver vessels which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple which was in Jerusalem; that the king, and his princes, his wives, and his concubines, might drink therein.

³Then they brought the golden vessels that were taken out of the temple of the house of God which was at Jerusalem; and the king, and his princes, his wives, and his concubines, drank in them.

⁴They drank wine, and praised the gods of gold, and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone.

⁵In the same hour came forth fingers of a man's hand, and wrote over against the candlestick upon the plaister of the wall of the king's palace: and the king saw the part of the hand that wrote.

⁶Then the king's countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another.

⁷The king cried aloud to bring in the astrologers, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers. And the king spake, and said to the wise men of Babylon, Whosoever shall read this writing, and shew me the interpretation thereof, shall be clothed with scarlet, and have a chain of gold about his neck, and shall be the third ruler in the kingdom.

⁸Then came in all the king's wise men: but they could not read the writing, nor make known to the king the interpretation thereof.

⁹Then was king Belshazzar greatly troubled, and his countenance was changed in him, and his lords were astonished.

¹⁰Now the queen by reason of the words of the king and his lords came into the banquet house: and the queen spake and said, O king, live for ever: let not thy thoughts trouble thee, nor let thy countenance be changed:

- ¹¹There is a man in thy kingdom, in whom is the spirit of the holy gods; and in the days of thy father light and understanding and wisdom, like the wisdom of the gods, was found in him; whom the king Nebuchadnezzar thy father, the king, I say, thy father, made master of the magicians, astrologers, Chaldeans, and soothsayers;
- ¹²Forasmuch as an excellent spirit, and knowledge, and understanding, interpreting of dreams, and shewing of hard sentences, and dissolving of doubts, were found in the same Daniel, whom the king named Belshazzar: now let Daniel be called, and he will shew the interpretation.
- ¹³Then was Daniel brought in before the king. And the king spake and said unto Daniel, Art thou that Daniel, which art of the children of the captivity of Judah, whom the king my father brought out of Jewry?
- ¹⁴I have even heard of thee, that the spirit of the gods is in thee, and that light and understanding and excellent wisdom is found in thee.
- ¹⁵And now the wise men, the astrologers, have been brought in before me, that they should read this writing, and make known unto me the interpretation thereof: but they could not shew the interpretation of the thing:
- ¹⁶And I have heard of thee, that thou canst make interpretations, and dissolve doubts: now if thou canst read the writing, and make known to me the interpretation thereof, thou shalt be clothed with scarlet, and have a chain of gold about thy neck, and shalt be the third ruler in the kingdom.
- ¹⁷Then Daniel answered and said before the king, Let thy gifts be to thyself, and give thy rewards to another; yet I will read the writing unto the king, and make known to him the interpretation.
- ¹⁸O thou king, the most high God gave Nebuchadnezzar thy father a kingdom, and majesty, and glory, and honour:
- ¹⁹And for the majesty that he gave him, all people, nations, and languages, trembled and feared before him: whom he would he slew; and whom he would he kept alive; and whom he would he set up; and whom he would he put down.
- ²⁰But when his heart was lifted up, and his mind hardened in pride, he was deposed from his kingly throne, and they took his glory from him:
- ²¹And he was driven from the sons of men; and his heart was made like the beasts, and his dwelling was with the wild asses: they fed him with grass like oxen, and

his body was wet with the dew of heaven; till he knew that the most high God ruled in the kingdom of men, and that he appointeth over it whomsoever he will.

- ²²And thou his son, O Belshazzar, hast not humbled thine heart, though thou knewest all this;
- ²³But hast lifted up thyself against the Lord of heaven; and they have brought the vessels of his house before thee, and thou, and thy lords, thy wives, and thy concubines, have drunk wine in them; and thou hast praised the gods of silver, and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know: and the God in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are all thy ways, hast thou not glorified:
- ²⁴Then was the part of the hand sent from him; and this writing was written.
- ²⁵And this is the writing that was written, MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN.
- ²⁶This is the interpretation of the thing: MENE; God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finished it.
- ²⁷TEKEL; Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting.
- ²⁸PERES; Thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians.
- ²⁹Then commanded Belshazzar, and they clothed Daniel with scarlet, and put a chain of gold about his neck, and made a proclamation concerning him, that he should be the third ruler in the kingdom.
- ³⁰In that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans slain.
- ³¹And Darius the Median took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old.

Matthew 5

The Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5:1–7:27), excerpted below, is a collection of sayings by Jesus. A seminal teaching in Christianity, many interpreters see it as a call to leadership as service (or “servant leadership”) toward God’s kingdom, or God’s reign.

- ¹And seeing the multitudes, he went up into a mountain: and when he was set, his disciples came unto him:
- ²And he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying,
- ³Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.
- ⁴Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.
- ⁵Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.
- ⁶Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.

- ⁷Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.
- ⁸Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.
- ⁹Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.
- ¹⁰Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.
- ¹¹Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.
- ¹²Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.
- ¹³Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men.
- ¹⁴Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid.
- ¹⁵Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house.
- ¹⁶Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.
- [. . .]
- ³⁸Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth:
- ³⁹But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.
- ⁴⁰And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.
- ⁴¹And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain.
- ⁴²Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away.
- ⁴³Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy.
- ⁴⁴But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you;
- ⁴⁵That ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.
- ⁴⁶For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? do not even the publicans the same?
- ⁴⁷And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? do not even the publicans so?

⁴⁸Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.

The Bhagavad Gita

The Bhagavad Gita is a primary sacred text in Hinduism. Its focus is on the development of human consciousness—considered necessary preparation for leadership.

Arjuna said: “Krishna, what are the symptoms of one whose consciousness is thus merged in beyondness? How does he speak, and what’s his language? How does he sit, and how does he walk? (2:54)

The Blessed Lord said: “Partha, when a man gives up all varieties of sense desire which arise from mental concoction, and when his mind finds satisfaction in the self alone, then he is said to be in pure supernatural consciousness. (2:55)

One who is not disturbed in spite of the threefold miseries, who is not elated when there’s happiness, and who is free from attachment, fear and anger, is called a sage of steady mind. (2:56)

He who is without attachment, who does not rejoice when he obtains good, nor lament when he obtains evil, is firmly fixed in perfect knowledge (2:57)

One who is able to withdraw his senses from sense objects, as the tortoise draws its limbs within the shell, is to be understood as truly situated in knowledge. (2:58)

The embodied soul may be restricted from sense enjoyment, though the taste for sense objects remains. But, ceasing such engagements by experiencing a higher taste, he is fixed in consciousness. (2:59)

The senses are so strong and impetuous, Arjuna, that they forcibly carry away the mind even of a man of discrimination who is endeavoring to control them. (2:60)

One who restrains his senses and fixes his consciousness on me, is known as a man of steady intelligence. (2:61)

While contemplating the objects of the senses, a person develops attachment for them, and from such attachment lust develops, and from lust anger arises. (2:62)

From anger, delusion arises, and from delusion bewilderment of memory. When the memory is bewildered, intelligence is lost, and when intelligence is lost, one falls down again into the material pool. (2:63)

One who can control his senses by practicing the regulative principles of freedom can obtain the complete

mercy of the lord and thus become free from all attachment and aversion. (2:64)

For one who is so situated in the Divine consciousness, the threefold miseries of material existence exist no longer; in such a happy state, one's intelligence soon becomes steady. (2:65)

One who is not in supernatural consciousness can have neither a controlled mind nor steady intelligence, without which there's no possibility of peace. And how can there be any happiness without peace? (2:66)

As a boat on the water is swept away by a strong wind, even one of the senses on which the mind focuses can carry away a man's intelligence. (2:67)

So, mighty-armed, one whose senses are restrained from their objects is certainly of steady intelligence. (2:68)

What's night for all beings is the time of awakening for the self-controlled; and the time of awakening for all beings is night for the introspective sage. (2:69)

A person who is not disturbed by the incessant flow of desires—that enter like rivers into the ocean which is ever being filled but is always still—can alone achieve peace, and not the man who strives to satisfy such desires. (2:70)

A person who has given up all desires for sense gratification, who lives free from desires, who has given up all sense of proprietorship and is devoid of false ego - he alone can attain real peace. (2:71)

That's the way of the giant and godly life, after attaining which a man is not bewildered. Being so situated even at the hour of death, one can enter into the realm of God. (2:72)

The Analects

Composed of short statements primarily attributed to Confucius, the Analects is a highly influential text in Chinese philosophy. Through the stories in the Analects, virtues are taught in hopes that a person will become a moral example for others.

Part 15

The Duke Ling of Wei asked Confucius about tactics. Confucius replied, "I have heard all about sacrificial vessels, but I have not learned military matters." On this, he took his departure the next day.

When he was in Chan, their provisions were exhausted, and his followers became so in that they were unable to rise.

Tsze-lu, with evident dissatisfaction, said, "Has the

superior man likewise to endure in this way?" The Master said, "The superior man may indeed have to endure want, but the mean man, when he is in want, gives way to unbridled license."

The Master said, "Ts'ze, you think, I suppose, that I am one who learns many things and keeps them in memory?"

Tsze-kung replied, "Yes, -but perhaps it is not so?"

"No," was the answer; "I seek a unity all pervading."

The Master said, "Yu I those who know virtue are few."

The Master said, "May not Shun be instanced as having governed efficiently without exertion? What did he do? He did nothing but gravely and reverently occupy his royal seat."

Tsze-chang asked how a man should conduct himself, so as to be everywhere appreciated.

The Master said, "Let his words be sincere and truthful and his actions honorable and careful; -such conduct may be practiced among the rude tribes of the South or the North. If his words be not sincere and truthful and his actions not honorable and careful will he, with such conduct, be appreciated, even in his neighborhood?"

"When he is standing, let him see those two things, as it were, fronting him. When he is in a carriage, let him see them attached to the yoke. Then may he subsequently carry them into practice."

Tsze-chang wrote these counsels on the end of his sash.

The Master said, "Truly straightforward was the historian Yu. When good government prevailed in his state, he was like an arrow. When bad government prevailed, he was like an arrow. A superior man indeed is Chu Po-yu! When good government prevails in his state, he is to be found in office. When bad government prevails, he can roll his principles up, and keep them in his breast."

The Master said, "When a man may be spoken with, not to speak to him is to err in reference to the man. When a man may not be spoken with, to speak to him is to err in reference to our words. The wise err neither in regard to their man nor to their words."

The Master said, "The determined scholar and the man of virtue will not seek to live at the expense of injuring their virtue. They will even sacrifice their lives to preserve their virtue complete."

Tsze-kung asked about the practice of virtue. The Master said, "The mechanic, who wishes to do his work well, must first sharpen his tools. When you are living in any state, take service with the most worthy among its great officers, and make friends of the most virtuous among its scholars."

Yen Yuan asked how the government of a country should be administered.

The Master said, "Follow the seasons of Hsia.

"Ride in the state carriage of Yin.

"Wear the ceremonial cap of Chau.

"Let the music be the Shao with its pantomimes. Banish the songs of Chang, and keep far from specious talkers. The songs of Chang are licentious; specious talkers are dangerous."

The Master said, "If a man take no thought about what is distant, he will find sorrow near at hand."

The Master said, "It is all over! I have not seen one who loves virtue as he loves beauty."

The Master said, "Was not Tsang Wan like one who had stolen his situation? He knew the virtue and the talents of Hui of Liu-hsia, and yet did not procure that he should stand with him in court."

The Master said, "He who requires much from himself and little from others, will keep himself from being the object of resentment."

The Master said, "When a man is not in the habit of saying 'What shall I think of this? What shall I think of this?' I can indeed do nothing with him!"

The Master said, "When a number of people are together, for a whole day, without their conversation turning on righteousness, and when they are fond of carrying out the suggestions of a small shrewdness;-theirs is indeed a hard case."

The Master said, "The superior man in everything considers righteousness to be essential. He performs it according to the rules of propriety. He brings it forth in humility. He completes it with sincerity. This is indeed a superior man."

The Master said, "The superior man is distressed by

his want of ability. He is not distressed by men's not knowing him."

The Master said, "The superior man dislikes the thought of his name not being mentioned after his death."

The Master said, "What the superior man seeks, is in himself. What the mean man seeks, is in others."

The Master said, "The superior man is dignified, but does not wrangle. He is sociable, but not a partisan."

The Master said, "The superior man does not promote a man simply on account of his words, nor does he put aside good words because of the man."

Tsze-kung asked, saying, "Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one's life?" The Master said, "Is not Reciprocity such a word? What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others."

The Master said, "In my dealings with men, whose evil do I blame, whose goodness do I praise, beyond what is proper? If I do sometimes exceed in praise, there must be ground for it in my examination of the individual.

"This people supplied the ground why the three dynasties pursued the path of straightforwardness."

The Master said, "Even in my early days, a historiographer would leave a blank in his text, and he who had a horse would lend him to another to ride. Now, alas! there are no such things."

The Master said, "Specious words confound virtue. Want of forbearance in small matters confounds great plans."

The Master said, "When the multitude hate a man, it is necessary to examine into the case. When the multitude like a man, it is necessary to examine into the case."

The Master said, "A man can enlarge the principles which he follows; those principles do not enlarge the man."

The Master said, "To have faults and not to reform them,-this, indeed, should be pronounced having faults."

The Master said, "I have been the whole day without

eating, and the whole night without sleeping:-occupied with thinking. It was of no use. better plan is to learn.”

The Master said, “The object of the superior man is truth. Food is not his object. There is plowing;-even in that there is sometimes want. So with learning;-emolument may be found in it. The superior man is anxious lest he should not get truth; he is not anxious lest poverty should come upon him.”

The Master said, “When a man’s knowledge is sufficient to attain, and his virtue is not sufficient to enable him to hold, whatever he may have gained, he will lose again.

“When his knowledge is sufficient to attain, and he has virtue enough to hold fast, if he cannot govern with dignity, the people will not respect him.

“When his knowledge is sufficient to attain, and he has virtue enough to hold fast; when he governs also with dignity, yet if he try to move the people contrary to the rules of propriety: full excellence is not reached.”

The Master said, “The superior man cannot be known in little matters; but he may be intrusted with great concerns. The small man may not be intrusted with great concerns, but he may be known in little matters.”

The Master said, “Virtue is more to man than either water or fire. I have seen men die from treading on water and fire, but I have never seen a man die from treading the course of virtue.”

The Master said, “Let every man consider virtue as what devolves on himself. He may not yield the performance of it even to his teacher.”

The Master said, “The superior man is correctly firm, and not firm merely.”

The Master said, “A minister, in serving his prince, reverently discharges his duties, and makes his emolument a secondary consideration.”

The Master said, “In teaching there should be no distinction of classes.”

The Master said, “Those whose courses are different cannot lay plans for one another.”

The Master said, “In language it is simply required that it convey the meaning.”

The music master, Mien, having called upon him, when they came to the steps, the Master said, “Here are the steps.” When they came to the mat for the guest to sit upon, he said, “Here is the mat.” When all were seated, the Master informed him, saying, “So and so is here; so and so is here.”

The music master, Mien, having gone out, Tsz-chang asked, saying. “Is it the rule to tell those things to the music master?”

The Master said, “Yes. This is certainly the rule for those who lead the blind.”

Book 2 of the Qur’an

The excerpts below come from the Book 2 of the Qur’an and deals with submission of all just men, regardless of rank, to Allah and the roots of Islam in the faith of Abraham.

[2.136] Say: We believe in Allah and (in) that which had been revealed to us, and (in) that which was revealed to Ibrahim and Ismail and Ishaq and Yaqoub and the tribes, and (in) that which was given to Musa and Isa, and (in) that which was given to the prophets from their Lord, we do not make any distinction between any of them, and to Him do we submit.

[2.137] If then they believe as you believe in Him, they are indeed on the right course, and if they turn back, then they are only in great opposition, so Allah will suffice you against them, and He is the Hearing, the Knowing.

[2.138] (Receive) the baptism of Allah, and who is better than Allah in baptising? and Him do we serve.

[2.139] Say: Do you dispute with us about Allah, and He is our Lord and your Lord, and we shall have our deeds and you shall have your deeds, and we are sincere to Him.

[2.140] Nay! do you say that Ibrahim and Ismail and Yaqoub and the tribes were Jews or Christians? Say: Are you better knowing or Allah? And who is more unjust than he who conceals a testimony that he has from Allah? And Allah is not at all heedless of what you do.

[2.141] This is a people that have passed away; they shall have what they earned and you shall have what you earn, and you shall not be called upon to answer for what they did.

[2.142] The fools among the people will say: What has

turned them from their qiblah which they had? Say: The East and the West belong only to Allah; He guides whom He likes to the right path.

[2.143] And thus We have made you a medium (just) nation that you may be the bearers of witness to the people and (that) the Apostle may be a bearer of witness to you; and We did not make that which you would have to be the qiblah but that We might distinguish him who follows the Apostle from him who turns back upon his heels, and this was surely hard except for those whom Allah has guided aright; and

Allah was not going to make your faith to be fruitless; most surely Allah is Affectionate, Merciful to the people.

[2.144] Indeed We see the turning of your face to heaven, so We shall surely turn you to a qiblah which you shall like; turn then your face towards the Sacred Mosque, and wherever you are, turn your face towards it, and those who have been given the Book most surely know that it is the truth from their Lord; and Allah is not at all heedless of what they do.

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